CABINET 36 (22).

CONCLUSIONS of a Meeting of the Cabinet
held in Mr. Chamberlain's Room, House
of Commons, S.W.1., on Friday, 30th June,
1922, at 12, noon.

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PRESENT:

THE PRIME MINISTER (IN THE CHAIR).

Right Hon., The Earl of Balfour,
G.B.E., K.C., M.P.; Lord President of the
Council.

Right Hon., E. Shortt, K.C.,
Secretary of State for Home
Affairs.

Right Hon., The Viscount Peel,
K.C., Secretary of State for
Scotland.

Right Hon., Lord Lee of Fareham,
K.C.B., First Lord of the
Treasury.

Right Hon., Sir A. Mond, Bart.,
M.P., Minister of Health.

Right Hon., Sir A. Griffith-
Bawen, M.P., Minister of Agriculture
and Fisheries.

Right Hon., R. Munro, K.C., M.P.,
Secretary for Scotland.

The Right Hon., Sir Robert Horne,
K.C., M.P.; Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Right Hon., W.S. Churchill,
M.P.; Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The Right Hon., S. Baldwin, M.P.;
President of the Board of Trade.

The Right Hon., H.A.L. Fisher, M.P.;
President of the Board of Education.

The Right Hon., T.J. Macnamara,
M.P.; Minister of Labour.

The Right Hon., Sir Hamar Greenwood,
Bart., K.C., M.P.; Chief
Secretary for Ireland.

The Right Hon., The Earl of Crawford
and Balcarres, K.T., First Commiss-
ioner of Works.

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R.B. Howorth, ........................................ Assistant Secretary.
(1) With reference to Conferences of Ministers held on 28th June 1922.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies gave the Cabinet an account of the latest developments in Ireland. The prolongation of the operations by the Free State troops against the Four Courts, coupled with the suggestion that had been put about that the Free State Government was acting at the behest of the British Government, had to some extent reacted adversely on public opinion. The Secretary of State appealed to any of his colleagues who were making speeches to dwell on the fact that they should avoid any suggestion that the Free State Government was acting on British inspiration, and to lay stress on the fact that they have undertaken the task on their own initiative.

Mr Churchill reported that the greater part of the Four Courts had been captured on the previous evening and that 23 prisoners had been taken. 27 had been killed and 72 wounded.

10,000 rifles, 4 additional field guns, and other requirements, had been furnished to the Free State forces at the request of the Free State Government. At one time ammunition had run short, but now there were ample supplies.

Mr Churchill then read a Proclamation which had been issued by the Free State Government in reply to the proclamation issued by the Republicans. This document met with general commendation.

Towards the end of the meeting information was received of further developments in the situation at Dublin, including the burning of and an explosion at the Four Courts.
The Cabinet had before them a report of a Conversation held at 10, Downing Street, on June 21, 1923, in regard to the admission of Germany to the League of Nations.

After the Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had amplified the reasons given in the above report in favour of the admission of Germany to the League, the Cabinet unanimously agreed —

To approve the general policy recommended, which is set forth in the report in the following terms:—

(a) That it was desirable that Germany should be admitted as a Member of the Assembly and of the Council of the League of Nations:

(b) That a direct proposal on these lines to the French Government was bound to lead to a refusal:

(c) That the most-hopeful plan appeared to be to let the French Government know that we were generally in favour of the admission of Germany to the League, without entering into discussions with them on the subject:

(d) That the Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs should discuss with the British Ambassador in Paris, now on a visit to this country, the best manner of approaching the French Government on the subject:

(e) That the Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs should authorise the British Ambassador in Berlin to encourage the German Government to apply for membership of the League of Nations before the next meeting of the Assembly, and to let the German Government know that the representatives of the British Government on the League would support the admission of Germany to membership of the Council.
The Cabinet had before them a Memorandum by the President of the Board of Trade on the subject of the United States Ship Subsidy Bill (Paper G.P.-4032).

The President of the Board of Trade made a statement to the Cabinet summarising in detail the proposals contained in the Memorandum.

The Cabinet were informed that there was opposition to the Bill in the United States of America, and that this opposition would be weakened by any British threat of retaliation.

Considerable discussion took place as to what would be the effect of retaliation, and whether it would affect British or United States shipping the more adversely. Some stress was laid on the fact that the passage of the Bill would result in retaliatory measures against American shipping being taken in other countries, which measures might operate against British shipping. This would result in chaos similar to that which existed already in regard to the exchanges.

The Cabinet agreed —

(a) That any policy of retaliation or threat of retaliation against the United States of America should only be embarked upon with the utmost caution and after exhaustive enquiry:

(b) That the British Ambassador in Washington (the Right Hon. Sir Auckland Geddes), who is due to visit this country within a short time, should be invited to attend a meeting of the Cabinet in order to advise on the question:

(c) That the President of the Board of Trade should be invited to furnish the Cabinet with further information regarding the approximate number of British ships calling at United States ports, and of United States ships calling at ports in the British Empire, and also with a rough estimate of the reciprocal damage which would be inflicted on British and American shipping respectively by the adoption of a policy of retaliation.
With reference to Cabinet 35 (22), Conclusion 6, the Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs read to the Cabinet his draft of a despatch, prepared in accordance with the Conclusion of the Cabinet quoted above, for transmission to the debtor Powers.

Having regard to the importance of covering the whole field, the suggestion was made that the proposed despatch should state specifically that the British Government would be prepared to forego Great Britain's reparation claims as part of a general scheme for the liquidation of inter-Allied debts, and also that emphasis should be laid in the despatch on the fact that Great Britain had borrowed her debt to the United States Government in order that she might be able to lend it to her other Allies.

The Cabinet agreed —

(a) To approve generally the terms of the draft despatch to the debtor Powers, subject to the following considerations:

(i) That the draft despatch should contain a statement to the effect that Great Britain's debt to the United States was incurred for the sole purpose of financing her other Allies:

(ii) That the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary of State for War should furnish the Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with material for a paragraph indicating the willingness of the British Government to forego Great Britain's reparation claims as part of a general scheme for liquidating inter-Allied debts:

(b) That the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the should take steps to consult the Dominions and India on the policy embodied in the despatch, and particularly on the proposed references to reparations, with a view to ascertaining their views:

(c) That when the despatch was transmitted to the debtor Powers, a copy of it should be sent unofficially to the United States Government.
(5) The Cabinet were informed that it was highly desirable that, if possible, the British Navy should be adequately represented at the forthcoming opening of the Exhibition at Rio de Janeiro.

The Cabinet agreed —

That His Majesty's Ships "HOOD" and "REPULSE" should be sent to Rio de Janeiro, and that the extra cost of fuel (estimated at £50,000) should be charged against General Savings on Navy Votes, and should not be charged against the Fuelling Vote.
6. With reference to Cabinet 26(22) Minute 3, the Cabinet had before them the 116th Conclusions of the Home Affairs Committee, Minute 1, and also a Memorandum by the Minister of Labour (C.P.4072) on Trade Board policy.

The Cabinet agreed --

(a) to defer consideration of the question until a future meeting, in order to give more time for the consideration of the Minister of Labour's Memorandum.

(b) that the President of the Board of Trade should carefully examine the Memorandum from the point of view of the trader and advise the Cabinet as to its general effect.
With reference to Cabinet 34(22) Conclusion 5 relative to the setting up of two Cabinet Committees to consider Fighting Services estimates and the Civil Service estimates for 1923/24, the Cabinet agreed --

that the personnel of the two Committees should be modified by the Secretary of State for India taking the place of the Minister of Health on the Civil Service Committee, and the Minister of Health taking the place of the Secretary of State for India on the Fighting Services Committee.
the Cabinet had under consideration a Memorandum by the Minister of Health (C.P.4029) relative to
the present situation regarding epidemics in
Russia. Among other suggestions, the Memorandum urged that Great Britain should offer to make a
maximum contribution of £302,500 to the Epidemics Fund to be raised by the League of Nations.

The Cabinet agreed —

to refer for settlement the suggestions contained in the Minister of Health's Memorandum (C.P.4029) to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Minister of Health.
9. The Cabinet had under consideration Memoranda by the President of the Board of Education (C.8.3973 and C.8.4065) on the subject of the recommendations contained in the Report of the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities. The Cabinet were informed that the only unavoidable difficulty to be met related to the question of the enfranchisement of women at Cambridge, and that it was proposed in the event of a clause being moved in Committee of the House making it an instruction to the Commission to provide for the admission of women, that the Minister in charge of the Bill should indicate the reasons why the Government desired to leave this matter to the decision of the University, but announcing at the same time that it was not intended to put on the Government Whips.

The Cabinet agreed —

to refer the question of the attitude to be adopted by the Government regarding the enfranchisement of women at Cambridge to the Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the President of the Board of Education for decision.
(10) The Cabinet took note of the following:

(a) Committee of Home Affairs No. 114, held on June 18, 1922, at 4.0 p.m.:

1. Parliamentary Business.
2. Milk and Dairies Bill.
3. Public Works Loans Bill.
4. Solicitors' Bill.
5. Law Property Bill.
6. Exports Credits Bill.
7. Burgh Registers (Scotland) Bill.
8. British Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill.

(Appendix I.)

(b) Indemnity (Ireland) Bill, 1922.
Note by the Secretary, Cabinet.
(Paper C.P.-4088).

(Appendix II.)

(c) Conference of Ministers held on June 22, 1922, at 5 p.m.:

3. Search of Suspects.
4. Precautions in regard to British Troops in Ireland.
5. Arrest of Suspected Persons.
6. Situation in the Four Courts in Dublin.
8. Appreciation of the Services of the Police.

(Appendix III.)

Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1,
June 30, 1922.
SECRET.

H.A.C. 114th Conclusions.

CABINET.

COMMITTEE OF HOME AFFAIRS. 114.

Conclusions of a Meeting of the above Committee, held in the Ministers' Conference Room, House of Commons, S.W., on Tuesday, June 13, 1922, at 4 p.m.

Present:

The Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P., President of the Board of Education (in the Chair).


The Right Hon. Sir Alfred Mond, Bart., M.P., Minister of Health.

The Right Hon. R. Munro, K.C., M.P., Secretary for Scotland.

The Right Hon. F. G. Kellaway, M.P., Postmaster-General.

The following were also present:

Lieutenant-Colonel the Right Hon. Leslie Wilson, C.M.G., D.S.O., M.P., Joint Parliamentary Secretary, Treasury.

Sir Claude Schuster, K.C.B., C.V.O., K.C., Permanent Secretary, Lord Chancellor's Office. (For Conclusion 4.)

Sir A. D. Hall, K.C.B., F.R.S., Chief Scientific Adviser, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. (For Conclusion 2.)

Sir A. V. Symonds, K.C.B., Second Secretary, Ministry of Health. (For Conclusion 2.)

Mr. Pembroke Wicks, Secretary to the Committee.

Mr. T. St. Quintin Hill, Principal, Cabinet.
1. The Chairman drew attention to the large number of Bills which were under consideration either in Parliament or before the Committee, in addition to various other Bills in preparation in the Departments, and invited the observations of the Chief Whip on the amount of parliamentary time available for their discussion.

Colonel Leslie Wilson stated that between Monday, 19th June and 3rd August there were only twenty-eight full parliamentary days and four half days. Of these at least eleven must be allotted for Supply and 7 for the remaining stages of the Finance Bill, which would leave not more than ten full days and four half days for legislation. Of the legislation, of which the Whips had already had notice, the most controversial was the Teachers' Superannuation Bill and the Economy Bill. If the Committee stage of the Teachers' Superannuation Bill was taken on the floor of the House, that would occupy two days, and he hoped it would be possible for it to be sent upstairs. In addition to that, there were Supplementary Estimates, the regulations under Part 2 of the Safeguarding of Industries Act, the debate on Cattle Embargo, the report stages of several Bills, several minor Bills now in the Lords, and various other matters. The debate on the Summer Time Bill would also occupy some time. This was apart altogether from debates on Ireland and the proposed loan to Northern Ireland. He would, therefore, ask the Committee not to authorise any further legislation except of a clearly non-contentious character. With the present programme it would almost certainly be necessary for the House to sit up till the 10th or 13th August, unless some of the Bills were dropped.

The Chairman drew the attention of the Committee to the desirability of passing a Bill setting up a Statutory Commission to give effect to the recommendation of the Royal Commission in Oxford and Cambridge.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour drew attention to the proposed Bill to amend the law relating to Trade Boards, which was about to be considered by a Sub-Committee of the Home Affairs Committee, and would undoubtedly be controversial.

The President of the Board of Trade stated that the Board of Trade had one or two Bills in the House of Lords, and apart from that there was a Bill relating to Weights and Measures, which was ready for introduction in the House of Commons, but could, if necessary, be postponed.

The Secretary for Scotland stated that the Scottish Office were very anxious that the Scottish Allotment Bill should be introduced in the House of Lords that week, and it was essential that it should be passed if the English measure became law. There were certain other Scottish Bills, such as the University of Scotland Bill, but they were non-contentious.

The Minister of Health stated that the Milk Bill must be passed that Session in order to prevent the coming into operation of the Milk and Dairies Act of 1915, a measure which would throw heavy expenditure both on the Exchequer and the local authorities.

The Committee agreed—

That no further legislation of a controversial character should be authorised except where it was absolutely necessary for reasons of statutory urgency.
2. The Committee had under consideration a Memorandum by the Ministry of Health (C.P. 4004) covering a draft of a Bill to amend "The Milk and Dairies (Consolidation) Act, 1915."

It appeared that the Act referred to must come into operation not later than the 1st September unless amended by further legislation, and would involve the detailed control of the production of milk on farms, throwing an additional burden on the farmer and causing expense to the County Councils of some three-quarters of a million pounds per annum on inspecting staff. It would also entail the issue of a Tuberculosis Order providing for the destruction of tuberculous cattle with compensation to the farmers, of which the cost to the Exchequer and to local authorities would amount to nearly £1,000,000 per annum in a few years' time. It was also necessary to make provision for the expiry of two Orders issued by the late Ministry of Food relating to adulteration of milk and licences for the sale of certified milk.

The Minister of Health stated that in the present financial conditions it was impossible to expect the country to tolerate the universal inspection of farms which would be involved under the Act of 1915. By way of compromise he therefore presented the clauses of an amending Bill to the following effect:

(a.) To suspend operation of the 1915 Act for three years from the 1st September.
(b.) To give power to a local authority to refuse to register or remove from the register any cowkeeper, dairymen or milk seller where such appears to be in the interests of public health, with the right of appeal to a court of summary jurisdiction.
(c.) To empower local authorities to issue licences for the sale of certified milk, subject only to a bacterial test and inspection of cows instead of the present tuberculin test. This provision would bring the production of Grade A milk within the competence of any decent farmer.
(d.) To make it a penal offence knowingly to sell or offer the milk of a cow suffering from tuberculosis of the udder.
(e.) To prohibit the addition of colouring matter or water to milk intended for sale.

The Minister of Health continued that it would be impossible simply to repeal the 1915 Act owing to the great controversy such a proposal would give rise to.

The Secretary for Scotland stated that the Scottish Board of Health were in agreement with the main provisions of the Bill. He desired an amendment of the Scottish clause. It was desirable that a tuberculin test should continue in Scotland and the proposals in the Bill relating to certified milk would be regarded as retrograde. It was also proposed that Local Authorities providing milk under the powers of the Defence of the Realm Act Regulations should be entitled to continue the supply.

The Minister of Agriculture agreed that simply to repeal the 1915 Act would be impossible. All the more progressive farmers were in favour of supplying milk of better quality. It was, however, necessary to proceed slowly in order not to diminish the supply. He had no objections to the proposals put forward by the Minister of Health. He suggested that in Clause 2 (i) the power to a Local Authority to remove from the register should be limited to purveyors and should not extend to cow-keepers or dairymen.
Some discussion took place on the point whether registration of cow-keepers was not already covered by the Dairies Order of 1885.

The Committee agreed—

To approve the Draft Bill and to authorise the Minister of Health to arrange for its introduction in Parliament, subject to the amendment of the Scottish Clause in the sense desired by the Secretary for Scotland, the point raised by the Minister of Agriculture on Clause 2 (i) to be discussed between the Minister of Agriculture and the Minister of Health.

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3. The Committee had under consideration a note by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (C.P. 4015) covering a draft of a Bill to grant money for the purpose of certain local loans out of the local loans fund.

To approve the draft Bill and to authorise the Financial Secretary to the Treasury to introduce it in the House of Commons.

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4. The Committee had under consideration the draft of a Bill to make further provision with respect to the qualification of persons proposing to become solicitors.

The general object of the Bill was to improve the arrangements under which a person who desires to qualify as a solicitor should obtain his education.

The Bill had been prepared in close consultation with and largely at the suggestion of the Law Society who strongly supported it.

Sir Claude Schuster stated that the Solicitors' Managing Clerks' Association desired to have more safeguards for themselves in the Bill and accordingly their attitude might give rise to some discussion in the House of Commons.

The Chairman enquired, having regard to the congestion of business in Parliament, what degree of urgency attached to the measure.

Sir Claude Schuster stated that the Bill could not be regarded as any more urgent than it had been for some time, but the Law Society were pressing for it.

The Committee agreed—

(1.) To authorise the President of the Board of Education to arrange for the introduction of the Solicitors Bill in the House of Lords on the understanding that it should not be proceeded with in the House of Commons if time did not permit;

(2.) That the Solicitor-General should have charge of the Bill in the House of Commons.

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5. The Solicitor-General raised a point in connection with the Law of Property Bill referred to in his letter to the Chairman (C.P. 4005), from which it appeared that in the discussions on the Law of Property Bill he had provisionally accepted an amendment deleting a provision of the Trade Union Act, 1871, by which a Trades Union is precluded from buying or leasing
land of a greater extent than one acre. He desired the authority of the Home Affairs Committee to confirm this proposal. The Committee agreed—
To approve the action taken by the Solicitor-General.

6. The Committee had under consideration a Memorandum by the President of the Board of Trade relating to a Bill to amend the Overseas Trade Credits and Insurance Acts 1920–21, in which it was proposed that the date on which the Board of Trade might enter into an agreement to give guarantees in respect of business transactions should be deemed to be the date on which the guarantees were given, whether the Agreement provided for the giving of guarantees in respect of specific transactions or for the giving of guarantees generally in respect of transactions up to a specified amount.

It appeared that the question had arisen whether the date of the giving of a guarantee should be the date on which the Department gave its sanction or the date on which the transaction was actually made. The Law Officers had advised that in the case of a system of general credits the date of the actual transaction must be the operative date for the purpose of the Act. Under the provisions of the Acts no fresh guarantees could be given after the 8th September. An agreement to give guarantees usually covered a period of six months. Consequently any transactions taking place after the 8th September would not be covered although the Department might have agreed to give their guarantee before that date. It was the object of the Bill to cure this defect. It was understood that the Treasury concurred in the proposal. The Committee agreed—
To approve the draft Bill and to authorise the President of the Board of Trade to arrange for its introduction in Parliament.

7. The Committee had under consideration the draft of a Bill (C.P. 4007) to provide for the discontinuance of Burgh Registers of Sasines in Scotland and for the registration of writs in the appropriate division of the general register of Sasines relating to land, which writs, under the present practice, are recorded in the burgh registers. The Committee agreed—
To approve the draft Bill and to authorise the Secretary for Scotland to arrange for its introduction in the House of Lords on the understanding that it should not be proceeded with in the House of Commons if time would not permit.

8. The Committee had under consideration a memorandum by the Home Secretary (C.P. 4010) covering the draft of a Bill to amend the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Acts 1914–18.

It appeared that under the existing law only children of the first generation born of British parents in foreign countries acquired British nationality. It was proposed in the Bill to
enable British nationality to be maintained through successive generations by registration of the children at birth by a British consul, and by further registration on attaining the age of 21 of a declaration that British nationality was being retained. The concurrence of all the Dominion Governments had been obtained. There was strong demand for the Bill which was non-controversial.

The Committee agreed—

To approve the draft of the British Nationality Bill, and to authorise the Home Secretary to introduce it in the House of Commons.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W. 1,
June 14, 1922.
CABINET.

INDEMNITY (IRELAND) BILL, 1922.

(Note by the Secretary).

With reference to Cabinet 15(22), Conclusion 8, the Prime Minister has approved an arrangement whereby the Indemnity (Ireland) Bill, 1922, (C.P.3759) will be introduced by the Secretary of State for War and not by the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

As this arrangement affects a Cabinet decision it is proposed to take note of it at the next meeting of the Cabinet.

(Sgd.) M.P.A. HANKEY,
Secretary to the Cabinet.

2, Whitchall Gardens, S.W.,
27th June, 1922.
CONCLUSIONS of a Conference of Ministers held at 10, Downing Street, S.W., on Thursday, 22nd June, 1922, at 5.0 p.m.

PRESENT:

THE PRIME MINISTER (IN THE CHAIR).


The Right Hon. Sir L. Worthington-Evans, Bart., M.P., Secretary of State for War (For Conclusion 5).

THE FOLLOWING WERE ALSO PRESENT:


Colonel Carter, Scotland Yard.

Mr. G. K. B. A., Assistant of Metropolitan Police.

Mr. G. K. B. S., Commissioner of Police.

Lt.-Col. Sir M.P.A. Hankey, G.C.B., Secretary, Cabinet.
The Conference met at short notice to discuss a number of questions arising out of the murder early in the afternoon, of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson.

At intervals during the meeting details of the tragedy were received.

(1) The measures of Police protection for Cabinet Ministers, which had lately been withdrawn on the easing of the Irish situation, had been re-instated;

(2) That it had been decided to close the Galleries of the House of Commons.

The Prime Minister suggested that protection should also be given to Lord Carson and Captain Charles Craig, M.P.

(3) General Horwood and Colonel Childs, in reply to questions, stated that there were about thirty dangerous Irishmen under observation by the police in London. These persons were mainly connected with the Irish Self-Determination League, the activities of which were mainly of a propagandist order and were kept separate from the military activities of the Irish Republican Army. It was doubtful, therefore, whether search of these persons and their premises would throw any light on the murder. They said would present legal difficulties and pointed out that the persons whose premises were searched could bring an action against the police for entering their premises without authority. On the other hand, the Conference were reminded that if the police had good reasons for suspicion, it was unlikely that an action
would be brought and much less that the case would go against the police.

During this discussion information from Secret Service sources was communicated by General Horwood and read out to the Conference by Mr. Churchill. This indicated the probability of the renewal of activity and outrages by the extreme section of the I.R.A.

The Conference felt that it was vital to follow up Sir Henry Wilson’s murder without a moment’s delay and that no steps should be neglected which might help to clear up the situation.

It was therefore agreed:—

That the police should search the premises of suspected and dangerous persons and should effect arrests in case of discovery of weapons or anything else specially suspicious.

(General Horwood and Colonel Childs left to make the necessary arrangements for this search.)

(4) The Secret Service information referred to above contained a warning as to the danger to British soldiers walking about in Dublin.

In view of the situation which might be precipitated by the murder of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, the Conference agreed:—

That the Secretary of State for War should be told that the Prime Minister and the Lord Privy Seal considered that every possible precaution should be taken and that it would be prudent to confine British soldiers in Dublin to barracks the same evening.

(The Secretary was instructed to transmit this information to the Secretary of State for War by telephone, which he did.

The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR drew the Secretary’s attention to the objections which the...
General Officer Commanding-in-Chief had to confining troops to barracks, and asked whether an order should be issued.

The Prime Minister and the Lord Privy Seal advised that in the circumstances an order should be issued to the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief.

In transmitting this latter instruction, the Secretary understood that troops should be confined to barracks in Belfast as well as in Dublin, and intimated this to the Secretary of State for War, confirming the information in a letter.

Half-an-hour later, however, the Secretary of State joined the Conference, and at once raised the point as to whether the instructions had been intended to apply to Belfast as well as to Dublin, and the reply was in the negative.)

The Secretary of State for War was present for the discussion recorded in the following Conclusion.

(5) Shortly after the withdrawal of General Horwood and Colonel Childs, Colonel Carter, who had been sent by the police to view the documents taken on the captured men, and had been asked by telephone to attend the Conference on his return, arrived in the Cabinet Room with the documents and with the revolvers which had been used. General Horwood and Colonel Childs, having given their instructions as to the search of the premises of suspected persons, returned shortly after the arrival of Colonel Carter.

Colonel Carter then produced the two following documents:

(1) A printed scheme of organisation of the Irish Republican Army, in which reference...
was made to the necessity for an organisation in London;

(2) A typewritten letter (Appendix Z) which was read out. The intention of this letter appeared to be to give to persons planning further outrages, particulars of the lessons to be derived from a previous failure. The letter was annotated in a good manuscript handwriting.

The Conference learned by telephone that the signature of one of the prisoners to his finger-prints had been made in an educated and good handwriting.

The Conference agreed:

That the various documents produced in the aggregate provided prima facie evidence of the probability of a conspiracy in London which would justify the arrest of the suspected persons, and instructed General Horwood and Colonel Childs to take immediate steps for the arrest of suspected persons.

(Colonel Childs, under instructions from General Horwood, withdrew to make the necessary arrangements for carrying out this instruction).
(b) During the discussion of the various documents referred to above, attention was called to the situation in the Four Courts in Dublin, from which are believed to emanate the principal plots in Southern Ireland, in Northern Ireland and in the United Kingdom, and where it is reported considerable armaments, including guns, are stored.

The Conference felt it was intolerable that this situation should be allowed to continue, and that the Provisional Government of Ireland ought to be pressed to deal with the matter. It was also felt that the advice of the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief would be particularly useful in regard to this question.

After considerable discussion, the Conference agreed —

(a) That the Secretary of State for War should be asked to invite the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief to come over to London the same day.

(Sir Edward Grigg retired to communicate this information to the War Office, but returned to say that the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief was believed to be at Felleke, and it was doubtful if he could arrive in London by the following morning.)

(b) That the Secretary of State for the Colonies should draft a letter to Mr. Collins, stating that information had been received connecting the assassins of Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson with the I.R.A. and revealing the existence of a definite conspiracy; that there was reason to believe that preparations were being made among the irregular elements of the I.R.A. to attack the lives and property of British subjects both in England and in Ulster; that the ambiguous position of the I.R.A. could no longer be ignored and that it was intolerable that Mr. Rory O'Connor should be permitted to remain with his followers in open rebellion in the heart of Dublin in possession of the Courts of Justice, acting as a centre of murder organisation and propaganda. The letter should contain a demand that the Irish Provisional Government, which was now supported by the declared will of the Irish people, should bring this state of affairs to an end.
(b) During the discussion of the various documents referred to above, attention was called to the situation in the Four Courts in Dublin, from which are believed to emanate the principal plots in Southern Ireland, in Northern Ireland and in the United Kingdom, and where it is reported considerable armaments, including guns, are stored.

The Conference felt it was intolerable that this situation should be allowed to continue, and that the Provisional Government of Ireland ought to be pressed to deal with the matter. It was also felt that the advice of the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief would be particularly useful in regard to this question.

After considerable discussion, the Conference agreed —

(a) That the Secretary of State for War should be asked to invite the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief to come over to London the same day.

(Sir Edward Grigg retorted to communicate this information to the War Office, but returned to say that the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief was believed to be at Belleek, and it was doubtful if he could arrive in London by the following morning.)

(b) That the Secretary of State for the Colonies should draft a letter to Mr Collins, stating that information had been received connecting the assassins of Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson with the I.R.A. and revealing the existence of a definite conspiracy; that there was reason to believe that preparations were being made among the irregular elements of the I.R.A. to attack the lives and property of British subjects both in England and in Ulster; that the ambiguous position of the I.R.A. could no longer be ignored and that it was intolerable that Mr Rory O'Connor should be permitted to remain with his followers in open rebellion in the heart of Dublin in possession of the Courts of Justice, acting as a centre of murder organisation and propaganda. The letter should contain a demand that the Irish Provisional Government, which was now supported by the declared will of the Irish people, should bring this state of affairs to an end.
Mr. Churchill withdrew to draft this letter. The text of the letter was signed by the Prime Minister at about 3 p.m. and despatched by special messenger to Dublin the same evening. The letter is reproduced in Appendix II.

The Secretary of State for War said he had ascertained that Lady Wilson would like her late husband to be buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson was, of course, entitled to a Field Marshal's funeral. If this was agreed to, the Adjutant-General would approach the Dean of St. Paul's as soon as possible.

The Conference agreed —

(a) That Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson should be given a State Funeral at St. Paul's Cathedral, and that the Secretary of State for War should make the necessary arrangements:

(b) That as soon as the Dean of the Cathedral gave his consent, the Secretary of State for War should make public this arrangement.

The Conference agreed —

That the Home Secretary should be authorised to arrange for the Chief Commissioner of Police to put in Police Orders, on behalf of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, their appreciation of the great courage and determination shown by the Police in the arrest of the murderers of Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson.

(During the meeting, incorrect information was received to the effect that one of the Policemen who had been shot had subsequently died, and the Chief Commissioner of Police was authorised to send to the widow, on behalf of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, a suitable expression of condolence and appreciation of her husband's bravery. Later in the evening, however, it transpired that the information on which this decision was based was incorrect.)

At the conclusion of the meeting, the Home Secretary mentioned that it would be necessary, in connection with the schemes of protection for Ministers, to provide a certain number with motor-cars, which would involve certain expenditure.

The Home Secretary was asked to arrange this with the Treasury.

Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
June 22, 1923.
APPENDIX I.

Copy of Letter sent out of Prison by W.R. After his Arrest.

A. Chara 21. L'homme qui porte cette missive est une mie personnel de moi. Il m'a oblige quelquefois j'espere que ma mere le recevra bien. S'il vous dit quelquechose d'une mode de faire communication avec moi. Croyez vous a lui. Donnez-lui un Cead Mile Failte. Donnez-lui un bon "pourboire".

Regarding my accident the misfortune of falling into an unreconnoitred trap was due (1) to circumstances which upset original plans - see No.44 - and (2) to lack of time to recover owing to H.C. not having sent me address of Staff Meeting 11 days previously, and hence giving me notice only on Saturday previous to the stunt. I hope you'll tell the Boys and particularly those who were with me - I was covered like a rat in a trap. However on the road I put down my hand and drew. I had an old fashioned gun. You had to cock it and then fire. I had only a second. I thought I was cock-pressed - nothing went off. I pressed again and again. Meanwhile two Autos were blazing at me at 5 yards away. I then saw what was wrong. I was 1/2 cocked. I just lifted my thumb to cock, and was struck. My hand was paralised and thumb lifeless. The others had to get out and were scattered. A bullet grazed my neck. A moment more and I was done. A third man was on my right and I bolted zigzagging. I put the gun which was damaged in a bush in the front garden. It's no loss to the Pads. I couldn't use it. By hiding in the fields I dodged motorbyke searching on road home and so got off. No,61 had the W. He got out and left it. I am afraid that he was /fuddled
fuddled and no use for quick thought. Young Hill took cover first instead of clearing. Then he bolted, but others had come up and he was done. He told me had overlooked that till too late. All of us were quite cheerful. I didn't know that Aff was only 17. He is a good kid. You will see from this that I didn't fire at all. He has a good heart, but his nerve was not quite quick enough. I hope he has learnt caution. T would have got off but for the Cutters he had. Orders were to clear your house of all stuff and songs etc. when going out. His slackness meant his ruin. He was in good spirits, laughing all the time. Point out the lessons of the accident to the Lads. I hope they don't blame me. There was no preparation of defence with us, but I suppose the solicitor was unable. The jury were prejudiced or they wouldn't have got N. guilty. I saw several points that ought to have been put up for him and noted them down for the appeal. He wouldn't have appealed but that I made him. He didn't care 2d. He sang "Kelly of Killan" every day. Tell 44 somebody left a P.C. from me to a friend of mine named Byrne in a coat in my digs. He shouldn't have done. Nothing was found on or about my clothes or room. A P.C. lifted £1 or £2 I believe. I came here with only two as an escort, on foot to the station. I heard was going and sent word. I suppose the Truce prevented a rescue. I left the others well and cheerful, but hungry. However, here you get plenty of food D.G. I got worse after arrest at first. I have had permission to get J. down at my own expense.

I am in the same health as I was at arrest, but a bit weaker. Am now in hospital waiting for Pad to send J. Father D. is in hospital. There is trouble here over distinctions between us from St. Br. - Barrett, who is an old
man, McCann and Harding from Manchester and myself - London - and the lads from home. The latter have won separate treatment. We wanted it and struck. I am O.K. now in hospital, but the others are having a rough time. Get the Irish Soviets to send the solicitor, Mr. McD, to us. Tell him to ask for Maurice Cvc, Riordan, Barrett, McCann, Harding and myself. Crow is O.C. here. Riordan wants to see about a petition about his health. We all want prisoners of war treatment and immediately, abolition of distinction between us of Gt. Br. and those from Eire. The sooner he comes the better as McD. and Harding have had a rough time for A. weeks. Let the Irish in London back us up. Please tell the lads that if they criticise my methods etc. I was really quite unfit physically. My debility caused by my nasal disease used to make my head ache - and still does - and I couldn't carry on. I got absent minded, and my energy was sapped. I meant to resign in any case. And the slackness of some fellows made my job more difficult. Most of the lads were good and worthy on the force. But a few were washouts. Only the day before my arrest, when I ought to have been free to do my work, I had to hunt up a washout who had deserted and dismiss him. He was Smith No. 9. I can tell you how rotten I felt the week I was arrested. So I hope the lads will believe that had I been O.K. I would have done much better. However, I think I can say that I didn't do badly and that I left an organised and partly trained unit behind. My bike I left at 2, Whitehorse Lane, E, Croy. I sent word before about this, but I repeat it, I had a puncture and put it in a private house - the 75 buses pass the door, now that bike is worth new outer covers. It's a good bike. But sell the other - advertise - let it go at 35 guineas. Also hold another steepaca or two now whilst you /can
can. But 1½ dozen more W’s or preferably Auto. No more out of date. Insist on a proper system. You are entitled to meeting. Now is the time to reorganise. If four of you go and see the Big Fellow he would arrange an election. And recruits—let 44 and I concentrate on the district around. No.1 and so on. The place Smith comes from needs attention. Put 84 and 85 there permanently. Of course these are suggestions only. I now rank as Private. I shall write more later. Follow out our old plan of campaign if things recommence. Then all will be O.K. N.B. the stunt we reconnoitred last spring— you were on a common I think, would get us prisoners of war treatment. If you can communicate with me, send some ................. and Exiles and O.W. ............ I shall send to Mr. B’s friend, C—r—y. Tell him to be prepared to hear from me. I heard about that curious explosion.

do chara,

(Signed) LIAM
Downing Street,
22nd June, 1922

Dear Mr. Collins,

I am desired by His Majesty's Government to inform you that documents have been found upon the murderers of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson which clearly connect the assassins with the Irish Republican Army, and which further reveal the existence of a definite conspiracy against the peace and order of this country. Other information has reached His Majesty's Government showing that active preparations are on foot among the irregular elements of the I.R.A. to resume attacks upon the lives and property of British subjects both in England and in Ulster. The ambiguous position of the Irish Republican Army can no longer be ignored by the British Government. Still less can Mr. Rory O'Connor be permitted to remain with his followers and his arsenal in open rebellion in the heart of Dublin in possession of the Courts of Justice, organising and sending out from this centre enterprises of murder not only in the area of your Government but also in the six Northern Counties and in Great Britain. His Majesty's Government cannot consent to a continuance of this state of things, and they feel entitled to ask you formally to bring it to an end forthwith. Assistance has on various occasions been given to Dominions of the Empire in cases where their authority was challenged by rebellion on their soil; and His Majesty's Government are prepared to place at your disposal the necessary pieces of artillery which may be required, or
otherwise to assist you as may be arranged. But I am to inform you that they regard the continued toleration of this rebellious defiance of the principles of the Treaty as incompatible with its faithful execution. They feel that now you are supported by the declared will of the Irish People in favour of the Treaty, they have a right to expect that the necessary action will be taken by your Government without delay.

Yours etc.

(Sgd.) David Lloyd George.
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Yours etc.

(Sgd.) David Lloyd George.
Note for Secretary's Cabinet File.

A manuscript record of some discussions in regard to the position in the Force Court at Dublin, covering the period June 22nd - 25th, is preserved in a sealed envelope in the small safe in the Secretary's room.

W. P. A. H.

VI. 22.