

PATRICK MCGILLIGAN ADDITIONAL PAPERS

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P35c / Patrick McGilligan additional papers: content and structure

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I. MINISTER FOR FINANCE, 1948-51**A. IRELAND AND THE EUROPEAN RECOVERY PROGRAMME, 1948-49**

- 1 5 December 1948 Handwritten letter from Joe Downs, Mullingar, County Westmeath, to McGilligan, enclosing a letter from Dr H. Brunig, former German Chancellor, on the subject of currency problems in Europe and probable consequences of the Marshall Aid plan (5pp).

- 2 December 1948 2 typescript drafts of a memorandum prepared in External Affairs, entitled 'Use of E.C.A. Funds, Loans and Grants', concerning ways in which the monies could be used to increase Ireland's productivity (4pp). Minute by J.J. McElligott for McGilligan commenting on the External Affairs memo; 'any large scale release of fresh funds in this country would inevitably have inflationary effects on a big scale' (1p). Minute from External Affairs concerning a meeting to discuss use of E.C.A. funds and a suggestion from the Minister for Industry and Commerce [D. Morrissey] that these should be used to finance the building of factories (1p). Minute from T.K. Whitaker expressing the view that industrial development should be financed by private enterprise (1p).

- 3 January-February 1949 Copy of a typescript progress report requested by the Taoiseach, John A. Costello, on the reduction of duties on beer, tobacco and entertainment, and on the European Recovery Programme; with glosses by McGilligan (7pp). External Affairs memorandum for Government on the Tennessee Valley Authority whose problems have relevance for Ireland (8pp). Copy of a minute from T.K. Whitaker to G.P.S. Hogan on local currency funds and the possibility that Ireland will receive loan rather than grant aid. Minutes from J.J. McElligott and Hogan commenting on this (10pp).

- 4 February-April 1949 Minute from T.K. Whitaker to J.J. McElligott commenting on a memorandum from [Seán MacBride] the Minister for External Affairs, proposing the establishment of a Land Development Authority (13pp). Copy of a confidential memorandum by James Dillon, Minister for Agriculture, proposing the establishment of a Land Reclamation Fund, submitted to McGilligan for his 'perusal'

- 4 contd (8pp). Minute from T.K. Whitaker on the same project (7pp). Copies of 2 memoranda from Finance files of 1924 and 1925, consulted by McGilligan with reference to Dillon's proposal (2pp).
- 5 February-March 1949 Notes and minutes from Finance and External Affairs on the use of E.R.P. funds, including minutes by J.J. McElligott on matters for discussion with the Central Bank concerning the use of E.R.P. funds lying in the Bank, and government borrowing, with glosses by McGilligan. Typescript copy of notes made by J. Brennan, Governor of the Central Bank, following discussions with McGilligan on the American Loan Counterpart Fund. Extract from a minute from T.K. Whitaker to G.P.S. Hogan concerning the E.R.P. Interdepartmental Committee meeting on sterling assets and savings (11pp).
- 6 May 1949 **Economic Administration.** **Co-operation** Copies of correspondence between J.E. Carrigan, Chief, E.C.A. Mission to Ireland, and the Departments of Finance and External Affairs concerning the Irish government's handling of import licences for dollar goods (9pp). *The European Recovery Programme*, a Stationery Office report (16pp).
- 7 June-July 1949 Minute from Hugh McCann, Irish Delegation at Washington, to the Department of External Affairs, on the U.S. Senate's Appropriation Committee's proposal to slash E.R.P. (1p). Minute from J.J. McElligott to McGilligan on the use of counterpart funds for discussions with the Central Bank (1p). Copy of a report to the O.E.E.C. entitled *Ireland's Internal Financial Position* (20pp). Summary of a statement by Seán MacBride for the consideration of the Council of Ministers of the O.E.E.C. on the necessity for increased production without a contraction in American-European trade (4pp). Confidential report entitled *Behind the Commonwealth Scenes* issued by the Economic Intelligence Unit concerning dollar imports into the sterling area (2pp). British Board of Trade report on dollar expenditure within the sterling area (3pp).
- 8 August 1949 Minutes and reports of meetings held at Treasury Chambers, London, attended by J.J. McElligott and G.P.S. Hogan, to discuss the dollar crisis and E.R.P., and to inform the Irish government about the increasing dollar deficit, the reduction in sterling reserves and the administration of E.R.P. funds (35pp). Confidential report by T.K. Whitaker on a meeting between

- 8 contd** representatives of Finance and External Affairs, and representatives of the National City Bank of New York to discuss the dollar problem and U.S. investment in Ireland (24 August 1949, 2pp). Copy of a letter from E. Rowe Dutton, Treasury Chambers, London, to J.J. McElligott, conveying comments made by Paul Hoffmann, Chairman of the E.C.A., on his recent visit to Ireland, and on the necessity for Ireland to increase her dollar earnings (1p). Note on 'Exchange arrangements during the present emergency' (4pp). Handwritten notes by J.J. McElligott and McGilligan on devaluation and its potential effect on Irish agriculture, written in connection with a parliamentary question (5pp).
- 9** October-November 1949 Letter from Seán MacBride to McGilligan requesting 'some information concerning sterling securities and E.C.A. funds (1p). Minute from G.P.S. Hogan to J.J. McElligott concerning the amount of aid recommended for Ireland by the O.E.E.C. (3pp). Confidential notes on monthly reports concerning Irish gold and dollar assets and transactions (5pp). Stationery Office publication *The European Recovery Programme* (27pp). Transcripts of 3 articles from English and German newspapers on neo-protectionism in trade, import restrictions, and credit policy (6pp). 3 copy letters from G.P.S. Hogan to T.V. Commins, External Affairs, J.J. McElligott, and G.M. Wilson, Bank of Ireland Foreign Manager, on the allocation of aid for the 1950-51 and 1951-52 periods and the question of changing the present system of financing E.C.A. shipments (6pp).
- 10** November 1949 Report by G.P.S. Hogan on meetings held in London with members of the E.C.A. and British Treasury on dollar acquisitions for Ireland, and use of loan counterpart funds (3pp). Further report by Hogan on an interview in the Hague with the Director General of E.R.P. Affairs, to discuss difficulties in the operation of E.C.A. procedures (2pp). Copy of a confidential memorandum by H.M. Treasury on the use of E.C.A. cheques for private imports (7pp).
- 11** November 1949-January 1950 Central Statistics Office trade figures: *Ireland External Trade, 1948-49* and *U. K. Trends in Trade Costs and Prices* (7pp). Copy of a confidential memorandum for the O.E.E.C on the U>K> position in 1950-51 (42pp). Central Statistics Office confidential memorandum for the government, 'Industrial analysis of the live register, mid-November 1949' (4pp). Summary of a public lecture by Paul Bureau at University College Dublin, 'The finances of the Marshall Plan' (2pp).

- 12 November-December 1949 Copy of a letter from T.J. O'Driscoll, Irish delegation to the O.E.E.C., Paris, to the Secretary-General, O.E.E.C. concerning THE Irish position as regards the elimination of dual prices in intra-European trade (2pp). Report by G.P.S. Hogan on a meeting between Finance and E.C.A. representatives on tobacco consumption in Ireland and duty payable (3pp). Copy of notes made by Hogan on E.C.A. procedures for the allocation of funds and the rôle of the O.E.E.C. (4pp). External Affairs memorandum for government titled 'E.R.P. programmes (*sic*) 1950-51 and 1951-52' and summary (42pp). Copies of 2 letters from J.J. McElligott to the Governor and Secretary of the Central Bank, requesting that an account to be called 'American Loan Counterpart Fund cash Account' be opened and naming the signatories to the account (2pp).
- 13 December 1949-January 1950 Copy of a statement by Seán MacBride concerning the E.R.P. and given to the E.C.A., advocating greater co-operation among European countries and reporting on the stable nature of the Irish economy, developing 'with American aid and Irish savings' (5pp). Accompanying minute from J.J. McElligott to McGilligan, saying that the subject of the memorandum may be raised by the Minister for External Affairs at a forthcoming meeting (1p). Typescript copy of an article from *The Statist* entitled 'The post-Marshall era' (8pp). Minute by T.K. Whitaker concerning an article in the *Irish Times* suggesting that Ireland cannot spend E.C.A. dollars as fast as they are being allocated, with handwritten comments by G.P.S. Hogan (5pp).
- 14 January-July 1950 Reports and minutes on the European Payments Union and the question of Ireland's membership. Includes: External Affairs memorandum for the government with notes by McGilligan expressing the opinion that Ireland should participate 'as part of the sterling zone and not as a separate unit' (3pp). Copy of Dutch proposals for European economic integration (7pp). External Affairs memorandum on the Dutch plan (5pp). Copy of a confidential report entitled 'Outline of a European Payments Union' circulated by the O.E.E.C. on the operation of credit within the Union and points of disagreement (7pp). Copy of a secret minute from Hugh McCann, Irish Embassy, Washington, concerning a meeting with Alan Christelow, British Treasury and Supply Delegation, on the E.C.A. and E.P.U. and efforts by the E.C.A. to further European integration by means of a clearing union (6pp). Report, marked 'restricted', to the Council of the O.E.E.C. on arrangements for E.R.P. payments (9pp).

- 15 January-March 1950 Copy of a Finance statement, issued in response to an O.E.E.C. questionnaire concerning aspects of exchange controls (12pp). Copy of a general memorandum submitted to the O.E.E.C. and E.C.A. entitled 'Ireland's Programmes for 1950/51 and 1951/52' (12pp). Copy of a report by Seán MacBride to the O.E.E.C., in his capacity as Vice-president of the organisation, with a memorandum concerning issues such as the land reclamation scheme, E.P.U., and financial stability (23pp).
- 16 February-May 1950 Series of memoranda relating to financial issues such as the use of counterpart funds, investment policy, and hard currency. Includes: minutes of a meeting of the exchange control committee (10pp); External Affairs memoranda on the use of the Local Currency Fund (4pp); report on Ireland's internal financial position (3pp); report on Ireland's external assets (8pp); External Affairs memorandum on the utilisation of technical assistance facilities provided by the E.C.A. (3pp); Finance memorandum on the use of counterpart monies (4pp).
- 17 June-August 1950 Confidential minute from T.K. Whitaker to G.P.S. Hogan concerning Ireland's dollar position, 1948-50 (3pp). Report by Hogan concerning meetings in London with a Treasury assistant secretary to discuss exchange control and U.S. aid (13pp). Minute from Whitaker to Hogan on Ireland's position as regards U.S. and Canadian dollars (3pp).
- 18 30 November 1950 Typescript copy of a parliamentary question for the Minister for Finance on the availability and use of counterpart funds. Material for the reply includes copies of previous questions on similar topics (3pp); related accounts and tables (8pp).
- 19 29-30 January 1951 Typescript copies of correspondence between Seán MacBride and Paul Miller, Chief of the E.C.A. Special Mission to Ireland, and William C. Foster, E.C.A. Administrator in Washington, circulated in connection with an External Affairs memorandum for government on Marshall Aid (7pp, memorandum not present). Finance minute on the likely continuance of aid to Ireland and opposition to this on the grounds that 'the sterling area resources are enough to cover our deficit' (2pp). *Explanatory notes on revised dollar import programme, 1950/51* (14pp).

- 20** February-March 1951 Minutes by McElligott and Whitaker commenting on a memorandum setting out the views of the E.R.P. Committee on 'the state of the Nation' (95pp). Finance and External Affairs memorandum for government on the *Third Report of the O.E.E.C.* (7pp). Draft comments by [James Dillon] on a Finance memorandum of December 1949 on counterpart monies. The memorandum 'will engender malignant mischief and is gravely and recklessly imprudent' (4pp).
- 21** 11 June 1951 Confidential memorandum concerning Ireland's relationship with the sterling area pool, prepared by G.P.S. Hogan and containing copies of correspondence with the British Treasury relating to sterling and Marshall Aid (40pp).

B. DEVALUATION OF STERLING, 1949

- 22** May 1949 Material relating to the link with sterling and rumours of a devaluation of the currency. Includes: Letter from J.J. McElligott to F.H. Boland concerning Marshall Aid, rumours that sterling will have to devalue, and pressure from the U.S. to do so (2pp); booklet, *The future of the pound* by Sir George Paish of the Sound Currency Association (8pp); Finance memorandum for government from an earlier period (1940), 'Seanad motion on the link with sterling' annotated by McGilligan (13pp); text of the auditorial address by Cathal Mulcahy, Commerce Society, University College Cork, on Ireland's sterling assets (12pp).
- 23** June 1949 Reports and correspondence relating to speculation concerning an imminent devaluation of sterling. Includes: Finance memorandum for Joseph Brennan, Governor of the Central Bank, 'as embodying our preliminary views on the question of sterling devaluation' (13pp); Letter from James Dillon to McGilligan commenting upon the memorandum (2pp); newscuttings and notes.
- 24** July-September 1949 Extracts from and summaries of articles in American, French and British newspapers on the sterling crisis and its implications for trade. Includes: report from the *Economist* on the possible break-

- 24 contd** up of the sterling area and possible modifications to Britain's role as 'common banker' (2pp); handwritten note by J.J. McElligott on the effect of devaluation on the British food market (1p); letter from G.P.S. Hogan to the Minister on the question of U.S. aid and Ireland drawing on the sterling area pool in the present crisis (2pp).
- 25** July-September 1949 Correspondence between McGilligan and Harold Wilson, President of the British Board of Trade, and Sir John Gilbert Laithwaite, British ambassador to Ireland, attempting to arrange a meeting to discuss 'the sterling-dollar position'. Includes a note by J.J. McElligott to McGilligan advising him to accept the British initiative for a meeting.
- 26** September 1949 Finance report on the effects of devaluation on an Irish economy characterised by high imports (13pp). Minute by J.J. McElligott concerning a report of discussions with British interests on dollar economics with the sterling area (2pp).
- 27** September 1949 Confidential circular from J.J. McElligott to Irish banks, on foot of the Exchange Control Order 1947. Until further notice they 'shall not buy, sell or lend foreign currency' (1p). Handwritten draft of a notice for the Minister for Finance, to be broadcast on radio, announcing the suspension of dealings by the banks in foreign currency (2pp). 3 typescript drafts prepared by T.K. Whitaker with glosses by McGilligan, of the Minister's broadcast on sterling devaluation (21pp). Copy of a 'most secret' message from the Bank of England to the Governor of the Central Bank, concerning the alteration in exchange values of sterling against gold and the dollar (4pp). Minute outlining Ireland's reasons for following the course adopted by the British in devaluing sterling (2pp).
- 28** September 1949 Correspondence between McGilligan and J.J. McElligott on the subject of the broadcast on devaluation. Includes: handwritten letter from McElligott to McGilligan, confined to bed at his residence at 58 Lansdowne Road, concerning the success of the broadcast and the atmosphere within the Department of Finance; '... never have personal relationships been more harmonious' (3pp). Draft letter from McGilligan to McElligott stating his appreciation for the work of the Finance staff and relying on him 'to distribute the awards' (4pp).

- 29** October 1949 Memoranda circulated at the instance of the Minister for Industry and Commerce Includes Finance and External Affairs memoranda on the effects of devaluation; observations by the Industrial Development Authority on the effects on industry; Agriculture memorandum on the prices of wheat, maize, seed and machinery (26pp). Further External Affairs memorandum on the possible disintegration of the sterling area and steps which should be taken to safeguard sterling investments and government funds (5pp).
- 30** September-October 1949 Minute by G.P.S. Hogan on maize and wheat prices as effected by devaluation, in view of the Minister for Agriculture's remarks (3pp). External Affairs memorandum for government on the channelling of whiskey exports to the U.S. and other hard currency areas (2pp). Finance memorandum on the effects of devaluation on the cost of living, prices and balance of payments (11pp). Industry and Commerce memorandum on the effects of devaluation on price levels (8pp). External Affairs memorandum for government containing an extract from the Irish mission in Washington on prices in the U.S. (4pp).
- 31** October 1949 Copies of talks by Seán MacBride entitled 'Our economic problems' and 'The link with sterling' concerning unemployment, currency, investment, and the need for reform (16pp). Copy of a report by Cecil Lavery, Attorney General, giving his opinion that under existing legislation there is no provision for terminating 'parity of exchange between Irish currency and sterling' (4pp). Letter from Joseph Brennan, Governor of the Central Bank, to the Minister for Finance, concerning a public censure of the Bank by the Minister for External Affairs in a recent lecture as being 'damaging to public confidence in currency' (1p).
- 32** October-December 1949 Statements by domestic and international financial organisations and figures concerning the dollar shortage and sterling assets. Includes a typescript copy of a statement by Camille Gutt, Managing Director, International Monetary Fund, on the importance of sterling devaluation in alleviating the dollar shortage and on the need to boost exports (6pp). Memorandum by the Irish Banks Standing Committee on the decision to repatriate sterling assets (5pp).

- 33 March-April 1950 Minute from J.J. McElligott to McGilligan concerning speculation as to a further devaluation of sterling (2pp). Copy of a 'top secret' statement communicated by Sir John Gilbert Laithwaite, British ambassador to Ireland, to the Minister for Finance, in advance of the statement being made by the British Chancellor in the House of Commons, concerning the gold and dollar position of Britain for the first quarter of 1950 (4pp).
- 34 November 1967 Copy of an article on 'The economics of devaluation' from *The Accountant* referring to the 1949 experience as supporting the contention that the curtailment of overseas expenditure rather than devaluation should be used to solve a balance of payments problem (5pp).

C. FINANCIAL POLICY, 1948-51

- 35 January-April 1948 Correspondence between J.J. McElligott and Seán Ó Broin, Department of Agriculture, on the question of agricultural wages keeping pace with agricultural output (3 items). Copy of a 'strictly confidential' Agriculture memorandum for government on national wages policy (5pp).
- 36 February-March 1948 **Loan, sterling foreign exchange, balance of payments.**
Memorandum by Professor John Busteed for Seán MacBride on changes 'which are occurring within the traditional economy of mankind' and the downturn in Ireland's sterling assets which he says 'will not provide us with the necessary hard currencies' (5pp). Published work and newscuttings on wages, interest rates and the devaluation of the franc (4 items).
- 37 April-June 1948 Confidential report on monetary and economic factors relevant to inflation, balance of payments, Marshall Aid, and a weakening of external assets (10pp). Report by Alexis FitzGerald on the economic weakness of the country as a result of under-investment and a chronic tendency to accumulate cash (4pp). Draft report by J.J. McElligott on the economics of increased social services and wage and salary demands (1p). Material relating to prospective

- 37 contd** savings resulting from a proposed increase in contributions under the contributory insurance scheme (1p).
- 38** July-August 1948 Part of a report from J. Brennan, Central Bank, on trends in the Irish economy and on the balance of payments (3pp). Finance memoranda for government on the balance of payments (6pp). Balance of payments projections for 1948-52 (3pp). Cuttings and notes.
- 39** November-December 1948 Material relating to the economic position in Britain and Canada and European currency problems. Includes: summary of an article 'European monetary problems' by Frederick Jenny, on a resolution passed at the Congress of European Federalists' Union calling for a single European currency (4pp); text of a speech by the Canadian Finance Minister on taxation and modern revenue systems (13pp).
- 40** November-December 1948 Correspondence between the Department of Lands, the Valuation Office, and the Department of Finance, on the valuation of bogs and turbary rights.
- 41** January 1949 Minutes from J.J. McElligott to McGilligan concerning queries directed by the Stock Exchange to Clondalkin Paper Mills in connection with the issue of their shares (4pp). Copy of a statement by the Irish Stock Exchange relating to the protection of the interests of investors and the decision to suspend dealings in the securities of a company if circumstances 'give rise to the suspicion ... that a breach of confidence has occurred' (2pp).
- 42** January-February 1949 Typescript copy of a letter from [James Dillon] to John A. Costello concerning Finance's control over expenditure by other departments. Finance 'has grown into an intolerable octopus'. Glosses by McGilligan (2pp). External Affairs memorandum for government on the establishment of the Land Development Authority (8pp).
- 43** April 1949 Material relating to local authority revenues, and imports and exports. Includes: report on the proposed issue of stock by Cork

- 43 contd** County Council (20pp); figures for the export of confectionery related to the production, import and consumption of sugar and wheat (9pp).
- 44** March-June 1949 Published material on aspects of the European economy.
Typescript copy of an article from the *Manchester Guardian* on restraints in capital investment in Sweden as part of an anti-inflation measure (1p). Copy of an article by John Jenkes, Professor of Economic Organisation at Oxford, 'Experiences of a planned society' (11pp). Copy of an article from the British Board of Trade *Journal* on 'Passenger movements to the U.K.' and minute by J.J. McElligott on the figures which show an increase in emigration from Ireland (2pp).
- 45** August-September 1949 Typescript copy of a draft reply by McGilligan to John Charles McQuaid, Archbishop of Dublin, concerning financial assistance for refugees (1p). Strictly personal letter from John A. Costello to McGilligan, congratulating him on his broadcast of devaluation, on the principle of equal pay for men and women teachers, and on the use of counterpart funds (2pp).
- 46** October 1949 Copy of a lecture by Seán MacBride on reforestation as an element of a programme of national development and economic reconstruction (16pp).
- 47** November 1949 Draft memorandum by T.K. Whitaker entitled 'Financial policy', outlining 'the more important considerations which need to be taken into account in the planning and execution of financial policy' including current and capital expenditure, sterling assets, taxation, and the use of the American Loan Counterpart Fund (37pp).
- 48** November-December 1949 Letter from John A. Costello, Taoiseach, to McGilligan, commenting upon T.K. Whitaker's memorandum on financial planning, recommending certain points for expansion, and criticising the 'unnecessary gloom' ... 'the approach should be as constructive as possible' (4pp). Address by the Taoiseach to the Institute of Bankers outlining the government's 'new outlook in economics' (8pp).

- 49** February-March 1950 Copy of a confidential Finance circular on the appointment of Organisation and Methods Officers for the purpose of improving public service working methods (2pp). Draft comments by T.K. Whitaker on a speech by Seán Lemass criticising government financial policy (4pp). Typescript summary of an address by the Governor of the Bank of Norway on the balance of payments problem (4pp).
- 50** March-April 1950 Address by Seán MacBride to the Cork Chamber of Commerce on under-investment and the need to develop Ireland's natural resources (14pp). Return of the cost of maintaining the land frontier (1p). Minute from Maurice Moynihan to T.K. Whitaker announcing the establishment of a committee to report on long term policy regarding education (1p).
- 51** October 1950 Text of a speech by John A. Costello on financial policy with particular reference to sterling, at the opening of a Fine Gael club room in Dublin (12pp). Text of a speech by John A. Costello on financial policy with particular reference to capital investment, at a meeting of Fine Gael Dublin South-Central constituency executive (12pp).
- 52** October 1950 Handwritten letter from John A. Costello to McGilligan, advising that he has committed him to meeting a delegation from the [T.U.C.] and congratulating him on 'the successful loan' (2pp). Handwritten letter from Sir Stafford Cripps, Frith Hill, Gloucestershire, to McGilligan, thanking him for his good wishes and sympathy (1p). Notes by McGilligan on civil service redundancies, prices and subsidies (6pp).
- 53** March-December 1950 Tables and statistics giving external trade figures, government expenditure, and the marriage and death rates for January 1949-October 1950 (10pp). Copy of a return of old age and blind pensions, from the Minister for Social Welfare to the Minister for Finance (2pp).
- 54** February-March 1951 Reviews of the national and international economic situation including a survey of Danish anti-inflationary measures (1p); an extract from the *Monthly Review* of the Federal Reserve Bank of

- 54 contd New York, concerning recent monetary policy measures abroad (7pp).

D. BANKING AND CURRENCY

- 55 March-July 1948 **Inflation, Banks, Budget:** letter from Joseph Brennan, Central Bank, to the Minister for Finance, enclosing figures plotting currency trends and requesting a meeting to discuss monetary policy (3pp). Minute by T.K. Whitaker on external assets (1p). Minute by J.J. McElligott on unemployment, inflation, and sterling losses by Irish banks (2pp). Notes and pamphlets.
- 56 30 June 1948 Copy of a parliamentary question by Seán Lemass for the Minister for Finance on total expenditure in hard currencies with a copy of the Minister's reply and material used in its formation (7pp).
- 57 November-December 1948 Copies of correspondence between Lord Glenavy, Governor of the Bank of Ireland, and James Dillon, Minister for Agriculture, concerning the report of the Central Bank and the Minister's comments (3pp). Minute by J.J. McElligott criticising comments by Dillon in describing the World Bank as an 'international joke', on the grounds that such remarks were 'not likely to help our financial relations with the Washington authorities' (2pp).
- 58 1948 2 articles by Lawrence Hooper, National Bank, College Green, Dublin, on currency, credit control and cheap money (8pp). 2 articles from *The Banker* on Irish banking and the Central Bank (32pp).
- 59 January-March 1949 Material relating to international currency problems including:
- typescript copy of an article on inflation in New Zealand (3pp);
 - summary of a lecture by Edgar Salin, Basle University, on international currency experiments and reforms (11pp);
 - typescript draft plan to overcome Ireland's economic problems through re-organisation of the banking system (11pp);
 - memorandum by John Busted for McGilligan on the savings movement (2pp).

- 60** July-November 1949 Material relating to the Central Bank report for the year ending March 1949, including:
- handwritten notes by McGilligan in preparation for a meeting with the Governor of the Central Bank on dividends, with an extract from a draft report from the Central Bank of Denmark consulted in connection with the Central Bank of Ireland report (5pp);
 - queries by the Minister for Finance in connection with Central Bank accounts for 1948-49, and minutes from J.J. McElligott on these and on discussions between the Minister for Finance and the Governor of the Central Bank on external assets and the use of the American Loan Counterpart Fund (11pp);
 - typescript copies of communications between the Taoiseach, McGilligan, General Richard Mulcahy, and the Governor of the Central Bank, on the report (4pp);
 - minute by T.K. Whitaker on the problem of liquidity (4pp).
- 61** October 1949-June 1950 Correspondence between the Department of Finance and the Central Bank and related material on currency and the control of Irish notes including:
- letter from the Governor of the Central Bank to the Minister for Finance concerning the repatriation of Irish notes (2pp);
 - copy of a draft letter to the Foreign Manager of the Central Bank from the Department of Finance concerning exchange controls and foreign accounts (2pp);
 - letter from James Dillon to McGilligan, concerning *inter alia* the circulation of English bank notes in Ireland, suggesting that banks refrain from re-issuing British notes passed by customers (4pp);
 - minute from J.J. McElligott to T.K. Whitaker concerning high interest rates charged to the Department of Local Government on housing loans (1p); and letter from T.K. Whitaker to M. Lawless, Department of Local Government on the subject (1p).
- 62** January-March 1950 Memorandum on financial policy with a list of changes proposed by J.J. McElligott following discussion between the Minister for Finance and the Governor of the Central Bank (40pp).
- 63** March 1950 Correspondence concerning the conflict between Seán MacBride, Minister for External Affairs, and the Central Bank, concerning currency legislation and the Bank's investment policy. Includes:
- copy of *Ireland's Weekly Bulletin* published by the Department

- 63 contd** of External Affairs, containing a report on 'economic independence' and a statement by MacBride concerning the Bank's policy; its 'net effect is to deprive us of any control of our currency' (4pp);
- letter from Joseph Brennan to the Minister for Finance hoping that he will take some effective steps as MacBride's opinions are now attributed 'official recognition and publicity' (1p);
 - copy of the Central Bank report for the year ending March 1949 with an attached note by J.J. McElligott to the effect that the report disproves allegations concerning a restrictive credit policy (1p).
- 64** May-June 1950 Finance and economics. File of this title containing:
- Report of an interview, 9 June 1950, between the Minister for Finance and senior Finance officials, and representatives of the Irish Banks' Standing Committee on the subject of the government's proposal for a new public issue (5pp).
 - Handwritten minute by J.J. McElligott to the effect that the loan proposal had been accepted and would be underwritten by the banks (12 June 1950, 2pp).
 - Confidential memorandum by J.J. McElligott on the role of the banks in bringing the Stock Exchange in as sub-underwriters with tables showing national loan figures and yields to redemption (May 1950, 6pp).
 - Minute by McElligott for the Minister on the sterling assets of the commercial banks and giving figures for loans to Dublin Corporation (8 June 1950, 2pp).
- 65** September 1950 Secret memorandum by the Department of Finance Exchange Control Division on powers relating to exchange controls, with notes for the redrafting of the Exchange Control Order 1947 which is felt to be defective (10pp).
- 66** November 1950 Copy of an address by Dr T. O'Higgins, Minister for Defence, in the absence of the Minister for Finance, to the Institute of Bankers, reviewing the general economic position (13pp). Minute from J.J. McElligott to McGilligan on the current report of the Central Bank and enclosing a newscutting from the *Financial Times* on rifts between the government and central bank in Germany over control of economic policy (2pp).

- 67** January-February 1951 Material relating to the bank strike including copies of government announcements and newscuttings (4 items).
- 68** June 1951 Material relating to the Government Loans Conversion Bill including:
- Finance memorandum for government on the conversion of national loans into new securities (3pp);
 - draft of the proposed bill (6pp).

E. TAXATION

- 69** April-December 1948 Letter from Thomas L. McLaughlin, Ailesbury Road, Dublin, to McGilligan concerning his opinion of the role of the Import Control Section of the Department of Industry and Commerce as contributing to high taxation and low productivity (3 November 1948, 2pp). Unidentified minute on voluntary dispositions (April 1948, 1p). Text of replies to parliamentary questions on stamp duty (2pp). Text of a speech [by an unidentified government minister] welcoming representatives of the U.S. Bureau of Internal Revenue and State Department, concerning the development of a convention with the States for relief from double income tax (December 1948, 5pp). Unidentified minute on duty on grease paints (2pp).
- 70** January-April 1950 Correspondence between Patrick Burke, Bushy Park Gardens, Dublin, and the Department of Finance, concerning income tax and the disproportionate taxation levied on middle income earners. Burke advocates a 're-adjustment of the burden of taxation' (4 items).
- 71** April-October 1950 Material relating to the proposed revision of the 'Wear and Tear Tax' including:
- letter from Daniel Coyle, President of the Chambers of Commerce of Ireland, to the Minister for Finance, on the need for substantial increases in obsolescence allowances (3pp);
 - I.D.A. memorandum at the request of the Minister for Industry and Commerce concerning representations by industrialists that the present depreciation tax is inadequate, with glosses by

- 71 contd** McGilligan (15pp);
 – Memorandum from the Revenue Commissioners recommending that assessment of wear and tear allowances should be based on replacement rather than original cost (13pp);
 – further correspondence between Finance and revenue on the matter (3 items).
- 72** September-October 1950 Correspondence and related material forwarded by E.J. Coyne S.J., Milltown Park, Dublin, to McGilligan, on the question of tax relief for the purpose of attracting *émigrés* back to Ireland on retirement, with comment by the Revenue Commissioners (5 items).
- 73** October-November 1950 Industry and Commerce memorandum for government examining tax concessions given by the U.S. government as incentives to companies to export goods (8pp); Revenue Commission minutes commenting on this and proposing tax reliefs for companies exporting to countries other than the U.K. (5pp).
- 74** [1950] Copy of *Éire income tax rates and personal allowances as from 1920* (6pp).
- 75** [1950] Report on *Exported Livestock (Insurance) Fund* for the information of the Minister for Finance in considering the question of exempting the profits of the Livestock Board from taxation (2pp). Report on the import and export of horses and the rôle of the Racing Board in the development of the bloodstock trade, listing breeders of race horses (6pp).
- 76** 20 February 1951 Copy of a parliamentary question tabled by Martin J. Corry on taxes and duties derived from motor vehicles and spare parts, with a copy of the reply (2pp).
- 77** February-June 1951 Minute from J.J. McElligott for the Minister for Finance concerning an article in the *Sunday Times* criticising high tax concessions for diplomats. ‘... it is gratifying to know that the Department of Finance is not alone in this view’ (2pp). Memorandum by the

- 77 contd** Ceann Comhairle on procedures for votes in relation to taxation and public service estimates (4pp). Notes on Senator Douglas's proposals for tax reform (2pp).
- 78** October 1951 Details of revenue derived from tobacco and tea (1p). Figures showing subsidies on rationed tea and profits from unrationed tea (1p); and revenue derived from duty paid on homemade beer (1p). Notes on sections of the Finance Bill dealing with tax on imported beer and tobacco (1p).

F. FUEL

- 79** April 1949 Material relating to the issue of petrol for commercial purposes including handwritten notes by McGilligan, copies of relevant sections of the Finance Bill, extracts from *Dáil Éireann Debates*, and figures and reports on fuel consumption in haulage and agriculture (c20pp).
- 80** October 1950 Minute by T.K. Whitaker on fuel subsidies and the question of a potential agreement with commercial banks on extended overdraft facilities for fuel importers (2pp). Note by J.J. McElligott on the same subject, urging action in the next Budget (3pp). Minute by McElligott on fuel subsidies (1p). Letter from L. Heegan, Irish Banks Standing Committee, detailing amounts advanced by the banks to Fuel Importers (Éire) Ltd, and payments made by the company (2pp).

G. CIVIL SERVICE

- 81** 1949 Copy of a letter from a former civil servant with the Inland Revenue, to the Minister for Finance, on how administrative economies might be effected in the revenue Commission by reorganisation and rationalisation (3pp).

- 82** 7 February 1950 Copy of a letter from a civil servant in the Department of Agriculture, applying for a position in the private sector due to lack of incentive in his present position. He is doing two days work spread over five (1p).
- 83** 8 April 1950 Department of Finance circular on the introduction of conciliation and arbitration machinery for the civil service, outlining provisions for departmental councils and listing officially recognised organisations (8pp).

H. GRANTS FOR AGRICULTURE AND HOUSING

- 84** November 1949-January 1950 Material relating to agricultural grants available under the provisions of the 1946 Budget. Includes:
 – report showing the increase in agricultural subsidies, and figures circulated by the Minister for Finance showing agricultural output and exports for the period 1947-8 (3pp).
 – Finance memorandum for government on the vote for lands and forestry (4pp).
- 85** December 1949-June 1950 Reports and correspondence on grants for housing including:
 – Local Government memorandum for government on limitations on grants for new houses (2pp);
 – report on Building Societies (9pp);
 – table of expenditure on building grants (1p);
 – 2 Finance reports on the Transition Development Fund (7pp);
 – copy of a letter from McGilligan to William Davin T.D. on the Local Loans Fund (Amendment) Bill(2pp).
- 86** 14 July 1950 Statement issued by the Department of Local Government outlining the position concerning the application by Cork Corporation for a Transition Development Fund Grant towards the cost of housing schemes (4pp).

- 87 October 1950 Material relating to the extension of legislation for relief on rates on agricultural land including memoranda from Finance and from Local Government. Minute by T.K. Whitaker on agricultural grants (4pp).

J. PRICE CONTROLS

- 88 November 1949 Industry and Commerce memorandum entitled 'Imposition of a Standstill Order on Prices' (3pp). Typescript notes on price controls (5pp).
- 89 June 1950 Memorandum on butter production and milk supplies (2pp). Tables and diagrams plotting prices before and after the introduction of price controls (4pp).

K. SHORT WAVE RADIO STATION

- 90 March-May 1950 Material relating to the introduction of proposals for a short wave radio station and their subsequent abandonment, including:
- Posts & Telegraphs minute to Finance on the provision of a broadcasting service, and difficulties in acquiring wavelengths (3pp);
 - Gross cost of equipment (2pp);
 - Draft of an article for *Radio Review* announcing the government's decision to abandon the short wave project on the grounds of economy (2pp);
 - Text of Dáil speeches on taxation and the decision to abandon the short wave project (4pp).

L. STATE-SPONSORED BODIES

- 91** February-December 1948 Finance memorandum for government on the review of the financial activities of semi-state bodies by the Committee of Public Accounts (5pp). Letters from Morgan McMahon, Limerick, to Richard [Mulcahy] on the activities of the Sugar Company (4pp). Industry & Commerce memorandum for government on the audit of Irish Steel Holdings Ltd (3pp). Memorandum on the accounts of Ceimici Teoranta circulated by the Minister for Finance (3pp). Memorandum on the accounts of the Industrial Credit Company (2pp).
- 92** May-December 1949 Memorandum from Agriculture on the future of the Dairy Disposal Co. Ltd. With a consolidated balance sheet of the company's operations (9pp). Statement showing the total advances to semi-state bodies with notes by McGilligan and T.K. Whitaker (4pp).
- 93** July-December 1950 Finance memorandum for government on the accounts of Aer Rianta, Aer Lingus and the other state-sponsored bodies (19pp).
- 94** February-April 1951 Report on the work of Alginate Industries (Ireland) Ltd (3pp). Finance memorandum for government on the company (39pp).
- 95** January-September 1948 Industry & Commerce memoranda on aspects of civil aviation including the proposed transatlantic service and Shannon airport and on financial problems facing the industry. Includes a minute from J.J. McElligott on the question of deficits (4pp). letter from Edward McSweeney, director of Odeon Ireland Ltd, to McGilligan, enclosing copies of advertisements for Aer Linte taken from American newspapers, characterised by McSweeney as 'hardly prestige advertising' (1p).

- 96** May-December 1948 Industry & Commerce memorandum for government on staff and superannuation in the air industry (9pp). Observations by the Minister for Finance (10pp). Correspondence, memoranda and reports concerning salary demands within Aer Rianta and the possibility of a strike (40pp). Copy of recommendations from the Labour Court on a dispute between Aer Lingus and the Irish Airline Pilots' Association (4pp).
- 97** February-September 1949 Material relating to Aer Lingus and the aviation industry in general including:
- Extracts from draft minutes of the board of Aer Rianta on deficits, forecasts and estimates (5pp).
 - Industry & Commerce memorandum on air traffic rights for U.S. airlines at Dublin Airport (14pp).
 - External Affairs memorandum for government on negotiations with regard to U.S. landing rights at Dublin and Shannon (3pp).
 - 2 External Affairs reports on meetings held with U.S. delegates to discuss Shannon Airport (23pp).
- 98** January 1948-February 1949 Industry & Commerce memorandum proposing increases in 'omnibus and rail passenger fares' (5pp). Minutes by J. Maher and T.K. Whitaker on stockholding within rail companies and C.I.É. and whether private stockholders should be allowed to retain their holdings (15pp). 2 memoranda from A.P. Reynolds, chairman of C.I.É. on the company's financial situation, with notes and glosses by McGilligan (3pp, 12pp). Minute by J.J. McElligott on Reynold's second memorandum (6pp).
- 99** February-June 1949 'Final memorandum' on transport in Ireland incorporating criticism by A.P. Reynolds to the Minister for Industry & Commerce on the report by Sir James Milne (38pp). Copy of the report of the Tribunal of Enquiry into dealings in Great Southern Railway stocks, January-November 1943 (52pp). Report that the Stock Exchange had decided to implement the recommendations of Sir James Milne in relation to C.I.É. shares (1p).
- 100** March-April 1951 Memorandum by S. McC. on the Great Northern Railway (3pp). Letter from the Department of the Taoiseach to Industry & Commerce and Finance, concerning the discussions with the N.I. government on the acquisition of the G.N.R. (1p). Copy of a strictly confidential Industry & Commerce memorandum for

- 100 contd** government entitled 'G.N.R.' (4pp). Private report on the memorandum from T.J. Beere, Transport & Marine Branch, Industry & Commerce (1p). Industry & Commerce memorandum for government entitled 'Guarantee for G.N.R. Co. (Ireland)' (4pp).
- 101** December 1948-January 1949 Material relating to the disposal by the Minister for Industry & Commerce of hotels and other properties owned by Bord Fáilte. Includes reports, financial statements and newscuttings (6 items).
- 102** November 1948-April 1951 Notes, correspondence and minutes relating to the operations of Ceimici Teo. Includes a plan of their distillery and laboratory at Carrickmacross, County Monaghan; correspondence on the costs of raw materials; and notes by McGilligan (16 items).

II. FINANCIAL ISSUES, 1951-66

A. FIANNA FÁIL GOVERNMENT, 1951-54

- 103** 23 November 1951 Text of a lecture by Professor James Meenan to the Institute of Bankers on the balance of payments and the role of government (24pp).
- 104** 25 January 1952 Text of contributions made by Dr M.D. McCarthy, Professor G.A. Duncan, and others, at a symposium on 'Natural Income and Social Accounts' (28pp).
- 105** February-April 1952 Material relating to the Budget and the economy including:
- text of a statement by the I.C.T.U. on the Budget (7pp);
 - text of a speech by John A. Costello on the current economic situation (13pp);
 - unemployment figures for the period 1948-51 (1p).
- 106** March-April 1952 Reports, newscuttings and figures relating to the Budget and estimates including:

- 106 contd** – text of a talk by McGilligan to the Fine Gael Party on the estimates and vote on account (8pp);
– copies of public statements and tables (20 items).
- 107** March, December 1952 2 articles on Ireland's dollar position and inflation(8pp).
- 108** May 1953 Letter from D.J. Kelleher, General Secretary, Irish National Teachers' Organisation, Gardiner Place, Dublin, to McGilligan, setting out the teachers' position and hoping that McGilligan would speak on the issue should the government fail to honour the Civil Service Arbitration award. Includes a memorandum, 'The Budget as it affects teachers' salaries' (10pp).
- 109** February-November 1953 Finance circular enclosing a copy of a chapter from the 4th *Annual Report of the O.E.E.C.* entitled 'Europe – the way ahead', concerning economic conditions and trends (10pp).

B. SECOND INTER-PARTY GOVERNMENT, 1954-57

i. The European Recovery Programme in Ireland

- 110** June-July 1954 2 External Affairs memoranda for government on the use of American Grant Counterpart Funds (2pp, 20pp), the second including a copy of the Economic Co-operation Agreement between Ireland and the U.S., 1948.
- 111** January-July 1955 Finance memorandum for government on counterpart funds held by the Central Bank (2pp). Outline of a project for the use of counterpart funds for the provision of equipment in creameries (20pp). Department of the Taoiseach memorandum on wages, prices and productivity (18pp).

ii. Capital Investment

- 112** October 1955-January 1956 Material relating to the Cabinet Economic and Estimates Committee including memoranda, newscuttings and speeches on investment matters, the cost of living, inflation, and agricultural investment (c.100pp).
- 113** January-March 1956 Copies of Finance memoranda on the state capital programme, on capital expenditure and the economic situation, sent to McGilligan for information and comment by Gerard Sweetman, Minister for Finance (5 items).
- 114** July 1956 Attorney General's copies of 8 memoranda on the current economic position, for the attention of the Economic and Estimates Committee.
- 115** 25 July 1956 Typescript copy of a statement by the Minister for Finance on the grave economic situation and the steps necessary to safeguard the national economy (23pp).
- 116** 1956 Material relating to capital investment and public expenditure. Includes memoranda on local authority grants (2 items). Memoranda on the government's decision to effect savings in supply services and public expenditure (c.50pp). Preliminary report on the 1926 census (28pp). Memorandum on the National Development Fund (30pp).
- 117** 1956-7 Reports and memoranda relating to the assessment of the balance of payments situation. Includes a secret minute from T.K. Whitaker to the Minister for Finance on bank returns (8pp). Minute by J.J. McElligott on the lack of public confidence in the government over the present economic situation (2pp). Copy of the first report of the Capital Investment Advisory Committee (16pp).

iii. Banking

- 118** July 1954 Material relating to meetings between the government and the Irish Banks' Standing Committee. Includes memoranda from Richard Mulcahy, Minister for Education, to McGilligan, on reorganisation of the banking system and the question of the banks assuming responsibility for the E.S.B. public debt (4 items).

iv. Taxation

- 119** July-September 1955 Copy of a report on the tax system in the Republic of Ireland (9pp).
- 120** 6 September 1955 Handwritten letter from Sir Alfred Chester Beatty, 10 Ailesbury Road, Dublin, to McGilligan, concerning a recent report on taxation and the fact that many wealthy people are now leaving the country because of high taxation (1p).
- 121** 1956 Preliminary memorandum from the Irish Conference of Professional and Service Association concerning income tax, alleging that income tax in Ireland is 'neither broad nor general in its incidence' and that the burden is unequally distributed (13pp).

v. State-sponsored Bodies

- 122** March-August 1955 Finance memorandum reviewing the financial operations of state-sponsored bodies (15pp). Observations by the Minister for Finance on the repayment of exchequer advances by the Dairy Disposal Company Ltd (9pp).

C. FINANCIAL ISSUES, 1957-66

- 123** 1958-61 Copies of parliamentary questions tabled by McGilligan on capital expenditure, exchequer bonds and the public debt; and related papers (25pp).

- 124** 1958 Central Statistics Office review of external trade for the year 1958 (15pp).
- 125** 25 July 1962 Copies of 2 parliamentary questions tabled by McGilligan; to the Taoiseach on employment and the Minister for health on population figures (3pp).
- 126** March 1966 Newscuttings on taxation, unemployment, the external loan, and the credit squeeze (4 items).
- 127** 1951-66 Newscuttings relating mainly to unemployment and emigration (20 items). Tables showing numbers on social welfare and claiming unemployment benefit (11pp).
- 128** April 1959 Material relating to the 1959 Budget including:
 – text of the Minister's financial statement (43pp);
 – copy of the 1957/58 budget with glosses by McGilligan (6pp);
 – report on 'Profitability and trends shown by the Annual Accounts' (11pp) (28 items).

III. GENERAL POLITICAL ISSUES, 1922-72

A. ELECTIONS AND REFERENDA

i. General Elections

- 129** 1931-32 Material relating to the Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil election campaigns including handbills, leaflets and copies of speeches (14 items).
- 130** February-March 1932 Letter from M.J. Byrne, West Preston Street, Edinburgh, a voter in the National University constituency, congratulating McGilligan on being returned and expressing regret 'at the loss to the country

- 130 contd** of such a fine minister' (4pp). Letter from Rev. E. Egan, Mayo, suggesting that Fianna Fáil be allowed to attempt to remove the oath of allegiance and the land annuities by constitutional means. 'They will fail and that will finish them' (2pp).
- 131** [1933] Copy of a letter from D.R. [O'Donnell?] concerning the future under a Fianna Fáil government which would include the abolition of the National University after Commonwealth countries refused to recognise its degrees. He criticises de Valera for ruining agriculture and 'maiming our infant industries', whereas 'for Catholic Ireland, President Cosgrave's regime was one of very fruitful success including its anti-communism' (9pp).
- 132** 1937-38 Handbills and pamphlets relating to such issues as taxation, emigration, agricultural and industrial wages as elements in the Fine Gael 1937 and 1938 election campaigns (15 items).
- 133** 2 June 1938 Typescript text of Fine Gael's *Points or Speakers* in the general election campaign (5pp).
- 134** May 1951 Figures issued by the Department of the Taoiseach analysing the results of the general election by constituency (40pp).
- 135** February-June 1954 Newscuttings and other material originating from the general election campaign. Includes Fine Gael *Points for Speakers*; statements by candidates; publicity material concerning the success of the First Inter-Party Government; and drafts of speeches by McGilligan (35 items).
- 136** 5 March 1957 Table showing the general election result in McGilligan's constituency, Dublin North-Central (1p).
- 137** March 1957 Figures issued by the Department of the Taoiseach analysing the results of the general election by constituency (40pp).

- 138** October 1961 Newscuttings, pamphlets and leaflets arising from the general election campaign; with material relating to issues such as the Common Market, unemployment, and emigration (75pp).
- 139** April 1965 Newscuttings relating to the general election result (6 items).
- 140** June 1969 Newscuttings reporting voting, state of the parties, details of the final counts, and the formation of a government (6 items).

Series of Public notices of the results of the elections and transfer of votes in respect of general and by-elections.

- 141** 1944-51 130pp
- 142** 1951-54 60pp
- 143** 1954-57 60pp
- 144** 1957-61 60pp
- 145** 1961-65 60pp

ii. Local Elections

- 146** 4 November 1922 Election leaflet addressed to 'The Loyalist Electors of the City & County of Londonderry', issued by Malcolm Martin McNaughten (1p).
- 147** 1953-54 Fine Gael *Points for Speakers* in the by-election campaigns in South Galway, Cork and Wicklow, with notes on unemployment, imports, and land rehabilitation; and newscuttings and reports on the election results (18 items).
- 148** November 1955 Copy of Fine Gael *Quotations for Reference: Fianna Fail and the Farmers* (2pp).

- 149** June-July 1960 Newscuttings of reports on the county council elections (3 items).
- 150** Tabular results of by-elections (10pp):
- | | |
|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| November 1956 | Dublin South-West
Carlow-Kilkenny |
| May 1958 | South Galway |
| June 1958 | Dublin South-Central |
| July 1959 | Dublin South-West
Meath |
| March 1961 | Sligo-leitrim |
| February 1964 | Kildare
Cork |
| July 1964 | Roscommon |
- 151** July 1967 Newscuttings on Fine Gael gains in county council elections (5 items).

iii. Presidential Elections and Referenda

- 152** June 1959 Newscuttings concerning the referendum on proportional representation and the presidential election (8 items).
- 153** June 1966 Newscuttings concerning the presidential election, mainly consisting of tables of votes cast and comparisons with the previous presidential election (6 items).
- 154** October 1968 Newscuttings reporting the referendum on the third and fourth amendments to the constitution, with an analysis of voting by constituency (13 items).

- 155 May 1972 Newscutting from *Hibernia* on the referendum on membership of the Common Market (4pp).

B. GENERAL POLITICAL ISSUES, 1915-22

- 156 1915-21 Typescript extracts from newspapers, mainly relating to recruitment in Ireland to the army during World War I; and extracts from a speech by P.J. Rutledge, auditor of the Solicitors' Apprentices Debating Society (9pp).
- 157 1921-22 Material relating to the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, mainly printed, including the *Irish Bulletin* vol 6 no.35, containing an 'advance copy' of the Articles of Agreement (4pp); and handbills and leaflets concerning the attempted suppression of the *Freeman's Journal* (8 items).

C. CUMANN NA NGAEDHEAL, 1922-32

- 158 1922 Typescript text of an unidentified speech on the aims and policies of Cumann na nGaedheal (5pp). Draft handbills on the theme 'What £50,000,000 would do for the ... ' (5 items). Pamphlet *Who abandoned the republic?* By a Western Priest (16pp). Pamphlet *The Bishops' Pastoral. A prisoner's letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin* (16pp). Pamphlet *Where lies the blame? A reprint of a letter written in reply to a constituent by Mr Laurence Ginnell* (8pp).
- 159 March-July 1923 Copies of documents found on arrested anti-treaty activists including Ernie O'Malley and typescript notes for each minister on the anti-treaty forces, the armed forces and the destruction of the Four Courts (6pp). Pamphlet *Phases of Revolution* by J.M. O'Sullivan (22pp).

- 160** 1922-23 'Memorandum in the form of a statement for Mr O'Higgins' commenting on the proceedings of the Imperial Conference and 'private meetings of British Commonwealth Delegations' (3pp). Typescript copy of a letter to the editor of an unidentified Irish-American publication from Kevin O'Higgins, asking 'your readers and all friends of Ireland and America' to reflect on the fate of democracy in Ireland. '... an educated self-reliant democracy must rule in Ireland, not a camarilla of gunmen nor a clique of neurotic and megalomaniac politicians' (3pp). Leaflet *What the Government of the Irish Free State has done* (12pp).
- 161** November-December 1923 Occasional copies of the *Daily Sheet*. Nos 11-17, 21, 22, 28-30.
- 162** 1925-26 Pamphlet by Sceilg *The oath of allegiance and all that it implies* (48pp). Copy of a report entitled '8 I.R.A. officers to Moscow' on the military situation and relations with the U.S.A. (4pp). Copy of the published policy of Cumann na nGaedheal (16pp).
- 163** 1927-29 Reports on wages and salaries; the Tariff Commission; and the financial position of the state and the achievements of the four years since independence (15pp).
- 164** 4 December 1929 Invitation from the Registrar of the National University to McGilligan to attend a conferring of honorary degrees. Includes biographical details of those, including W.T. Cosgrave, on whom degrees were to be conferred (7pp).
- 165** [1929] Copy of a statement issued by the Erskine Childers Cumann, Fianna Fáil, advocating the entry of the Party's deputies into the Dáil and advocating 'anti-imperialist policies' (3pp).
- 166** 1929-31 Material mainly concerning Fianna Fáil economic policy including:
 — typescript copy of a report on fundamental differences between government and Fianna Fáil economic policies (27pp);
 — letter from W.T. Cosgrave, President of the Executive Council, to McGilligan, Grosvenor House Hotel, London, concerning an

- 166 contd** impending visit to Dublin by some eminent Australians (6 October 1930, (6 October 1930, 3pp);
– letter from P. Hogan, Minister for Agriculture, to McGilligan, concerning grain tariffs (22 October 1929, 3pp).
- 167** April 1930 Copies of documents issued in connection with the financing of the Irish Press Ltd., submitted by the Department of the President to members of the executive Council [registered number S.1831/2].
- 168** 1931-32 Typescript extracts from public statements by Fianna Fáil politicians concerning the land annuities, the economic war, taxation, and the constitutional question. News cuttings (15pp).

D. GENERAL POLITICAL ISSUES, 1932-48

- 169** September-November 1932 Cuttings from U.S. newspapers including the *Herald Tribune*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *New York American* mainly relating to a visit by de Valera to the United States and American-Irish relations generally; with comment on Irish domestic affairs such as the attack on W.Y. Cosgrave in Cork in November 1932, and on Ireland's role in the League of Nations (50 items).
- 170** July 1932 Material relating to the constitutional status of the Free State with specific reference to the position of the Crown, and changes likely to be implemented by a Fianna Fáil administration (15pp).
- 171** 1932-33 Extracts from statements by Fianna Fáil politicians on aspects of the economy (5pp). Report entitled 'The flour ramp' concerning flour shortages in the Free State (5pp). Handwritten notes by McGilligan on the Butter Bill (2pp).
- 172** 1933 2 typescript memoranda relating to freedom of speech and the 'persecution' of the Army Comrades Association (7pp).

- 173** July 1933-February 1934 Material relating to constitutional and economic issues including:
- letter from P.J. Connolly S.J., editor of *Studies*, inviting McGilligan's comments on an article (not present) advocating the adoption of a federal republic based on the Swiss system to end 'the Anglo-Irish differences' (5 November 1933, 1p);
 - copy of McGilligan's reply. 'You cannot publish my views, they would be much too vicious' (5pp);
 - copy of extracts from speeches by Fianna Fáil politicians entitled 'Fianna Fáil view of politics in local bodies' (2pp).
- 174** 1934-35 Material relating to the constitutional question, unemployment, agricultural wages, political prisoners, and foreign affairs, including:
- copy of a parliamentary question by McGilligan for the Minister for Industry & Commerce concerning unemployment benefit (1p);
 - newscuttings and statistics on agricultural wages (5 items);
 - Cumann na mBan circular on political prisoners;
 - excerpts from public statements by Fianna Fáil politicians on the Constitutional Amendment Act (5pp).
- 175** 1932-36 Material relating to land annuities including:
- unsigned, undated memorandum entitled 'Land purchase annuities' (5pp);
 - 'The truth about the land annuities' by Patrick Hogan (10pp).
- 176** 1935-36 Material concerning the economic war, farming, industry and taxation including:
- extracts from speeches by Fianna Fáil politicians (12pp);
 - text of a speech by Dr T. O'Higgins on the political climate (3pp);
 - critique by McGilligan of an article by James Meenan in *Studies* on agricultural land (6pp);
 - notes 'For Mr Cosgrave' on the amount of wages lost to agricultural labourers (2pp);
 - figures of agricultural and industrial production (7pp).
- 177** June 1936-January 1937 Memorandum by John Dillon T.D. on the Constitution Bill (6pp).
Extract from a speech by Eamon de Valera on 'The Republic' (1p).

- 178** 1937 Table of Free State assets and liabilities in the period 1932-37 (2pp). Notes by McGilligan on speeches by Fianna Fáil politicians on political and economic matters (15pp).
- 179** 1929-39 Material relating to aspects of Fianna Fáil policy. Includes text of an interview with de Valera in the *Manchester Guardian* (27 June 1927, 5pp); and a copy of the *Republican Review* (March 1939) with an article 'No alliance with England. De Valera's policy repudiated (5pp) (8 items).
- 180** 1939-40 Notes and memoranda relating to the emergency period including:
- 'Memorandum B' concerning increases in agricultural production, taxation, rationing, and unemployment (3pp);
 - memorandum marked 'General Mulcahy' on an interview, 14 September 1939, with Eamon de Valera and Seán T. O'Kelly, on government expenditure, production and army mobilisation (5pp);
 - memorandum by Liam Cosgrave on aspects of government policy and neutrality (4pp, 5pp);
 - 'note on a conversation with de Valera' concerning a meeting between the Taoiseach and leaders of the other parties, to discuss conscription in N.I. (5pp);
 - draft of a memorandum on Fine Gael's position on matters 'affecting the security and defence of the state', with points for a meeting on neutrality (14pp).
- 181** January-March 1941 Memoranda and copies of speeches by Seán Lemass, Dr T.F. O'Higgins, and others, on neutrality and the use of Irish ports by British naval craft (4 items).
- 182** May 1941-March 1943 Material relating to the use and distribution of agricultural land and general agricultural policy including:
- copies of correspondence between General Richard Mulcahy and R.C. Geary of the Statistics Office, on agricultural holdings (4pp);
 - note on Fine Gael agricultural policy from Morgan McMahon, Limerick (3pp);

E. FIRST INTER-PARTY GOVERNMENT, 1948-51

- 183** June-November 1948 Material relating to the Irish shoe industry, Irish Shoe Supplies Ltd., Belturbet, Co. Mayo, and plans for the development of the industry (6 items).
- 184** January-March 1949 Material relating to meetings of the Fine Gael Advisory Committee to discuss taxation, and other policy matters. Includes:
– minutes of meetings on income tax allowances and the directorships of government sponsored bodies (4pp);
– confidential memorandum by the acting chairman of the Special Advisory Committee concerning the impression created by a speech by McGilligan on profits (7pp);
– confidential notes on a conference outlining the general principles of Fine Gael policy (2pp);
– memorandum on government policy on economic matters and reforms in the public service (5pp).
- 185** March 1949 Letter from Cecil Lavery, Attorney-General, concerning the spoils system, and the career of James Geoghegan S.C. (2pp). Newscutting on the spoils system, political appointments, and public appointments regarding these.
- 186** May 1950 Notes on a statement by Seán Lemass on wage control under the Emergency Powers Order, 1939-46, and labour relations during the period (4pp). Memorandum on the Industrial Relations Bill, 1946, and the establishment of the Labour Court (6pp). Handwritten notes [by W.T. Cosgrave] on 'Reasons for the case [for a] National Emergency', advocating *inter alia* early recall of the Dáil and the holding of a general election at the earliest date possible (1p).

F. FINE GAEL IN OPPOSITION, 1951-54

- 187** March-June 1951 Copy of a speech by John A. Costello, at a Fine Gael meeting in Youghal, on government economic policy (10pp). Fine Gael *Some outstanding points of policy*.
- 188** June 1951 Letter from James Fenton, Clontarf, Dublin, to Patrick McGilligan, regretting the demise of the Inter-Party Government and commenting on public service pensions (1p).
- 189** June-October 1951 Text of a speech by Seán MacBride to a Clann na Poblachta rally, concerning sterling assets and the need for investment (2pp). Extract from a statement by MacBride at a meeting of the Clann national executive, concerning Fianna Fáil disinflationary policy (3pp).

G. SECOND INTER-PARTY GOVERNMENT, 1954-57

- 190** May-October 1954 Principal objects of policy of the Inter-Party Government issued by Fine Gael and Labour Party Headquarters (2pp). Fine Gael *Bulletin*, 'The new government begins its task' (5pp).
- 191** May-June 1955 Report entitled 'Year of achievement' outlining policy successes in areas of agriculture, forestry, industry, finance, social welfare, health, and local government (15pp). Text of a speech by John O'Gorman on the success of the government's twelve point plan (3pp).
- 192** January-August 1956 Industry & Commerce memorandum proposing the introduction of tariffs on power-drawn agricultural machinery (7pp). Secret memorandum on partition (6pp). Memorandum on the general principles of local government with suggestions for improvements and amendments to the county management system (4pp).

- 193** January-March 1957 Copies of statements by Taoiseach John A. Costello, Seán MacBride, and the Ard Comhairle of Clann na Poblachta, on political issues and the general election. Includes:
- text of a speech by Costello to the Fine Gael Ard Fheis on the inadvisability of a general election, and criticising Clann na Poblachta for precipitating this (25pp);
 - Leaflet *Why Clann na Poblachta withdrew its support from the Government* (4pp);
 - Copy of the statement by MacBride justifying the removal of support for the government on account of their failure to adopt an adequate economic policy in the present grave situation (4pp).