Papers of John Marcus O'Sullivan

LA60

**Descriptive Catalogue** 



**UCD** Archives

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#### CONTEXT

#### **Biographical history**

John Marcus O'Sullivan (18 February 1881–9 February 1948) was born in Killarney and educated at St Brendan's, Killarney and Clongowes Wood College, County Kildare. He entered University College Dublin in 1898 and made an impression both academically and socially. He co-founded the Academy of St Thomas Aquinas with his professor, William Magennis, and was active in the college sodality and the Society of St Vincent de Paul. He contributed to and was on the editorial staff of *St Stephen's*. The Jesuit memoir *A Page of Irish History 1883–1909* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1930) observes that decline of the St Thomas Acquinas Academy was due to the 'absence in Germany of O'Sullivan'. He won a Royal University Studentship in Philosophy and in 1904 went to Bonn and later Heidelberg, where he was awarded the degree Doctor of Philosophy with distinction in 1908 for his thesis Vergleich de Methoden Kants und Hegels auf Grund ihrer Behandlung de Kategorischen Quantität.

He returned to Ireland in 1908 just as the National University was in the process of being established. He did not get the Chair of Philosophy at UCD, which went instead to Monsignor Shine, but was instead appointed Professor of History, a position he held for thirty-eight years until his death. He served on both the Governing Body and University Senate. Following the publication in English of O'Sullivan's doctoral dissertation in 1909 *The Old Criticism and the New Pragmatism*, O'Sullivan's academic work was chiefly in the field of history, on which he contributed many papers to various periodicals on a range of topics.

O'Sullivan was elected to Dáil Éireann as Deputy for Kerry in 1923 and in 1924 was made Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Finance. He served as Minister for Education, 1926–32 and as a member of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State, in which capacity he was frequently a delegate to the League of Nations Rapporteur on Public Health in 1928 and President of the Fifth Commission in 1929. His major ministerial achievement was the Vocational Education Act 1930.

#### Archival history

The papers of John Marcus O'Sullivan comprise two accessions, one from the UCD Secretary's Office transferred in 1993 and the other presented by O'Sullivan's sonin-law, Mr Niall McLoughlin, in 1996. The 1993 accession was separated out from a collection of J.J. Hogan material.

#### **CONTENT AND STRUCTURE**

#### Scope and content

**Education:** printed material related to O'Sullivan's time at Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 1902–5, and Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, Heidelberg, 1905–7.

**Academic career:** printed and handwritten articles, essays, papers, pamphlets, newspapers articles and speeches by O'Sullivan on a range of topics including Irish and European history, Irish and European politics and the history of religion, 1913–46. A small amount of teaching material concerning the scope and organisation of courses.

#### **Political career:**

Minister for Education: speeches and reports, department and policy issues, 1926–30.

Extracts from Dáil Debates including contributions by O'Sullivan, 1924–36. Cumann na nGaedhael and Fine Gael party political material incuding Conventions and Ard Fheiseanna, 1923–37.

Material relating to election campaigns and Fine Gael in opposition, 1930–43. William T. Cosgrave honorary degree material, 1926, 1929.

Delegate to the League of Nations, 1928–30.

**Material related to O'Sullivan's interest in religion:** Catholic Emancipation Centenary Celebrations, 1929; St Patrick's Day Celebrations, Liverpool, 1931; Oxford Catholic Conference, 1925 and Second International Catholic Conference, 1937.

**Dissociated material concerning Irish history:** mostly printed material concerning the 1916 Rebellion and its aftermath.

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#### CONDITIONS OF ACCESS AND USE

Access: Available by appointment to holders of a UCDA reader's ticket. Produced for consultation in microform.

**Language:** English, some German.

**Finding-aid:** Descriptive catalogue

#### **DESCRIPTION CONTROL**

#### Archivist's note

The 1996 accession of O'Sullivan papers was initially catalogued by Helen Hewson in 1996. This catalogue supercedes that and incorporates both accessions. It was compiled by Kate Manning in November 2009.

#### ALLIED MATERIALS

#### **Publication note**

Obituary: Professor John Marcus O'Sullivan, MA, DPhil in *Report of the President of University College, Dublin for the Session 1947–48*, Part 1, pp35–36

Mary M. Macken, 'John Marcus O'Sullivan: Obiit 9 February 1948' in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, vol 37, no 145 March 1948 pp1-6

## 1. Education, 1902–7

**LA60/1** 1902–5

2 items

Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn.

Printed material related to O'Sullivan's time at the university consisting of:

- Dorlchriften f
  ür de Studierenden der K
  öniglichen Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universit
  ät zu Bonn (Bonn: 1902, 64pp).
- *Abganszeugnis*. Document formally noting the lectures attended by O'Sullivan at the university (1905, 4pp). Signed by the university rector and dean of the faculty of philosophy.

**LA60/2** 1904

1 item

Printed diploma from the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn.

**LA60/3** 1905–7

3 items

Ruprecht-Karls- Universität, Heidelberg.

Printed material related to O'Sullivan's time at the university consisting of:

- Anmeldungs-Buch des stud. Phil. John Markus O'Sullivan aus Killarney (Irland) Inskribiert auf de r Grossherzoglich badischen Ruprecht-Karls-Universität zu Heidelberg. (1905–6, 1p, 3ff). Includes list of lectures attended, signature of the instructor and notes on fees.
- Abganszeugnis. Document formally noting the lectures attended by O'Sullivan at the university for the years 1905–6 (1906, 3pp). Signed by the university rector and the representative of 'Der akademische Disziplinarbeamte'.
- *Abganszeugnis.* Document formally noting the lectures attended by O'Sullivan at the university for the years 1907 (1907, 2pp). Signed as above.
- **LA60/4** 1907

1 item

Printed diploma from the Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, Heidelberg.

## 2. Academic Career

## 2.1 Articles, Essays Papers and Speeches by O'Sullivan

## 2.1.1 In Studies, an Irish Quarterly Review, 1913-45

**LA60/5** June 1913

pp92–9

Offprint. 'The Congress of Historical Studies' vol 2, no 6. Consists of O'Sullivan's review of the Third International Congress of Historical Studies, London, 1913.

**LA60/6** March 1915

pp2–15

Reprint: 'German & Slav in the Middle Ages' vol 4, no 13.

**LA60/7** September 1915

pp397–410

Offprint. 'Catherine the Great and Russian Policy' vol 4, no 15.

**LA60/8** December 1919

pp565–79

Offprint. The League of Nations a Century Ago' vol 8, no 32.

**LA60/9** December 1925

2 items

'Nationality as a Claim to Sovereignty' vol 14, no 56.

- Offprint (pp633–47)
- Typescript draft with corrections (22pp)

**LA60/10** June 1933

pp205–20

Offprint. 'Religious Policy of the Soviet Union' vol 22, no 86.

# **LA60/11** December 1935

4 items

Offprint. 'New Classes in the Classless State' vol 24, no 96, pp605–18.

- Typescript copy (28pp)
- Typescript draft, heavily corrected (29pp)
- Typescript draft with corrections (28pp)

## **LA60/12** June 1945

4 items

'Dr Denis J. Coffey: President of University College, Dublin, 1909–1940' vol 34, no 134.

- Includes:
- Offprint (pp145–57)
- Typescript corrected draft (29pp)
- Typescript corrected draft with annotations (34pp)
- Typescript draft with corrections (21pp)

## 2.1.2 In The Irish Ecclesiastical Record A Monthly Journal Under Episcopal Sanction, 1914–[45]

**LA60/13** 1914

1 item

Offprint. 'Professor Bury and the History of Freedom of Thought' Fifth Series, vol 3. Part 1 (pp449–64) Part 2 (pp594–609)

# **LA60/14** May 1915

pp460–74

Offprint. 'Heinrich Suso Denifle, O.P. Historian' fifth series, vol 5.

### **LA60/15** 1916

2 items

Offprints. 'Mr Balfour's Philosophy', no series or volume number.

- Part 1 (pp190–205)
- Part 2 (pp285–98)

#### **LA60/16** 1917

pp89–101

Offprint. 'Austria-Hungary under Francis Joseph', vol 9.

#### **LA60/17** 1917

1 item

Offprint. Principle of Democratic Revolution: America and France, fifth series, vol 9. Part 1 (pp441–54) Part 2 (pp27–37) Part 3 (pp124–35) Part 4 (pp198–209)

## **LA60/18** [1941]

7 items

Offprints. 'Perversions of Values: Reflections on Some Ideologies of Today and Yesterday' Fifth series, vol 57.

Series of four articles and typescript drafts. It is noted in the footnotes that 'The leading ideas of this essay were put before the Central Catholic Library Association in lectures delivered on November 5 and 12, 1940.'

- Offprints.
  - Part 1, pp234–47
  - Part 2, pp307–26
  - Part 3, pp420–37

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#### LA60/18

- Part 4, pp501–12
  - Three copies of the typescript article, one heavily corrected.
    - Incomplete dated draft (64pp)
    - Corrected draft (97pp)
    - Corrected draft (100pp)

#### **LA60/19** June–July 1945

2 items

'Planning: The Panacea', sixth series, vol 65 and fifth series, vol 66. Part 1, vol 65. no 930 (pp368–80) Part 2 vol 66, no 931 (pp41–50)

#### LA60/20 Not dated

2 items

'The Spirit of Soviet Education' vol 43

- Part 1 (pp239–51)
- Part 2 (pp348–57)
- Part 3 (pp465–73)
- Part 4 (pp573–83)

## 2.1.3 Articles, Pamphlets and Speeches, 1939–46

**LA60/21** [August] 1939

*c*31pp

Printed pamphlet. 'Some Elements of European Disorder'.

Lecture delivered by O'Sullivan at UCD on 24 February 1939 at the request of the Catholic Association for International Relations. Foreword by Cardinal MacRory (15 August 1939). Includes a 'with compliments' notation from O'Sullivan on the cover, heavily annotated inside by the recipient.

## **LA60/22** 14 February 1946

2pp

Circular copy of text of introductory address delivered by O'Sullivan, on the occasion of the conferral of a D.Litt. degree upon Charles McNeill.

#### **LA60/23** Not dated

67pp

'State Worship, the Church, Education'. Copy typescript draft. Uses Nationalist Socialist Germany and Bolshevist Russia as case studies. Includes handwritten additions.

#### LA60/24 Not dated

9pp

Transcript of a speech by O'Sullivan on citizenship in modern life. Discusses the subject of 'civics' in the school programme, examines the 'civics and social potentialities of the university' and states the need for a better and broader system of education for the working classes. (First page missing.)

## LA60/25 Not dated

7pp

Amended typescript of a speech delivered by O'Sullivan at a function in UCD paying tribute to a Herr Von Dehn who presented a paper to the meeting on the 'great German Dramatist' Hauptman. Incomplete.

#### LA60/26 Not dated

3 items

Typescript draft article in three parts entitled 'Progress'. Discusses the idea of progress in relation to science, philosophy and religion.

- Part 1 (56pp)
- Part 2 (37pp)
- Part 3 (35pp)

**LA60/27** Not dated

1 item

'Some problems of recent German moral philosophy'. Typescript annotated corrected draft of article in three parts:

- Part 1 (pp1–6)
- Part 2 (pp7–17)
- Part 3 (pp18–24)

Series of files entitled 'Sketches' discussing aspects of philosophy, the history of philosophy and philosophers. In three parts.

**LA60/28** Not dated

2 items

Sketches 1: 'The Coming of the Philosophical Blind Spot' (A Study of [and] Significance of the Enlightenment). Provisional title provided on the opening page of the draft.

- Typescript article (172pp)
- Typescript annotated draft
  - Part 1 (23pp)
  - Part 2 (18pp)
  - Part 3 (28pp)
  - Part 4 (27pp)
- LA60/29 Not dated

38pp (pp173-211)

Untitled typescript article discussing Kant and Rousseau. Pencilled page numbers suggest that it is a continuation of LA60/28.

**LA60/30** Not dated

5 items

Sketches 2 Typescript draft articles.

- Part 5 The Age of Reason (54pp)
- Change in Values (14pp)
- Kant (48pp)
- End (21pp)
- End (4pp)

# **LA60/31** Not dated

35p

Sketches 3: Rousseau.

LA60/32 Not dated

11pp

Untitled typescript essay discussing Rousseau, Kant and questions of modern philosophy.

LA60/33 Not dated

26pp

Typescript academic paper: Philosophic Criticism'. Discusses the function of criticism as applied to the history of philosophy.

LA60/34 Not dated

15pp

Typescript essay: 'Einstein and Kant'. Discusses Kantian philosophy in relation to Einstein's theories of physics.

LA60/35 Not dated

25pp

Typescript untitled draft essay concerning modern philosophy. Consists of introduction, a section entitled 'Book-Wisdom' and a final section entitled 'One-Sidedness'.

LA60/36 Not dated

2 items

Untitled essay discussing the French philosopher, M. Bergson.

- Typescript copy (81pp)
- Handwritten draft (36pp)

# **LA60/37** Not dated

2 items

Untitled typescript incomplete drafts of essays on Kant (10pp) and Hegel (14pp). Discusses their work in terms of the function of critical philosophy.

**LA60/38** Not dated

29pp

Untitled typescript draft essay on the Renaissance and its impact on the church.

## LA60/39 Not dated

pp12-20

Untitled typescript partial draft of an essay on the merits of parliamentary democracy.

## LA60/40 Not dated

88pp

Untitled draft essay on the impact of the modern 'age of revolution' on history as an academic discipline.

## LA60/41 Not dated

*c*207pp

Untitled typescript draft essay on Machiavelli, his politics, philosophy and influence.

LA60/42 Not dated

*c*110pp

Typescript speech/lecture on the collapse of civilisation following the outbreak of war. Discusses this idea in the context of the growth of communism, secularism and liberalism.

## **LA60/43** Not dated

2 items

Untitled handwritten speech concerning communism and the communist system in Russia, arguing against its legitimacy as a political system. Heavily corrected (*c*47pp). Includes:

- Handwritten cards laying out his argument and the issues that need to be addressed (*c*65pp).
- LA60/44 Not dated

*c*43pp

Untitled handwritten draft speech concerning the importance of the church in supplying the necessary moral framework for European society to defeat Bolshevism.

**LA60/45** Not dated

22pp

Typescript notes for a speech congratulating a UCD society 'on such a Lecturer' who gave a paper on Thomas Kettle.

## 2.1.4 Newspaper Articles, 1935–9

**LA60/46** 5 October 1935

1 item

Communism and the Worker: An Examination of Present Conditions in the Soviet State in United Ireland.

**LA60/47** 8, 15 July 1937

2 items

Series of two articles for *The Irish Catholic* 

- Modern State-Worship: Exaltation of Blood and Race in The Irish Catholic (8 July).
- State-Worship, The Church and Education: An Ever-Widening Gulf Between Nazi-ism and Christianity (15 July).

### **LA60/48** 22 July 1937

1 item

Methods of the Nazis: Destroying Religion in the Youth in The Irish Catholic.

#### **LA60/49** 29 July 1937

1 item

Remaking a People's Mind: Do We View Education Properly? In The Irish Catholic.

**LA60/50** March–May 1939

8 items

Eight part series for *The Irish Catholic*: *Elements of International Disorder*. Preface to the articles notes that the series is being printed by public demand.

- Part 1 Factors that make for War: The Decision Does not Rest with Ordinary Citizens (30 March).
- Part 2 Nationalism and Patriotism: Europe's Troubles Cannot be Solved on Nationalistic Lines Alone (6 April).
- Part 3 Democracy's Strategic Disadvantage: Temptations of the Totalitarians (13 April).
- Part 4 The Cynicism of Modern Politics: International Morality Virtually Non-Existent (20 April).
- Part 5 Pacifism Can be Exaggerated, Too: A Purely Emotional Reaction (27 April).
- Part 6 How Far Off is War? The Human Factor is Often Ignored (11 May).
- Part 7 World Menace no 1: Communism Yields Place to Nazi-ism ([18] May).
- Part 8 Statesmen's Mutual Distrust: Even Solemn Pronouncements Mean Nothing Nowadays (25 May).

## 2.1.5 Speeches and Articles Concerning Aspects of Religious Belief and History, 1927–41

**LA60/51** 1927

2 items

Pamphlet by O'Sullivan entitled *Defending the Truth*, on religion and morality, published by the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland (16pp). Includes:

- Copy of typescript corrected draft (20pp).
- **LA60/52** July 1929

3 items

St Patrick

Copy of *The Irish Rosary* (Emancipation Number), vol 33, no 7, containing an article by O'Sullivan entitled 'The Apostleship of St Patrick' (pp481–90), the text of an address delivered at the Mansion House on 19 June 1929).

Extract from *The Catholic Times* entitled 'The Apostleship of Saint Patrick. Reflections on his Character, Mission and Genius' by O'Sullivan (not dated, 1 item, incomplete).

Newspaper cutting entitled 'The Apostleship of St Patrick. Greatest Figure in Nation's History', giving an account of the lecture on the saint and Christianity in Ireland, delivered by O'Sullivan at a public meeting held in the Mansion House, Dublin (not dated, 1 item)

**LA60/53** [Autumn] 1941

56pp

'What is Going to Happen to Religion?'

Typescript corrected speech discussing the future of Christianity. Handwritten note at top of the first page states '(Address delivered circa Autumn 1941 to a "mixed" audience of Catholics and Protestants)'.

LA60/54 Not dated

3 items

The Holy Eucharist in Ireland During the Persecutions' Copy of a paper by O'Sullivan providing an historical review of Catholic activity during the Penal Laws (24pp). Includes:

- **LA60/54** Typescript draft with corrections (41pp)
  - Typescript draft with corrections (41pp)
- LA60/55 Not dated

2 items

Typescript copies of articles on Christ and the dignity of humanity.

- 'Christ and the Dignity of the Human Family' (8pp)
- 'Christ and the Dignity of the Human Race' (3pp)

LA60/56 Not dated

*c*55pp

['The Central Catholic Library and Catholic Thought'] Handwritten notes for a speech delivered to the Central Catholic Library [?].

# 2.2 Teaching Material, 1921

**LA60/57** 21 July 1921

1p

Copy of handwritten course outline for series of lectures entitled 'European International Relations 1648–1789'. Divided into seven sections:

- Political morality of Modern Europe
- Instruments of Will of State; Balance of Power
- The Struggle against the Hapsburgs
- The Struggle against Louis XIV
- Northern Europe: Prestige of Sweden; Utrecht to Aix-la-Chapelle
- Aix-la-Chapelle to the Revolution
- Unity of English Foreign Policy

LA60/58 Not dated

19pp

Copy of typescript course outline for series of lectures entitled 'Analytic concept of history [ACH], in blurred outline'. Divided into eight sections:

- What is meant by ACH.
- What is the essence of history?

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- The unity of history: the dialectic.
- Analysis of the dialectic.
- The ideal line of history.
- Decline.
- Renaissance.
- Multiple dialectic.

#### **3 Political Career**

#### **3.1 Minister for Education**

#### 3.1.1 Technical Education [1926-8]

**LA60/59** 22 October 1926

#### 2 items

Rathmines Technical Institute.

Newspaper cuttings reporting the speech made by O'Sullivan at the annual distribution of prizes at the Rathmines Technical Institute. Praises the excellent work of the Institute, but states that more training and specialization is required. Refers to the establishment of a Commission inquiring into the present system of technical education in Ireland and the need for a comprehensive system of technical education. Includes a report of the vote of thanks made by various representatives of the Institute, a brief summary of the main conclusions of the annual report submitted by the Institute's principal, G.J. Clampetter, and a list of the signatories present on the platform.

**LA60/60** June 1928

#### 7 items

Twenty-Fourth Annual Congress of the Irish Technical Instruction Association.

Material relating to the opening proceedings of the congress held at the Limerick Municipal Technical Institute, attended by O'Sullivan. Includes newspaper cuttings giving an account of the Minister's speech concerning the report of the Technical Commission (established to inquire into the system of technical education in Ireland), the address of the Institute's President, T.P. Gill and various delegates. One states: 'The plan at which the Ministry aimed provided for compulsory education of one sort or another for all pupils up to the age of sixteen years ... The aim ... is to substitute for the old system, in which post-primary education was a luxury for the children of the well-to-do, a democratic system in which no distinction of class or means will be permitted to prevent any class of the population from obtaining the benefit of post-primary education' (*The Irish Times*, 13)

- **LA60/60** June 1928). Also includes three typescript draft versions of a report of the Minister's speech, with handwritten corrections and amendments.
- **LA60/61** Not dated

27pp

Untitled mostly handwritten draft speech concerning technical education in Ireland. Mostly notes.

LA60/62 Not dated

1 item

Handwritten notes and drafts for various speeches concerning technical and vocational education. Mostly incomplete. Includes:

- Speech concerning the importance of training (8pp).
- Speech for 'Limerick' concerning vocational education (6pp).
- Speech for 'Opening Technical Commission' (15pp)
- Speech for the opening of the first of the preparatory colleges (13pp)
- Speech concerning objections to compulsory Irish in schools (7pp)

## 3.1.2 Department and policy issues, 1930

LA60/63 January–March 1930

9pp

Handwritten notes by O'Sullivan on various topics including philosophy (modern subjectivism), general education (parents' rights and parents' committees), financing of education and technical education (limitation of numbers). Entries are individually dated. Includes:

- Extensive notes on the National Museum, including the arrangement of different sections and exhibits (for example, the policy for the 'Art and Industrial' section) and its housing and storage arrangements and the effects of overcrowding and bad lighting in the museum.
- Observations on the collections in the National Gallery, with special emphasis on the promotion of Irish paintings, methods of attracting more visitors, thus raising the profile of the Gallery.
- The purposes to which the National Museum could put the Murphy Bequest.
- The proposal to move the silver and furniture of the Milltown Collection from the Gallery to the Museum

• The appointment of a Museum Director and proposals for 'tasks that the museum might undertake' such as an archaeological survey, excavations and the acquisition of photographs and gramophone records.

## **LA60/64** 7 July 1930

5pp

Copy of a letter from Ernest Blythe [Minister for Finance] to O'Sullivan on the arrangements in regard to the payment of authors of works in Irish and the method of fixing the price of columns and the size of editions. Blythe regards the present system as 'entirely wrong', uses Tomás Ó Criomhthain's *An tOileanach* as an example and proposes a new system in light of the establishment of An Gúm. Requests that O'Sullivan considers the proposals with a view to discussion at a future conference.

## **LA60/65** 7 December 1930

1p

Newspaper cutting from *The People* on O'Sullivan's instructions to teachers that the physical well-being of school children 'must receive their constant attention. Accordingly a system of regular physical culture has been introduced into the schools, and dental treatment is provided for the scholars'. Refers to O'Sullivan's insistence on the use of Irish in his own department and the ability of the postal service to deal with telegrams written in 'Gaelic'. Praises the abilities and skills of the Minister.

LA60/66 Not dated

32pp

Typescript of a report [by O'Sullivan], on the German education system after World War I, comparing different aspects of the system in a number of states, under the following headings: finance; elementary education; secondary schools; 'continuation' education; 'fachshulen' [specialist schools]; technical schools; art and crafts schools; agricultural schools; primary and secondary teachers' training; the different classes of teachers in secondary schools; universities and technical high schools and museums. **LA60/67** Not dated

15pp

Typescript and handwritten notes for a speech concerning the 'Advisory Council'. Discusses who is to contribute to this council, its function and influence. Also includes some notes on school funding.

# 3.2. Extracts from Dáil Debates: O'Sullivan's Contributions

# 3.2.1 The Constitution, 1931–6

**LA60/68** 15, 17 October 1931

16pp

Extract from the second stage of the Constitution (Amendment No 17) Bill, 1931

**LA60/69** 28 April–19 May 1932

19pp

The Constitution (Removal of Oath) Bill, 1932 Material relating to the second stage of the above Bill.

**LA60/70** 28 September 1933

брр

Use of Constitution (Amendment No 17) Act-Motion.

# **LA60/71** 11 April 1935

4pp

The Constitution (Amendment No 19) Bill, 1933. Concerns the powers of the Seanad.

**LA60/72** 8 May 1934–22 April 1936

31pp

The Constitution (Amendment No 23) Bill, 1934.

Bill to discontinue the separate representation of universities in Dáil Éireann (8 May 1934, 6pp; 5 July 1934, 4pp); proof including handwritten amendments (5 February 1936, 8pp); proof (12 March 1936, 6pp) and proof (22 April 1936, 7pp).

**LA60/73** 18 April 1934–May 1936

*c*.73pp

The Constitution (Amendment No 24) Bill, 1934. Material relating to various states of the Constitution Bill, 1934. Includes:

- 18 April 1934 (8pp); 25 April 1934 (8pp); 26 April 1934 (14pp); 1 May 1934 (16pp); 17 May 1934 (6pp).
- Proof including handwritten amendments (24 May 1934, 5pp).
- Proof (12 December 1935, 8pp).
- Proof with handwritten amendments (28 May 1936, 6pp).

# 3.2.2 Finance, 1932–6

**LA60/74** 4 August 1932

6pp

Emergency Fund Grant-in Aid (Vote no 73).

**LA60/75** 18 May 1932–24 June 1936

28 items

Financial Resolutions and Bills. Extracts from debates on financial resolutions and bills. Includes:

- Financial Resolution no 26—General—Resumed (18 May 1932, 10pp).
- Financial Resolution Report, No 1, Income Tax (1 June 1932, 4pp).
- Financial Resolution No 3, Income Tax (1 June 1932, 4pp).
- Financial Resolutions, Report Stage Resumed (3 June 1932, 4pp).
- Finance (Customs Duties) No 2 Bill, 1932 (8 June 1932, 8pp).
- Finance Bill, 1932—Second Stage (15 June 1932, 6pp).
- Finance Bill, Committee (30 June 1932, 8pp).

#### John Marcus O'Sullivan Papers

- LA60/75
- Late Sitting (5 July 1932, 4pp).
- Finance Bill, 1932, Committee Stage Resumed (7 July 1932, 4pp).
- Finance Bill, 1933, Second Stage (13 June 1933, 6pp).
- Resolution No 24, General (15 May 1934, 6pp).
- Resolution No 28, General Resumed (16 May1935, 10pp).
- Resolution No 9, Customs (23 May 1935, 6pp).
- Resolution No 11, Customs and Excise (24 May 1935, 6pp).
- Finance Bill, 1935, Second Stage, proof with handwritten amendments (12 June 1935, 6pp).
- Finance Bill, 1935, Committee, proofs with handwritten amendments (2 July 1935, 4pp; 3 July 1935, 2pp; 4 July 1935, 17pp and 5 July 1935, 5pp).
- Finance Bill, 1935, Allocation of Time: proof (10 July 1935, 4pp).
- Finance Bill, 1935, Report (10 July 1935, 6pp).
- Adjournment Debate, Saorstát Taxation: proof with amendments (25 July 1935, 6pp).
- Financial Resolutions, Resumed: proof (13 May 1936, 4pp).
- Financial Resolutions, Resolution No 14, General: proof (14 May 1936, 9pp).
- Resolution No 3, Income-tax and Surtax: proof (20 May 1936, 3pp).
- Resolution No 4, Customs, Report Stage: proof (26 May 1936, 7pp).
- Finance Bill, 1936, Second Stage: proof with handwritten amendments (17 June 1936, 9pp).
- Finance Bill, 1936, Committee: proof (24 June 1936, 4pp).
- **LA60/76** 22 March 1933–5 March 1936

31pp

Central Fund Bill, 1933.

Material concerning the debate on the second stage of the 1933 Central Fund Bill.

**LA60/77** 15 March 1933, 4 March 1936

15pp

In Committee on Finance—Vote on Account.

#### 3.2.3 Industry and Commerce, 1925-35

LA60/78 2 April, 5 May 1925

16pp

Bound extracts on the Hydro-Electric Exploitation of the River Shannon (8pp) and the second stage of the Shannon Electricity Bill, 1925 (8pp).

LA60/79 14 July 1932–26 February 1936

25pp

The Emergency Imposition of Duties Bill, 1932. Material relating to various stages of the Bill.

**LA60/80** 17 November 1932

6pp

Final Stage of the Control of Prices Bill, 1932.

**LA60/81** 14 July 1933

брр

Estimates for the Expenses of the Department of Industry and Commerce (Vote No 56) for 1933–4.

**LA60/82** 8 February 1934

4pp

Second Stage of the Control of Imports Bill, 1934.

**LA60/83** 14 June 1932, 28 June 1934

10pp

Second Stage of the Control of Manufacturers Bill, 1932 (6pp) and 1934 (4pp).

LA60/84 19 June 1935

7pp

Expenses of the Department of Industry and Commerce (Vote No 57) for 1935-6.

#### 3.2.4 Agriculture, 1932-6

LA60/85 8 June 1933-31 March 1936

30pp

Estimates for the Expenses of the Offices of the Minister for Agriculture (Vote No 52) for 1933-7. File containing the debates on the above. Includes:

- 8 June 1933 (6pp).
- Supplementary Agricultural Grants (11 July 1933, 4pp).
- 30 May 1934 (10pp).
- Proof (12 July 1935, 3pp).
- Proof (31 March 1936, 7pp).

LA60/86 10 November 1932–6 July 1935

40pp

Agricultural Produce (Cereals) Bill, 1932-5 Material relating to various stages of the above. Includes:

- Cereals Bill, 1932 (10 November, 1932, 10pp).
- Cereals Bill, 1933 (27 April 1933, 4pp).
- Cereals Bill, 1932, Motion (3 May 1933, 4pp).
- Cereals Bill, 1935 (18 June 1935, 6pp).
- Cereals Bill, 1935, Committee: proof with handwritten amendments (25 June 1935, 8pp).
- Cereals Bill, 1935, Committee: proof (26 June 1935, 4pp).
- Cereals Bill, 1935, Fifth Stages (6 July 1935, 4pp).

LA60/87 8-22 May 1935

15pp

The Dairy Produce (Price Stabilization) Bill, 1935 File containing debates on various stages of the above. Includes:

8 May 1935 (4pp).

#### John Marcus O'Sullivan Papers

- **LA60/87** Amended proofs (15 May 1935, 7pp; 22 May 1935, 4pp).
- **LA60/88** 18 July 1935

3pp

The Slaughter of Cattle and Sheep (Amendment) Bill, 1935.

**LA60/89** 28 April–19 May 1936

32pp

Turf (Use and Development) Bill, 1935.
Material relating to various stages of the above.
Includes:
Proofs (28 April 1936, 8pp; 8 May 1935, 3pp and 19 May 1935, 21pp).

#### 3.2.5 Lands and Fisheries (1925-6)

**LA60/90** 12 May 1925

11pp

Bound extract on the Second Stage of the Arterial Drainage Bill, 1925.

**LA60/91** 3 November 1925

4pp

Bound extract on the Second Stage of the River Owenmore Drainage Bill, 1925.

**LA60/92** 16 November 1932

6pp

Proposed Suspension of Collection of Annuities.

LA60/93 14 March 1933–28 July 1936

56pp

Land Bills, 1933–6 Material relating to debates on various Land Bills from 1933 to 1936. Includes:

- Land (Purchase Annuities Fund) Bill, 933, Second Stage (14 March 1933, 4pp and 13 July 1933, 4pp).
- Land Bill, 1933, Committee Resumed (27 July 1933, 4pp).
- Lands Vote 54: proof (5 June 1935, 4pp).
- Land Purchase (Guarantee Fund Bill, 1935: proof (5 December 1935, 5pp and 15 January 1936, 5pp).
- Land Bill, 1935, Committee Resumed: proof (28 July 1936, 6pp).

# 3.2.6 Justice, [1925], 1933-6

**LA60/94** [1925], 1933–6

*c*48pp

Judicial Matters. Material relating to various judicial matters. Includes:

- Private bills for divorce (11 February 1925).
- The removal from office of General Eoin O'Duffy [Garda Commissioner] (14 March 1933, 4pp).
- The Wearing of the Uniform (Restriction) Bill, 1934 (28 February 1924, 8pp and 14 March, 1934, 4pp).
- Estimates of the Expenses of the Office of the Minister for Justice (17 May 1934, 6pp).
- Estimates of Supplementary Expenses of Circuit Court Officers, Deputy Circuit Judges and certain Local Registering Authorities for the year ending 31 March 1935 (13 and 14 March 1935, 8pp).
- Secret Service (Vote No 18): amended proofs: (20 June 1934, 7pp).
- The Courts of Justice Bill, 1934, Recommittal, Resumed (6 February 1936, 3pp).

# 3.2.7 Defence, 1934

**LA60/95** 2 March 1934

6pp

Estimate of the Supplementary Expenses of the Army for 1933–4 (Vote No 64).

# **3.2.8 Education**

# 3.2.8.1 Government Estimates, 1926–32

**LA60/96** 23 February 1926–21 May 1930

112pp

Government Education Estimates, 1926–30. Material relating to government estimates for education. Includes:

- Estimates for secondary education for year ending 31 March 1926, including teachers' salaries grant, capitation grant and increments of salary to secondary school teachers (Vote No 43) (23 February 1926, 2pp) and preparatory colleges and the general training of teachers (Vote No 42) (24 February 1926, 20pp).
- Estimates of administration expenses of the Department of Education for year ending 31 March 1927 (Vote No 45) (4 June 1926, 22pp).
- Estimates for primary and secondary education for the year ending 31 March 1927, including grants-in-aid for the teachers' pension fund (Vote No 46) (7 June 1926, 14pp), the teachers' salaries grant, capitation grant and increments of salary to secondary school teachers (Vote no 47) (7 June 1926, 4pp).
- Expenses connected with technical instruction (Vote No 48) (7 June 1926, 9pp); salaries and expenses of the institutions of science and art in Dublin and of the Geological Survey of Ireland (Vote No 49) (7 June 1926, 4pp); expenses of reformatory and industrial schools, including places of detention (Vote No 50) (7 June 1926, 1p).
- Expenses of the Office of the Minister for Education for the year ending 31 March 1929 (Vote No 45) (24 May 1928, 8pp and 24 October 1928, 4pp).
- Expenses of the office of the Minister for Education for the year ending 31 March 1931 (Vote No 45) (16 May 1930, 9pp).
- Estimates for secondary education, technical education, expenses of the institutes of science and art in Dublin and of the Geological Survey and expenses of reformatory and industrial schools, for the year ending 31 March 1931 (21 May 1930, 3pp).

**LA60/97** 1931–2

# 85pp

Booklet containing Department of Education estimates, 1931–2. Includes:

- Expenses of the office of the Minister for Education (Vote No 45) with handwritten annotations (10pp).
- Estimates for primary education (Vote No 46), with handwritten amendments and typed statistics (32pp).
- Estimates for secondary education (Vote No 47), with handwritten annotations and typescript statistics (9pp).
- Expenses connected with technical and continuation education (Vote No 48), includes statistics and annotations (13pp).
- Expenses of the institutes of science and art in Dublin (Vote No 49), includes statistics and annotations (10pp).
- Expenses of reformatory and industrial schools (Vote No 50), includes statistics and annotations (6pp).

**LA60/98** 21–27 May 1931, 28 October 1932

129pp

Government Estimates for the Expenses of the Office of the Minister for Education (Vote No 45) 1932–3

Material relating to government estimates for the expenses of the Minister for Education, for the years ending 31 March 1932 and 31 March 1933. Includes two booklets of extracts containing Vote No 45 for 1931–2 (May 1932, 76pp and 45pp) and loose extract containing Vote No 45 for 1932–3 (28 October 1932, 8pp).

## **3.2.8.2 Vocational Education Bill, 1930**

**LA60/99** 14–16 May 1930

48pp

Extracts containing the Second Stage of the Vocational Education Bill, 1930 with handwritten annotations (42pp), and Vote no 45 for 1930–31 (6pp).

## **LA60/100** 29 May–17 July 1930

56pp

Extracts containing Committee Stage debate on the Money Resolution

**LA60/100** of the Vocational Education Bill, 1930, with annotations (29 May 1930, 34pp); Fourth Stage of the Vocational Education Bill, 1930 (12 June 1930, 11pp) and debate on the Seanad amendments to the Bill (17 July 1930, 11pp).

### **LA60/101** 18 June–9 July 1930

92pp

Seanad Debates. Bound extracts from the Seanad debate on the Vocational Education Bill, 1930: Second Stage (18 June 1930, 26pp); Committee Stage (2, 3 July 1930, 40pp, 18pp) and Report Stage (9 July 1930, 8pp).

#### 3.2.8.3 Teachers, 1933

**LA60/102** 24 May 1933

6pp

The Public Services (Temporary Economics Bill, 1933).

## 3.2.9 Local Government and Public Health (1925-33)

**LA60/103** 29 April–25 June 1925

54pp

Extracts from government estimates for the year ending 31 March 1926.

Material relating to estimates of government expenditure on local government and public works.

Includes:

- Expenditure for Public Works and Buildings, with annotations (29 April 1925, 22pp).
- Salaries and expenses of the Office of Public Works (Vote no 10) (29 April 1925, 7pp).
- Salaries and expenses of the Department of the Registrar-General of Births (Vote no 37) with numerous handwritten amendments (25 June 1925, 25pp) and a partial un-amended copy (11pp).

**LA60/104** 8 March 1929–30 May 1933

21pp

Extracts containing the debate on Holidays of Obligation (8 March 1929, 6pp); Immediate Needs of the Unemployed (4 May 1932, 4pp); Relief Schemes (Vote no 69) (18 November 1932, 4pp) and the Public Hospitals Bill, 1933—Committee Stage (19, 30 May 1933, 4pp, 3pp).

#### 3.2.10 External Affairs, 1932-6

**LA60/105** 9 November 1932–18 June 1936

29pp

External Affairs. Material relating to debates on foreign affairs. Includes:

- The Appropriation Bill, 1932—Second Stage (9 November 1932, 10pp).
- Executive Council Motion of Censure: proof (15 November 1932, 7pp).
- External Affairs (Vote no 67)—Resumed: proof (4 June 1935, 5pp).
- League of Nations (Vote no 68): proof (18 June 1936, 5pp).

## 3.2.11 Department of the President, 1934-6

**LA60/106** 21 February 1934–23 June 1936

28pp

Estimates of Expenses of the Department of the President (Vote no 3) File containing debates on Government estimates of the expenses of the Department of the President.

Includes:

- 21 February 1934 (6pp).
- Resumed (7 June 1934, 10pp).
- Proof with handwritten amendments (28 May 1935, 6pp).
- Proof (23 June 1936, 6pp).

# 3.2.12 Parliamentary Procedure, 1932-5

**LA60/107** 15 November 1932–13 December 1935

24pp

General Matters.

Material relating to various matters of parliamentary procedure. Includes:

- Policy of Executive Council—Motion of Censure (15 November 1932, 10pp).
- The Electoral (Revision of Constituencies) Bill, 1934 (3 May 1934, 2pp).
- Motion for Late Sitting, with handwritten amendments (5 July 1935, 4pp).
- Estimates: Allocation of Time—Motion (11 July 1935, 4pp).
- Motion to elect Deputies to a Committee of Privileges (13 December 1935, 4pp).

# 3.2.13 Debates on a Variety of Subjects, 1924–30

LA60/108 January 1924–November 1929

30pp

Extracts on miscellaneous debates. Includes:

- The Fiscal Committees Report on Protections and Free Trade (23 January 1924, 4pp).
- Relief of Unemployment debate—Resumed (2 November 1927, 10pp).
- The Gaeltacht Commission Report (4 May 1928, 8pp).
- The Proposed Wheat Control Board debate (29 November 1929, 8pp).
- **LA60/109** 8 December 1925–2 April 1930

50pp

Extracts on various matters. Includes:

- The Treaty Bill (Confirmation of Amending Agreement) (8 December 1925, 6pp).
- The Public Safety Bill, 1927—Second Stage (27 July 1927, 10pp and 16 August 1927, 8pp).

#### LA60/109

• Petition to Amend the Constitution (23 May 1928, 8pp).

- The Local Government (Dublin) Bill, 1929—Second Stage (26 February 1930, 8pp).
- Dominion Legislation and Merchant Shipping Legislation (19 March 1930, 14pp).
- Nomination of President of the Executive Council (2 April 1930, 6pp).

## 3.3 Cumann na nGaedhael and Fine Gael

## 3.3.1 Conventions and Ard Fheiseanna, 1923-37

### **LA60/110** 1923

22pp

### Phases of Revolution

Printed pamphlet containing the text of a lecture delivered by O'Sullivan before the Ard-Chumann of Cumann na nGaedheal, 21 November 1923, on the ideology of the American and French Revolutions.

## **LA60/111** 5, 6 May

### 2 items

Newspaper cuttings reporting the proceedings of the annual convention of Cumann na nGaedheal in the Mansion House, Dublin. Gives an account of the speech made by O'Sullivan on the policies and achievements of the Cumann na nGaedheal Government, in which he reviews 'various national problems awaiting attention and warned the people that the possible advent to power of their political opponents would add to these problems, and created chaos in the country.'

## **LA60/112** 1, 2 December 1931

#### 2 items

Two cuttings from the *Evening Herald* and the *Cork Examiner* reporting on the meeting of the Ard Comhairle of Cumann na nGaedheal in the Gresham Hotel, Dublin, O'Sullivan presiding as chairman. Recounts O'Sullivan's speech: 'In a world crisis ... it was more than ever necessary that this new State of ours should have at the head of affairs people that have shown they deserve the nation's trust, that have been tested and proved in the task of Government.' Refers to the **LA60/112** maintenance of law and order, the Statute of Westminster (1930) and its relationship with (Anglo-Irish) Treaty '... if ... the Free State had the power to repudiate the Treaty let it not ...[be forgotten]... that Great Britain had the same power. The power of repudiation was there in both cases'; trade relations with Britain, the tariff position and the policies of Fianna Fáil. Also reports W.T. Cosgrave's speech on the work before the Oireachtas since it assembled in October, annuities proposals, the Statute of Westminster, the new Housing Bill and the Shannon Hydroelectrical Scheme.

### **LA60/113** [1931]

18pp

Amended typescript political notes: pp 1–4, 10–15 and 22–24 form the basis of O'Sullivan's speech at the 1931 Cumann na nGaedheal convention; pp5–7 form his campaign speech given at Charleville, County Cork on 23 November 1931.

### **LA60/114** 19 March 1937

19pp

Circular copy of speech made by W.T. Cosgrave, leader of Fine Gael, at the Fine Gael Ard Fheis in the Mansion House, Dublin.

#### **LA60/115** Not dated

5pp

Amended typescript speech by O'Sullivan made to the Ard-Comhairle, 'in order to get the benefit of their advice on certain grave and urgent problems that confront the country.' Condemns the Fianna Fáil Government's lack of direction, their 'deliberate policy of drift into economic ruin' and their failure to end the economic war with Britain. Refers to the countrywide agricultural depression and calls for 'very serious reconsideration' of 'the whole subject of Local Government.'

## 3.3.2 Election Campaign and Opposition Material, 1930–43

# **LA60/116** [1931–2]

102pp

Typescript notes for 'stump' speeches. Addresses policy issues including differences with Fianna Fáil policies, on agriculture, industry, economic depression, tariffs and general economic matters, divisions caused by the Treaty, republicanism and the IRA. Includes:

- 'A National Party' beginning 'Our appeal has always been to all men of goodwill in the country, no matter to what class of the population they belong. ...' (1p)
- 'Not Sectional' beginning 'As a Government we have striven to stand above the different sections into which the community is divided. ...' (1p)
- Why Change?' beginning 'What the country will be called upon to decide is which of the two great parties in this State can best be entrusted with the care of the nation's destiny— ...' (1p)
- 'Government the Party with a Policy' beginning 'Those who accuse a Government that has laboured so hard and so successfully to promote better conditions in the country of lacking a policy are, apparently, under the impression that it is the business of a Government to start new hares practically every six months. ...' (1p)
- Training in Constitutional Government' beginning The people of this country received a long training since the days of O'Connell and through the instrumentality of the Irish Party in the methods of constitutional <u>agitation</u> in order to wring concessions from a foreign Government. ...' (1p)
- Responsibility for I.R.A. Menace, 1931' beginning The events of the last few months; the danger through which we have passed ought to have opened the eyes of any well-intentioned people in this country to the dangerous implications which were always present in irregularism. ...' (1p)
- **LA60/117** January–June 1930

12pp

Handwritten notes by O'Sullivan on various political topics including the culture of 'West-Britanism' with regard to political institutions in Ireland, trade unionists (the wellbeing of the individual against the wellbeing of the community), the successes of Cumann na nGaedheal Government policies in the face of adversity, political assassinations and Fianna Fáil's wheat policy. Also refers to the questions of tariffs, protectionism and economic self-sufficiency, objections to the policy of de-rating, appeals to the Privy Council, the economic policy of the League of Nations and the issues of disarmament and security and the question of developing the Irish tourist industry. Entries are **LA60/117** individually dated.

## **LA60/118** 15 November 1930

2pp

Newspaper cuttings reporting a speech delivered by O'Sullivan on the subject of land annuities, while on a visit to Kenmare, County Cork with F. Lynch, Minister for Lands and Fisheries.

## LA60/119 19 January 1931

2pp

Newspaper cuttings reporting the campaign speech made by O'Sullivan in Middleton County Cork, concerning the Cumann na nGaedheal Government's agricultural policy.

## **LA60/120** February 1931

#### 5 items

Listowel Meeting of the North Kerry Executive.

Material concerning the speeches made by O'Sullivan and other TDs at a meeting of the North Kerry Executive of Cumann na nGaedheal in Listowel, on Cumann na nGaedheal's policies and achievements. Includes a typescript copy of O'Sullivan's speech on the 'fundamental differences of policy' between Cumann na nGaedheal and Fine Gael. Refers to the question of de-rating and the future report of the De-Rating Commission, tariffs, Fianna Fáil's wheat policy. Supplies Cumann na nGaedheal's spending figures on various government services and departments. Refers to civil servants' 'bonuses' and 'Big Salaries' (23pp).

## **LA60/121** 23 November 1931

#### 2 items

Cuttings from the *Cork Examiner* on the proceedings of a public meeting in Charleville, County Cork, addressed by President Cosgrave, O'Sullivan, Dr T.F. O'Higgins TD, and General Seán McKeown. Cosgrave contrasts the position of the country in 1920 and the present day and refers to the 'great changes brought about under the Treaty ... Shorn of all its subtleties and make-believe, the policy of Fianna Fáil ... amounts to and implies no less than the complete repudiation of the Treaty, with the inescapable consequences of extended political

**LA60/121** and economic upheaval.' O'Sullivan speaks on the inadequacies of Fianna Fáil, and their supporters 'who are only at home in an atmosphere of revolution or semi-revolutions', defends the policies of the Department of Education and states 'the perpetual, but entirely baseless suggestion that the Treaty and the Constitution built on the Treaty are the root cause of all our ills, political and economic, even the evil suggestion that the State is being run mainly in the interests of another country or a particular class, do untold harm.'

## **LA60/122** [1932]

#### 20pp

Amended typescripts notes used in the preparation of campaign speeches on carious topics, such as tariffs, trade relations with Britain and negotiations on the current diplomatic situation. Also refers to the difficulty of establishing new markets, the present Government's rise to power 'on the back of a revolt' and their failure to control militant republicanism. Discusses Irish feelings towards Britain and states 'there is no reason why the two countries should not work together in a spirit of mutual interest for the material advancement of both'. Includes notes on the repercussions of protectionism—'it is ideal and dangerous to act as if there were no connection between political relations and markets'; pension, land annuities and governments efforts to 'make economies'. Attacks Eamon de Valera, his position on the question of land annuities, and his policies in general.

## **LA60/123** February 1932

1 item

Printed advertisement: 'Fianna Fáil is going to win. Win with it'. From *Dublin Opinion*.

#### LA60/124 Not dated

1p

Circular copy of a letter seeking support in the general election for Cumann na nGaedheal, sent by O'Sullivan to his constituents.

## **LA60/125** [January 1933]

#### 5pp

Amended typescript copy of a campaign speech by O'Sullivan on the disastrous effects of Fianna Fáil Government policy and the necessary objectives of any alternative government. Calls for the entire electorate to vote for 'any ... Party opposed to the Government', and for Cumann na nGaedheal supporters to vote for their own candidates and others who are opposed to the present Government. Condemns Fianna Fail and their overall 'socialistic' policies, 'More and more State control'. Claims Fianna Fáil has 'adopted the tactics which the Russian Communists have found so successful in establishing and consolidating their hold on the Russian people'. Denounces Fianna Fáil policy that is 'radically unsound, that threatens, if it is persisted in, the whole economic life of the country and also threatens to bring disaster in its training, serious spiritual disaster'.

### **LA60/126** [*c*1933]

9pp

Dissociated fragments of amended copies of campaign speeches and notes for speeches on various topics including the effects of the Economic War with Britain in terms of agricultural depression and the declining rural economy, the failure of the Government to negotiate a settlement with Britain and the poor performance of the tourist industry.

## **LA60/127** [January/February 1933]

3pp

Typescript copy speech delivered by O'Sullivan following the dissolution of parliament and the forthcoming general election. Refers to the failure of the Fianna Fáil government and states 'The people should now use their chance to sweep them from office, and to do it in a way that will make a strong return to health possible.'

#### **LA60/128** 1934

10pp

Amended typescript copy speech by O'Sullivan denouncing the agricultural policy of the Fianna Fáil government 'Having ... destroyed ...[the]... market, having shown that they will make no effort to recover that market, having put far behind them the promise of an early settlement by which they once more fooled the people in the General

**LA60/128** Election of 1933, their government remedy now for restoring prosperity to the cattle trade is the wholesale slaughter of cattle'. Condemns the high rate of taxation and the lack of co-ordination between the Minister for Industry and Commerce and the Minister for Agriculture, and the continuation of the Economic War. Refers to the bill presently before the Dáil 'the avowed object of which ... is the suppression of an organisation, that is a portion of our organisation, the League of Youth ... Omnipotence, complete control over our minds and bodies is obviously what the Government is out for'.

## **LA60/129** [January 1934]

#### 7pp

Typescript speech by O'Sullivan on the Fianna Fáil Government's 'inflexible and obstinate' attitude toward relations with Britain. Calls for Ireland to 'take up our position in the Commonwealth ... we were as free as any country from external interference ... we are freer than most States'. Denounce de Valera, 'a man ... blinded by his own egotism'; Fianna Fáil's 'unscrupulous' propaganda and their over inflated promises to the electorate. 'No decent Irishman can renew his vote of confidence in that Party that has so shamefully deceived and almost ruined the country.'

#### **LA60/130** Not dated

6pp

Typescript copy speech by O'Sullivan on the prospect of a general election, apparent industrial expansion, the increasing of charges and rates by the Government and their agricultural policy. 'How can Ministers claim that the country is prosperous when the basic industry on which most of the wealth of the country ultimately rests is in the state that it is at the present moment?' Quotes from de Valera's statement in the Dáil on 24 April 1929, where he recognizes the crucial importance of the agricultural industry in Ireland.

## **LA60/131** [post 1934]

#### 3pp

Typescript copy speech made by O'Sullivan [in the Dáil?] on the failure of the Fianna Fáil Government, who have 'not only failed to prevent the spread of disorder, but ... has tried as far as it could to make respect for law a crime, ... today, the people of Ireland are confronted with a campaign of repression on behalf of the Government and a campaign, in many districts, of terrorism on the part of those, who, up till recently, were the partisans of the Fianna Fáil party; and the relation

- **LA60/131** of whom to the Government at the present time is still anything but clear.' With a few handwritten amendments.
- **LA60/132** 28 May, 4 June 1935

#### 2 items

Typescript draft speeches made by O'Sullivan in the Dáil, with handwritten amendments. Discuss the general dismal atmosphere in the countryside, with low morale in the farming community and a decrease in material prosperity, the absence of drive on the part of the Government and their apparent lack of specified aims or objectives with respect to a settlement 'of the various outstanding questions and of the big ones particularly,'

### **LA60/133** 30 August 1935

7pp

Amended typescript copy speech on the change of mood in the country, and what O'Sullivan believes to be an electoral swing away from Fianna Fáil. Refers to recent elections in Co. Dublin and in Galway to illustrate the point '... it became evident that Fianna Fáil's tide was ebbing.' Cites the Government's 'complete lack of an agricultural policy' as the main reason for this turnaround. Condemns high taxation and recent 'measures passed to give them [the Government] power to interfere more and more with the ordinary lives and businesses of the people'.

**LA60/134** [1933–6?]

#### 10pp

Amended typescript Dáil speech made by O'Sullivan on the [1933?] Land Bill. Refers to the 'universal wish' for an end to the economic war and the Government's apathy towards bringing about such a conclusion, stating 'By prolonging this senseless dispute the Government is simply promoting the cause of those who wish to impose ... a permanent ban on our cattle and other agricultural produce'. Claims that the Government's policy concerning partition is an obstacle in the way of a settlement. Refers to the effects of the 'war' on Irish farmers, and on the country in general, especially in the area of employment. Condemns the recently introduced Land Bill, which, he states 'is but a pandering by the Government to the very dangerous passions that it has stirred up. The landless man and the congest is being goaded on against the man who has a farm, ... an attempt is being made to drive a wedge between the farmers.'

## **LA60/135** 27 November 1936

#### 9pp

Amended typescript copy of a speech made by O'Sullivan in Annascaul County Kerry, on Fianna Fáil's high administration costs, where 'extravagance ... not an economy ... is its guiding consideration'. Refers to the high rate of emigration and unemployment, the 'alarming' fall in the number of children attending schools in rural areas, and the 'abandonment of the country-side.' Also discusses the depression of the agricultural industry 'as a result of the political antics of the Government.'

#### **LA60/136** [13 December 1936]

#### 13pp

Amended typescript text of a speech by O'Sullivan in which he refers to Fine Gael's request to the Government to officially recognize the 'anti-Communist Government' in Spain. 'We were ... anxious to show that one of the most democratic countries in Europe was opposed to the Red Government of Spain and by the action of ours to try to overcome the insidious and successful propaganda that their cause is the cause of democracy'. Discusses the Government's refusal to acknowledge the increasing problem of Irish emigration and the ensuing repercussions for rural Ireland. Also refers to the economic war, the policy of protectionism and the rise in living costs. Condemns Fianna Fáil and de Valera, I need not remind you of the tremendous sufferings that this country has been compelled to go through in the last 14 years in the efforts on the part of Mr de Valera and his party to realize what they now call their ideals ... He has inflicted irrecoverable damage on this country, has sacrificed her interests, and may run the risk of even restricting the liberties that his predecessors had won.' The first page includes the penciled addition 'N. Kerry 13 XII '36).

#### **LA60/137** Not dated

#### 22pp

Amended typescript notes for campaign speeches in Counties Cork and Kerry, on the depressed agricultural conditions, the failure of Fianna Fáil's land annuities policy, the economic war and the 'disastrous effects it is having on the entire position of the community, especially the farming community.' Discusses the high cost of state administration expenses and the position of Cumann na nGaedheal, standing 'as a bulwark of common sense between the mad career of the Government and the country'.

## **LA60/138** Not dated

#### 1p

Nine-point summary outline for a speech made by O'Sullivan on increased taxation, the rise in living costs and the failure of the Fianna Fáil government to 'face British Ministers in negotiating a settlement' [of the Economic War].

### **LA60/139** [1933–8]

6pp

Typescript copy speech by O'Sullivan on the Economic War and the failure of Fianna Fáil to reach a settlement or to find alternative markets. Also discusses the prospect of the removal of Fianna Fáil from office in the near future. First three pages missing.

### **LA60/140** [late 1930s–1943]

#### 19pp

Amended typescript notes for campaign and party political speeches, on rising unemployment under the Fianna Fáil administration, increased rates, taxes and tariffs, and emigration and its effects on both rural and urban areas. Discusses the need to make farmers' requirements a priority on the political agenda, the question of alternative markets for agricultural produce, the failure to establish town industries on a 'proper scale', the fall in export value of all agricultural produce, Fine Gael's past achievements, and agricultural election policies.

## 3.4 William T. Cosgrave Honorary Degree Material, 1926, 1929

## **LA60/141** 23 November 1926

1 item

*Irish Times* newspaper cutting concerning the conferral of an honorary doctorate on Cosgrave by Cambridge University.

## **LA60/142** November 1929

#### 12 items

Trinity College Dublin, Honorary Degree.

Material relating to the conferral of an honorary degree of LLD on W.T. Cosgrave by Trinity College Dublin. Includes correspondence between Dr Denis J. Coffey, President of UCD, and O'Sullivan on the preparation of an introductory speech; a Latin text of the conferral speech made by the Catholic University of America in connection with their previous conferral of an honorary degree on Cosgrave; copies of the translations and a cutting from the *Irish Times* on the Trinity College ceremony.

### 3.5 Delegate to the League of Nations, 1928-30

### **LA60/143** Not dated

6pp

Typescript extracts from O'Sullivan's contributions to a League of Nations meeting, on various subjects including a draft resolution [on alcohol legislation?], the policy of the League's Economic Organisation on tariffs 'the failure of the Economic Organisation to give to ... undeveloped countries ... the consideration to which they were entitled', and their lack of any new agricultural policy in light of changing agricultural conditions worldwide. Refers to the policies put forward during the League's Economic Conference which made no distinction 'between countries that had very low tariffs and those that had high tariffs, nor between the very different stages of development reached by different countries'. Also praises the work of 'the Health Organisation.'

#### **LA60/144** 1928

69pp

Report of the Delegation of Saorstát Éireann on the work of the Ninth Assembly of the League of Nations.

## **LA60/145** 15 September 1928

#### 2 items

Pamphlet by O'Sullivan entitled *The Work of the Health Organisation. Report of the Second Committee to the Assembly*, published by the League of Nationals. Two slightly different versions.

#### **LA60/146** Not dated

6pp

Amended draft of a paper commenting on a League of Nations economic report, given at the plenary meeting of the Assembly. Refers to the growing economic power of the League and the 'growing strength of International opinion as shaped by the League'. Notes the 'remarks and criticisms which the Irish Delegation felt compelled to make last year'. Comments on the Franco-British project of 'Resolution' and the objections that 'no proper account was taken of the economic position of industrially underdeveloped States ... and that ... the proposal amounted in practice to handing over to a few States the authority to frame the economic policy of the League'.

#### **LA60/147** 5 October 1929

2pp

Newspaper cutting from *The Star* on O'Sullivan's speech at the fifth meeting of the Economic Committee of the League of Nations at Geneva, opposing the United States' proposal to renounce protective tariffs which, he claims, is 'neither more nor less than an invitation to commit economic hari-kari.'

## **LA60/148** [1930]

10pp

Copy paper entitled 'The League and the World Economic Crisis' by O'Sullivan. Refers to Ireland's election to a seat on the Council and the general feeling of pessimism that permeated many of the League's activities during the past year, especially in regard to the economic situation 'There was almost a monotonous insistence on the crisis in national industry and on the instability and uncertainty that was more and more hampering international trade'. Comments on the bleak economic situation in Germany and in Ireland, expands on the themes of 'cycles of depression' and 'the universal condemnation of extreme protectionism'. Discusses general agricultural conditions, the effects that the fall of prices have had in certain countries, and the meeting in

- **LA60/148** Warsaw of eastern European states on falling wheat prices and the resultant economic crisis.
- **LA60/149** Not dated

7pp

Amended typescript statement made by O'Sullivan at a meeting of the League of Nations, concerning the 'most-favoured nation clause' and various economic proposals put forward by different delegates. Regrets that 'nothing practical has been done ... by the League' in terms of agriculture. Refers to the Warsaw Conference and requests that attention be drawn 'to the crisis, not merely in industry, but in agriculture.' Comments on the introduction of tariffs in Ireland and bemoans the lack of European economic co-operation.

**LA60/150** [post 1930]

1p

Typescript extract from *The World Economic Crisis*, bulletin of the Swiss Bank Corporation, on unemployment and falling prices. 'The 3 countries now classed as "prosperous" are Denmark, <u>Ireland</u> and Norway, with France in an intermediate condition below them but in advance of the depressed countries'.

## 4. Material Related to O'Sullivan's Interest in Religion

## 4.1 Catholic Emancipation Centenary Celebrations, 1929

**LA60/151** July 1929

22pp

Catholic Emancipation Centenary Celebrations, 1929 Material relating to the programme of the Cork Catholic Emancipation Centenary celebrations. Contains a cutting from the *Cork Examiner*, reporting a lecture given by O'Sullivan in connection with the programme. Recounts the proceedings, lists the attendants and reports the speech mad by Dr Harty, Archbishop of Cashel and Emly (9 July 1929, 3pp); amended typescript text of a lecture entitles 'The Liberation' given by O'Sullivan at the Cork Opera House (19pp, incomplete).

## 4.2 St Patrick's Day Celebrations, Liverpool, 1931

### **LA60/152** 18 March 1931

6 items

Press cuttings from Irish and English newspapers reporting the proceedings and speeches at the St Patrick's Day banquet in Liverpool. Includes sketches by Bert Wright of 'prominent Irishmen' at the banquet.

#### **LA60/153** 20–21 March 1931

3 items

Press cuttings from Irish and British Catholic newspapers on the St Patrick's Day celebrations in Great Britain; reports the speeches made by Dr Downey, Archbishop of Liverpool, Sir Martin Melvin and O'Sullivan at the St Patrick's Day banquet; O'Sullivan surveys 'the progress of the Irish Free State, politic, social, economic in the few years since it came into being' (21 March 1931, 1p).

**LA60/154** March 1931

32pp

Preliminary and amended texts of the speech delivered by O'Sullivan at the St Patrick's Day Banquet, on the social progress of the Irish Free State. He states: 'By solid if somewhat prosaic work, by resolutely facing the tasks that confronted her, by establishing an efficient, clean and impartial administration, Ireland has given the lie direct to an old slander that Irishmen could not manage their own country'.

# **4.3 Catholic Conferences**

# 4.3.1 Oxford Catholic Conference, 1925

## **LA60/155** August 1925

2 items

Oxford Catholic Conference. Printed material concerning the 1925 conference. Includes:

- Programme: 8–15 August 'Being the Fifth Annual Conference of the International Catholic League (I.K.A.) and Sixth Annual Summer School of the Catholic Social Guild (C.S.G.). Also Special Conference for Delegates of National Catholic Organisations on 'The International Co-ordination of Catholic Action' (6pp).
- Dcotrina Iuris Internationalis Iuxta Franciscum Studiorum S. Thomae Saeculo XVI Instauratirum (Foederatio Catholica Internationalis 1925, 33pp).

## **LA60/156** 3 August 1925

2 items

Typescript letter from John Eppstein, Hon Secretary, The Catholic Council for International Relations, Friar Street, Reading, to O'Sullivan, Aberfoyle, Orwell Road, Rathgar, Dublin noting that 'We are very much looking forward to your address. You are quite right in taking for granted that Nationality will have been defined in some way or another in the previous lectures, and you have to deal with the crucial point as to whether that which constitutes Nationality confers upon a community the strict right in justice to constitute an independent state either peaceably or by force'. Discusses aspects of conference administration (3pp).

Encloses:

• Printed copy of Suggestion for A Postulatum to His Holiness Pope Pius XI on The Restatement of Christian International Law (Not dated, 10pp). Discusses national and individual responsibility, the conditions of a just war, the nature and limits of nationality, the obligation of arbitration before war and the migration and interpenetration of peoples.

## **LA60/157** [August] 1925

#### 4 items

O'Sullivan's address to the conference. Includes:

- Typescript copy of a section of the address. Considers the nature of nationality, declaring that 'A nation possesses something like a personality, a feeling of oneness, a conviction that the group cannot be happy when divided up or when subordinate to strangers'. Develops this idea concerning the relationship between nationality and the notion of statehood (6pp).
- Incomplete typescript copy of a section of the address. Interrogates further the nature and definition of statehood (24pp).
- Typescript draft with handwritten emendations and corrections (20pp). Includes list of eighteen sections to the speech (2pp).
- Handwritten notes on issues to cover in the address (4pp).

### 4.3.2 Second International Catholic Conference, 1937

**LA60/158** 5 July 1937

2 items

Typescript letter from Frederick W. Ryan, Hon Secretary, International Catholic Conference, Clifton Terrace, Monkstown, County Dublin to O'Sullivan enclosing preliminary draft programme 'Catholics and the Organisation of Peace' (1p) and printed report on the 1936 conference 'The Task of Catholics in the Maintenance of European Order' (52pp).

#### **LA60/159** August 1937

12pp

Printed conference programme, 'Catholics and the Organisation of Peace', UCD, 5–9 August 1937.

**LA60/160** August 1937

5 items

Typescript copies and summaries of papers given at the conference. Includes:

 "La Base Naturelle de Toute Communaute Internationale' by Revd Yves de la Brière, S.J. (5pp)

#### John Marcus O'Sullivan Papers

#### LA60/160

- La Reforme de la Société des Nations et Le Point de Vue de la Sociologie Catholique' by Rev Fr A. Müller SJ (3pp).
  - The Conflict of Ideologies and the Maintenance of International Peace' by Mr John Epstein (3pp).
  - The Significance of Violence in Ideologies of the Fascist Type and its Menace to Peace' by Professor Mendizabal-Villalba (1p).
  - International Co-operation of Catholics for the Peace of the World' by Mr P.J.S. Serrarens (3pp).

#### LA60/161 August 1937

6 items

Typescript notes with corrections and emendations of O'Sullivan's remarks at the conference. Includes:

- 'Remarks in the discussion on the paper read in the absence of Fr de la Brière by Fr Delos' (2pp).
- Three drafts of O'Sullivan's remarks on de la Brière's paper, two heavily corrected and annotated (8pp each).
- 'In Discussion of Fr Müller's paper' (4pp).
- 'Concluding remarks as Chairman' (1p).

## 5. Dissociated Material Concerning Irish History, 1916–30s

#### **LA60/162** Not dated

1 item, 10.5cm x 16cm (without mount), 20cm x 25cm (with mount)

Photographic print of engraving entitled 'The Monster Meeting on the  $20^{\text{th}}$  Sep 1863 at Clifden in the Irish Highlands'.

## **LA60/163** [1916]

19 items

Series of postcards bearing portraits of individuals involved in the 1916 'Irish Rebellion'. Names each individual, noting their involvement and role in the rebellion, and their sentence.

## **LA60/164** [1916]

## 6 items

Handwritten copies of various poems concerning the 1916 Rebellion. Includes:

- 'Dublin Easter 1916' [...] (A longing) by [GD] beginning 'To kiss your hand/And may its blessing rest upon my head ...' (1p).
- Verse account of the fighting entitled 'Dublin Easter 1916' beginning 'We were not of a mind for fighting, not the clashing of swords or shields/While the waft of the wind brought tidings of cowslips in the fields ... (1p).
- 'RMS Ulster' by T.M. Kettle beginning 'When the Sun died in blood, and Sky and Sea ... (1p).
- O'Dwyer v Maxwell beginning 'Come join me in my duty work/wrote England's butcher bold ... (2pp).
- 'How he died' beginning I never was greatly a friend/to John McBride ...' (2pp).
- 'Salutation' beginning 'Your dream has left me numb & cold/But yet my spirit rose in Pride ...'.

**LA60/165** 1917

8pp

Tráchtas and theacht agus imtheacht Seachtmhain na Cásca sa mbliadhain a 1916 by Nioclás Tóibín. Printed pamphlet.

## **LA60/166** [1917]

1 item

Printed commemorative poster of 'Commandant T. Ashe who died for Ireland, on the 25<sup>th</sup> September, 1917'. Includes text of the poem he wrote at Lewes Prison 'Let me carry your cross for Ireland, Lord!'

# **LA60/167** [1917]

1 item

Printed copy of picture by W.A. Paget entitled Easter Week, 1916' with the caption 'Scene in the General Post Office, Dublin, just before its evacuation'. Includes copyright declaration 'Copyright in Great Britain's Colonies and USA by Thomas Kiersey, Dublin'. **LA60/168** [1917]

28pp

Dublin and the Sinn Féin Rising (Dublin, Wilson Hartnell & Co). Printed album of photographs with explanatory text commemorating the 1916 Rebellion. 'This Album has been passed by the Official Press Bureau for transmission abroad' is noted on the cover.

## **LA60/169** Not dated

1 item

Postcard giving notice of an 'Independence Demonstration' at Beresford Place' and bearing the motto 'Thou art not conquered yet Dear Land'.

## **LA60/170** [1922]

48pp

Old Ireland in Pictures (Dublin, Wilson Hartnell & Co). Printed album of photographs commemorating 'Two Dublin "Risings" [1916 and 1922] and Their Consequences'. This Album has been passed by the Official Press Censor' is noted on the cover.

## LA60/171 [1930s]

8pp

Pat and Mike have a talk Printed propaganda leaflet in support of the Economic War.