Headings	Notes
HOW CUMANN NA NGAEDHEAL SET UP THE IRISH FREE STATE 1922- 1932	Under the terms of the Anglo-Irish Treaty signed in December 1921, the Irish Free State was
	officially set up exactly one year later on 6 December 1922.
	• The Cumann na nGaedheal Party (the pro-Treaty section of the 'second' Sinn Féin) formed
	the government.
	It was led by William T. Cosgrave as President (Prime Minister).
	• The Vice-President was Kevin O'Higgins, who was also Minister for Home Affairs (Justice).
	Richard Mulcahy was Minister for Defence.
	Patrick Hogan was Minister for Agriculture.
	Ernest Blythe was Minister for Finance.
	Their aims were to set up the new state and establish a democratic form of government.
ENDING THE CIVIL WAR	• The greatest threat to democracy was the civil war. It began when republicans refused to accept
	the people's support for the Treaty.
	• Cumann na nGaedheal responded to the IRA's campaign of terror and assassination by executing
	over 70 republicans and imprisoning hundreds of others without trial. Though brutal, this policy
	was successful and in 1923 the IRA called a ceasefire.
	 The return to peace and stability was helped by:
	Having unarmed Gardai who were able to win the trust of resentful republican supporters.
	Freeing republican prisoners within a year of the ceasefire.
SETTING UP THE IRISH	• At the same time, the Cumann na nGaedheal government set up the institutions of government.
FREE STATE	They wrote a democratic Constitution:
	There was a Dáil and a Senate.
	Men and women had equal citizenship.
	 Freedom of speech and religion were guaranteed.
	• Under the terms of the Treaty, King George V was the Head of State. He was represented by the
	Governor General, who Cosgrave insisted, must be an Irishman. They appointed Tim Healy as
	the first Governor General.
	Irish TDs had to take an oath of allegiance to the Constitution and of loyalty to the king.
	They set up government departments and a civil service and reorganised the courts.
Keywords	Summary
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Headings	Notes
THE ARMY MUTINY	 Another threat to democracy came in 1924 with the Army Mutiny.
	• In the War of Independence, the Dáil had not controlled the IRA, and in the civil war, the Free
	State army was often undisciplined. It also grew big and expensive.
	 When the war ended, Mulcahy began to demobilise it.
	Some officers who had fought with Collins resented this. They complained that preference was
	given to ex-British soldiers.
	O'Higgins feared they planned a military coup. He sacked the leaders and forced Mulcahy to
	resign.
	• Although he over-reacted, his actions made it clear that from then on, the Irish army must be
	under government control.
THE BOUNDARY	• A bigger crisis for the Cosgrave government was the report of the Boundary Commission .
COMMISSION	When it became clear that it would not give large areas of Northern Ireland to the South,
	Cosgrave and O'Higgins got it suppressed. This angered many of their own followers, and some
	TDs left the Party.
	These events weakened Cumann na nGaedheal, but they could not be defeated in the Dáil
	because the only opposition there came from the small Labour Party.
THE ORIGIN OF FIANNA	• In 1922, when the second Sinn Féin Party split over the Treaty, the anti-Treaty faction kept the
FÁIL 1923-1926	name Sinn Féin.
	• Led by de Valera, it won 44 seats in the 1923 election. These TDs abstained from Dáil Éireann
	because of the oath to the king.
	• In 1924, Cosgrave freed the republicans in the 'Republican Dáil' (as Sinn Féin set up an Irish
	government in 1919). This failed because an Irish government was now in place.
	• But because Sinn Féin was not in the Dáil, it was unable to embarrass Cosgrave over the Army
	Mutiny and the Boundary Commission.
	• By 1926, de Valera realised the abstention policy was futile. He proposed that Sinn Féin get
	the oath removed and then enter the Dáil.
Keywords	Summary

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leadings	Notes
THE ORIGIN OF FIANNA FÁIL 1923-1926	When the IRA rejected this, he left Sinn Féin and set up a new party, Fianna Fáil.
	Most Sinn Féin TDs and Sean Lemass had built it into a well-organised, nationwide party. By
	1930, de Valera and Sean Lemass joined the new party.
1927: A YEAR OF	• By 1927, Cumann na nGaedheal was becoming unpopular because:
CHANGE	 The Boundary Commission failed to end partition.
	 The economy was doing badly.
	 It had cut the small old age pension by 10%.
	 It planned to reduce the number of pubs.
	• Some of its own TDs broke away and voted with the Labour Party against Cosgrave's government.
	In June, Cosgrave called an election.
	 Cumann na nGaedheal won 47 seats (down from 63 in 1923).
	 Discontented voters turned to Labour, which won 22 seats (up from 14).
	 Fianna Fáil only won 44 seats (the same as Sinn Féin in 1923).
	If all the parties were in the Dáil, Cosgrave would be beaten, but because Fianna Fáil still
	abstained from the Dáil, he was safe.
	 In July, IRA men murdered Kevin O'Higgins.
	• Determined to strengthen democracy, Cosgrave brought in the Electoral Amendment Bill. It
	said a TD must enter the Dáil within six months or lose his seat.
	He then put down a motion of no confidence in Cumann na nGaedheal, but Cosgrave survived
	by one vote.
	In September, Cosgrave called another election.
	Now that Fianna Fáil was in the Dáil, dissatisfied voters backed it. It won 57 seats (up from 44).
	But people who feared another civil war went back to supporting Cumann na nGaedheal, which
	went up to 62. Cosgrave continued to lead the government until 1932.
	These events are important because they established normal democratic politics (a government
	and a strong opposition) in the Irish Free State.
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Headings	Notes
1927-1932: THE RISE OF FIANNA FÁIL	Although now in the Dáil Fianna Fáil TDs still rejected the Free State Constitution. They attacked
	Free State institutions (Governor General/Commonwealth membership) and kept close ties
	with the IRA.
	 Seán Lemass said Fianna Fáil was a 'slightly constitutional' party.
	• But that frightened off voters who feared another war with Britain so Fianna Fáil also developed
	a new economic policy. They proposed to:
	 Keep £5 million land annuities in Ireland to invest in industry.
	 Protect Irish industries and jobs with tariffs on imports.
	 Encourage farmers to grow food products to replace imports (self-sufficiency).
	• These proposals became popular with voters when the Great Depression began in 1930.
CUMANN NA NGAEDHEAL AND THE	 In the Great Depression unemployment rose and several left-wing movements appeared:
'RED SCARE'	Saor Éire a breakaway from the IRA organised small farmers in the west against land annuities.
	A small Communist Party.
	• The existence of a Communist Party in Ireland led to a 'red scare'. Bishops and Cumann na
	nGaedheal leaders denounced the 'communist menace'.
	• Cosgrave introduced Article 2A into the Constitution to set up a military tribunal to try 'subversives'.
	• The first trial was of the editor of the Fianna Fáil newspaper, The Irish Press.
	 To many, this looked like an attack on democracy and it actually helped Fianna Fáil.
THE 1932 ELECTION CONSOLIDATES	Cosgrave called an election in January 1932.
DEMOCRACY	• He pointed to Cumann na nGaedheal's record since 1922 but had no solution to the Depression.
	 Fianna Fáil put forward its economic policy and promised to dismantle the Treaty.
	• Fianna Fáil won 72 seats enough to take power with the backing of the Labour Party.
	Many wondered if Cosgrave would accept the election result but he told the army, police, civil
	service and the British to accept the wishes of the voters.
	• The handover of power was trouble-free, a big step on the way to making the country a
	democracy - quite an achievement in Europe in the 1930s.
Keywords	Summary



Headings	Notes
WILLIAM T. COSGRAVE (1880-1965)	Born in Dublin, Cosgrave helped found Sinn Féin and was elected a Sinn Féin member of
	Dublin Corporation. He joined the Volunteers and fought in 1916. His death sentence was
	reduced and he was freed in 1917.
	• Elected Sinn Féin MP for Kilkenny, de Valera appointed him Minister for Local Government in
	the first Dáil Cabinet in 1919.
	• After delegates signed the Treaty he supported their demand that it be sent to the Dáil. In the
	debate he accepted Collins's argument that it was the best deal they could win. He remained as
	Minister in the Griffith/Collins government.
	After Collins was killed in August 1922, a frightened Cabinet chose Cosgrave as leader
	because he was the oldest, had the longest political experience and no military connections.
	Quiet but firm, Cosgrave backed the execution of leading republicans in retaliation for the
	murder of a pro-Treaty TD. This hard-line policy helped to end the civil war in May 1923. He then
	encouraged democratic politics by holding free elections in 1923 and freeing most republicans
	by 1924.
	• In 1923, Cosgrave formed Cumann na nGaedheal. It was poorly organised and never won an
	overall majority in any election.
	• From 1923 to 1927, with only the small Labour Party to oppose them in the Dáil, Cosgrove's
	government (a) wrote a democratic Constitution (b) set up an army, police, and civil service (c)
	established civilian control over the courts and (d) made Irish compulsory in schools.
	When the Boundary Commission failed, Cosgrave negotiated the Anglo-Irish Agreement
	which left the border unchanged.
	• In economic policy, they resisted demands for protection, kept free trade and low taxes.
	 In foreign policy, they joined the League of Nations and sent diplomats to Washington, Paris etc.
	• In Anglo-Irish policy, they helped to expand the sovereignty of the Dominions through the
	Balfour Declaration (1926) and the Statute of Westminster (1931).
	• In the June 1927 election, Cumann na nGaedheal lost seats. After the murder of O'Higgins,
	Cosgrave's Electoral Amendment Bill forced Fianna Fáil into the Dáil. This was good for Irish
	democracy though bad for his party.
leywords	Summary
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Headings	Notes
WILLIAM T. COSGRAVE (1880-1965)	They recovered most of the lost seats in the September 1927 election and stayed in power until
	1932.
	Alarmed by the growth of left-wing movements in 1931, Cosgrave put Article 2A into the
	Constitution, taking power to try them in military courts.
	Cumann na nGaedheal had no answers to the economic problems and Fianna Fáil won the
	1932 election.
	• To their surprise, Cosgrave handed over power peacefully and told the army and civil service to
	accept the democratic decision of the people.
	In opposition, he did not trust Fianna Fáil to uphold democracy. When IRA men broke up
	Cumann na nGaedheal meetings, he joined with Eoin O'Duffy's Blueshirts to form a new party,
	Fine Gael, with O'Duffy as leader.
	• But O'Duffy had fascist sympathies. After a year, he was sacked and Cosgrave took over again.
	From 1934 to 1943, Cosgrave led Fine Gael. He criticised Fianna Fáil policies but never won
	popular support. Fine Gael declined steadily and Cosgrave retired in 1944. He died in 1965.
HOW DE VALERA	 Fianna Fáil won the 1932 election on a promise to:
CONSOLIDATED DEMOCRACY 1932-1939	Dismantle the Treaty
GENERAL POLICIES	End land annuity payments to Britain and invest the money in Ireland
	Seek economic self-sufficiency by getting farmers to switch from pasture (raising animals) to
	tillage (growing crops) to replace imported food
	Create jobs by protecting Irish industries with tariffs on imports
1932-1935: THE	 Once elected Fianna Fáil began to keep its promises:
'ECONOMIC WAR' WITH BRITAIN	De Valera's Bill to abolish the oath was delayed by the Cumann na nGaedheal-controlled
	Senate but finally passed in 1933.
	The British protested but were unable to do anything because of the Statute of Westminster
	The 1932 budget imposed tariffs on 43 imports (mostly from Britain) and withheld £5 million
	in land annuities.
Keywords	Summary
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Headings	Notes
1932-1935: THE 'ECONOMIC WAR' WITH BRITAIN	• The British retaliated by imposing a tax on Irish cattle equal to the £5 million. Their aim was
	to make Fianna Fáil unpopular.
	• This policy gave Fianna Fáil an excuse to impose more tariffs (1000 by 1933). This hit farmers
	and consumers but de Valera was able to present it as standing up to Britain and so avoided
	blame.
	• These policies combined into the 'economic war' with Britain. It damaged the economy severely
	until it was eased by the Coal-Cattle Pact in 1935.
REPUBLICAN VIOLENCE	• In 1932 the IRA had 30,000 members and backed Fianna Fáil in the 1932 election. After the
	election, triumphant IRA men attacked Cumann na nGaedheal meetings.
	Cumann na nGaedheal leaders asked a group of former Free State army men, the Army
	Comrades Association (ACA), to act as bodyguards.
	In January 1933 de Valera called a sudden election. During the campaign, there were riots
	between the IRA and the ACA.
THE 'BLUESHIRTS'	When Fianna Fáil won an overall majority, de Valera demanded the resignation of the Garda
EPISODE	Commissioner Eoin O'Duffy.
	O'Duffy then became head of the ACA, renamed them the National Guard, dressed them in
	blue shirts, and adopted a programme based on Mussolini's Corporate State. In August, he
	announced a rally in front of Leinster House.
	 Fearing a coup (like Mussolini's 'march on Rome'), de Valera banned it. He also used Article 2A
	to outlaw the National Guard and set up a special police unit (the 'Broy Harriers') to deal with it.
	Cosgrave and others, knowing how Mussolini and Hitler took power and distrusting de Valera,
	feared a dictatorship.
	In September 1933, Cumann na nGaedheal, the National Guard and a newly formed Centre Party, ising tagether to stop him. They called themselves Fine Ceal and elected Q'Duffy.
	Party, joined together to stop him. They called themselves Fine Geal and elected O'Duffy
Keywords	leader. Summary
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Headings	Notes
THE 'BLUESHIRTS' EPISODE	• Fine Gael gained support from bigger farmers badly hit by the economic war. They refused to
	pay rates (local taxes).
	• In late 1933, riots between the Broy Harriers (collecting the rates) and the Blueshirts (defending
	the farmers) were common.
	• This embarrassed Cosgrave, who always backed law and order. It because worse when O'Duffy
	threatened to invade Northern Ireland.
	• September 1934: At their first annual Ard Fheis, Fine Gael replaced O'Duffy with Cosgrave. The
	Blueshirts declined in number and in 1936 O'Duffy led the remnant to Spain to fight for Franco.
DE VALERA AND THE IRA	 In 1932 the IRA backed Fianna Fáil, hoping it would destroy the hated Treaty and reunite Ireland.
	Many were satisfied when de Valera abolished the oath. Others were won over by getting
	pensions for the War of Independence or by joining the Broy Harriers or the army.
	• But this was not enough for deeply committed republicans. By 1934 they were disillusioned with
	de Valera.
	Between 1934 and 1936 the IRA murdered a number of people. De Valera pleaded with the
	leaders to give up their guns. When they refused, he outlawed the IRA in June 1936.
	• In January 1939, the IRA set off bombs in Britain, and although de Valera did not yet know it,
	they were also in contact with Germany.
	• Fearing this would give Britain an excuse to invade, de Valera got the Dáil to pass the Offences
	Against the State Act, which let him intern IRA men without trial.
	• During the war, over 500 were interned and about a dozen died on hunger strike or were hanged
	for murder.
ÉAMON DE VALERA:	• By 1925 de Valera realised abstention from the Dáil was futile but when the IRA would not agree
STATESMAN 1924-1949	he left Sinn Féin in 1926 and set up Fianna Fáil. Most Sinn Féin TDs and branches went with him.
	• Fianna Fáil won 44 seats in the June 1927 election. In July, after O'Higgin's murder, Cosgrave's
	Electoral Amendment Bill forced de Valera and Fianna Fáil TDs to take the oath and enter the
	Dáil. In the September election they won 57 seats. From then until 1932, they were the main
	opposition party in the Dáil.
Keywords	Gummary

Headings	Notes
ÉAMON DE VALERA: STATESMAN 1924-1949	• Fianna Fáil won the 1932 election. De Valera at once abolished the oath and withheld £5 million
	⁹ in land annuities, leading to an economic war with Britain.
	• De Valera left economic issues to his economic Ministers. His main interest was in foreign and
	Anglo-Irish policy. He appointed himself Minister for External Affairs to deal with them.
	He supported the League of Nations, went frequently to Geneva for meetings and backed its
	policies such as sanctions against Italy over Abyssinia.
	He dismantled the Treaty bit by bit, removing the oath and Senate, and downgraded the
	Governor General. The British could do nothing because the 1931 Statute of Westminster
	allowed Dominions to change British laws.
	In 1937 de Valera wrote a new Constitution, Bunreacht na hÉireann. He hoped an Irish-
	written Constitution would win the support of all Irish people.
	As a European war loomed in 1938, de Valera and British Prime Minister Chamberlain made
	the Anglo-Irish Agreements which restored the Treaty ports and made neutrality possible.
	When war began, de Valera declared neutrality but to avoid a British invasion he followed a
	pro-Allied policy. He personally dealt with the representatives of the warring countries in
	Dublin.
	After France fell in 1940, he turned down Churchill's offer of Irish unity in return for joining in the
	war.
	After America joined in December 1941, pressure on Ireland increased. On the eve of D-Day,
	the 'American Note' demanded de Valera close German and Italian embassies. When he
	refused, all travel to Britain was stopped for six weeks.
	When Hitler died, de Valera visited the German embassy to formally offer condolences, which
	gave the impression of support for Germany.
	 From 1932 to 1948, Valera dealt firmly with anyone who threatened his government. He (a)
	banned the Blueshirts (b) weakened the IRA by enrolling IRA men in the army and police and
	giving them pensions. When hard-line republicans returned to violence, (c) he outlawed them.
	 In 1939, when the IRA threatened neutrality with bombs in Britain, he passed the Offences
	Against the State Act. During the war, 500 people were interned and he allowed several to die
	on hunger strike or be executed for murder.
eywords	Summary
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Headings	Notes
ÉAMON DE VALERA: STATESMAN 1924-1949	• An astute politician, de Valera won six general elections. He often called a snap election
	catching the opposition unprepared.
	• By 1948, post-war economic problems made Fianna Fáil unpopular. De Valera called a sudden
	election, other parties formed a coalition and he lost power.
CUMANN NA	• From 1919 Irish governments had to decide how to deal with neighbouring countries. This led
NGAEDHEAL'S FOREIGN AND ANGLO-IRISH	them to develop a foreign policy.
POLICY	Irish foreign policy began when the First Dáil appealed to the Paris Peace Conference to
THE START OF IRISH	recognise the Irish right to self-determination.
FOREIGN POLICY	Later the Dáil sent representatives to Rome and Berlin to counter British propaganda and set
	out the case for Irish independence.
THE IMPORTANCE OF	• For Ireland, the main part of foreign policy had to be Anglo-Irish policy (i.e. relations with
ANGLO-IRISH POLICY	Britain) because:
	Britain is Ireland's closest neighbour
	Most of Irish trade was with Britain
	Many Irish people lived in Britain
	The Anglo-Irish Treaty made the Free State a Dominion of the British Commonwealth
DID THE TREATY GIVE	• The Treaty made the Irish Free State a Dominion of the British Commonwealth. But was a
IRELAND FULL SOVEREIGNTY?	dominion really a sovereign (i.e. fully independent) nation or was it still under the control of
	Britain? This was the issue that divided the two sides during the Treaty debates.
	After 1922 both Cumann na nGaedheal and Fianna Fáil used foreign and Anglo-Irish policy to
	assert Irish sovereignty.
ASSERTING IRISH	Although Cumann na nGaedheal leaders argued that the Treaty made the Free State a fully
SOVEREIGNTY	sovereign state, they feared that the British might go on interfering in Irish affairs. To counter
	British power and demonstrate Irish independence:
	They joined the League of Nations
Keywordo	Gummary

Headings	Notes
ASSERTING IRISH SOVEREIGNTY	They registered the Treaty at the League as an 'inter-national agreement'. The British objected,
	saying it was just an internal British matter, but the Irish had their way.
	Other Dominions were content to let the British ambassador represent them in Paris,
	Washington, etc., but Cosgrave sent Irish diplomats to these countries.
EXPANDING DOMINION	British and Dominion leaders met regularly at Imperial Conferences.
STATUS	• In 1923, O'Higgins attended his first Imperial Conference. He found the British treated the
	Dominions as equals. But he returned home determined to get a legal basis for this informal
	equality.
	Canada and South Africa wanted the same. O'Higgins worked with them at the 1926 Imperial
	Conference to get the Balfour Declaration, which stated: 'all Dominions are equal to each other
	and to Britain'.
	• In 1931, the British turned this declaration into law with the Statute of Westminster. It gave the
	Dominions full legal right to change any law passed for them by the Westminster parliament.
	When de Valera changed the Treaty, he was acting within British law and there was nothing the
	British could legally do about it.
FIANNA FÁIL'S FOREIGN	a la the 1022 election. Figure Eáil promised to diamontle the Treaty and espect full Irish severeignty
AND ANGLO-IRISH POLICY 1932-1939	In the 1932 election, Fianna Fáil promised to dismantle the Treaty and assert full Irish sovereignty
POLICT 1932-1939	From 1932 to 1945, de Valera kept control of foreign and Anglo-Irish affairs in his own hands.
DE VALERA AND THE	De Valera was more active in the League than Cosgrave and often spoke at meetings in
LEAGUE OF NATIONS	Geneva. He hoped its policy of 'collective security' would protect Ireland if Britain retaliated
	when he dismantled the Treaty.
	 Later he also hoped the League could prevent another European war. He supported its
	sanctions on Mussolini over Abyssinia and backed Chamberlain at the time of the Munich
	Crisis.
	By 1939 he realized that nothing could stop Hitler.
Keywords	Summary
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Headings	Notes
DE VALERA'S ANGLO- IRISH POLICY	• Dismantling the Treaty was de Valera's priority. This led to a kind of 'cold war' with Britain from
	1932 to 1938.
	 In 1932 he removed the oath to the king and withheld £5 million in land annuities.
	• The British feared Ireland would leave the Commonwealth. The Statute of Westminster prevented
	them from doing anything about the oath, so they focused on the annuities which were a valid
	debt. They put taxes on Irish cattle exports to Britain equal to £5 million. They hoped to make de
	Valera unpopular but instead helped him win the 1933 election.
	• Contact with Britain almost ceased up to 1938 apart from the Coal-Cattle Pact (1935) which
	eased the tariffs on these two items.
A NEW CONSTITUTION: BUNREACHT NA	• De Valera took the Treaty apart step by step. He removed the oath, downgraded the role of
HÉIREANN	Governor General, abolished the Senate, and ended appeals to the Privy Council.
	• In 1936 he used the abdication of King Edward VIII as an excuse to remove the king as Head of
	State (the External Relations Act).
	• De Valera wanted to replace the 1922 (Treaty-dominated) Constitution with one he wrote
	himself. He consulted many people including heads of various religions.
	• In 1937 he introduced his new Constitution, Bunreacht na hÉireann. Important provisions in it were:
	• The Head of State was a President elected every seven years. This made the country a
	republic in fact - although it was 1949 before Ireland was actually named a republic.
	 Rights to freedom, justice, ownership of property, etc., were guaranteed.
	• The Catholic Church had a 'special position' because it was the Church of the vast majority.
	• This was less than the Pope and many Catholic clergy wanted. Other Churches and the
	Jewish community were also guaranteed rights.
	Divorce was outlawed.
	• The influence of Mussolini's Corporate State ideas (popular with Catholics in the 1930s) are
	seen in the title of the head of government (Taoiseach) and in a Senate elected by 'vocational
	panels'.
	 In the first referendum in Irish history, people voted to accept it.
Keywords	Summary

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leadings	Notes
A NEW CONSTITUTION:	The British Cabinet were unsure if this meant Ireland was still in the Commonwealth but
BUNREACHT NA HÉIREANN	decided to go on treating the country as if nothing had changed.
MENDING FENCES	By 1938 both countries wanted to improve relations.
	• De Valera, having asserted Irish sovereignty with his new Constitution, needed to make peace
	with Britain as war loomed in Europe.
	• In Britain, a new Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, was willing to appease de Valera in the
	hope that Ireland would support Britain against Hitler.
1938: THE ANGLO-IRISH	De Valera and other Ministers went to London and after negotiations signed the Anglo-Irish
AGREEMENTS	Agreements:
	 Ireland paid £10 million to settle the land annuities.
	Trade barriers on agricultural produce were to be reduced.
	• As a gesture of appeasement (and because they were too costly to maintain), Chamberlain
	gave the three 'Treaty ports' to Ireland. Without them, Britain's use of Ireland in World War II
	would have been impossible.
	De Valera had hoped to achieve something on partition, but Chamberlain said that was a
	matter for the Northern Ireland government.
EXAM QUESTIONS	How did the Irish government contribute to the consolidation of democracy in Ireland from 1923
	1932? (HL 2011)
	What steps did Irish governments take to consolidate democracy during the period 1923-1945?
	(HL 2008)
	Who handled Anglo-Irish relations better, W.T Cosgrave or Éamon de Valera? Argue your case
	by referring to both. (<i>HL 2010</i>)
	How did Anglo-Irish relations develop during the period 1923-1949? (HL 2007)
	How did Anglo-Irish relations develop under Éamon de Valera, 1932-1945? (HL 2013)
	• Now did Angio-Institletations develop under Lamon de Valera, 1932-1943? (The 2013)
leywords	Summary

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State Building — The Free State Cumann nGaedheal in Power 1923–1932

April 1923 General Election	Leading members of the Government
Cummann na Gaedheal (pro-treaty) – 63 seats	President of Executive Council - William T. Cosgrave
Sinn Fein (anti-treaty) – 44 seats (did not take seats)	V. President & Minister for Home Affairs – Kevin
Farmers Party – 15 seats	O'Higgins
Labour Party – 14 seats	Minister for Finance – Earnest Blythe
Independents – 17 seats	Minister for Defence – Richard Mulcahy
	Minister for Education – Eoin MacNeill

The 'New' Civil Service	The Civic Guard
1. Government adopted a	1. A new unarmed police force was established
conservative policy in all areas of	2. Made up mostly of former pro-treaty IRA men
administration that differed little from	3. Renamed 'Garda Síochána' in 1924
British rule.	4. Presence of some former RIC men caused the resignation of the first
2. 98% of the British Civil Service in	Garda commissioner, Michael Staines.
Ireland transferred to the new Free	5. Public Safety Act 1923 gave ministers the power to order the internment
State Civil Service.	of anyone they felt was a risk to the security of the state.

The Courts	Local Government
Similar system to the British court system	1. Significant changes from British system
1. District Court	2. Each county responsible for public health, elections,
2. Circuit Court	road maintenance, poor relief and registration of births,
3. Central Criminal Court	deaths and marriages.
4. High Court	3. Funding raised from a local council tax.
5. Supreme Court	4. Elections based on P.R. system
	5. Local Council Act 1925 gave the Minister for Local
	Government the power to dissolve a County Council if it
	was unable to pass legislation or was involved in
	corruption

Cumann nGaedheal Foreign Policy

Constitution of 1922	Foreign Affairs
1. Established the Irish Free State granting Dominion	1. Main objective was to push for a greater degree of
status:	independence:
2. The King to be represented by a Governor-General	2. Applied to join the League of Nations - admitted 1923
(Irish government insisted on an ordinary Irishman).	- Britain objected.
3. Oath of Allegiance - made it clear that the King was	3. Anglo-Irish Treaty registered as an international
Head of State but that his authority came from the people.	agreement (Britain protested that it was an internal affair).
4. Ireland was in a different position to many of the other	4. Established a foreign Diplomatic Service. Passports
Dominions because she was an ancient nation that had	issued.
struggled to gain independence and was aware that close	5. Ireland's growing separateness was shown by
geographical position made her vulnerable to a	membership of the Council of Ministers in 1930.
curtailment of her powers.	
curtailment of her powers.	
Commonwealth Conferences & Statute of	Impact of Foreign Policy
·	Impact of Foreign Policy 1. Cumann na nGaedheal established the Free State as
Commonwealth Conferences & Statute of	
Commonwealth Conferences & Statute of Westminster	1. Cumann na nGaedheal established the Free State as
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Threats to the new gree State

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The Army Mutiny 1924 Background 1. June 1923 - Government wanted to reduce the size of the army from 49,000 to about 20,000 2. Nov. 1923 - commanding officers didn't trust the Minister Richard Mulcahy feeling he would force many IRA men to retire. 3. The also complained about being force to take a pay cut. 4. They didn't want British officers training Irish soldiers 5. They felt the government had done little to push for a 32 country republic. Crisis 6. Jan. 1924 – Mulcahy receives reports that IRA members in the army were about to seize barracks around the country. 7. On 6 March three officers, March, Dalton and Tobin, send a letter to Cosgrave demanding (a) an end to demobilisation (b) removal of the Army Council (c) a guarantee that the government would push for a 32 country republic. 8. On 10 March about 100 soldiers and officers take weapons from their barracks. Government's Response 9. Government appoints Eoin O'Duffy as General Officer of the army over the head of the Minister Richard Mulcahy. 10. Cosgrave favours negotiations and promises to set up an inquiry into the complaints of the mutineers. 11. Mulcahy orders the arrest of the leading mutineers meeting in a Dublin hotel. 12. Vice President Kevin O'Higgins orders Mulcahy to resign as Defence Minister. Compromise 13. Agreement (a) inquiry into the running of the army (b) review of who would be force to retire (c) return of all officers to their previous positions (d) introduction of army pension. Consequences 14. Up to crisis the army was semi-independent. After crisis the government was firmly in control of the army. Army reduced to 15,000.	 Boundary Commission 1925 1. The Anglo-Irish Treaty provided for the establishment of the Boundary Commission to re-examine the border between North and South. The Boundary Commission was set up in Nov. 1924. 2. The Boundary Commission had three members – Feetham, MacNeill, Fisher. 3. Work of the Boundary Commission was kept secret. 4. Nov. 1925 – findings of the Boundary Commission leaked to <i>Morning Post</i> newspaper. 5. The leaks proved a major embarrassment for Irish Government. 6. The Boundary Commission recommended only minor changes in the border. 7. Government decided to leave the border as fixed by the Anglo-Irish Treaty. 8. Became a major political crisis for the government. Minister Eoin McNeill forced to resign. Industrial and Social Unrest 1. Major Post office Strike in September 1922 2. In 1924 Government cuts the old age pension by 10% and restricts unemployment payments. 3. Government cuts wages for Civil Servants, Teachers and Gardai. 3. Major strike against wage cuts in Limerick during the construction of Ardnacrusha Power station in 1925-26. 4. The IRA got involved in strikes – notably the Irish Omnibus Company strike in 1930.
The 'Red Scare' 1929-1932 1. In 1929 left-wing IRA members (Peadar O'Donnell, Sean MacBride) began organising radical left-wing groups. 2. By 1931 Saor Eire became the most prominent left-wing group. 3. Sporadic violence breaks out between members of Saor Eire and Cumann na nGaedheal. In March 1931 Saor Eire are accused of murdering a Garda in Tipperary. 4. The Government fear that soar Eire want to launch a 'Communist' takeover. 5. Cosgrave convinces the Catholic bishops that a Communist takeover is on the cards. Priests condemn Saor Eire from the pulpit. 6. The government arrests the leaders of Saor Eire and ten other socialist groups and closes down their newspapers. 7. Within weeks most of those arrested are released. 8. The actions of the government against left-wing activists proves unpopular and contributes to the government's defeat in the 1932 election.	 1927 - The Assassination of Kevin O'Higgins 1. On 10 July 1927, Minister for Home Affairs, Kevin o'Higgins was assassinated by two IRA men on his way to mass in Booterstown, Co. Dublin. 2. The attack was not planned – the men spotted O'Higgins while on their way to a football match and decided to shoot him. 3. The assassination brought back memories of the civil war. 4. The government responded by introducing three new Bills in the Dail 5. The Public Safety Bill made the IRA illegal. 6. The Constitutional Amendment Bill removed the provision for referendum. A petition signed by 75,000 people could force a referendum on a constitutional amendment. 7. The Electoral Amendment Bill stated that all elected TD's must take their seats in the Dail or resign. A by-election would then be called to fill the vacancy.



Fianna Fail in Power —	Foreign Policies 1932–39
1932 General Election 1. During the 1932 election campaign Fianna Fail made two main promises 2. First – the abolition of land annuities 3. Second – dismantling the Anglo-Irish Treaty.	League of Nations In 1932 Ireland took over chairmanship of the General Assembly. De Valera appointed President of the Council and acting President of the General Assembly. Opportunity to promote himself and the newly emerging Ireland. De Valera was critical of the weaknesses of the League of Nations.
Dismantling the Treaty 1. De Valera appoints himself as Minister for External Affairs. 2. Realises dismantling the Treaty will cause tension with Britain. 3. De Valera was active in the League of Nations to build support for when he dismantled the Treaty.	Removing the Oath 1. On 22 March 1932 de Valera informed the British of his intention to remove the Oath of Allegiance using the Statute of Westminster. 2. In April the Constitution (Removal of the Oath) Bill was passed by the Dail but delayed by the Senate – something which annoyed de Valera. 3. British opposed the removal of the Oath claiming it was an assential part of the Tracty Da Valera impared them
	essential part of the Treaty. De Valera ignored them.
Abolish the Senate1. The Senate was dominated by Cumann na nGaedheal (and then Fine Gael) and often delayed Bills passed by the Fianna Fail government.2. The Senate was a major obstacle to his efforts to dismantle the Treaty.3. In 1934 his introduced a Bill to abolish the Senate which came into Law in 1936.4. A reformed Senate was established in the 1937 Constitution.	The Economic War1. In 1932 De Valera refused to pay land annuities to Britain.2. The British retaliated by imposing 20% customs duty onIrish imports.3. The Dail then placed customs duties on many Britishimports into Ireland.4. These measures caused severe economic hardship inIreland.5. In 1935 the Coal-Cattle Pact was agreed allowing for Irishcattle to be exported to Britain and British coal to be importedinto Ireland.
 Governor General 1. De Valera wanted to reduce the importance of the office of Governor General 2. He asked the Governor General, James MacNeill, not to attend public function, MacNeill declined. 3. De Valera and the cabinet refused to attend any functions attended by MacNeill. 4. De Valera advised King to dismiss MacNeill on the basis that the King was supposed to act on the advice of the cabinet. 5. De Valera replaced MacNeill with a Fianna Fail loyalist who took no part in public affairs. 6. The office was abolished in 1937. 	 External Relations Act 1936 1. In 1936 the abdication of King Edward VIII to marry a divorced woman, Mrs. Wallis Simpson, caused a constitutional crisis in Britain. 2. De Valera seized the opportunity to introduce new legislation into the Dail. 3. The Constitutional Amendment Act removed all mention of the King and Governor General from the Constitution. 4. The External Relations Act greatly reduced the role of the King in Irish Affairs. Ireland was now 'associated' with the Commonwealth rather than being a full member.
1937 Constitution	Anglo-Irish Agreement
 In 1937 the Fianna Fail Government introduced a new constitution entitled Bunreacht na hÉireann The Constitution copper-fastened the changes already made to the Anglo-Irish Treaty Ireland was now a republic in all but name. It is possible that De Valera felt the British would have reacted if he had declared a republic at this time. 	 In 1938 the Irish Government agreed to a one-off payment of £10million in final settlement of the land annuities All tariffs on goods were lifted by both countries. Britain handed back the 'treaty ports' to Ireland. This facilitated Ireland remaining neutral during World War Two.



Fianna Fail in Power – Political Developments

 Background 1. Fianna Fail established in 1926 when Sinn Fein split. 2. Fianna Fail take their seats in the Dail after 1927 election. Propose referendum to abolish oath. 3. General Election Feb.1932 – Fianna Fail in power with the support of the Labour Party. De Valera called a second election in Jan. 1933 and won an overall majority. 4. The transition to power was regarded as a major test of democracy in Ireland – would Cumann na nGaedheal hand over power to their enemies of the civil war? 5. Cosgrave played an important role in ensuring a smooth transition of power. 6. Fianna Fail were to rule for the next 16 years 	 Dismantling the Treaty 1. Treaty not sacrosanct. Collins had seen potential for development. "Stepping stone" etc. 2. Required mechanisms & political will and imagination to make changes. 3. Circumstances that facilitated amending the Treaty - international forum (League of Nations), British politics distracted by rise of dictators, British domestic problems and the Statute of Westminster. 4. Fianna Fail coming to power in 1932 saw the beginning of the dismantling of the Anglo-Irish Treaty.
Changing the Constitution 1. De Valera was able to use the Statute of Westminster to take apart the Anglo-Irish Treaty – between 1932 and 1937 he passed a series of laws that gave greater independence to Ireland and by 1937 Ireland was a republic in all but name. 2. Removal of Oath Act introduced Spring 1932, passed May 1933 using Statute of Westminster. 3. Fianna Fail withheld the land annuities (payments to the British government for the purchase of land from landlords) – leads to beginning of Economic War. 4. Fianna Fail removed the Governor-General and abolished the office totally in the 1937 Constitution, replacing him with a President. 5. De Valera introduced the 1937 Constitution which made "Ireland a republic in all but name". 6. However, Ireland did not leave the Commonwealth, probably to avoid antagonising the British.	 The New Constitution 1937 1. Bunreacht na hEireann was introduced in 1937 and included several important new provisions. 2. The name of the country was changed from the Irish Free State to Eire. 3. Articles 2 and 3 claimed the right to rule over the north of Ireland. 4. The head of state was to be a President – the first President was Douglas Hyde. 5. The head of the government was called the Taoiseach. 6. The state recognised the special position of the Catholic Church and also the importance of the family unit.
Do Valora and the IPA	Do Valora and the Blueshirts

1. On assuming power Fianna Fail released imprisoned IRA prisoners.1. When de Valera took over the government he released members of the IRA from prison – they soon became involved in clashes with Cumann na nGaedhael supporters. 2. The Army Comrades Association (ACA) composed of ex-
2. Men who had served on the anti-treaty side were given pensions etc. and republicans who had lost property were 2. The Army Comrades Association (ACA) composed of ex-
pensions etc. and republicans who had lost property were 2. The Army Comrades Association (ACA) composed of ex-
compensated. soldiers from the Free State Army protected Cumann na
3. Dismantling the treaty won many IRA men over. nGaedhael meetings from attack.
4. However others in the IRA was disappointed with the slow 3. They began to wear blue shirts and because of this were
pace of change towards the formation of a republic. called the Blueshirts – they used a fascist salute.
5. De Valera recruited IRA men into the Broy Harriers and a 4. They elected a new leader, Eoin O'Duffy, who had been
Volunteer Force set up as a branch of the army. sacked by de Valera as Garda Commissioner, and he planned
6. IRA lost support as its reputation was damaged by its a march in Dublin to commemorate the deaths of Collins and
clashes with the Blueshirts and by the fact that it was a secret, Griffith.
violent and armed organisation in a democracy. De Valera regarded them as fascists and, fearing a Mussolini-
7. Fianna Fail now viewed the IRA as a threat. They used the style "March on Rome", banned the march.
machinery of repression - in 1935 and 1936 the same laws The Blueshirts merged with Cumann na nGaedhael to form a
that had been used against the Blueshirts were used against new political party, Fine Gael – O'Duffy became its leader but
the IRA. In 1936 the IRA was proclaimed an illegal body and was soon dropped as he was so poor and W.T. Cosgrave took
its Chief of Staff was imprisoned. over.



Cumann na nGaedheal	Fianna Fail
Domestic Focus	Domestic Focus
 Consolidating Democracy Continuity and Conservatism Stability Creation of Civil service Creation of Legal System Law and Order – sets up Garda Siochana Reforms local government 1925 – Minister has power to dissolve a county council. 	 Dismantling the Treaty Socially and Politically Conservative role of women role of Catholic Church lrish language Statute of Westminster allows for: Abolition of the Oath Downgrading of Governor-General Creation of new Constitution Bunreacht na hEireann – Irish Constitution 1937 Special position of Catholic Church Releases IRA Prisoners Establishes the Broy Harriers for ex-IRA mer
Dealing with crises	Dealing with crises
 Government deals firmly with Army Mutiny in 1924 Boundary Commission causes crisis and leads to MacNeill's resignation. Assassination of Kevin O'Higgins by IRA – government responds with Detention without trial to deal with increased IRA violence Electoral Amendment Act 1927 Constitution Amendment act Military tribunal set up to try political offences – power to declare organisations illegal – IRA declared illegal Planning of the Eucharistic Congress in 1932. Peaceful transition of power to Fianna Fail. 	 Deal with threat from O Duffy and Blueshirts – march banned – ACA declared illegal 1936 – Increased IRA violence leads to Fianna Fail declaring the IRA illegal with key members arrested. Declares Ireland a neutral country during World War Two.
Cuman na Gaedheal and Fianna Fail i	n Power: Foreign Policies – Comparison
Cumann na nGaedheal	Fianna Fail
 Constitution of 1922 Based on Anglo-Irish Treaty Pushed for greater Independence Applied to join League of Nations – Britain objected – admitted in 1923 Anglo-Irish Treaty registered as an international agreement (Britain protested that it was an internal affair). Established a foreign Diplomatic Service. Passports and stamps issued. Membership of the Council of Ministers in 1930 In 1926 the concept of full equality between Britain and the Dominions was established. It was symbolised by the use of the word "Commonwealth" instead of British Empire. Statute of Westminister ended the claim that British laws were binding on the Dominions and allowed the Parliament of a Dominion to repeal any existing law. Established the Free State as an independent nation through membership of League of Nations and role in 	 De Valera appoints himself as Minister for External Affairs. Realises dismantling the Treaty will cause tension with Britain. Removes Oath of Allegiance Abolishes Governor-General De Valera was active in the League of Nations to bui support for when he dismantled the Treaty. Economic War with Britain: In 1932 De Valera refuse to pay land annuities to Britain. The British retaliated by imposing 20% customs duty on Irish imports. The Dail then placed customs duties on many British imports into Ireland. In 1935 the Coal-Cattle Pact was agreed allowing fo Irish cattle to be exported to Britain and British coal the imported into Ireland. Anglo-Irish Agreement 1938 and Economic War

- The successful introduction of the Statute of Westminster allowed Dominion Parliaments to repeal any existing British law. After 1932 the new Fianna Fail government used the Statute to begin dismantling the Anglo-Irish Treaty.
- The External Relations Act 1936 greatly reduced the role of the King in Irish Affairs. Ireland was now 'associated' with the Commonwealth rather than being a full member.

Constitution.

• 1937 Constitution: Ireland a republic in all but name

