

W.S. 979

ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21

BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21

No. W.S. 979

ROINN



COSANTA.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS.

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 979.....

Witness

Robert C. Barton,
Glendalough House,
Annamoe,
Co. Wicklow.

Identity.

Director of Agriculture in First Dail Eireann;
Minister of Economic Affairs in 2nd do.
One of the Signatories of the Anglo-Irish Treaty
of 6/12/1921.

Subject.

- (a) Imprisonment and execution of leaders of
the Easter Week Rising, 1916;
- (b) The First Dail Eireann;
- (c) The Anglo-Irish Treaty 1921 -
Before and After.

Conditions, if any, Stipulated by Witness.

Nil

File No. ...S. 375.....

Form B.S.M. 2

ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
BUREAU STAIRS MILITARY 1913-21
NO. W.S. 979

979

STATEMENT OF MR. ROBERT BARTON,
Annamoe, Co. Wicklow.

I had been a Private in the Inns of Court Officers' Training Corps in Berkhamstead since October, 1915, and on April 24th, 1916, I was gazetted to the 10th Battalion, Dublin Fusiliers. I reached Ireland on the Wednesday following Easter Monday, 1916, under orders to report to my Commanding Officer, Colonel Lawrence Esmonde of the 10th Dublins in the Royal Barracks. Colonel Esmonde was a brother of Sir Thomas Esmonde. I arrived in Kingstown. Dublin was more or less under siege and part of it in flames. Being unable to get in to the city, I reported to the Provost-Marshal at Kingstown. He told me that, as I had no uniform, I had better go home - my officer's uniform was in Phillips's shop, the tailors in Dame Street. I went to my home in Annamoe, Co. Wicklow, and, as I received no further order, I stayed there as long as I thought proper.

After about a week, I reported to Colonel Esmonde in the Royal Barracks and, as he knew where my sympathies lay, my duties were confined to the Barracks. Some days later, he received an instruction from the Provost-Marshal in Dublin Castle to send two officers to Richmond Barracks to report to the officer in charge there for duty in connection with the prisoners in Richmond Barracks. I reported to Colonel Frazer. Another officer was sent with me, Lieutenant Grant. He took charge of the post office, that is, of letters coming for the prisoners, and acted as censor and distributor.

Colonel Frazer instructed me to take over the duties of officer in charge of prisoners' effects. He made some statement to the effect that the War Office was greatly concerned because the troops in Dublin had been looting, an offence for which they would be shot if they were in France, and that the War Office wanted this situation cleared up. There were a great many charges of looting against the British troops, and the War Office had instructed the authorities in Dublin to stop the looting and to collect what had been looted and return it.

I was a 2nd Lieutenant when I took up duty as officer in charge of prisoners' effects, and my authority as a junior officer was very limited. I took over from Lieutenant Healing, who was my predecessor, any documents and property which had been collected in prisoners' effects office. That must have been about the 17th May, 1916. I found things in a chaotic state. Prisoners' effects were in buckets and bags littered around the office, and I first tried to put them into order and to find out to whom the properties belonged. The bundles had been systematically pillaged. I missed a packet of Republican stamps which a British officer told me he had at one time seen in the room. I thought they were stamps specially issued by the Volunteers. They had been there and somebody had taken them. A number of the parcels were labelled, but a number had been pillaged and the owners' names had disappeared. I could not tell to whom the properties belonged. I instituted an inquiry and went around to all the prisoners to ascertain what each had lost. I was unable to return a quantity of property because I could not find claimants amongst the prisoners in the barracks.

From information thus obtained I tried to identify the Officers, N.C.O's and Privates who had arrested or searched the prisoners in the various places to which they had been taken, and to recover missing property. I compiled a long list of lost property and had much difficulty in collecting it and in getting co-operation from senior officers. Accordingly, Colonel Frazer decided to appoint a more senior officer to deal with senior officers. Major Heathcote of the 6/7 Sherwood Foresters was appointed. He was told to take over my department and that I would work under him. It was much easier to get the information when he put "Major" after his name than it had been for me.

You inquire about Edelstein whose name is mentioned in one of the documents I gave the Bureau. There was correspondence about Edelstein in the papers of that time. He seemed to have been doing some spying.

Re Fitzpatrick - Mrs. Fitzpatrick of Duke Street, the boot maker, and her daughter came to see me because the key of their shop had been lost when her nephew, Martin, had been arrested, and the shop could not be opened. I managed to find the key, and she has always remembered me as a friend since then.

Re Eckersley - He was employed, I think, by Colonel Moore in the National Volunteers, and I believe he joined the British army after the split between Redmond and the Sinn Féin Volunteers.

I do not remember anyone named John Darcy. There were people arrested, like Claude Chevasse, who had nothing to do with the Rising. If they were wearing anything unusual, like kilts, they would be arrested.

An unfortunate woman was arrested in the vicinity of Boland's Mills because she was dressed in green. All her property was taken when she was searched, and she came to me to recover it. I forget her name.

As for George Nicolls, he came from Galway originally and had been all round the place.

My initial inquiries had been rather sketchy as there were a great many prisoners - some of whom were being transferred to England while I was taking statements from others. Later on Major Heathcote went to England; he visited all the prisoners in the different camps, took statements from them and made lists of what had been taken from them.

As regards documents and sketches dealing with the executions, that are included in my papers - Heathcote was in charge of the firing party at the executions in Kilmainham - at the execution of the first six or seven anyway. He was in charge of the firing party and he made that sketch for me. He was present at Connolly's execution. He may have been in charge of all the executions. I cannot say. I have been in touch with him from time to time after the war ended. He might write a statement. I did try to get him to write a statement. He wanted a book written and he would contribute a chapter. I don't know whether he is still alive but I could find out. He could give you first-hand information. He drew the sketch of Connolly himself.

As to whether Connolly was heavily drugged - Heathcote told me he was probably drugged and was almost dead. He was not able to sit upright in the chair on which he was placed and, when they shot him, the whole back of the chair was blown out. I could not say if

there was a priest with Connolly.

Re page III of document among my papers - that is my drawing.

As for the disposal of the bodies - Major Heathcote never said anything about that. I should not think they were confined. They were buried in quicklime as a rule. They were certainly shot in Kilmainham. I did not know they were brought from Richmond Barracks. I remember Heathcote saying that Connolly was brought in from the Castle. Mrs. Plunkett would know where her husband had been held prisoner.

As to your statement that there was a "frightful lot of blood after Pearse's execution" - I did not hear anything about that.

The pencilled sheet of that document is mine. That is what I wrote down as Major Heathcote said it to me. I either wrote it down as he said it, or immediately afterwards. That last page in pencil is also mine.

You enquire about the plan of the yard at Kilmainham. I did not put anything on that plan. That doesn't look like my drawing. I think Heathcote did that.

As regards the plan in ink showing the execution of Connolly - They brought out a chair for Connolly because he was unable to stand. They brought him in an ambulance and from that on a stretcher to the chair. I think from the sketch, they just laid him in the chair. They shot him through the chest and blew the back out of the chair. I gathered from Heathcote that he was quite unconscious. He was a dying man.

Re document marked III in ink, I drew it and the document in pencil. I think Heathcote drew the pencilled plan. I don't remember drawing it. I don't know the location of the yard in Kilmainham.

I did not see any of the prisoners being brought to execution, no. They were all shot before I even got to Richmond Barracks. I saw some prisoners courtmartialled. I saw Seán MacEntee courtmartialled. It must have been about the middle of May. I was present. Lord Cheylesmore presided at the courtmartial. I don't know whether Seán had a lawyer or not, but I know that it was a terrible ordeal for him. I was sitting in the audience and he was sitting with two other prisoners. I don't know who they were. I think they were arrested at Ashbourne. Seán was sitting in the centre of the three prisoners, and the presiding officer, Lord Cheylesmore, was sitting right in front of him. An officer - I think he was a Scots Guard - was called to give evidence and was asked, "Can you recognise any of your attackers?". He looked round and pointed to Seán MacEntee and said, "I recognise him". I thought it was going to be very hot for Seán MacEntee, but he did not turn a hair. This officer giving evidence had been shot in the arm. He was, I think, a Captain of the Scots Guards. But Seán, I am sure, would have vivid memories of him.

You ask whether before the executions the leaders were allowed a lawyer at their trial - No, I don't know anything about that, or whether they spoke at their defence. Nor do I know who presided at their courtmartials.

Re Blackadder - No, I don't remember him. I did not hear that he resigned his commission in the army. He

would not be allowed to resign until much later. He could not resign while the war was on.

In regard to the document showing George Nicoll's itinerary and the R.I.C., some of the R.I.C. were very thorough and some of them were not.

As to how long this work of collecting prisoners' effects occupied my time, I should say I remained in the army until June, 1918, and I was all the time on this work. When the 10th Dublins went to France, the Assistant Adjutant General in Headquarters, Parkgate Street, refused to permit me to go with them and I was transferred to the 11th Battalion in order that I could complete the task I had been set. I believe that Major Heathcote remained on this work until 1919. I left before he did, because I was taken out of the army at the request of T.P. Gill, Secretary, Department of Agriculture. There came a time when the provision of food was as important as fighting. The English decided to take out of the army the principal leaders of farming in all districts, and T.P. Gill was asked whether there were any persons in the army whom he would like to get back into agriculture. I was one of those he named and I was given my release.

Yes, the notebook belonging to Lieutenant Healing of the 2nd Company, 7th Sherwood Foresters, includes an account of the dead found in Moore Street by the military, The O'Reilly (O'Rahilly) being one of them.

I have no further knowledge about that incident.

Re receipt from Terence MacSwiney - I don't remember seeing him as a prisoner in Richmond Barracks. The receipt was amongst the papers I took over.

I was released from the army and went home in May, 1918. My discharge did not come through for some weeks, probably not before the end of June. I went on farming. I tried to do the best I could for the purpose for which I was released from the army and to show that it was worth while. I had been very friendly with some of the prisoners before I joined the army and had made friends with many others while in it. In 1914 I had been acting for a time as Secretary to Colonel Moore, Inspector General of the National Volunteers, and met many whom I subsequently met as prisoners. I was a member of the National Volunteers. I worked in the office only and did not drill or parade. I managed the office for Colonel Moore. I knew Count Plunkett, Bulmer Hobson, The O'Rahilly, Eoin MacNeill and quite of number of other Volunteer leaders.

You must already know the story of Colonel Moore, Colonel Cotter and Lord Hempill. I was in the office when the split in the Volunteers took place. There was divergence of policy. Redmond wanted to support the war and, of course, Colonel Moore did too, but the Sinn Féin leaders wanted a more nationalistic programme. So great was the divergence of opinion that the two parties split, and subsequently occupied different offices. Colonel Moore's office was in South Frederick Street. The Sinn Féin office was in Kildare Street; Bulmer Hobson was in charge of that office.

Eoin MacNeill continued to occupy a room in the office in South Frederick Street after the split. I don't know how that was. He had a room in the office which had been furnished for him by Mrs. J.R. Green(?). He was not there very often. The office was taken by Colonel Moore, and John MacNeill had a room in it even after the Irish

Volunteers took offices in Kildare Street. That was up to the time when I left. Dermot Coffey took over from me in the National Volunteers offices.

In June, 1914, John Redmond took control of the Volunteers. I was not present at any discussions, although I was there at the time he took over. It is a long time to remember dates accurately. Immediately prior to the outbreak of the war - 4th August - Erskine Childers was acting as Colonel Moore's Secretary. Erskine Childers was a first cousin of mine. His mother was my aunt - a sister of my father. When Childers joined the navy, I took over from him. It was very shortly after the war broke out. I carried on until September, after the Sinn Féin Volunteers had broken off from the National Volunteers. I may have stayed on for about two months after the division. At that time it appeared to me that the National Volunteers were rather a futile body and that I was not doing anything of much use. So I went home to Annamoe after handing over to Coffey. It was in October, 1915, that I joined the British Army and went to train as an officer.

As regards the leaflet among my papers, on which is written in pencil by a lady, "What would your father, Charles William Barton, say about you!" - I don't know what that would be. The insinuation is that my father would turn in his grave. My father was a loyal supporter of the British administration here. He and Parnell were great friends but, when Parnell joined the national Party, he never spoke to him again. I expect that is what the lady meant.

As to the safe keeping of documents - I had hiding places for them. My house was subjected to many raids

but I managed to save the papers. They were pretty well hidden in all kinds of places.

As to how I came to be elected to Dáil Éireann, I suppose people came to me and asked me whether I would stand as a candidate. Wicklow had no Sinn Féin candidate at the time. Someone had to be found. Of course, I may have been suggested by someone like Darrell Figgis, whom I had known quite well as a prisoner. Someone must have suggested that I would be a suitable candidate if I would stand for West Wicklow. My name was put up to the various Cumainn, or probably to the leaders in Dublin, because it was my business to form the Cumainn. They responded. The O'Mahony was my Nationalist opponent. He should have been a formidable opponent, but he was not very active. I think he might have been related to Arthur Vickers. The O'Mahony had land in Kerry as well as in Wicklow. He was an internationalist. He was very much interested in Bulgaria and he promoted hospitals for Bulgarians. He was a landlord. I had but four tenants and was not in the same category. I had no difficulty in winning the election and I think I got two-thirds of the votes. We had a very good organisation, devised by Bob Brennan. I remember his being arrested, and I remember James O'Mara taking over at some stage. Bob Brennan was responsible for the efficient working of the election machinery in each constituency. O'Mara took over from him. Bob Brennan laid down the lines for our general instruction and left us to carry them out; we had to report progress to him periodically. Most of the posters we designed and had printed ourselves. I don't think we bothered much about the dead votes. All our business was to bring in the

living and we succeeded very well. Polling day was 14th December, 1918.

This is how I came to be arrested. After the election we had two meetings. One meeting was in Shillelagh. I had held a meeting in Aughrim before the election at which Tom Fleming, my election agent, distributed a leaflet showing a prisoner being executed, and that led to Tom Fleming's arrest. Tom Fleming went to Mountjoy and wrote to me, asking me to hold protest meetings in Shillelagh, where he lived, which might have the effect of getting him released, and to threaten to stop all hunting. I advertised the meeting in Shillelagh. It was proclaimed. At this meeting I made the rather foolish threat that, if anything happened to Tom Fleming and Patrick Etchingham, who was also arrested, we would take reprisals against Lord French and Frank Brooke. Frank Brooke was an agent to Lord Fitzwilliam who was a landlord in Shillelagh district. I held these two meetings at which Father Sweetman presided, one in Shillelagh and one in Carnew. They were proclaimed, and the District Inspector - I forget his name now - told me that I would hold them at my peril. We held them, and the result was that R.I.C. constables and sergeants took notes of what we said.

Incidentally, I'll tell you something you have missed in your chronology. You have no reference to the fact that a delegation was sent over to London to try to get into touch with President Wilson in London in January, 1919. The delegation was appointed either by the 1st Dáil or by its executive. The delegation was appointed to try to get in touch with President Wilson to secure representation for Ireland at the Peace Conference. The

delegates appointed were Michael Collins, Seán T. O'Kelly, George Gavan Duffy and myself. We went over to London and tried to get in touch with Wilson. We never got any nearer to him than a Second Secretary in the American Embassy. We had no success at all. You should query the President about this delegation. I am sure he will remember it. I see no reference to it in D. Macardle's "The Irish Republic". We met several times at the house of Llewellyn Davies in Camden Hill. His wife was a daughter of Charles O'Connor, at one time Nationalist M.P. for West Wicklow, and was a close friend of George Gavan Duffy and Michael Collins.

I remember Seán T. and I went to Manchester to interview Scott, the editor of 'The Manchester Guardian'. He was a very fine man, quite a broad-minded man, who listened to our case. I suppose he was an Englishman. He was not an Irishman anyway. He might have been a Scot.

We did not meet with any success and we came back from quite a futile mission. We never got near Wilson. He was in London on his way to Paris for the Peace Conference.

After returning, I was asked to preside at a meeting in the Mansion House called to promote Consumers' co-operative stores. This was something outside Dáil Éireann. It was an ordinary co-operative meeting. Sir Henry Grattan Bellew was in the chair. It was quite a good meeting. At its conclusion I walked out of the Mansion House. I was immediately surrounded by four detectives who told me they were arresting me. They hustled me into a horse cab and drove off.

I was arrested on the 21st February, 1919, and was in Mountjoy until I escaped on the night of the 16/17th March.

When I was arrested, the detectives took me to the Bridewell where I spent a night. Next day I was removed to Mountjoy. There were quite a number of political prisoners there, including three members of Dáil Éireann, Piaras Beasley, David Sears and J.J. Walsh. We four were all in the hospital. Paddy Fleming was moved up from Maryboro' while I was in Mountjoy and before I escaped.

I had made a statement at the meetings in Shillelagh and Carnew that, if I was arrested, I would escape. So it had to be done. If you are going to escape, you have got to arrange your escape from inside. It is impossible to devise one from outside. Through friendly warders I got in touch with Michael Collins. Joe Berry, a plumber warder, was one of them. I devised the means of escape. If I had a saw with which to cut one of the bars, I could get out of my cell, they could throw over a rope ladder and I could climb up the ladder over the wall and get away. Collins arranged that Dick Mulcahy should come to see me, acting as clerk to my solicitor, who was P.H. O'Reilly, subsequently in the Hospital Sweeps. These two came to interview me about my pending courtmartial and they brought me the tools I was asking for. While the warder was not looking, Dick Mulcahy pushed the tools towards me and I hid them in my riding breeches. I was not in prison garb. With the saw, I cut out the bar, the ladder came over the wall, I scaled it and dropped into a blanket. My rescuers were led by Rory O'Connor. Mick Collins was in a street near by waiting to congratulate me.

Here is a document showing some dates. It will clear up the confusion about my two arrests.

THOMAS FLEMING:

Distributed leaflets at my election meeting in Aughrim, Co. Wicklow, Dec. 6, 1918.

British authority considered leaflets seditious. Fleming was arrested Jan. 17, 1919.

R.C. BARTON:

Advertised by posters meetings on Fleming's behalf in Shillelagh and Carnew.

Held on Feb. 2, 1919.

Meetings were proclaimed and D.I., R.I.C., so informed me previously.

Arrested Feb. 21, 1919, outside Mansion House.

Held in Mountjoy.

Escaped night of 16/17 March, 1919.

Re-arrested 4 a.m., Jan. 31st, 1920.

Tried by courtmartial 10.30, Thursday, Feb. 12, in Ship St. Barracks.

Moved to Portland Convict Prison, Dorsetshire, England, Feb.15, 1920.

Joseph Berry,
Goldsmith Terrace,
N.C.R.,
Dublin.

I was re-arrested at 4 a.m., January 31st, 1920, and was tried by courtmartial on February 12th, 1920, at Ship Street Barracks, and removed to Portland, Dorsetshire, about four days later. I spent fifteen months in Portland Convict Prison and two months in Portsmouth Prison. I was removed from Portland after a strike, of which I was the leader. It wasn't a hunger strike but a general strike for treatment as political prisoners. I was removed to Portsmouth and was there for roughly two months. I was released when the peace movement was being promoted by Lloyd George. That was the first peace movement. I think it was in June, 1921 - the time de Valera went to London. There was no courtmartial on the first occasion I was arrested. I escaped before they had time to arrange one.

As to the leaflet with Nicolls's name on the back, which you found among my documents, it may have been amongst Nicoll's papers. I don't know how it came into my possession. It was probably among the papers I took over. I know nothing about it.

Re Seán Milroy as Director of Elections - I don't remember him in connection with elections. He might have been. The documents in the envelope, marked No. 2 in the tin box, are all election pamphlets and records issued from the Head Office at No. 6 Harcourt Street. All leaflets and typed and printed instructions were issued from Sinn Féin Headquarters. The document with R.M. Sweetman's name at the head is a list of the electoral divisions in my constituency. It show a list of the numbers of voters in each area. Mr. Sweetman was to have been my Director of Finance in West Wicklow constituency but was himself chosen

as candidate for North Wexford. We got out quite a number of leaflets on our own, mainly leaflets of topical interest. Copies of these will be found in other envelopes. There were a great many interesting and amusing features about the elections of 1918 but they were not of vital interest.

Re my escape from Mountjoy Jail - while I was sitting astride the prison wall, the rope ladder was drawn over the wall from the canal bank side. My rescuers took the rope ladder away. Probably it was used again for further rescues. I got into a car with Rory O'Connor and we drove through O'Connell Street down to Donnybrook, to the house of Batt O'Connor. I stayed with Batt and Mrs. O'Connor in Brendan Road for about three weeks. Then I went to Mrs. Ceannt at 44 Oakley Road, Rathmines, and I stayed there until I was re-arrested on the 31st January, 1920.

I was made Director of Agriculture at the second session of Dáil Éireann in the Mansion House in the beginning of April. To the best of my recollection, the title for the offices assigned to myself and to Ernest Blythe was "Director". We were not members of the Cabinet. We attended Cabinet meetings when called on. Both of us were represented in the Cabinet by Arthur Griffith, who was acting President and Minister for Home Affairs.

I was on the run. My office was in Mrs. Ceannt's house. I immediately set to work to promote the Land Bank and subsequently I had an office in the Land Bank premises in Leeson Street. Because I was on the run, it was difficult for me to get about freely. Three members of the R.I.C., who knew me by sight, were sent up to Dublin from Laragh Barracks to watch for and locate me. I employed a secretary who could act for me at some of my

interviews, go messages and obtain supplies for me. His name was John Callaghan. I think he is in the Civil Service now. I had no typist. I think that, if I particularly wanted something typed, Lily O'Brennan would have done it for me, but she was away by day in connection with her work with Cumann na mBan at the time. All my ordinary correspondence was done in duplicating books in my own handwriting. In view of the circumstances obtaining, Ministers and Directors had to devise their own means of carrying on their work.

Laurence Ginnell's motto, "The land for the people, and the cattle for the road", was popular at the time. I had considerable correspondence on that subject from many areas. Persons who were actively pushing this programme in the country were in some cases making quite drastic proposals and seeking my support. Lest the campaign should get out of hand, I promoted the Land Bank as a means of enabling landless people to get access to land by purchase and to use it.

I had barely got the Land Bank legislation through the Dáil, premises taken, staff appointed and its programme under way, when I was re-arrested. Art O'Connor was appointed Substitute Director to fill my place. The machinery was there and Art carried it on very actively. He set up a Republican Land Commission with Land Commissioners. Conor Maguire, now President of the High Court, was one of these.

James McNeill was one of the Directors of the Land Bank. The other Directors were Erskine Childers, James Douglas and Sir Henry Grattan Bellew. Lionel Smith-Gordon was Manager and Timothy Caffrey was Assistant Manager.

Caffrey died recently. Smith Gordon is alive. He is now Sir Lionel Smith Gordon and living in London. I don't think he is an Irishman. He was one of Sir Horace Plunkett's secretaries. He had considerable knowledge of co-operative organisation, and resigned from the I.A.O.S. in order to become the Manager of the Land Bank. Before he took up work in the Land Bank, he had holidays due to him and it was suggested that he should study co-operative banks abroad with a view to putting them into operation here. I sent him to Switzerland and Italy to acquire knowledge as to how the co-operative banks in those countries worked.

I remember there were two priests who were very active in promoting a co-operative society to take over the Kilcumney estate in Carlow which was purchased by the Land Bank. The framework was that a committee should take over the land, hold and work it as a co-operative society. How these societies worked out in practice, I don't know but I don't think they proved very successful. I was arrested and removed from the country before they got properly working. I think they broke down for economic reasons. Nothing of outstanding interest was achieved, but they demonstrated that the Republican Government was actively at work and they served a good propaganda purpose. As the basis of a permanent organisation, the idea was not successful. Before the Treaty there were a number of estates purchased and held by these committees but, as I say, I was not in touch with them. The Bank also performed the normal functions of a banking concern, accepted deposits, kept customers' accounts, etc., etc.

The Land Bank had one point which should be emphasised. Government departments of the 1st Dáil had

precarious existences. The Land Bank was framed and registered under British laws. Its objective and activities were entirely legal. It was therefore difficult for the British to find justification for its suppression. I found it very difficult for my staff in the Bank to perform normal banking functions without admission to the bankers' clearing house. I sought the assistance of Michael Collins to bring pressure to bear on the Banks Standing Committee to admit our bank to privileges enjoyed by others. Collins, exasperated by repeated refusals, at length sent a messenger to advise the members of the Standing Committee that, unless the Land Bank was afforded full clearing house facilities, its members would be regarded as being in the same category as the Black and Tans. The Land Bank was immediately admitted to full membership.

After Saorstát Éireann was set up, the Land Bank was, by arrangement with that Government, bought up by the Bank of Ireland, all its societies were liquidated. The land was handed over to the Land Commission for distribution. One of the people who could tell you quite a lot about these societies is Albert Scully. He was one of the organisers we appointed. He is living in Cork. He was taken over by the Land Commission. His address is Crown Park Villa, Montenotte, Cork. He acts now as an independent valuer.

You will find fuller details relating to the Land Bank amongst the papers I have handed over to you. These also include all the records of the working of the Dáil Department of Agriculture during the period I was at liberty. Probably Mr. O'Callaghan would be able to give information about the period I was in prison.

By consent of the Cabinet, I promoted a Forestry Section of the Department of Agriculture. We held an Arbour Day on the 1st November, 1919, but here again, because of being on the run, it was very difficult for me to hold meetings or to purchase trees and arrange their distribution myself, and I obtained sanction for the appointment of Alderman Cole as Director of Forestry. I don't know that he had any extensive knowledge of Forestry. He was a good administrator rather than an expert in Forestry. I think he acted without payment. As far as I remember, we were all acting without payment except for out-of-pocket expenses. I don't remember that any Minister or Director got a salary but I cannot be definite about this. As far as I can remember, I did not get any salary. I got money for Forestry purposes. We purchased trees in Scotland and distributed them. We planted a considerable number. Every Sinn Féin Cumann was encouraged to plant at least sixteen in memory of the executed leaders. We sent the trees to the Cumainn and I think they paid something for them. As far as I remember, we purchased the trees in bulk and they subscribed whatever they could. They were all forest trees, no fruit.

The Sinn Féin organisation was a separate organisation from the Government of Dáil Éireann. It had its own office. It was the political organisation of the Republican party and functioned as such. We were a governmental department. Sinn Féin probably sent directions to the Cumainn encouraging them to co-operate in this effort of reforestation. I don't remember the details of how the two bodies co-operated. I think Cole dealt directly with the Cumainn. I think he was also a member of the Sinn Féin Executive. He was a great personal friend of

Arthur Griffith and it was Griffith who suggested to me that Cole was a suitable person to act as Forestry Director.

I was present at a number of Cabinet meetings. We held some in Miss Patricia Hoey's premises in Mespil Road. Michael Collins was using her premises as one of his offices. In it he passed under the name of "Mr. O'Brien". We also held meetings in the house of a lady in Fitzwilliam Street - Mrs. McGarry. I don't remember the number.

We had held a Cabinet meeting in Mrs. McGarry's on the night on which I was rearrested. The meeting was in progress when Joe O'Reilly, who acted as runner to Mick Collins and was subsequently promoted Colonel, entered the room and handed a note to Michael Collins. Michael Collins read it and then went out of the room for a few minutes. He returned and, when the meeting had concluded, he told us that there was a big round-up preparing in Dublin Castle and that a number of arrests were to be made that night. He asked me to warn Bob Brennan, Patsy Etchingam, Joe McDonagh and Dick Mulcahy that their houses were to be raided that night and that they had better find alternative lodgings. I asked him whether my house, that is, Mrs. Ceannt's, was on the list and he said, "No". He suggested that I had better take the Cabinet minute-book back with me. So I took the Cabinet minute-book back with me and hid it in Mrs. Ceannt's. I cycled round to the persons whom Collins had designated, and warned them that they were to be arrested and had better leave their lodgings. They did so and none of them was arrested. My arrest that night was accidental. I was living in No. 44. Dick Mulcahy and his wife were living in Cullenswood House, which is No. 4 in the same street. When the military came to arrest Dick

Mulcahy, they could not find No. 4, because there was no number on the gate, merely "Cullenswood House". Unable to find No. 4, the raiding party searched Oakley Road up and down. By bad luck, one of the fours of No. 44 had fallen off the fanlight, so the military raided No. 44 under the impression that it might be No. 4, and of course I was there. That is how I came to be rearrested.

I think Michael Collins told me, after the Cabinet meeting I have just referred to, that the information about the raiding party had come to him through Knightley, a reporter. Knightley got the information from Broy and gave it to Joe O'Reilly who brought it to Michael Collins. That was the last Cabinet meeting I attended as Director of Agriculture.

I remember one of the Cabinet meetings at which Arthur Griffith presided which was held in Miss Hoey's premises. (This was the night after Austin Stack had escaped - 26th October, 1919 - from Strangeways Prison.) I fix the date because there was some discussion at the Cabinet meeting about our lack of legal advice and Michael Collins said, "Well, we'll be all right now because Austin can act as Attorney General!". At this Cabinet meeting the question arose as to whether we should resist arrest or not, and whether Cabinet Ministers should be escorted by Volunteers. Arthur Griffith objected to having an escort of Volunteers to protect him on his way home and stated his belief in passive resistance rather than military force. Cathal Brugha said to him, "Well, Mr. Griffith, if you are arrested, I shall have to take your place, and my views with regard to physical force are very different from yours". As a result, Griffith submitted to having an escort to see him home. Nobody else had an escort.

Escorts for those "on the run" would not be advisable. I remember the Countess Markievicz was at the meeting. She was cleverly disguised as an attractive young girl.

All three American Delegates were present at a full session of Dáil Éireann held for their reception in the Mansion House. The public were admitted. The three Delegates addressed the Dáil. Collins, J.J. Walsh, Padraig Ó Máille and myself were all on the run but we attended the meeting. As previously arranged, Collins and I arrived at the back door of the Mansion House in Schoolhouse Lane. We came on bicycles. O'Maille came to the same door in a cab. We arrived half an hour before detectives took up stations. Collins had full knowledge of all their instructions. We were the only T.D's who were on the run. I think de Valera was there. This was a special meeting of the Dáil to receive these delegates and hear their address. Diarmuid O'Hegarty called the roll and there was some preliminary business conducted. The delegates made both eloquent and flamboyant speeches.

I can remember one meeting at which the floating of the Republican Loan was discussed. It was held in the Oakroom at the Mansion House. Michael Collins adumbrated proposals and received formal sanction.

I can't say I remember any discussion about de Valera going to America. Probably this was decided at a Cabinet Meeting at which I was not present, but I do remember Collins telling me that he was going.

I can't remember in what circumstances Desmond Fitzgerald was appointed Director of Propaganda, or why Larry Ginnell did not continue in that office. He may have relinquished the post because of ill health - he was

in very poor health - or he may have been arrested.

As far as I remember, de Valera went to America to co-ordinate all the Irish interests in that country, to weld them into one organisation and promote the Loan. The authority to float the National Loan was given to Michael Collins by Dáil Éireann; it then devolved upon him to perfect the collection machinery. In Ireland the Sinn Féin Cumainn formed the framework of the collection machinery. Receipts were issued by the Department of Finance with Collins's signature. In all the Departments of Government the machinery to make them effective had to be devised and operated by the Minister responsible.

I was not a member of the Cabinet as of right, I believe I attended nearly all its meetings during the periods I was free. I was on very friendly terms with Michael Collins and we used to see one another almost every evening. Collins had an office under Cullenswood House, which was known to us as the "Republican Hut". Here he was relatively safe, and Tom Cullen and Joe O'Reilly could always find him at 9 p.m. and bring persons he wanted to see. Cullenswood House was in the street where I was living and, if I did not turn up, he often sent down for me. I used to hear from him all that was going on. We discussed things in general and he used to urge me to join cabinet meetings to support his point of view.

Diarmuid O'Hegarty was Secretary to the Cabinet. He was a very efficient secretary. I don't remember anybody else assisting him in 1919 but at some date Colm Ó Murchadha joined him.

As regards disagreement between members of the Cabinet, up to the time of my arrest there was no personal

disagreement; on the contrary, we were all on the most friendly terms. When I returned to Ireland after being released from Portsmouth, I found there was internal dissension which had not existed when I was arrested. I returned in June, 1921. We had several Cabinet meetings to decide whether de Valera should go to London, who should accompany him and what would be the programme. Dissension in the Cabinet developed while I was in gaol. Previously we had been a very happy family. When I returned, I found personal animosity between members of the Cabinet; this very much disturbed me. There were differences of opinion between Cathal Brugha, Austin Stack and de Valera on one side, and Michael Collins and Dick Mulcahy on the other. Ministers were not co-operating in the way they had before. There was never an open rupture, so far as I remember. I think Cathal Brugha felt that Michael Collins was getting too much control of the Army. Brugha was Minister of Defence, and Dick Mulcahy was Chief of Staff. Cathal Brugha, I think, felt that Michael Collins's duties as Director of Intelligence were being stretched so as to undermine Brugha's control of the Army. I think that possibly was one cause. There was not the close harmony between Michael Collins and Cathal Brugha that there had been before I was arrested. I do not remember any open friction between Austin Stack and Mick Collins at these meetings.

There was a long Cabinet meeting after I was released, at which Dick Mulcahy resigned, or tried to resign his post as Chief of Staff. I don't remember his reasons for resignation, but we spent three hours in the Lord Mayor's drawingroom trying to persuade him not to resign, and de Valera exercised extraordinary tact in trying to

induce him to remain in office and eventually succeeded. I don't remember what Mulcahy's reasons were, but there was hostility between him and Collins on one side and Cathal Brugha and Stack on the other side. The discussion lasted for several hours. Liam Cosgrave became exhausted and went to sleep by the fire.

When I was a prisoner in Mountjoy, I could always get in touch with Michael Collins through Joe Berry or some other sympathetic warder, but in Portland I was altogether out of touch. It was not until I was put into the silence cell in Portland about March, 1920, that I succeeded in getting an unofficial letter out of gaol to Mick Collins. I wrote a letter while I was in the silence cell with a piece of lead out of a pencil which I had retained - a tiny piece of lead which I had concealed in a seam of my coat. I used a piece of paper torn out of the back of a Bible and pushed it under the door to a warder, who was related to the gardener of an aunt of mine living in Hampshire. That letter got through to Michael Collins and was the only letter I was able to get out in the fifteen months I was in Portland. Officially, of course, I was permitted to write at stated intervals to my family.

I was not ill-treated in Portland. On the contrary, I was well treated provided I submitted to the prison rules. The only real discomfort suffered was caused by lack of sleep. A strong light was flashed into my cell at frequent intervals to make certain that I was there. If I did not move, the warder unlocked the cell door and came in. The food was ordinary prison food. It was quite satisfactory. I decided to call a strike for treatment as political prisoners. We failed to get it. I led the strike and was removed to Portsmouth. This was a local prison for

persons serving short terms, and there I was able to get letters out through the Catholic Curate who was very sympathetic to our cause. I had all arrangements made for my escape for the Thursday of the week following that on which I was released. Rory O'Connor had been sent over to carry out my plan of escape. He had gone over the ground and approved the plans I had sent out. He, with others, would have rescued me had I not been released.

My plan for escape was as follows: A warder, who always carried the master-key with him, came into the gaol every morning at seven o'clock to relieve the warder on night duty. His first duty was to go to the kitchen and put the porridge on to heat for our breakfast. My programme was that Rory O'Connor and his friends should scale the outside wall of the gaol on the railway side, hide themselves and, when the warder went into the kitchen, they should follow him and put a bag over his head. They would then relieve him of the master-key with which they would unlock my cell door. They would provide me with a suit of civilian clothes and we would escape by the same means by which Rory had obtained entry. Rory had two or three people with him. They had been staying in London and Southampton, surveyed the grounds outside Portsmouth gaol and satisfied themselves that the plan could be carried out successfully. However, it was not necessary to bring it off. I am not sure who Rory's associates were; they may have been members of the I.R.A. in London. After escaping, we were to stay a night or two with sympathisers in Southampton before making the trip back to Ireland.

I knew Rory O'Connor quite well. I imagine he was very friendly with Michael Collins up to "the Treaty". Michael Collins appointed him to take charge of my escape

from Mountjoy and again from Portland. Collins must have placed confidence in Rory.

I had a very high estimate of Mick Collins' ability. He was an indefatigable worker and a most efficient administrator. We were on very friendly terms.

Yes, I knew that a new British destroyer is named after Erskine Childers. Mrs. Childers told me so. She is staying with us at present. Mrs. Childers tells me too that an interesting book has been published recently, named 'Opportunity Knocks Once', by Sir Campbell Stuart, that Sir Campbell is still living and that he states that he visited Connolly in hospital and was on friendly terms with him. She also states that Colonel Moore left diaries covering the period before and after the Rising and that his son owns the MSS. Excerpts have been published in the 'Irish Press'. There had been a Childers frigate since Nelson's time. It would have been long before the time of Hugh Childers who was British Chancellor of the Exchequer. There were some persons of the name who won fame for the family before he did.

As far as the Treaty negotiations are concerned, I would rather not deal with this episode, but will listen to what you desire to learn and answer any inquiries you make as well as I can. Any information I possess I gave to the writer of the book, "Peace By Ordeal", Lord Pakenham.

You probably have detailed information about the first Peace Delegation that went in July, 1921, to London, convened in order that Mr. Lloyd George could have conversations with President de Valera. I was one of

those who accompanied the President. Conversations were confined to De Valera and Lloyd George. The delegation consisted of President de Valera and some members whom he brought over for consultations - members of the Dáil and Cabinet. Count Plunkett was one. But you will find detailed information in the documents of the time and the Press. The whole story is told in Miss McArdle's book in much better detail than I could give now. It is a very large volume but, for the most part, I think it is accurate and well documented. The London visit was not of long duration. I don't remember how long. My memory would be that it was only a few days. De Valera's attitude would be that there was no point continuing discussions with Lloyd George. They had come to an impasse. I was not present at any of the discussions. They were confined to de Valera and Lloyd George. As the terms offered by Lloyd George were unacceptable, President de Valera came back to Dublin and we all came back with him. He explained the terms offered by Lloyd George before the second Dáil which supported Mr. de Valera in rejecting them.

I don't remember the sequence of subsequent events in clear chronological order.

There was the visit of General Smuts which was, I think, the next big incident. He came over to learn whether he could re-open negotiations between de Valera and Lloyd George. I was not present at this meeting and only know what was published at the time and what was told at the time by de Valera who interviewed him himself. I think Dr. Gogarty was asked to meet General Smuts at Kingstown, but there was some misunderstanding on the

boat, or the pier. The General was travelling incognito and officials refused to admit his presence. Eventually he made his own way to the Shelbourne Hotel and succeeded in getting into touch with the President. De Valera did not go to the pier. I don't remember being present at any meeting with Smuts at that time. Anything that I know has been made public since. He was here only a couple of days. He was not present at any meetings of the Cabinet or Dáil.

I carried on with my Department - got back into harness in the Department of Agriculture. Wasn't there a general election? Perhaps it was before I was released. I was made Minister for Economic Affairs about this time. Art O'Connor took over when I was transported to England and he was acting as Minister of Agriculture all the time while I was in jail and, when I was released, my memory is that I was made Minister for Economic Affairs, and Art continued with Agriculture. Agriculture, Commerce and Labour were under me as Minister for Economic Affairs. Ernest Blythe was appointed Minister for Trade and Commerce, Agriculture, - Art O'Connor, and I think that Labour was under Madam Markievicz. These Ministers or Directors de Valera thought should be better co-ordinated in this manner.

I don't think that at that time we were planning for further negotiations with the British Government; the initiative had to come from them.

Many letters passed between President de Valera and Mr. Lloyd George before the final invitation arrived for a visit to London by Irish Delegates to explore avenues to a peaceful settlement. Some, if not all of these

letters were transmitted on the Irish side through the hands of responsible persons. Harry Boland took one of them over; others may also have participated. Two were entrusted to me. The first I delivered to Austen Chamberlain I think it was in his room at the House of Commons. He received me coldly but politely, and promised to deliver the letter to the Prime Minister and to reply through his Government's official channels.

On the second occasion Lloyd George was on holiday in Gairloch, Invernessshire. The Cabinet considered that, because of the ill feeling in Great Britain towards Sinn Féin, it was inadvisable that I should travel alone, and Joseph McGrath was detailed to accompany me. Jack O'Sheehan met us in Inverness and accompanied me when I presented our missive to Lloyd George who was holding some sort of conference in, I think, the Town Hall, Inverness. Lloyd George informed me that it might be a couple of days before his reply was ready and that I could please myself as to whether I waited for it or not, he was returning to Gairloch. I went to Gairloch with Joe McGrath and there met Lord Riddal, proprietor of 'The News of the World', who was not only a personal friend of Lloyd George but also his principal disseminator of week-end news. After two or three days, the reply was handed to me by Lloyd George and I returned with it to Dublin.

I appointed Patrick McGilligan as Secretary of the Department of Economic Affairs and he was responsible for the control of the administration and was, of course, more or less in charge when I went to London. He acted as my deputy in an informal way while I was at the Peace Delegation in the Autumn of 1921 - we corresponded frequently.

I took over with me to London, as advisers, Smith Gordon and Professor Smiddy. That was on the second delegation. Nobody went on the first one except the persons I told you. Arthur Griffith was a member of the first delegation with de Valera. De Valera did not go on the second delegation. Count Plunkett and Desmond Fitzgerald were also members of the first delegation; I don't remember whether Childers was one or not - I could not be sure without reference to papers. He certainly was on the second.

We did not stay then with Mr. and Mrs. L. Davies. It was the first time I went to London in January, 1919, when we went to see President Wilson with a view to getting into the Peace Conference, that we held conferences with her and her husband.

As regards the final Peace Delegation, there was all that long preliminary correspondence between de Valera and Lloyd George when they were both jockeying for position. That took weeks. There was a telegram from the Pope and there were constant letters passing to London.

I don't remember anything of interest in the Dáil between the two delegations. There may have been. Anything that did transpire was of interest, but I don't remember anything in particular.

As for any discussion in the Dáil on collecting arms for a continuation of the fight, that was a rather sub rosa business all the time and was carried on by Michael Collins and Cathal Brugha outside the Dáil. It was not a fixed plan of the Cabinet, as far as I remember, to take advantage of the Truce period to rearm.

No, I don't think there was any open discussions in the Dáil on that matter.

The disagreement between Griffith and Childers, which is referred to in 'Peace By Ordeal', did not develop until there was a divergence of opinion in the delegation itself. I had not noticed it before. I think all relations were quite formal, if not cordial, up to that.

Re Hans Place, Joe McGrath and Dan MacCarthy were sent over to London by the Cabinet to rent a suitable house and they were responsible for finding that house in Hans Place and fitting it up, and for the collection of staff. Austin Stack assisted them in finding a housekeeper, waiter and domestic staff. We brought over our own waiters and our own staff of domestics as a safeguard against espionage. Michael Collins took the other house - Grosvenor House - for himself and the I.R.A., or the I.R.B., or some members of both, for their own accommodation.

Meetings of the Delegation were held in Hans Place, but Collins carried on his functions as Director of Intelligence in Grosvenor House in Cadogan Gardens. He and Dermot O'Hegarty were there and Emmet Dalton, Tom Cullen, Broy and a number of others. Collins took all these over himself, partly by way of protection and partly by way of keeping in touch with things at home. They were passing backwards and forwards with information all the time. Remember, you could not trust even the postman, the King's messenger.

Regarding the signing of the Treaty, I have very

little to add to the information in Lord Pakenham's book. The only member of the Delegation who signed the Articles of Agreement in Downing Street were Griffith, Collins and myself. Duggan and Gavan Duffy were not present at the last conference at which the Articles of Agreement were signed by us three.

After they had been signed, we went back to Hans Place, and Griffith and Collins decided that the Articles, as signed, must be transmitted immediately to de Valera. It was agreed that Duggan should take the earliest possible transport to Dublin with the document. The original of the Articles of Agreement had not reached Hans Place when Duggan left. The original document was brought to Hans Place next morning to be signed by Duggan and Gavan Duffy, but Duggan had already left for Dublin. Somebody suggested - I don't know who it was - that the best thing to be done was to cut Duggan's signature from some other document. His signature was cut from a menu card and pasted on to the original document and, if you look at a reproduction which appeared in the press the following day, you will see that Duggan's signature stands out clearly as having been pasted on.

I drew a plan for Frank Pakenham of the seating at the Downing Street Conference table. The Irish delegates were on one side and, on the other side, were Sir Hamar Greenwood, Sir L. Worthington Evans, D. Lloyd George, Austen Chamberlain, Lord Birkenhead, Winston Churchill and Sir Gordon Hewart.

At the last meeting - the one at which the document was signed - there were present all the time Austen Chamberlain, Lloyd George and Birkenhead only, but

other Ministers came in from time to time. On our side there were Collins, Griffith and myself. Gavan Duffy and Duggan remained in Hans Place. There were three British and three Irish representatives. The last meeting before that meeting consisted of Griffith, myself and Gavan Duffy. At it a definite rupture took place. Collins and Duggan refused to go, but Collins subsequently had a personal meeting with Birkenhead.

I think that a partial resumé of the discussion which took place in Hans Place prior to the penultimate Conference is related in 'Peace By Ordeal'. There was a difference of opinion between us as to what the British would agree to, and Collins objected to our going back again with proposals which he claimed the British had already turned down. Gavan Duffy and I thought more could be gained if we pressed further. Griffith agreed to accompany us, but Collins refused. Duggan also refused. Whatever Collins decided, Duggan always agreed with. Failure was foredoomed. To succeed, our case would have to have been pressed with vigour by all five of us.

Gavan Duffy was not present at the signing of the Articles of Agreement. I think the reason for his absence must have been that there were to be three British representatives and the same number of Irish representatives. Churchill was present part of the time. Certainly Lloyd George, Austen Chamberlain and Birkenhead were there. I remember Churchill going out. Gavan Duffy and Duggan were not present at that signing. Gavan Duffy signed the document when it came around next morning, but Duggan had gone to Ireland. Duggan may have signed another copy here in Dublin, but he did not sign the original while in London.

Soon after the private meetings took the place of Delegation Conferences, Gavan Duffy and I had cause for apprehension that our case was not being sufficiently pressed. We felt this so strongly that we decided that one of us must go back to Dublin to inform and consult the Cabinet. Gavan Duffy came over. It may have been as much as two weeks before the last Conference. The date can be found in 'Peace By Ordeal'.

Gavan Duffy crossed to Dublin to acquaint the Cabinet of the fact that he and I thought that too much was being given away. He put our case, I suppose, as well as he could, and he got little or no satisfaction. I don't remember how it was expressed but, at any rate, Gavan Duffy came back from Ireland with the information that he had got very little support for our contention.

There was a suggestion that de Valera should go over to London, but that was later than Gavan Duffy's visit. De Valera can give you his account of that better than I can, but my memory of it is that I pressed de Valera to return with us to London on the score that it would be impossible for us to get the maximum terms without his being present and that it was unfair to expect us to get the best terms without his assistance. He was, however, unwilling to move from the decision which he had made earlier that he would stay here as being the last defence. If negotiations should break down when he was with us, that would be the end, but, if they broke down without him, there was always a last recourse to him. It was good tactics. I remember him particularly referring to the fact that he represented a reserve in the battle which could be thrown in when all else was lost. I entirely agreed with the original

decision, but thought it should have been reversed by the time we reached the final stage.

It was a suggestion of Lloyd George's that Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith only should meet him in private conferences at a fairly early stage in the course of the proceedings. It was a specious argument of Lloyd George's that he was leader of a coalition Government and that many of his colleagues - some of them, at any rate - were difficult to deal with, that they held different political views from his and that a smaller delegation on his side would be likely to make better progress and, therefore, there should be a smaller delegation on our side.

Possibly Lloyd George also felt that he could make more progress with Griffith and Collins than he had made with a full delegation. That is supposition on my part. There is little in that book of Pakenham's which you cannot confirm from the documents. I am merely speculating as to why Lloyd George made this proposal of small meetings, but it would seem to be a reasonably good tactical move, and I think it was quite successful too. Once smaller delegation meetings had been agreed, then other private meetings followed when Griffith alone met Lloyd George, or Collins alone met Birkenhead. Obviously you can get a better idea of what is in another person's mind when talking privately than when talking to five. People might be more nervous of stating precise views if they were more or less publicly expressed before four or five than would be the case when two talk confidentially. I think we all thought more progress might be made in this way, and Gavan Duffy and I had not at that stage lost confidence in our colleagues!

The suggestion came from Lloyd George. I think it was proposed to us by Tom Jones, Secretary to the British Cabinet, who stressed Lloyd George's difficulties with the members of his own Coalition Government.

I think Gavan Duffy and I did at the time express some diffidence. I would have to refer back to papers to confirm. But we did not put in a direct negative.

It was not until later that Gavan Duffy, Childers and I realised that Griffith and Collins were prepared to settle for less than we thought it possible to obtain. We had trusted them fully. We had complete confidence in them up to a time. Griffith fought magnificent actions during the full conferences. We had no reason to suppose at the time that he would agree in private to anything which he had not been agreeing to with five of us present. Therefore, we had little or no reason to suspect anything. But after these private conferences - it was then we began to get suspicious, and it was then we decided that one of us must go to Dublin to acquaint the Cabinet and de Valera that we were not at all sure that the reports given us of what transpired at private conferences were comprehensive and feared that the general position was being undermined. But, when Gavan Duffy got here and expressed these views to the other members of the Cabinet in Dublin who had not had their suspicions aroused, they possibly thought we were taking an exaggerated view. It was a very human problem.

I feel sure that de Valera would agree with me that up to the time when he received information that the Treaty had been signed - up to that time - he had confidence in Griffith. I think he had, and I think he

would agree that he had. Not to the same extent with Collins, because Cathal Brugha and Stack had distrusted Collins, and Cathal Brugha and de Valera were very close; and de Valera would have had less confidence in Collins' judgment as a negotiator than he would have had in Griffith's.

I wouldn't say there was much justification for the charge that members of the staff of the Irish Delegation were having too good a time. We worked very hard. There were occasional evenings of relaxation when we went to the theatre, but I don't think there was anything to give rise to any suggestion that we were in any way dissipated. No.

There might have been a certain amount of reason for criticism in some ways but, on the whole, I should say it was a very quiet and respectable and well-behaved delegation. There were a number of people who would come in, friends in London. There was a lot of visiting by people who had not seen the leaders and wanted to see them. Also, Americans came there and they were very hospitable. I remember an important American banker invited us all to dinner at the Savoy Hotel. We could not accept as we had little spare time but, since he was an influential U.S.A. citizen and sympathetic, we did not like to refuse. As far as I remember, we all went to breakfast with him.

After the signing of the Treaty, I don't remember how we came back to Ireland; I remember coming in at Dún Laoghaire, but who was there I don't know. I think the whole of the rest of the Delegation came back on the night of the 7th, arriving here in the morning of the 8th. I think so, but I am not certain. I don't remember too accurately.

I don't think we were very friendly towards each other. I think we were a little distraught.

I think that Duggan handed a copy of the Articles of Agreement to President de Valera at the Mansion House.

As soon as we arrived in Dublin, I think we drove straight to the Mansion House. We had a Cabinet meeting at which explanations were made. Griffith and Collins explained their views. They were surprised, I think, that a suggestion had been made, by Cathal Brugha perhaps - by someone anyway - that all the Delegate members should be arrested at Dún Laoghaire on arrival, and I think de Valera negatived it. I think there was a very free expression of disagreement at the Cabinet meeting. I don't think there were any insults hurled about, not as far as I remember. I think it was a very tense meeting, with very visible efforts at restraint.

As to whether the position was considered irretrievable, the Articles of Agreement had to be referred to the Dáil. The Dáil would decide. Commitments had been entered into and had been signed by the Delegation, but they had to be confirmed by the Dáil. And that was the agreement with the British also, that they must be confirmed by both Parliaments.

President de Valera issued a manifesto on his own behalf, disagreeing with the Articles, before the Dáil met. This can be confirmed from the publications at the time.

The Dáil assembled at the University College buildings in Earlsfort Terrace. There were several meetings, covering several days. I remember the 'Independent' screaming that the talking should stop

and "the vote must be taken". There was a lot of talking. In the meantime the Articles of Agreement were in jeopardy.

Gavan Duffy voted for the Treaty after making a speech against the Treaty, but he felt bound to do so, having signed it. That was also my position. In London Gavan Duffy was in very much the same position as I was in. First of all, Collins and Griffith and Duggan were going to sign whether Gavan Duffy or I did, or not, and Lloyd George had said all five must sign, or war would follow. Gavan Duffy and I were in this position. Neither of us knew what de Valera or the Dáil would do if Collins, Griffith and Duggan signed. If we refused to sign and war was resumed immediately, the Dáil would have no option of accepting. If war was made on the country, we should have to carry the responsibility; and neither of us knew whether we would have de Valera, or anyone, behind us. We might well be asked, "Why did you commit us to war without consulting us?". Three leaders had committed themselves; that was a new situation, one never at any time considered in Dublin. In Dublin Griffith had stated to de Valera that he would not sign without referring the terms back. In London he, Collins and Duggan were determined to sign, whether we did or not. We could not tell what de Valera would do in new circumstances. You must remember that for three hours we had a most frightful battle in the delegation, among ourselves, at which the most terrific things were said to Gavan Duffy and to me by Collins and Griffith and Duggan. They called us murderers, stated that we would be hanged from lamp-posts, that we would destroy all they had fought for. The most terrible

prospect was held out by Collins and Griffith to us. Childers, as Secretary, was present during this discussion, but only principals took an active part in it.

Chartres was a sort of Assistant Secretary and Adviser on international law. He was the only person there, except Childers, who had had any experience in negotiations. It was Chartres who devised the formula under which we were to be associated with the Crown as the symbol of association. Chartres was very helpful. He was a very level-headed man, with a tactful approach to the solution of problems. He never took sides. He was not present at our last conferences in Downing Street, or in Hans Place.

Childers was active all the time, but he took no part in the final dispute. He was never referred to. I don't remember his entering into the discussions at all at that last meeting, but I was well aware that he agreed with the arguments stated by Gavan Duffy and myself. It was a dispute amongst the five delegates. I don't think Childers could have taken any active part, because I know that it was a surprise to Collins that Childers took such a very determined stand afterwards. Griffith had made Childers' position very difficult and, no doubt, he was diffident of tendering advice unless specifically asked for it. On more than one occasion Griffith had been very insulting to him.

Erskine had always been very good on paper. He drafted the memoranda in which he put up arguments for us to study. He knew what was the relationship within the Commonwealth. He knew what words meant and how far

the powers which they were offering us were curtailed in practice. He was always emphasising the difference between the law and the practice. He knew what the law appeared to mean and how differently it could work in practice. I think that Collins and Griffith felt they were in a position of inferiority to Childers. Their minds were confused because they lacked the knowledge he possessed. He had superior intelligence and knowledge. He pointed out to them that what they thought they had got, they had not necessarily got in practice because terms could be differently interpreted. On one occasion Collins complained that he was being confused by "pettifogging lawyers"; by this he meant Gavan Duffy and Childers.

The economic papers used for the negotiations in London were mainly written by Smith Gordon and Smiddy. When we were discussing trade, Smith Gordon and Smiddy would compile memoranda on what the suggestions made by the British really meant in practice. Smiddy was a Professor of Economics and he made a life study of trade relationships. He gave advice on how far we could go in compromising on complete free trade and agreement to Dominion preference and kindred subjects.

The post Treaty situation - it was all a very nebulous affair. There were very definite efforts made to jockey for position and to prevent civil war and yet save all faces. Document No. 2, which Erskine devised with de Valera, was a terrible bone of contention. Then I suppose the Pact Election was really another effort to stave off civil war without committing ourselves to anything - again jockeying.

I think all Griffith wanted was to hold the

ground he had won and to go on with the Treaty.

Collins looked upon the Treaty as being, as he said, a stepping-stone to complete independence. He believed in accepting it, working it as far as it suited us and doing what has happened since, using it as a means of getting more.

I can understand that it might be claimed now that the position having been given away by the signature of the Treaty, it would have been reasonable to accept the position as it then was and combine to get more as time went by. I think that that was probably where Griffith and Collins made their greatest mistake. They were completely caught. Griffith so often exclaimed, "Well, if the North refuses to come in, we will have a boundary commission, and they will lose half their territory, and they cannot stay out!". Over and over again he made that statement.

Of course, we had discussed the boundary position in the full conferences and the "boundary" had been described to us in very different terms from what it turned out to be. We even discussed the question of whether the option to vote territories in or out of Southern Ireland should be by the parish units rather than by rural district areas or by counties or Poor Law Unions. We agreed that islands, such as, West Belfast, would vote themselves into Southern Ireland, and we agreed that it would be administratively impossible for such an area to come into Southern Ireland. Voting in or out would have to be by contiguous areas. What happened was the very opposite, merely the rectification of a boundary line without loss of territory or option to

vote in or out. I rather imagine that Lloyd George did not intend to let Griffith and Collins down so badly, but who knows? As a negotiator he was unreliable. If the boundary clause had been clarified in the final document and if it had been stated in the boundary clause that voting for exclusion or inclusion in the Free State must be by specific areas, as agreed verbally, then it would have been impossible to throw overboard the proposed plebiscite and exclusion or inclusion of large territories.

Here is where Griffith and Collins made their biggest mistake, and at a later date they must both have recognised it. Collins got himself into that position but, I think, he pressed his interpretation of the boundary clause upon Sir James Craig when he met him in Dublin. I think Collins was at that time almost prepared to go to war; he was no partitionist - nor for that matter was Griffith.

Re Wilson's death - no, I knew nothing about Sir Henry Wilson's death, or murder, except the usual surmise.

De Valera was struggling to keep the peace. He made one effort after another to prevent civil war. His influence was just the same in his own party, but the army took matters out of his hands. They took over the Four Courts. It wasn't de Valera who took over the Four Courts.

With regard to the attack on the Four Courts, I should imagine it was done at the instigation of the British Government. That would seem to be the obvious explanation. I should imagine the English would have

said that the Provisional Government should show that they were able to govern. Why wouldn't it? Wasn't this open obstruction defiance? They could not possibly hand over to a Government under Griffith and Collins which could not keep control even of the Four Courts.

As for Wilson's death precipitating the attack, I don't know. I should have thought that it was merely a factor. It was said that Lloyd George thought - I never thought it - that Collins had something to do with it. I have no idea whether he had any cognizance of it. I would not know. I was not in Collins' confidence at the time. Our relations were completely severed after the Dáil debates. I never spoke to him again and never saw him. We spoke after we returned from London and we spoke occasionally during the debates but, once the vote had been taken, as far as I remember, I went home and took no further part.

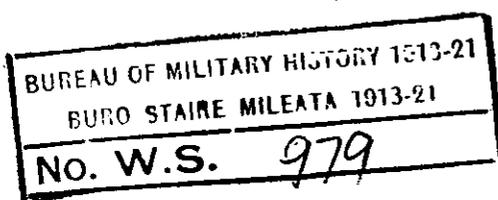
I was drawn into the Civil War. When the Civil War had started, I came in to Dublin and saw de Valera - he was in a state of distress but his sympathies were with the Republican Army, although he was not in control of it - and, as far as I remember, I joined with de Valera and Stack and Cathal Brugha, and I went down to the Hammam Hotel which they were holding. Seán T. was there too. I slept beside Seán T. Early one morning we were all instructed to leave. Everyone was told to evacuate and it was soon after that Cathal Brugha was killed. The rest of us evacuated.

I went up to 12 Bushy Park Road where Erskine and Mrs. Childers were living, and I had not been there for more than a few hours when I was captured and arrested.

They were looking for Erskine. I was having breakfast and I tried to get out of the back garden, but the place was surrounded. I was captured and taken to Portobello Barracks and kept there as a prisoner. I was not taken to Mountjoy - I was taken to Portobello Barracks.

I was taken to Portobello Barracks and I escaped from there with Joe MacDonagh and others.

I went back to Mrs. Ceannt's in Oakley Road, where I had been in 1919, and there I was more or less in touch with de Valera and the rest of the Republican members. I got notice that I was to attend a Cabinet meeting of the Republicans, and I thought that Mrs. Ceannt's would be a difficult place for me to go from to this meeting, which I think was to be in Lower Mount Street. I decided to spend the night with the Darley's in Northumberland Road. I started off on a bicycle and, on the way, I met a motor car which was being driven by a Free State soldier. I did not take much notice of the men in it, but the car followed me. It contained the driver and Colonel Joe O'Reilly who, of course, knew me well. He stopped me and arrested me and took me to Wellington Barracks, and it was from there I was sent to Mountjoy, and from Mountjoy to Hare Park on the Curragh. I was interned there until the general release.



SIGNED:

Robert C. Barton

DATE:

July 27, 1954.

(Robert C. Barton)

July 27th 1954.

WITNESS:

S. Ni Chiosain

(S. Ni Chiosain)

A P P E N D I X

List of documents presented to the Bureau
by ROBERT BARTON

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21

BURO STAIRE MILEATA 1913-21

No. W.S. 979

TIN BOX.
Envelope I.

- (a) Prisoners' effects. He was appointed O/C. Prisoners' Effects on 17th May 1916, and reported to Col. Frazer, Provost Marshal. Was attached to staff of O. i/c. Prisoners, Major C. Harold Heathcote. He took over the duties from 2nd Lt. A.M. Taylor, 2/5th Battn. Sherwood Foresters. Report (6 sheets) of the position regarding these effects on taking over includes details of sums belonging to each prisoner and a report by Lt. Louis Barron, who was in charge of Richmond Barracks when the first prisoners were brought in. (8 pages in this group of papers).
- (b) Complaint by prisoner Richard E. Hammond, 22 Malachi Road, Arbour Hill, that the money taken from him (3/-) on being brought in was not returned to him when leaving.
- (c) Letter, 31st May 1916, to O/C. Prisoners from John A. Eckerley, Captain H.Q. Staff, Irish National Volunteers, asking him to return uniform and equipment of John Young who had been arrested on 16.5.16.
- (d) Group of papers (7 sheets) dealing with claim by a prisoner, Wm. Hogan, 111 Leeson St. for the return of property value £28.
- (e) Summary of cash and property taken from prisoners detained at Portobello Barracks. (3 sheets).
- (f) Group of papers dealing with (1) Claim of John Darcy Evans for return of property, guns, rifles, etc. handed over to military (3rd Bn. R.I.R.) during rebellion, also (2) note from Lt. K. Healing to Major Heathcote, O/C. Richmond Bks. re prisoners' property. (3 sheets in all).
- (g) Group of papers (24) containing correspondence between various British officers about property taken from prisoners.
- (h) Report - 4 sheets - by Lt. R.C. Barton of the position re prisoners' effects when he took over his duties on May 17th.
- (i) Group of papers (6) dealing with sums returned or dispatched by post for various prisoners.
- (j) Papers (3) with lists of articles taken from prisoners in Portobello Barracks.
- (k) Group of papers (4) dealing with discrepancies between lists of cash taken and claims made by prisoners.
- (l) A list of 'reports completed'.
- (m) An interim report (5 sheets) on the claims for return of property taken from prisoners.

The officer states: "In my opinion the statements made by claimants are true with a few exceptions".

- (n) Groups of papers (12) dealing with sums taken from various prisoners to whom it is suggested the money should be restored.
 - (o) Two papers dealing with motor bicycle taken from Laurence Garvey of Mullogbeg.
 - (p) Papers (4) containing notes of where and by whom prisoners were arrested, with a view to tracing their effects.
 - (q) Letter from M. Noyk to O/C. Richmond Bks. asking him to interview J.M. Stanley. Couple of minutes attached regarding other prisoners' effects.
 - (r) Query re nature of illness of F. Scullin and J.O'Keefe who were sent to hospital.
 - (s) Sheet showing itinerary of George Nicolls from 23.4.16 when arrested in Galway, until 11.7.16 when he was lodged in Reading Jail.
 - (t) Complaints by J.J. Dunphy and P. Murphy re property not returned.
 - (u) Papers (9) dealing with claims by Sinn Fein Bank - William Hogan, John Molloy and John Darcy Evans.
 - (v) Papers (6) showing settlement of list of claims for return of money and effects.
 - (w) List (4 sheets) of prisoners and where sent to, for the purpose of forwarding letters.
 - (x) Further claims - 3 sheets.
 - (y) A notebook belonging to Lieut. Healing, 2/6th Sherwood Foresters who was the officer i/c. prisoners' effects before Mr. Barton took over. It has notes on the dead found in Moore St. including "The O'Reilly".
- References to arrival at the barracks of L. Raul, Countess Plunkett, John Sweetman, Michael Collins (?)
- (y)(a) Receipt book for sums sent by post to prisoners in Richmond Bks. and handed over to them by R.C.Barton, includes receipt from Terence McSwiney.
 - (z) A statement by Joseph Edelstein who was arrested during Easter Week by military for being out after curfew. He represents that he had been helping the military and had been the means "of (catching?) a few notorious Sinn Feiners".
 - (z)(a) A pamphlet: Ireland and the Empire at the Court of Conscience. A report by the Society of Friends (on the state of Ireland) extract from the Times. A typed poem on Ireland.

Envelope 2. (a) Papers dealing with the 1918 elections. Copy of instructions sent out by R. Brennan, Director of Elections. Various letters to Mr. Barton from members of W. Wicklow constituency regarding organisation, voting strength &c., good wishes before election, congratulations after.

(b) See above. Two newspaper cuttings; one by E. Childers, another by Mr. R. Barton contradicting McPherson's criticisms of the Report of the Irish-American delegates to the Peace Conference.

Envelope 3 *Some Documents of Some Historical Importance*
 (1) Certificate for one share (R.C.B.) in the National Land Bank Ltd.

(2) Safe conduct dated 11th July 1921, issued by A. Cope, Asst. Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieut. permitting R. Barton to pass unchallenged between Dublin & London.

(3) A ticket for the first meeting of the Dáil to be held in the Mansion House on 7 Jan. 1919.

(4) A letter from T.A. Smiddy dated 20.2.22, to R.C. Barton thanking him for having him sent to London in Oct. 1921, and enabling him to be connected with him (R.C.B.) in the fight he so successfully waged for full economic freedom for Ireland.

(5) A circular letter dated May 1st, 1922, issued by the Army Council at the Four Courts re the setting up of Army Land Courts and the appointment for that purpose of a Divisional O/C. for Land Administration for the dividing and administering lands to be taken over from landlords &c. R.C. Barton believes circular was drafted by P. Rutledge and doubts whether it was ever operative.

(6) Description by R.C. Barton reproduced from pencil notes made in May 1916 and taken down from the account given by Major Harold Heathcote of 2/6 Sherwood Foresters, who was O/C. Firing Party, of how the leaders of the Rising were executed at Kilmainham Gaol. Illustrated by 3 sketches (one a duplicate).

(7) A letter from W.J.B. Whitmore, Earl St. to Comdt. Pearse asking leave of absence for John Poole for 2 hours. Connolly's reply is at bottom of slip.

(8) Envelope containing (a) a letter from Mrs. S. Greene; (b) two letters (1.4.22 and 21.8.22) from Rory O'Connor to R.C. Barton (one of these seems to be censored). (c) A letter dated 7.9.1922 from Austin Stack enclosing a note of 6.9.22 from de Valera and one from de Valera to R.C. Barton re attendance at the proposed meeting of the Dáil on Saturday.

(9) A permit signed by Sean Lemass to enable R.C. Barton to enter and leave the Four Courts at all times.

Envelope 4.

Papers dealing with Sinn Fein from 1918 to 1922, include 19 copies of pamphlet "The First of the Small Nations" and a bundle of the leaflets issued at the time of McCartan's candidature for S. Armagh.

An article by Mrs. S. Green: Ireland's Title to Nationhood.

I.R.A. Pamphlet No. 1 : The Scope of Reconstruction in Ireland.

Printed agenda for Sinn Fein Ard Fheis of April 1919.

Warning to Farmers from R.C. Barton, Director of Agriculture, Dail Eireann, 76 Harcourt St..

Letter dated 13.9.1919 signed by T. Kelly and Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington to each Sinn Fein Cumann re establishment of a National Conciliation Board under the Minister for Labour for the settlement of industrial disputes.

Copy of Resolution sent from Sinn Fein H.Q. on 6.6.1918 proposed at meetings to be held at every chapel on the following Sunday, protesting against the 'seizure and kidnapping' out of Ireland of de Valera and the other leaders.

3 letters dated 21.5.19, 23.5.19, and 2.6.19, from Father M. O'Flanagan to R.C. Barton re establishment of co-operative societies. This matter was included in agenda for Ard-Comhairle meeting of 6 May 1919, copy of which is attached. The agenda also includes a motion re refraining from social intercourse with police force, a motion re threatened dismissal of teachers who refuse to repudiate their connection with Sinn Fein.

Printed report on 12th Annual Ard Fheis held on 19th October 1919.

Letter of 21.6.20 from Sec. Sinn Fein re establishment of Arbitration Courts.

Notice dated 31.8.21 issued to each Comhairle Ceanntair of the Annual Ard Fheis to be held in the Mansion House, Dublin, on 18th Oct, 1921.

Another letter re same dated 7.9.21.

Letter re appointment of County Organising Secretaries for which the collection of £10,000 is needed. Authorisation slip for collection enclosed.

Notice from Sinn Fein H.Q. dated 17.1.22 summoning an Extraordinary Ard-Fheis for 7th Feb. for discussion of the situation brought about by the Treaty. Instruction for scheme of organisation enclosed,

File marked Post Treaty papers -

- (a) Carbon copy letter from T.P. Gill, Sec. Dept. of Agriculture, to J.T. McPherson, stating the case for release of R.C. Barton from British Army. Another copy of same.
- (b) Handbill with picture of the execution of an Easter Week leader (A.18) and 2 copies of evidence at trial of Tom Fleming for distributing same at a meeting on 6 Dec.1918 at Killacloran, addressed by R.C. Barton and Mr. Byrne.

- (c) Resolution (2 typed copies) written on back of envelope by R.C.B. and passed at public meeting in Shillelagh stating that reprisals would be taken upon Lord French and Mr. F. Brooke if Fleming suffered injury in gaol.
- Resolution (pencil draft and 3 copies) proposed at Killenure S.F. Club by Mr. Fleming (father of Tom) re stopping foxhunting as long as Irish leaders are kept in English prisons(26.1.19).
- (d) Letter (and typed copy) from Michael Fleming to R.C.B. concerning events following the meeting at Shillelagh which was apparently the cause of Mr. Barton's arrest.
- (e) Letter (and typed copy) from Seamus Doyle, Enniscorthy, to Wm. Murphy, Mullinavogue, asking him to tell R.C.Barton to inform Walsh that there was a warrant out for his arrest.
- (f) Letter in pencil (and copy in type) from Tom Fleming to R.C.B. informing him that he is sentenced to 12 months with hard labour and asking him to intercede for him with National Bank re amount due. Favourable reply from bank.
- (g) Letter (and typed copy) from Lt.Col. Burtin (?) to P. O'Reilly, Solr., saying he is forwarding Charge Sheet and summary of evidence.in the case of Tom Fleming.
- (h) A bundle of papers - 95 sheets - dealing with R.C.Barton's arrest, 2.2.19, on courtmartial 12.Feb.1919, the unsuccessful attempt at his rescue on his return to Mountjoy, his escape from Mountjoy on night of 16/17 March 1919. A large number of these papers are typed copies of newspaper articles, many of them duplicated.
- (i) Letter (printed) from Mrs. Moya L. Davies wishing success to R.C.B. in the election 1918.
- (j) Poem 'Michael' by A.E. sent to R:C.B. by the author.

Envelope 5.

Forestry - Correspondence with Co. Committees of Agriculture and Sinn Fein Cumainn re establishing an Arbour Day in Nov. 1919 for the planting of forest and fruit trees. Circular letter sent out from 6 Harcourt St. on the subject in Aug.1919. A bundle of leaflets headed Dept. of Agriculture - Forestry Section - show that the proposal was initiated by Dail Eireann.

Booklet entitled Irish Forestry Society. Annual Report and Statement of (accounts for the year ended 31 Dec. 1904 enclosed.

Envelope 6.

"Letters &c. of Austin Stack - No recollection of how they came into my possession".

- (a) Private letters from a friend while he was in prison after giving up hunger strike in Nov.Dec.1923.
- (b) Draft letter in pencil dated 23rd Sept. 1925 from Austin Stack to the governor of Arbour Hill protesting on behalf of 12 prisoners against the way they were being treated. A draft of a lecture "Some Irregulars in History" given by A. Stack to his fellow prisoners.

- (c) Letter to A. Stack in Mountjoy Prison, dated 10th Sept. 1923; summoning him to Leinster House on Sept. 19th for the purpose of complying with the provisions of Article 17 of the Constitution. Signed by Colm Ó Murchadha.
- (d) An Order under the Public Safety (Emergency Powers) No.2 Act 1923 that Austin Stack be held in custody until further order, signed Risteard Ó Maolcatha, 8 Aug '23.
- (e) A draft Constitution for Saorstat Éireann.

Envelope 7.

Miscellaneous documents including a letter from Mrs. Figgis to R.C.B. re arrest of Darrell Figgis; a letter from Tom Derrig, 7 April 1916, to George Nicolls, Galway, suggesting Volunteer Notes for Galway might be sent to the editor of the Mayo News. Most of these documents were found by R.C.B. amongst "prisoners' effects". There is a bank lodgment docket for £15 in the name of Tom McDonagh in respect of salary from U.C.D.

Envelope 8.

(a) Telegram and letter from P.K. Walsh, Chairman of Limerick County Committee of Agriculture send 'Greetings and goodwill to R.C.B. in Portland Prison (on his election to Wicklow Co. Council and Rathdrum R.D.C.) 20.7.20.

Inquiries and reports re R.C.B.'s health while imprisoned in Portland and Portsmouth (9 letters)

3 letters to Miss Barton from Mountjoy authorities re removal of property of R.C.B.

(b) Poster showing result of election for Wicklow Co. Council. Letter from Clerk of Rathdrum R.D.C. notifying Mr. R.C.B. of his co-option to that Body.

Letter from Governor of Mountjoy to Miss Barton (28.3.19) saying he cannot hand over R.C.B.'s letters to another person.

2 letters from Portland Prison authorities to Miss Barton

(c) Envelope containing 4 cards of birthday greetings to R.C.B. and a card with de Valera's Easter message of 1922.

(d) Copy of letter written to the Income Tax authorities in reply to demand for income tax. R.C.B. refers them to M. Collins, Finance Minister of Dail Eireann.

Letter from Rev. Dr. A.J. O'Loughlin, Easton, Dorset, reassuring Miss Barton about her brother's health.

13 letters and cards - no historical importance - to R.C.B. in gaol. They include a St. Patrick's Day wish from Mrs. Eamon Ceannt and a letter from Dr. K. Lynn about the sterilisation of milk jars.

4 letters to Mrs. Ceannt from Governors of Portland Prison re repairs to watch etc. for R.C.B.

Letter (typed copy) from R.C.B. to Erskine Childers dated 24.2.20 describing his journey, conditions in gaol. etc.

Copy of rules re letters, parcels, etc. to Mr. R.C.B.

Envelope 9.

Copies of resolutions from 15 public bodies addressed to R.C.B. calling for ratification of the Treaty.

A handbill in envelope addressed to R.C.B. "Free State Army. England wishes for Volunteers to crush Egypt & India" &c.

Letter from Canon Kiely to Miss Barton re savage treatment in Portland Gaol of R.C.B.

Two (2) handbills asking for recruits for the Belfast Fianna.

Printed instructions to Sinn Fein Cumainn re Programme of Work for 1921-2.

A 'Labour' policy for the Irish State.

Copy of Report by the Irish American delegates on conditions in Ireland.

A Treatise "The Land for the People" (by Larry Ginnell, thinks R.C.B.)

A Treatise "The Land for the Nation"
 " " "The Nature of Rent".
 " " "Towards a Co-operative Commonwealth"
 " " "The Land and the Nation" (2 copies)
 " " "Practical Steps (continued) (on Rating).

Leaflet on "The Auxiliary Police" by an ex-Civil Servant who had been British Resident in Malay.

Various pamphlets, forms and publications of minor importance.

A number of pamphlets and letters in envelopes dealing with 1922 situation.

Envelope 10.

Details of R.C.B.'s expenditure during the first delegation to London.

The envelope contains mainly correspondence between the different departments of Dail Eireann in the years 1921-2, some letters from de Valera, M. Collins, Sean Ó Ceallaigh (Minister for Education), a copy of Dáil Éireann Constitution dealing mainly with the election of President and Ministers and substitute President and substitute Ministers. (Note the titles Secretaries - Finance, Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs and National Defence). This Constitution seems to have been drawn up not long after establishment of Dáil Éireann.

Ref. to letter of Col. Warburton re utilisation of peat.

Case of Ireland stated by President de Valera to representative of "International News" and "Universal Service" on 30 March 1921.

Dail Proclamation of 28.4.21 that members of Co.Councils and other bodies take no part in the partial election to the Parliament of Southern Ireland.

Copy of Provisional Constitution and Regulations of the Courts of Land Settlement and Commission 1921.

Report of Ministry of Home Affairs, April Session 1922, includes report of dismissal of Simon Donnelly, Chief of Police, who informed the Minister that he attended the Army Convention of 26th March 1922.

A copy of Ministerial Motions (for some Cabinet meetings evidently).

Copy of questions for meeting of Dáil Éireann, 2 March 1922. Reference to Belfast pogroms and boycott and to Churchill's and Chamberlain's speeches in Commons when discussing the Treaty.

Statement by A. Griffith at Dáil meeting of 26 April 1922 on the situation in Ireland as a result of Treaty.

Questions at sessions of 28th April 1922 and Agenda and questions, 3rd May 1922.

Dáil Estimates for half year to 30.6.22.
" " " two half years of 1921.

Copy of Standing Orders of Dáil Éireann

Proceedings of sessions of 16.8.21 and 17.8.21.

Reports of various Ministers of Dáil Éireann.

Report on the Irish Fish-Curing industry by J.L. Fawsitt, New York.

Copies of resolutions by Galway and Kildare Co. Councils advocating ratification of Treaty.

A statement of the genesis of the army situation which has culminated in the forbidding of an Army Convention by the Dáil Cabinet. Order of March 16th and the summoning by certain officers in defiance of that Order of a Convention for March 26th (1922) Appendices A to L.

Envelope 11.

Various decrees, orders and reports of Dáil Éireann for years 1919-20, includes draft constitution of Dáil Éireann.

Report on fishing industry, dressed meat trade, Local Govt. Land Acquisition Scheme, Proclamation re emigration, Scheme for starting Co-op Stores in connection with I.T. & G.W.O.U. Branches.

Suggestions of Ed. Lysaght of the Irish Reconstruction Association for programme of sub-committee on Agrigulture.

Two cheques in favour of Trustees of Dáil Éireann.

Constitution of the Irish Volunteers (includes oath of allegiance to the Republic).

Envelope 12.

Papers connected with Dáil Loan - circular letters from Minister for Finance, forms, instructions re publicity &c.

Envelope 13.

Letters from D. O hEigcheartaigh, Secretary of the Cabinet, to R.C.B. Notification of Dáil meetings, matters to be dealt with &c.

Envelope 14.

Papers dealing with the dressed meat enterprise. A number of printed pamphlets on the subject.

Proposal to buy the Cloncurry estate for division among the local smallholders and landless men. Co-operative working of it.

Envelope 15.

Some papers dealing with the National Land Bank, Rules (3 copies). Proposal for a State Bank. Copy of Finance 1909-10 Act, 1910. Duplicate copies of reports of C.D.B. for years ended 31.3.1917 and 31.3.1918.

A copy of 'Floréal' of 14 Feb. 1920, containing an article on Ireland by John Reader.

First and Second Reports of the Ministry of Reconstruction.

Envelope 16.

Various letters, some advocating ratification of Treaty, one from Joseph Campbell the poet, telling R.C.B. that he has signed Ireland's birthright away.

Copies of circular letter from Food Director re Conservation of Food.

Several copies of humorous sheet "Exchange is robbery" referring to sale of food to England for paper money.

Letter from Darrell Figgis pointing out the unwisdom of the proposal to wind up the work of the Commission of Inquiry into the resources and industries of Ireland.

Report from D. Hales, Irish Consul at Genoa, on the first experiment of the Associated Farming Industry in Italy.

Report of Meeting of Ministers comprising the Economic Group, 8.12.1921.

Letters from various persons and members of other Departments to R.C.B. regarding matters of public interest, e.g., fishing in Dingle, clean milk for Dublin, the Ring Co-op. Society, provision of land for forestry, conservation of food.

Letter from Mr. Gavan Duffy to R.C.B. praising him for converting Erskine Childers to the Republic.

A disquisition (possibly by Diarmuid O'Crowley) on the elections for the 3rd Dáil.

A disquisition (by whom?) on the application of Dominion Home Rule to Ireland.

Copy of letter from Lt. George to Sir Horace Plunkett, dated 25.2.1918, regarding the deliberations of the Convention.

Suggested rough draft (author unknown to R.C.B.) of letter to Dominion Premiers on Ireland's demand for independence.

Treatise: The Land for the People (authorship unknown to R.C.B)

Copy (in envelope) of C.D.B's Pamphlet: Instructions and Suggestions for the Guidance of Parish Committees, Jan.1911, with a accompanying note by E. O'Connor Cox.

Letter from Irish Secretary of National Union of Railwaymen to Minister of Economics re injustice of the Carrigan award.

Poster : Notice of result of Elections to Wicklow Co. Council in the year 1920.

Circular letter, 8.9.1919, to certain persons asking them to join the Agricultural Loan Bank.

An excerpt of letter from Piersé McCann in prison and one from Piersé's mother after his death.

Envelope 17. "Documents, letters and replies received in London during the negotiations of 1921"

Contains two folders - (a) Correspondence of R.C.B., Minister of Economic Affairs, with various Departments of the Dáil, the White Cross, the Wicklow Co. Council, Rathdrum R.D.C., Leu Loughrea R.D.C., R. Courtney, Irish Co.-op. Meat Ltd., Waterford, Art O'Briain, Darrell Figgis, The Land Bank. With Col. Warburton re utilisation of peat. A letter from Prof. R.M% Henry, Belfast, re interview with J.H. Robb, M.V.P. (Queen's University, Belfast) about the establishment of a Customs Union for all Ireland. An Analysis of a proposal for compulsory Free Trade with Gt. Britain by Mark O'Connor, Cork. Memo on British Colonial Tariff Policies. Memo on closer settlement Land Legislation of the Australasian Commonwealth. A few private letters.

(b) Folder. List of atrocities on Catholics in Belfast. Correspondence between the Dáil Minister for Agriculture and the British Dept. of Agriculture and Technical Education as to whether the Republican representatives should be allowed to attend a meeting of the British Agricultural Council called for 8th Nov. 1921.

Copy of Draft of Anti-Profiteering Decree.
Proceedings of the Cabinet meetings of 25th and 27th Oct. 1921.
Report of meeting of the Economic group of Ministers, 26th Oct. 1921.

Letter from Art O'Conchubhair to R.C.B. reporting on the working of the Economic Ministry (28.10.21).

Report from Sec. to the Cabinet (7.11.21) regarding decisions reached at the Ministry meeting of 4th idem.

Judge's report in the case of Murphy and others (I.R.D.F.) forwarded by A. de Staic to R.C.B. on 8.11.21.

Report by Secretary to the Cabinet, 10.11.21, on the decisions reached at the meeting of 9th idem.

Letter from Dáil Minister for Local Govt. 11.11.21 to each member of the London Delegation enclosing letter he had addressed to the Minister of Defence re ownership of workhouses.

Letter, 10.11.21, from Secy. to the Cabinet, forwarding Ministry's decisions re butter export decree and Commission of Inquiry into the Industrial Resources of Ireland.

Minister for Economic Affairs comments on butter export decree, 16.11.21.

Provisional Order of Dáil Éireann giving the Council of Clonmel Borough power to increase the number of members of Gas. Committee from 5 to 12 (forwarded on 14.11.21, by Minister for Local Government to Minister for Economic Affairs in London.)

Memo by L. MacCosgair re application by Co. Councils for Road Grants, 16.11.21.

Further correspondence on same forwarded to each delegate.

Report on decisions of Cabinet Meeting held on 18.11.21.

Circular letter from the President to various Departments of the enemy Civil Service re transfer of staff to the Northern Parliament.

Correspondence from Minister for Defence re the "passing of the old army as such" 23.11.21.

Proposal to increase list of prohibited goods imported from England 25.11.21.

Memo on issue of Official Gazette 22.11.21.

Letter, 23.11.21, from General Secretariat to D.O hEigceartaigh.

Letter, 25.11.21, from the Minister of Economic Affairs to each Department.

Correspondence 25.11.21 re preparation of Voters' Lists by the Clerks of the Crown and Peace.

Correspondence 29.11.21 re planting of enemy ex-soldiers on Irish land.

Amended Estimate of Labour Dept. 17.11.21.

Further correspondence re Anti-Profiteering Decree.
" " " Export of Butter.

Reports of Cabinet meetings held on 24th and 25/11.21.
" " " " 2.12.21.

Basket.

(1) Bundle of loose papers as follows: ^{mis}
Poem to Michael Collins, signed Mrs. Eilge 3.7.22, telling him "Your own (name) will ever be inscribed upon the roll of shame".

Poblacht na hEireann - War News 28 June to Sept.
Missing numbers - 2 to 7, 38, 40, 41, 42, 48 to 55.
Duplicate numbers 8 to 32 and 34 to 37.
Triplicates of 17-21.
One copy (14 Aug 1922) of the Southern Edition of Poblacht na hEireann.

The following handbills issued by the Republicans during the Civil War:-

Irishmen and women! which side are you on?

What is an Irregular?

What are we fighting for?

Irish Republicans' Dependants' Fund.

Proclamation of 28th June 1922 issued by the Army Executive on behalf of the Irish Republican Army (2 copies).

Appeal to the people and Volunteers of Tirconail 29th June 1922 by Peadar O'Donnell: "Irishmen! The Free State Army at the bidding of England are killing

your brothers &c.

The Will of the People.

Envelope containing a letter 31.1.19 from Sean T. O'Ceallaigh, 6 Sraid Fhearcair, which accompanied a statement by A. Griffith (containing many useful suggestions re work to be done by Dáil and Sinn Fein.) A note by R.C.B. on the envelope states he has already sent A.G's. statement to the Bureau.

Royal Commission on the Rebellion in Ireland.

A brief summary of the work done by the Agricultural Department (Dail Éireann) from April 1919 to Aug. 1921, prepared by Art Ó Conchubhair for the Dáil (2nd) meeting of April 16th 1922.

Six numbers of the neo-styled paper (3 sheets each)
The Fenian, 8th Aug. to 17th Aug. 1922

- (2) Envelope containing leaflets, posters and forms relating to the Election of 1923.

Bundle labelled "Miscellaneous pamphlets, leaflets and magazine articles relating to Sinn Fein and The Republic". Contents: The Local Government (Ireland) Acts 1898 to 1914. No. 220 M (deals with elections to local bodies 1919, Local Government (Ireland) Act 1919, Chapter 19.

The London Gazette Friday 29th April 1921.

Bundle of pamphlets: Advice to Chairman of Open Air meetings.

Form O. Parliamentary Election : Return of Election Expenses.

Government of Ireland Act, 1920.

Saorstát Éireann Electoral Act 1923 (12 of 1923).

Message of Dáil Éireann to the Free Nations 21.1.1919.

Photo of de Valera, Chancellor of the National University, published by the Irish Catholic Herald.

Pamphlet: A plea for justice by G.W. Russell (2 copies).

Some caricatures : Free State Freaks.

Five numbers of neo-styled publication : Freedom (one duplicated).

Neo-styled pamphlet : Straight Talk (3 copies)

" " publication : The Nation (numbers 8 (incomplete 10 and 11).

Documents relative to the Sinn Fein Movement 1921.

The Republican Leader, Wicklow Edition Nos. 1 (2 copies) and 7 (6 copies).

Dáil Éireann : Peace Negotiations June-Sept. 1921.

Some leaflets issued by Republicans during Civil War.

Overheard at a Ministry Meeting: Everything will yet work out for Ireland. (Extracts from H. Boland's last letters) 3 copies.

Citizens of Dublin: T. McSwiney's sister is on hunger strike in Mountjoy Jail.

The Provisional Government.

Gentlemen, the King (2 copies).

Bundle of leaflets containing two ballads by Michael Scott (Bidly O'Loughlin and Kevin Barry).

"Letters written before their martyrdom by L. Mellows and Richard Barrett".

Handbill: "To the men and women of West Wicklow (1918 Election).

Pamphlet: The Duty of the Hour, by D. Figgis.

Saorstát na hEireann - The proceedings and judgment of the Supreme Court of the Irish Republic (in the case of George Plunkett).

"Ghosts" by P.H. Pearse.

Pamphlet : Who burnt Cork City.

(3) Envelope described as "Documents and Letters received in London during the Negotiations, from P. McGilligan, Secretary of Department of Economic Affairs."

A file of correspondence beginning 4.10.21, showing how and for what purpose the Economic Relations Committee was set up.

A foolscap envelope containing (1) a memo on Lloyd George's proposed reservation on fiscal autonomy with a view "to avert the possibility of a ruinous trade war".

Typed sheet showing value of trade between Ireland and Britain for 1917-18-19.

(2) Revenue and expenditure (England, Scotland and Ireland).

(3) Safeguarding of Industries Act 1921. (Memo. Two other enclosures mentioned in the accompanying list are missing).

There are pencil drafts of several other ^{memos} names written for the benefit of the delegates by, probably, members of the Economic Relations Committee, dealing with the subject (No. 1 above) i.e., protective tariffs, bounties, subsidies, etc.

Resolution of Cork Chamber of Commerce protesting against the embargo on east-bound vessels calling at Cork Harbour (similar protest from John Donovan & Sons, Tralee).

Note on the manufacture of guns, aeroplanes, mines, lethal gases &c. (two copies).

4 copies of British Commercial Treaties and Conventions.

Report of the meeting of the Economic Relations Committee of 18 Nov. 1921 with covering letter of 21st idem, dealing with - chiefly - Ulster.

List of British most favoured Nation Treaties.

Economic Memo. No. 1) dealing with proposed commercial
2) convention between Britain and
6) Ireland.

Suggested Free List for Imports and Exports to and from Ireland and Great Britain.

Suggested Free List of Imports to Ireland from Great Britain.

Question: What measures could be devised for safeguarding the exports and imports of Northern Ireland against discrimination and the citizens against invidious taxation? Answer in detail.

Statement of expenses incurred by Erskine Childers and R.C. Barton on journey to Dublin and return.

Memorandum showing the value of industrialised products to Ireland and the manner in which British economic pressure has worked to Ireland's disadvantage.

Circular letter, 20 Oct. 1921, signed P. McGilligan to the members of the Economic Relations Committee, enumerating the different memos up to No. XIX that have been forwarded to each and enclosing copies of Nos. XV to XVIII with notes and appendices thereto. These memos were evidently prepared for the purpose of the Treaty negotiations.

Three different memos on Reciprocity and Commercial Treaties.

Further memo on Lloyd George's Reservation V to Ireland's control of her fiscal policy.

Digest of views expressed by Messrs. Russell, O'Brien, Riordan, O'Neill and Blythe on the subject of preferential tariffs and free schedules.

Part of a draft Commercial Treaty between Ireland and Great Britain.

Pencil notes about Negotiations on Trade.

Memo by C.E. Oldham dated 18 Oct. 1921 re Ireland's share of Imperial burdens.

Another memo on L. George's Reservation No. 5.

Memo on Industries, Trade and Agriculture of N.E. Ulster.

A notice of meeting of the E.R. Committee for 26 Nov. for further consideration of the Ulster case.

A letter from A. Ó Conchubhair dated 3.7.21 enclosing "Economic Notes" about Irish Trade and Industry.

A copy of the Treaty of 11.12.1902 between U.S.A. & Cuba.

A list of British goods excluded by the boycott.

A pencil note referring to 5 memos.

(4) Envelope marked "Personal : National Land Bank" contains:

Copies of Rules, Reports and Balance Sheets for periods ended 31.12.20, 30.6.21, 31.12.21 and 31.12.22.

Bye-laws of Co.-Op Farming Society.

A card showing rates of interest given by N.L.B.

Copies of a memo drawn up in part by James McNeill setting forth the Land Acquisition and Loan Mortgage Bank Schemes for presentation to An Dáil by the Sec. for Home Affairs.

Chairman's speech at Annual General Meeting on 15.3.1921.

Two letters from E. Blythe - (1) about organising the dead meat industry, (2) re appointment of Smith Gordon. Letter, 5.12.1919, from L. Smith Gordon.

Form of Agreement to be signed by intending purchasers (of lands).

Report on the National Land Bank drawn up by Smith Gordon and others early in 1922 for the Dáil urging the transfer of a large share of the country's capital which was deposited in English Banks to their own banks.

Circular letter to Directors by L. Smith Gordon re position of the Bank (27.1.1922).

Reports in Irish (1) from Ministry of Education, (2) Ministry of Irish.

Sheet (ink) showing the financial position of the different branches of the Land Bank.

Correspondence re appointment of Mr. Tweedy to replace Mr. T. Cullen as architect.

Copy of Resolution addressed to A. Griffith in 22 Hans Place objecting to L. George's reservation in Condition No. 5.

Two letters dated Sept. 1914 from Joe Connolly to Mrs. Green re (1) progress of Volunteer movement, and (2) recruiting for British Army in Belfast.

Forms of application for Deposit Receipts, Agenda of Meetings, ^{Og} paper comments of 'Poblacht na hEireann' and Eire on the Bank Report for 1921.

(5) Rolled up in basket : Proclamation signed on behalf of the Council of the South Tipperary Brigade that the attempt to set up the Government of the Free State is illegal and immoral (2 copies, 1 large and 1 small).

Decree of Dáil Éireann, 8 April 1921, that Shipping Agents shall not issue tickets or vouchers to intending emigrants (3 copies).

Decree of Dáil Éireann, 11 March 1921, that the people of Ireland shall not make any census returns to the British Government or its agents (4 copies).

Decree of Dáil Éireann, 24th June 1920, that former owners of lands now being used by the occupiers as Dairy, Agricultural and Residential holdings shall not press their claims until the foreign invader is cleared out of our country (6 copies).

Letter from C. O hUigin, Asst. Minister for Local Govt., to P. O Caoimh, General Secretary, Sinn Fein, 4 Sept. 1921, setting out the relations between Sinn Fein and the National Government (5 copies).

- (6) A bundle of papers tied and wrapped in newspaper and labelled: Letters and documents relating to initiation of National Land Bank, contains documents (2 copies of 4 sheets) with covering note by R.C.B. dated 19.8.1919, explaining the Dail Land Act. sent to each T.D.

A folder with papers dealing with the acquisition of the Kilcumney farm, Co. Carlow, for the landless.

4 sheets of criticism (1.9.1919) of proposed Land Bank scheme by E. Childers, ~~11-9-19~~.

Criticism by Charles Bewley, 4.10.19.

Poster: Notice from Lixnaw Co. ep. Society re supplies of milk during winter 1919.

Letter from Diarmuid O'Buachalla, Donoughmore, Co. Cork, re large farm to be sold near Newmarket.

A short account (and 1 copy) - author not stated - of the Evicted tenants on Lord Cloncurry's Estate at Murroe, Co. Limerick.

Letter from M. O'Coileain to R.C.B. 10.11.19, enclosing £1200 cheque, voted by Dáil on 28.10.19 for the initial expenses of Land Bank.

Letter of same date from M. O'C. re land in Ennis which Frank Barrett reports is to be sold.

Letter from Michael Coen 14.11.19 re proposal to establish a bacon factory at Athlone.

Letter, 19.1.20, re appointing Martin Finnerty, Gurteen, Ballinasloe, as organiser for the Land Bank.

Letter from P. Beaslai recommending Eoghan O Briain for certain work.

Letter, 15.12.1919, from M.O.C. enclosing 2 cheques - (1) £625 for balance of price of Kilcumney farm, (2) £1200 for accountant and organiser of Agr. Loan Bank.

Letter, 31.10.1919 from B.O'H. informing R.C.B. about £1000 voted by Dáil.

Letter from M.O'C. enclosing cheque £850 for purchase of premises.

Letter from Andy Dunne, Rathdrum, re farm for sale in that district.

Letter, 21.1.1920, from T. O Duinn, Loughrea, re suggested land organiser who is not a republican by conviction.

Letter, 9.10.1919, from Seamus O'Dolain, Manorhamilton, asking for 3 copies of Land Bank Scheme.

Letter from E. O Dugain enclosing another (?) letter from M.D. Egan, Kyle, Roscrea, re farm for sale there.

Letter, 18.11.19, from Fr. M. O'Flanagan re Land Bank Scheme and other matters.

Letter, 15.1.19¹⁹~~19~~(¹⁹), from Garrett Fitzgerald, Johnstown, Kilkenny, asking for loan to purchase farm. One from Michael Collins on the same subject.

Letter from James Johnson, Fohenagh, Ahascragh, offering his farm for sale.

Proinsias Ó Fathaigh writes a letter about Mr. Finnerty as proposed organiser; another about a farm for sale in South Galway.

Letter from D. Figgis about circular sent in error, 11.10.19.

Letter from G. Gavan Duffy, 2.12.19, saying he is delighted and honoured to accept R.C.B.'s proposal (re appointment to Land Bank?).

Letter from Fr. Gabriel, Capuchin Monastery, Rochestown, Co. Cork, commenting on Land Bank proposal.

Letter, 29.9.19, from Art Ó Conchubhair re proposal to purchase land at Kellistown.

Letter, 17.11.19, from P. Healy re land at Banteer.

" from Dr. R.F. Hayes enclosing 2 letters (missing) from constituents in E. Limerick.

Letter from L. Ginnell, 13.8.19, re purchase of Greville-Nugent estate at Clonyn, Delvin, Co. Westmeath, for sub-division among uneconomic tenants.

Letter from Timothy Lally, Gort, 2.10.19, and from Patrick Lally, Gort, 8.10.19, re the family farm which neighbours want to take from Timothy.

Letter, 9.1.20, from Conor Maguire, Claremorris, re land of the Lewin Estate near Kilmaine, which the landlord offers to sell to the tenants.

Letter from ditto re Stanuell and Ward Estates near Newport, Co. Mayo.

Letter from Gerald Maguire re Stanuell Estate 26.11.19

" " " re Lambert Estate near Claremorris, Co. Mayo.
" " " re lands near Newport, Co. Mayo, from which tenants are to be ejected for non-payment of rent.

Correspondence from J.H. Hunt, Corofin, re estate of Capt. Bryan Mahon at Corbally and Ballyhickey, which the local people want to buy.

Correspondence from Francis McGreevy, Carrick-on-Shannon, re farm for sale near that town.

Letter, 17.11.19, from Joseph McBride, Westport, re the proposal put forward by C. Maguire on behalf of the tenants who have paid no rents for 4 years.

Letter, 18.12.19, from E.T. Campion, C.S., re the purchase of the Kellistown lands

Letter, 4.12.19, forwarded by E. MacNeill, from Fr. Seamus O Cuinn, Clochfhuaroin, re Omeath Park, which is for sale. Poster on same.

Letter, 28.11.19, from A. O Conchubhair re method of obtaining horse power of stream (in connection with purchase of Kilcumney farm).

Letter, 20.10.19, from D. O hEigceartaigh, re money voted by Dáil for the Dead Meat Industry and proposed vote for Bann na Talmhan.

Memo criticising various clauses of the Land Bank Scheme, written by a Listowel solicitor and forwarded by Dr. O'Connor

2 letters, 20.11.19 and 25.11.19, from Art Ó Conchubhair, Celbridge, re meeting in Bagenalstown and Carlow Land for the people Association.

Poster re meeting at Killedmond of Land for the People Association.

Letter, 3.9.19, from F.E. Farrell, Rickardstown, Drumcree, Mullingar, Sec. Roger Casement Sinn Fein Club, re lands of Williamstown on the Fetherstonhaugh Estate which are for sale.

Letter enclosing poster from John Quigley, Fourmilehouse, Roscommon, re farm for sale at Tonlague.

Telegram, 15.12.19, addressed to G. Crofts, from Quin, Bagenalstown, re completion of sale (of Kilcumney farm).

Letter 5.1.20, from Fr. M. O'Flanagan, introducing Mr. J. Mannion, Sec. of Kilbride S.F. Club.

2 letters 30.6.19 and 23.10.19, re number of applicants for land on the Cloncurry Estate - from Frank Purcell, Sec. of Cloncurry S.F. Club.

Letter 9.12.19, from L. Smith Gordon stating that the Rules are registered and Directors to meet.

2 letters from P. O Siocháin recommending some people for the post of organiser and inspector.

Letter, 2.10.19, from Sean Milroy, asking R.C.B. to prepare a lecture on Land and Agriculture for Sinn Fein Cumainn.

An inquiry from W. Scully, Kilmore, Blueball, Tullamore, re details of Land Bank scheme.

Request, 7.10.19, from J. Shortall, Killinure, Coolkenno, Co. Wicklow, for co-operation of Land Bank in stopping 11 months system.

Leaflet re Public Utility Societies for Urban Housing in Ireland, 12.6.19, issued by Housing Dept. Local Government Board, Dublin.

Two letters from Erskine Childers on the subject of loans, mortgages, bonds.

Letter from Land Commission seemingly in reply to inquiry from tenant re redemption of land purchase loan.

4 copies of Land Acquisition Scheme and National Co-Op. Land Mortgage Bank presented to Dáil Éireann by Sec. of Home Affairs.

Forestry Committee Report.

Report by Agriculture Committee on the Dressed Meat Trade with attached printed leaflet and typed draft circular letter from T.Ds. to the Press.

Printed and typed circular letters addressed to Sinn Fein Cumainn and Secretaries to Co. Councils by R.C.Barton, W. Cole, T. Kelly and H. Sheehy-Skeffington on the subject of Arbor Day (1st Nov. 1919).

Typed sheets of tables of interest @ 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ % and 3%.

Statement by R.C.Barton for the Ministry on the setting up and registration of the Land Bank and the cost thereof.

Letter from P. (?) Sheehan to R.C.B. re amortisation of loans.

Draft of Rules of Land Bank, also galley proof.

Forward copy of Rules for Registration purposes, Application by Director of Agriculture for funds for Bann na Talmhan. Statement 'for use of the Ministry only'.

Three books (Healy's Duplicate Order Book) marked A.B.C. containing copies in manuscript (in R.C.B.'s handwriting) of letters sent out by R.C.B. as Director of Agriculture and of the Land Bank in reply to the letters mentioned previously and others. They also contain a weekly statement of a/c of the Department.

(The last letter sent is dated 25.1.20.)

Notes of 2 meetings of Bank Committee 10 Sept. and 8 Oct. (1919?)

Sinn Fein Leaflet No.8 "The Land Question" by L. Ginnell forwarded with typed memo and covering note 3.5.19 to R.C.B.

of Rules

3 copies/of Co-Op. Societies for the Purchase of Land.

Report of planting of trees at Ballylanders on Arbor Day, 1919.

Letter from L. Ginnell 16.5.19 forwarding "the concluding chapters of the work of which you have already seen the opening chapters".

Circular re Irish Co-Op. Meat Ltd.

Letter from Dr. M. O'Connor, Listowel.

Mins. 25.7.19 from D. O hEigceartaigh summoning meetings of Agriculture, Land Bank and Forestry Committees, with list of members of each.

Ditto from ditto. 28.7.1919 informing R.C.B. that the report on his Dept. was approved by the Ministry. Attached are typed sheets.

Laws of the Ralahine Agricultural and Manufacturing Co-Op. Association.

Manuscript draft (for typing) of the Land Acquisition Scheme.

A minute 5.8.19 from Sean O'Kelly delegate to Ard Comhairle from Offaly on the Land Question.

Letter 12.12.19 from Sec. I.A.O.S. informing R.C.B. that he has been co-opted a member of that organisation.

Letter 3.12.19 from Dr. M. O'Connor, Listowel, enclosing copy of trust deed in connection with the purchase of Gurtenard Lawn. (There are a manuscript and typed copy of deed and letter).

A letter from D. O hEigceartaigh 29.12.19 (from Mountjoy) thanking R.C.B. for sending him an advance copy of the Rules governing the bank - he comments on same.

Letter from H.F. Norman of Plunkett House, Dublin, to Mrs. Green commenting on the Land Bank Project.

Two letters 28.8.19 and 6.9.19 from P.J. Hynes, a banker in Tipperary, to Mr. Moloney (who forwarded them to R.C.B.) criticising the Land Bank Project.

Memorandum (5½ manuscript sheets) by Frank Purcell, Goresbridge, Co. Kilkenny, on Co-operative farming in connection with proposed purchase of land (including Kilcumney farm).

Rules of the Co-Operative Agricultural Society Ltd. (2 copies).

R.C.B.'s. own copy of Rules of the National Land Bank (Note . Some pencil notes inside covers about a law case in which Pearson and Healy were concerned).

4 letters pinned together - (1) 28.12.19 from C. Upton, Sen., of Ballylanders S.F. Club re estate of Major Franks, Ballysuddane, which is for sale.

(2) 21.1.20 from Terence McSwiney acknowledging receipt of Land Bank Scheme and offering any help in his power.

(3) 24.1.20 from Fr. M. Flanagan to Miss O'Rahilly re land transaction in which Fr. Carney should get local people to co-operate.

(4) Letter 4.2.20 from King & Co. Mullingar, to Cathal Brugha enclosing ad. re proposed sale of Gaulstown, Co. Westmeath.

By-laws of Societies.

Rules of a Land Purchase Society.

National Bank Ltd. Agenda for 21 Jan. 1920.

Memorandum entitled "The Objects of the National Federation of Co-Op. Farming Societies". (This is the Italian Scheme of Co-op farming. Mr. Smith Gordon, the Chairman of the National Land Bank, went to Italy to study the subject).

Bulletin of the Co-Operative Reference Library, The Plunkett House, Dublin (2 copies).

Statement of account and balance sheets (manuscript) of the Foynes Co-Operative Tillage Society Ltd. for the years 1917 and 1918. These were sent to R.C.B. with letters by Mary Spring Rice, who also enclosed some further statements for 1918 and copy of terms of letting pasture on the field at Googrig.

Copy of letter to Land Bank Committee from R.C.B. 16.4.19 re problems of land resettlement.

Memorandum, May 1919, by Rev. M. O'Flanagan on completion of land purchase and co-operative farming.

Report by James MacNeill to the Directors of the N.L. Bank on the position at Kilcumney farm, Co. Carlow.

Agenda for meeting of N.L. Bank Directors for 15 Jan. 1920, to which is attached a report of L. Smith Gordon on his visit to Italy and Switzerland for the purpose of studying the co-operative farming and Land Mortgage Bank systems.

Agenda for meeting of N.L. Bank on 28th Jan. 1920, to which is attached draft of a mortgage form.

Fibre suitcase.

Envelope (1) entitled Printed Matter. Newspaper cuttings from Chicago Universe (European edition) Oct. 11th, 1919, containing article by Floyd Gibbons who describes an interview with R.C.B. in which the gaol break of 16/17th March 1919 is described.

Eire Og (New Ireland) Oct. 18th, 1919, containing article which describes de Valera's monster meeting at Brooklyn under the auspices of the F.O.I.F. at which he begged America to reject Article X of the Peace Treaty.

Eire Og, Oct. 25th, 1919, containing article on Finance and Ireland, describing how some of the socialist deputies in the French Chamber during ratification debates expressed their appreciation of the Irish struggle for freedom. (To these two papers are attached a cutting from the Freeman's Journal of Oct. 15th 1919, on the price of flax in Ireland).

Cutting from Evening Herald, Aug. 18, 1919, on Irish Forestry.

Copy of Sunday Independent, July 10, 1921, dealing with 'Cease Fire' Order.

Cutting from I.I. (?) 21.1.1922 with (a) article re Bank of Ireland being asked by the Free State Government to act as their Financial Agents, (b) Resolution by de Valera for the coming Sinn Fein Ard Fheis re Ireland and the Crown.

Copy of the Congressional Record giving the speech of the Hon. R.M. La Follette of 25th and 26th April 1921, before the American Senate advocating recognition of the Irish Republic.

Cutting from the Irish Independent containing the summary of evidence given by Mrs. Muriel McSwiney before the Villard Commission on Irish conditions sitting at Washington.

Envelope (2). A collection of leaflets and handbills: To the men and women of West Wicklow (in connection with R.C.B's. candidature in 1918 Election).

4 different sets of handbills for McCartan's campaign, i.e., Which do you choose (cartoon by Grace Plunkett); Redmond's advice - What do you think of it? (over-taxation of Ireland); Who are they who want the English Government to conscript you? (List of Irish M.Ps.); Leaflet: Economic conscription: "Will British Labour provide munitions for This", an extract from Freeman's Journal of 10th July 1920, about the police meeting in Listowel and Robert Lynd's article on same in the Daily News, "told to a priest".)

Leaflet: The Duty of the Hour, by D. Figgis.

" Exchange is Robbery (with cartoon by G.Plunkett).

Sinn Fein Leaflet 4: Robbery under arms.

Handbill mainly for 1918 election
Envelope 3. One copy of "Secret orders issued to military officers". The name Nicholls (?) is written in pencil on the back. (Would this be one of the original leaflets (the so-called Rogues' Document) printed on a private printing press at Larkfield before 1916 Rising and read at a meeting of the Corporation on Wednesday of Holy Week by Alderman T. Kelly?)

The following leaflets issued by the National Council of Sinn Fein: No. 3; Work for a Sinn Fein Branch (3 copies).
" 4. Robbery under arms (10 copies) *a bundle*
" 5. The Small Nations (2 copies).
" 8. The Land Question (1 copy).
" 11. Can Ireland stand alone? (4 copies).

Leaflet: "Guard de Valera"
" Sinn Fein National Fund (censored).
" Trustees' Appeal.

Circulars (neostyled) issued by Sinn Fein during Truce in preparation for Ard Fheis of 30th Sept. 1921. Report on Organisation by Mrs. S. Skeffington.

Instructions to secretaries of Cumainn and Comhairle-Ceanntair (4 copies).

Form of Cumainn Report.
Fly-leaf to be sent in with nominations.
Constitution (Sinn Fein) 3 copies.

2 leaflets - Irish Bishop speaks → Dr. M. Fogarty's protest 26.9.1917 on death of T. Ashe.

Leaflet : Letter from His Grace, the Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin to His Eminence Cardinal O'Connell of America, 10 Nov. 1919.

Unnumbered Election Leaflets: How the English Parliament taxed Ireland (3 copies).

Vote against Sinn Fein and for £30,000,000 of open and secret taxation by Westminster.

Easter Week, 1916 (2 copies).
Fleecing Ireland (4 copies).

Electors of Waterford, for whom will you vote? (2 copies).

John Redmond supports conscription (7 copies).

Sinn Fein General Election Fund (1 copy).

The advice of Most Rev. Dr. Hallinan, the present Bishop of Limerick, to the Nationalists of Waterford (1 copy).

The Bishop of Limerick and John Redmond (1 copy).

The following numbered Election Leaflets:

- A.4. What other people think of Westminster.
- A.6. What other nation does it?
- A.8. Poland free! An object lesson for Ireland.
- A.18. Picture showing the execution of a leader of the Easter Week Rising.

- B. 1. The Party and the Land Tax. (11 copies).
- B.2. You are now paying £35,000,000 a year for slavery.

- C. 1. The Workers and the Election (3 copies).
- C.2. Do you favour doormat policy?
- C.3. A vote for the Party is a vote justifying conscription.

- D.1. You cannot get a Free Ireland without wading through seas of blood.

- E. 6. Who stands by Davitt and Parnell?

- F. 9. Does not England defame Ireland sufficiently in the eyes of the world?
- F. 10. Will you do what America did?
- F.14. International conversations.
- F.15. What of Ireland? (three)
- F.32. Patriotism and Internationalism (copies)

- H. 1. Partition.

- I. 1. Save your lands.

- K. 1. Irishmen, look around you.
- K. 2. Forty years behind time.

- N. 1. Capt. Redmond's tribute to Sinn Fein.
- N.3. What is the true principle of Irish Nationality? (17 copies).
- T.1. Which Party is the Irish Party? (18 copies).
- T.2. A voice from the grave (10 copies).
- T.5. What is the difference?
- T.7. Government Ministers and the Irish Party.
- T.8. The Loyal Party.
- T.10. Honest J. Dillon says the Government is helping Sinn Fein.

- U. 1. Will you vote for the hat-in-handers?

A bundle of leaflets headed 'Sinn Fein'. It is an appeal by the West Wicklow Sinn Fein Executive for contributions to Election Fund, accompanied by a bundle of collection forms and a copy of a ballot paper with X against Barton.

A leaflet : Appeal by Christy Byrne to the electors of Wicklow area in connection with the Co. Council and District Council election.

A number of poems and songs:-

A ballad of European History
 A Soldier's Song (4 copies).
 Thomas Ashe by Sean Ó Cathasaigh
 do. Maeve Cavanagh.
 Poem by T. Ashe "Let me carry Your Cross" &c.
 Remember Ashe, by Phil O'Neill.
 The Homecoming, by Alice Milligan.
 A Ballad for Rebels, by M. Cavanagh.

Booklet : The Limerick Curfew Murders, the case of Michael O'Callaghan.

A Proclamation to the people of Ireland by de Valera (5 copies).

Leaflet : reprinted from the Irish Bulletin of 29th July 1921 - "Is Ireland a danger to England".

Post Treaty Leaflets : Hear Mr. O'Higgins: Gentlemen, the King; Mick's Conversion; the Two Policies (3 copies).

Envelope 4. contains further copies of some of the leaflets &c. contained in envelopes 2 and 3, i.e.,

No. 5 The Small Nation.
 No. 8. The Land Question.
 No.11. Can Ireland stand alone (3 copies).

Will British Labour provide munitions for this (3 copies).

Letter of Archbishop Walsh dated 10 Nov.1919 (2 copies).

Also the following pamphlets and leaflets:

Done to Death: Letter of the Bishop of Killaloe
 Ireland's Plebiscite
 Can Ireland pay her way?
 What is wrong with Ireland?
 Constitution (Irish & English), Scheme of Organisation,
 Rules &c. of Sinn Fein (printed) (26 copies).

Leaflet : The language of the outlaw.

" A letter from Moya Llewelyn Davies of 55,
 Campden House Rd. printed as propaganda for
 W.Wicklow election (8 copies).

Pamphlets : The Voice of Ireland.

Irish Councils for Irish Freedom (3 copies)

Register of Electors 1919, W.Wicklow Parliamentary
 Division : Typed list of voters in different townlands

Sample ballot paper - experimental P.R. election (for
 instruction purposes).

Notifications from Returning Officer that Miss D. Barton
 has been nominated for Wicklow Co. Council and
 Rathdrum R.D. C. elections.

A telegram.

Voting papers for R.D.C. (6 copies).

Leaflet : To the men and women of Wicklow (9 copies)

" General instructions for Co. Council.

Poster showing result of election for R.D.C. of Rathdrum
 The Local Government (Ireland) Acts 1898, to 1919.

Envelope 5.

A bundle of pamphlets - A fragment of 1916 history (8 copies).

Election leaflets: What the Parliamentarians think of Westminster.

- A.5. Parliamentarianism in a nutshell (4 copies)
 - B.1. The Party and the Land Tax.
 - B.2. You are now paying £35,000,000 for slavery
 - B.3. Profits and Loss (4 copies).
 - C.1. The Workers and the Election.
 - C.4. There is a Conscription Act on the English Statute Book.
 - E.1. John Dillon's two voices.
 - F.11. Na Fiortha Beaga.
 - F.32. Patriotism and Internationalism.
 - N.3. What is the true principle of Irish Nationality?
 - O.1. The Late Bishop of Limerick and the Irish Party (a large number).
 - O.2. Who Owns Ireland?
 - T.3. Who are the Traitors to Ireland?
 - T.11. Mr. Dillon wants to see Poland, Finland, Bohemia, Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, Roumania, Alsace-Lorraine absolutely independent.
- Hard Facts - (a large bundle).

Who are these who want the English Government to conscript you? (3 copies - a list of Irish M.Ps.)

Irish Mothers! Do you want your children kidnapped? (a large bundle of leaflets).

How the English Parliament taxes Ireland (a large bundle)

Done to death (letter from Dr. M. Fogarty of Killaloe).

Farmers, your turn now!

Economic Conscription.

Conscription - Hold the Harvest (7 copies).

No conscription now or after the harvest (4 copies).

Lá na mBan (form for signing the Women's Anti-Conscription Pledge).

John Redmond supports conscription.

Electors of Waterford for whom will you vote?

The advice of Most Rev. Dr. Hallinan to the Nationalists of Waterford.

Labour Party Leaflet No. 1A. Their programme. Easter Week, 1916.

You have been represented in Westminster for 118 years. (5 copies).

Letter from Archbishop Walsh (10 Nov. 1919) to Cardinal O'Connell.

Irish Bishop speaks (Dr. Fogarty).

Ar son a Ibirt (in memory of Terence McSwiney).

Cartoon by G. Plunkett : "Which do you choose?" (2 copies)
 " W. Williams : Conscription.

Copy of last letter of P.H. Pearse to his mother.

Envelope 6.

Pictorial handbills by Countess Markievicz
 (Post Treaty) :-

The Bodyguard of the Republic.

True to the Republic.

Cathal Brugha

A Testimonial for the Black and Tans.

A.G. 1922. Into the Empire.

Free Staters in Action.

Diarmuid O'Hegarty, Free State Jailer.

J. Bull - "I'll give you all the guns
 you want - I'll give you 18 pounders &c.
 (2 copies).

Midnight Assassins (3 different specimens).

Pierce Beasley, Free State Censor.

Free State Freaks, No. 1, Sean O'Murthuile

do. No. 2, Desmond Fitzgerald.

Reinforcements for the Free Staters (2 copies)

Terence MacSuihbne, Republican Prisoners

Hunger Strike.

Mick Hayes

Oscar Traynor

"Father, forgive them, for they know not
 what they do".

Harry Boland assassinated July 31st 1922.

Clerical smoke screen.

Envelope 7. Handbills, 1918 Election, and Dail writing paper,
 contains the following handbills:-

A.4. What other people think of Westminster (2 copies).

A.7. Irishmen, are you going to send representatives
 to England, &c. (several copies).

A.18. The execution of a leader of the Easter Week
 Rising (several copies).

F.3. Do you stand by Wolfe Tone (3 copies).

F.12. The Czecho-Slovaks are demanding independence
 (several copies).

F.13. International conversations I. (do.)

F.14. do. do. II. (do.)

F.16. What will you vote for? Independence? (do.)

N.3. What is the true principle of Irish Nationality?
 (3 copies).

T.1. Which is the Irish Party? (do.)

T.2. A voice from the grave (Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer).

No. 11. Can Ireland stand alone?
 Your vote determines your future.

Hand bills &c. connection with W. Wicklow election:

Ireland a Nation (5 copies).

No foreign government.

A bundle of ballot papers with X opposite
 Barton's name.

To the men and women of W. Wicklow.

Sinn Fein (appeal for funds) 5 copies.

Poster, Myles Byrne and Michael Dwyer (a bundle).

Lord French's Proclamation of 18 May 1918, to
 which is attached one by R.C.B. "Proclamation
 by the people of W. Wicklow."

One copy each of the following (All Ireland Handbills) annotated by R.C.B. - F.14, A.7, O.2, F.16, No. 11. Exchange is no Robbery. Manifesto of the General Election and of the following W. Wicklow handbills:

No foreign government.

Your vote determines your future.

Dwyer calls.

Parnell 1885 - De Valera 1919

Ireland a Nation.

Myles Byrne and Michael Dwyer

To the Men and Women of W. Wicklow.

Some sheets of Dail notepaper (Agricultural Dept).

Tied together (in no envelope) are bundles of the following pamphlets:-

National series, No. 2. The Truth about the Treaty and Document No. 2.

National series, No. 4. Free State promises Queen Elizabeth's alternative.

Tied in another bundle are:-

English horrors in Irish jails, Statement of Charles Kenny re his treatment in jail (2 copies).

Eamon de Valera states his case. A reprint of an article in the Christian Science Monitor, 15 May 1918 (several copies).

What the I.R.A. crux in Limerick means (several copies).

Your vote determines your future (Handbill for W. Wicklow election) (several copies).

Leaflet No. 3. Work for a Sinn Fein Branch (3 copies).

Extract from Sinn Fein ad. in Irish Independent of 2nd Dec. 1912, with the following comment (by a lady?) - "What would your father, Charles Barton, say?"

Ireland a nation (several copies).

Fr. O'Flanagan's suppressed speech (3 copies).

Several copies of handbills A.7, F.12, F.13, F.14, F.16 and of 'No foreign government', "Dwyer calls" and "Parnell 1885 - De Valera 1918".

Fourteen copies of "An Interim Report on Milk Production," March 1920, issued by the Commission of Inquiry into the Industrial Resources of Ireland.

A bundle containing 11 copies of "Iris Dáil Éireann an chead Thionól, 1919" and two copies of the "Constructive Work of Dáil Éireann No. 1 (National Police and Courts of Justice).

Papers wrapped in front sheet of the "Wicklow People":-

Draft Constitution of the Irish Free State (1922)

Bundle of Forms A (Instructions to Personation or Polling Agents).

Leaflet: National Series No.4. Free State Promises.

Two typed drafts of Poblacht na hÉireann. Democratic Programme (issued on behalf of 2nd Dáil).

Manuscript extracts from proposed Constitution of Irish Free State re War, the Crown and Common Citizenship.

- Letter (10 March 1922) from M. O'Cearbhaill, O/C. Battin.V Co, Wicklow, informing R.C.B. that practically all the people of that area will vote Free State.
- Letter, 14.3.23, from Tomas O'Broin re meetings to be arranged.
- Letter (to each Republican T.D. from Cumann na Poblachta, 23 Suffolk St. re collection for "Uphold the Republic Fund".)
- Letter, 11.3.22, from A. Ni Griobhtha, Cluain Ruadh, Ath na Scairbhe, re meeting to be held at Bray.
- Letter (8.3.20) from T. de Burca to R.C.B. enclosing Agenda for next Sunday's meeting.
- Election Scheme (typed circular) (Notes by R.C.B. at back).
- Copy of 'The Fenian' (No.64) Sept. 25 (1922?)
- No. 7 copy of 'Freedom' Sept. 24, contains drawing by Countess Markievicz of the branded arm of J. O'Reilly and a letter from L. Ginnell to the Archbishop of Dublin re murders by the 'Murder Gang' in Oriel House.
- A bundle (1) wrapped in newspaper and labelled the 'Bulletin'. The earliest is dated 15 June 1921, the latest 5 Dec. 1921. Many numbers missing. Attached to the last number are pamphlet 'Criticism of the letter of Gen. Smuts and 'Correspondence relating to the proposals of His Majesty's Government for an Irish settlement'.
- A bundle of Irish Bulletins wrapped in brown paper and covering part of the same periods as (1) Aug. and Sept. 1921, many numbers missing and some duplicated.
- Bundle of copy books wrapped in newspaper and labelled 'Plebiscite Books 1918, West Wicklow'. These are of two sorts - (1) An appeal of the Irish Nation to the Peace Conference with signatures of the people of the different townlands of W. Wicklow. (2) Black Books, with names of people who refused to sign.
- A large bundle of leaflets wrapped in newspaper and labelled 'Post-Treaty' containing some 80 copies of the Leaflet No.10: "On the Proper Shoulders". The subject is England's responsibility for the Civil War.
- Another bundle wrapped in newspaper and labelled 'Post Treaty' containing one or more copies of the following leaflets and handbills :
- Is Ireland a danger to England?
 - The Most Rev. Dr. Mannix on the Position (No.11).
 - Saorstát Eireann. To whom it may concern.
 - The Alternative to the Treaty, Document No.2. (No.6)
 - The Responsibility, No.5.
 - When England gave the Orders (in verse).
 - Your King and Country calls.
 - Exchange is robbery.
 - Vote for National Peace and Prosperity.
 - Vote against Sinn Fein and for £30,000,000 of open and secret taxation by England.
 - Ulster betrayed, by Fr. Isidore Mooney (No.9).
 - The Responsibility (No.8).
 - Mick's Conversion (in verse).
 - Archbishop Mannix says: "Ask yourself why every enemy of Ireland is on the side of Mr. Cosgrave and his party."
 - Find out which side it is that is friendly with Bloody Balfour &c.
 - Kevin O'Higgins's speech on the Flogging Bill was received with warmest and most prolonged outburst of approval yet heard in either House of the Oireachtas (Irish Times 27.7.1923).

National Treaty No. 1 "What the Treaty means".

£37,865 per year expended on Tim Healy (21).

They went into the Empire "with their hands up."

They said the Treaty would fill Irish pockets (8).

The Irish people in the past always voted against British
Tyranny &c.) (11).

A policy of blood and iron (12).

Before the Election they promised to keep the Pact &c. (14)
your

Do you think/representatives should be worms in England,
Tigers in Ireland (16).

The Free Staters when they were Republicans killed R.I.C.&c.

At the last Election 620,283 Irish voters &c. (No.17).

Lloyd George "The Home Secretary was bound to take stern
action to help those who are fighting the Battle
of the British Empire &c." (No.18).

The British Govt. threatened terrible war &c. (No.3).

Step off that stepping stone now. (24 copies).

Is Ireland a part of England? (A.3).

Heroes and Martyrs (Verse).

The Labour Party stands by the Democratic Programme.

Lucht Oibre Abú.

Heads Up (No.6).

Letter from Archbishop Walsh, 10 Nov. 1919.

To the electors of Kildate and Wicklow.

Why Rory O'Connor was shot.

Who stands for the sovereignty of the Irish People? by
E. de Valera.

