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Local Government Archivists and Records Managers in association with the Department of Housing, Planning and Local Government

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Local Government Archivists and Records Managers in association with the Department of Housing, Planning and Local Government Published by the Department of Planning, Housing and Local Government

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Designed by: Yellowstone

Cover image: Crowds at rally in Westland Row, Dublin, following the release of prisoners 1917, Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland. Election poster 1920 local elections.

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Table of Contents

Foreword		1						
Introduction	ntroduction							
The value of local archives								
Acknowledgements								
Background	kground							
Local governm	reform 10							
Proportional R	presentation 1							
Introduction of	troduction of Proportional Representation to Ireland							
anuary 1920 election – borough and urban councils								
May and June 1920 election – county and rural district councils								
Women and the 1920 local election								
1920-1925 Local government during an unstable period								
Some notable figures of the 1920 local elections								
Endnotes		58						
Recommended	Ireading	59						
Web link	s to articles	59						
Newspap	pers	60						
Publicati	ons	60						
Appendix 1	Results of the county council elections in June 1920 as transcribed from the Freeman's Journal, 12 June 1920	61						
Appendix 2	List of local authority archives services in Ireland	64						



First meeting of Cork City Council following the 1920 local election. Cllr. Tomás MacCurtain elected as Lord Mayor.

Foreword

It is my honour as Minister of State for Local Government and Planning to provide a foreword to this publication: Democracy and Change – the 1920 Local Elections in Ireland.

Local Government is a fundamental part of our society. Understanding the history and development of Local Government in this country, allows us to reflect on its significance in our lives now, but also on how it has shaped the communities of previous generations.



There is no doubt that Local Government has been an important driver of economic, social and community development at local level, as well as of public service delivery in our communities. It has represented all of Irish society for 100 years. It has enabled the voice of every member of society to be heard in the democratic process and local decision-making structures. The role and importance of Local Government may go unnoticed at times, but publications such as this outline how important it was 100 years ago and, as highlighted during the current COVID-19 pandemic, how important it is today.

We are fortunate that our local authority archives services have such a collection of historic documents that allows us to study and understand better the context of perhaps the most important local elections in the history of the state. Having the ability to read minutes of meetings, ballot papers and archival material that previous generations had access to, provides a real flavour of what life was like 100 years ago.

However, it is also notable that, despite the many differences in our lives today compared to 100 years ago, the fundamentals of democracy and the importance of local government are the same.

We can see similarities between the two periods in time – how local authorities established committees to tackle and address public health issues and deliver on public services in times of crisis whilst depending on revenue from rates and local charges. The publication also highlights the ways in which women were encouraged to participate in local politics 100 years ago, work that Government is also very determined to advance today in cooperation with key partners that this Department funds and supports.

I extend my congratulations and warm appreciation to the Local Government Archivists and Records Managers and all involved in the production of this important publication marking the 1920 Local Elections. I hope that this booklet will serve to educate and enlighten readers on the significance of local government and democratic representation in our communities. I would encourage readers to go one step further and actively engage with your local authority to understand the vital work that it is doing for you and your community.

> Peter Burke, T.D., Minister of State for Local Government and Planning

Introduction

Local authority archives contain a wealth of original materials that document the workings of local government, including for the period 1919-23.

The local elections of 1920 (urban authorities in January and other authorities in May and June) were a key point in the history of local government in Ireland. They were the first in which Proportional Representation voting was used. Following the elections many local authorities declared their allegiance to Dáil Éireann, which had major repercussions for the system of local government in Ireland.



In the context of the Decade of Centenaries, it is important to mark these events; they show that the struggle for independence was not only a military struggle but also a political and community one. Local government support and its allegiance to the new Dáil Éireann was hugely important to the cause of Irish freedom in this period. The election of so many candidates who sought independence demonstrates the support of the people for a new form of independence and Irish government.

Local authorities would be penalised for their support of Dáil Éireann and struggled with the loss of grants and financial support from the British Local Government Board, based in Dublin Castle. Many councils attempted to collect rates while resisting raids from the Royal Irish Constabulary and British Army. Infrastructure was damaged and funds were hard to come by but local authorities managed to survive and provide services to their communities.

The introduction of Proportional Representation was also a key change and it was to become the bedrock of our political system. The municipal election in Sligo Corporation, where it was first used, can be seen as one of the most important local elections in Irish history and was for the first time truly representative and democratic.

There is much to learn from our history and much of which we should be proud. Local authorities provide local archives services, museums and library services to enable people to learn from their history and to take pride in their place in Irish history. Local authorities continue to work to support local communities and to provide infrastructure through, sometimes, challenging economic times, and we are proud to continue this tradition of service to our communities.

> Michael Walsh, Chairman City and County Management Association (CCMA)

The value of local archives

What we now know as the Decade of Centenaries, including the period covered in this booklet, 1919-1923 was a momentous time in modern Irish history, spanning a decade of rebellion, revolution, partition and war in Ireland as well as the foundation of the State. It is a period of time that has been well documented in national and British archival institutions, and many of their archival collections have been well exploited for research purposes over several decades. Much research has also been carried out in local archives services in Ireland in recent years. In an effort to increase public understanding of this complex period in Irish history, local



archivists have catalogued collections relating to the War of Independence and Civil War periods pertinent to their counties. Research has been further enhanced by local online exhibitions and talks on some of the key events of the period including the centenary of the first Dáil in 1919, through oral history programmes and by the digitisation of local government archival material.

Much of what happened during the revolutionary years took place at a local level. Local Government Archivists and Records Managers maintain and preserve the archives of local authorities. They promote local and academic research, including research into this crucial period in our recent history. The local elections of 1918 and 1920 were among the defining events in this period, and the content of local archives reflect their importance. Many of the activities of the men and women who played nationally significant roles in the War of Independence are preserved and documented in local archives. Archives include local authorities' minutes of meetings, correspondence, photographs and promotional material and papers privately donated by individuals or organisations connected to the period in a county, city or town. Most local archives' collections of this period are accessible for research; some are now also online and thus accessible globally. Local archives of the 'Decade of Centenaries' can fill in some of the gaps in the history of this hugely significant time in Ireland's recent history.

Dr Niamh Brennan, Chair, Local Government Archivists and Records Managers (LGARM)

Acknowledgements

Local Government Archivists and Records Managers wish to thank the Department of Housing, Planning and Local Government for funding this booklet. In particular, we wish to thank the Local Government Division of the Department, for all their assistance and support.

Thanks are also extended to Michèle Cashman, Local Studies, Sligo Central Library; Mike Murphy, Department of Geography, UCC; Dr John Crowley, Department of Geography, UCC; Dr Mark Humphrys; Liam Kenny, AILG; the Bulfin family and the National Library of Ireland.

Rally in Grand Parade Cork, 1917 - 1920, Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

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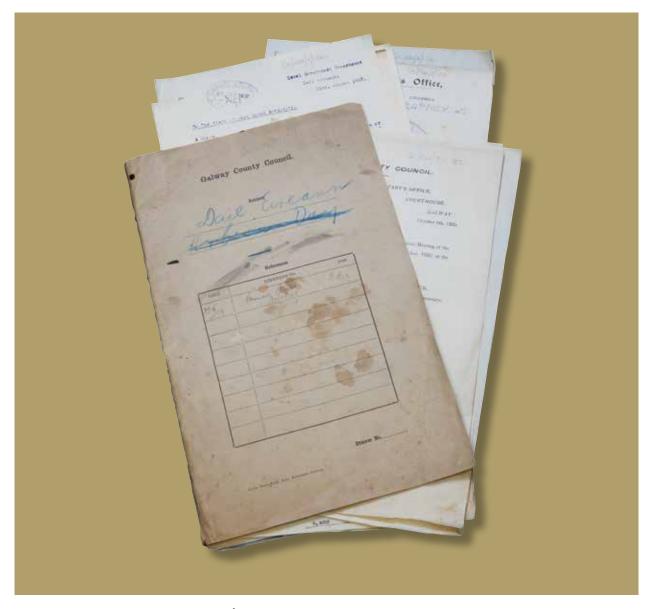
Background

The political landscape of Ireland had significantly changed in the space of less than a decade by the time of the local elections in 1920.

One major change in this period was the extension of voting rights to include women. The Representation of the People Act 1918 gave many people in Ireland the right to vote for the first time, including women over 30 years of age, and was seen as a major advance towards real democracy. The expanded electorate was a game-changer, but the biggest change in the period coming up to the 1920 local elections was the massive increase in support for national independence.

Home Rule for Ireland had seemed inevitable, but it was repeatedly blocked. In 1913, in response to the likelihood of Home Rule, Northern Unionists established the Ulster Volunteers, a heavily armed paramilitary organisation of over 100,000 men and supported by British conservatives. The same year, the Irish Volunteers was established in Dublin 'to secure and maintain the rights and liberties common to the whole people of Ireland', backed by all nationalist groups, including the Irish Republican Brotherhood, Sinn Féin, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Gaelic League, and the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP).

With the outbreak of the First World War, the Volunteers split between the republicans and Home Rulers following the call by IPP leader John Redmond MP for volunteers to enlist in the British forces. The war froze any possibility of Home Rule, and by 1916 the likelihood of mass conscription was looming over Ireland. Seizing a political and military opportunity, the Irish Volunteers rose in Dublin in Easter 1916. The ferocious response to the Easter Rising by the British military, the threat of conscription, and the successful republican campaign of political and cultural mobilisation, helped to bring about a change in nationalist public opinion in favour of establishing an independent republic. This sea-change was first illustrated at the ballot box in 1917, with republican electoral success in a number of by-elections, including Éamon de Valera in East Clare.



Folder of correspondence from Dáil Éireann, 1919-20

Image courtesy of Galway County Council Archives

With the co-operation of the Labour Party. Sinn Féin gained 73 out of 105 seats in the general election of December 1918, thus effectively wiping out the constitutional IPP, the Home Rulers. Newly elected Sinn Féin republicans would not take their seats at Westminster and established the first Dáil Éireann in January 1919, declaring national independence. At the same time, the War of Independence/Anglo-Irish War began with an ambush on the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) in Soloheadbeg, Co. Tipperary. The War of Independence initially involved mainly the capture of arms and freeing of prisoners. However it grew in intensity from September 1919 with the RIC, Army, and British authorities boycotted, isolated and under attack. Dáil Éireann established a functioning government and courts, effectively replacing the British-run Dublin Castle administration. During January to July 1920, the period of the local elections, temporary recruits were enlisted from Britain, comprising the 'Black and Tans' and Auxiliaries, and a fierce guerrilla conflict ensued of ambush, arbitrary reprisal and counter-reprisal against both activists and civilians right across the country. Many RIC barracks, especially in rural areas, that had been abandoned, were burned down or destroyed by the IRA. The domination of local government by republicans, Dáil Éireann and the IRA seemed inevitable.

Motion carried by members of Enniscorthy Urban District Council to cut the resolution of 13 May 1916 (condemning the 1916 Rising) from the minute book 'in the presence of the Council' (4 February 1920) Image courtesy of Wexford County Archive

General Election Results - All Ireland

	Irish Parliamentary Party	73
	Independent Nationalist	2
1910	All-for-Ireland	8
1/10	Liberal	1
	Liberal Unionist	1
	Irish Unionist Alliance	18
	Sinn Féin	73
	Irish Parliamentary Party	6
1918	Labour Unionist	3
	Independent Unionist	1
	Irish Unionist	22

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE ACT, 1918.

U271/H/2

PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGH OF THE COUNTY OF THE CITY OF CORK.

Local Government Electoral Area of No. 5 Urban Electoral Division

Registration Unit of No. 5 Urban Electoral Division.

Polling District of College "K."

REGISTER OF ELECTORS.

GOLA COMPANY LAMITED, CORE

Cover of Register of Electors, 1920 for the parliamentary borough of the county of the city of Cork Image courtesy of Cork City and County Archives

Local government reform

The passing into law of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898 streamlined local government. It abolished the governing, though not the legal, functions of the grand juries and established county, urban and rural district councils.

As a result of the widened franchise there was a shift from a landlord-dominated system of governance to a much more representative one. Over 4,000 district elections took place in Ireland on 6 April 1899¹, which resulted in a landslide victory for the nationalist majority, and thus the '.....great revolution in Irish local government was accomplished remarkably swiftly and smoothly'².

The principal responsibilities of the councils were those transferred from the grand juries and the boards of guardians. The presentment sessions were abolished and the grand jury ceased to have any responsibility with regard to public works while the two main functions of the boards of guardians – the poor rate and the duties of the rural sanitary authority – were assigned to the councils.

What was a Grand Jury

Grand Juries were in existence since Norman times. They were unelected and made up of landowners selected by the Sheriff of the County. They mainly functioned as local government authorities at the county level. The system was so-called as the grand jurors had to present their public works proposals and budgets (known as **presentments**) in court for official sanction by a judge. Services provided and paid for by Grand Jury Cess, a rate payable by occupiers, included making and repair of roads and bridges, construction of courthouses and levying for support of district hospitals, schools and prisons. Grand Juries, as an administrative body, were replaced by today's county, urban and district councils under the 1898 Local Government (Ireland) Act.

147 cal Read Local yovernment Board's ment Circular no 101/17. of the 12 the ons: June 1919, pointing out that under the act of 1919, the Elections postponed until the ordinary ction in the year

Extract from Galway County Council minutes, 14 June 1919, GC/1/3, p147 (re postponement of elections until 1920)

Image courtesy of Galway County Council Archives

The main powers of the county councils included the construction and repair of roads and bridges; construction and maintenance of courthouses; support of mental asylums, county infirmaries and fever hospitals; appointment of coroners; levying and collecting of the poor rate; and duties under the Diseases of Animals Act, 1894.

The district councils took over the business of the baronial presentment sessions and that of the grand juries in relation to roads and public works, the cost of which was borne by the district. The boards of guardians continued to be responsible for poor relief and for the operation of the dispensary system and the registration of births, marriages and deaths. The election of guardians was integrated into the new local government system. The full membership of the rural district councils became members of the boards of guardians, while special elections associated with those for the urban district councils were held for guardians from the urban areas³.

Boards of Guardians

The Poor Law (Ireland) Act came into being in 1838. Under the Act, Ireland was divided into poor law unions each of which had a workhouse. An area **board of guardians** ran each union. Their responsibilities increased over time to include the areas of public health, boarding-out of children and rural housing and sanitation.

After the passing of the Local Government (Ireland) Act in 1898, many of the functions of the boards of guardians were transferred to the newly-formed county councils and a scaling down of the workhouses began. The boards, workhouses and the poor law system of relief were abolished in the early 1920s. BOARD ROOM,

NEW ROSS, UNION,

Feb. 19th 1919.

Dear Sir,

At a Meeting of the Board of Guardians held on Saturday the 15th inst., the following resolution was proposed by Mr. W. Byreiz, Chairman, and seconded by Mr. B. C'Neill:-

"That Mr. Max S. Green, Chairman of the Irian Prison Beard, be requested to permit an independent Medical man to visit the interned Political Prisoners in Cork Gaol with a view to reporting on the state of their health and general condition."

They also directed me to forward a copy of the above resolution to each public body in the County with a request that they adopt a similar one and forward same to the Chierman of the Prison Board.

> Yours truly, be for the Union,

M. J. Finn, Esq.,

Clerk of the Urban District Council, New Ross.

Resolution adopted by New Ross Board of Guardians requesting that the chairman of the Irish Prison Board permit an independent medical examination of interned prisoners in Cork Gaol, 19 February 1919 Image courtesy of Wexford County Archive

Initially, most councils were comprised primarily of members and supporters of the Irish Parliamentary Party, which supported the bid for Home Rule. However, as Diarmaid Ferriter, historian and professor of Modern Irish History at University College Dublin pointed out, 'the profound conservatism of the membership and indeed aims of the new local authorities betrayed any idea of the introduction of local government heralding a revolutionary new mind-set in Ireland⁴.

Nevertheless, the various local government institutions generally worked well without incessant interference from, or oversight by Westminster⁵, right up until 1920.

In the aftermath of the 1916 Rising, as the political situation in the country evolved and tensions escalated, so too did the attitudes of the various councils, with many, for instance, campaigning vigorously for prisoner rights and releases.

Local elections were to be held every three years, but the 1917 local elections were postponed due to the continuance of the First World War. Subsequent postponements resulted in a gap of six years before the next elections in 1920.

In the meantime, the General Election of 1918, 'carried out in a country under military repression⁶ resulted in an overwhelming victory for Sinn Féin giving them 73 out of the 105 available seats. The Declaration of Independence made by Dáil Éireann on 21 January 1919 in the Round Room in the Mansion House, Dublin marked the first session of a National Parliament to meet on Irish soil for 300 years.

The first shots of the War of Independence were fired on the same day at Soloheadbeg, Co. Tipperary and District Republican Courts were introduced in April 1920 in almost every constituency in Ireland⁷. So, when the borough and urban district council elections were held in January, and those for the county and rural district councils in May and June 1920, all had changed, 'changed utterly' (in the words of WB Yeats), since the previous elections in 1914.

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Extract from a Register of Electors, 1920 for the parliamentary borough of the county of the city of Cork Image courtesy of Cork City and County Archives

Proportional Representation

The Single Transferable Vote

Candidate 1 -3Candidate 2 -4Candidate 3 -1Candidate 4 5Candidate 5 -2

Introduction of Proportional Representation to Ireland

The Proportional Representation Society of Ireland was founded in 1911. The society endorsed the system of the single transferable vote for multi-member electoral areas. Its aims were supported by nationalists such as Sinn Féin leader Arthur Griffith. He believed that its introduction into Irish elections would ensure fair representation of both nationalists and unionists under a Home Rule government. Many southern unionists also backed Proportional Representation. The system was included in the Home Rule Act of 1914, which was ultimately never implemented.

The Proportional Representation system was first used in the General Election of 1918 in just one constituency, the University of Dublin. The stunning electoral success of Sinn Féin in this election caused the British government to reflect on Ireland's electoral system. It was noted that there was a discrepancy between Sinn Féin's overall share of the vote and the proportion of seats the party won, due to the 'first past the post' system. The government sought ways to prevent a repetition of this domination by the party and encouraged the adoption of Proportional Representation in subsequent elections.

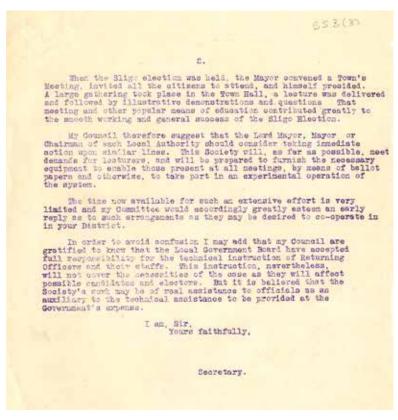
Locally the system was first tried out in an election in Sligo Corporation in 1919. The Corporation's financial position was extremely poor, and there had been a growing recognition among prominent unionist and nationalist businessmen of the need for local government reform. They sought to improve the condition of the town, to widen representation on the Corporation and to extend powers to levy rates. Protestants in particular felt deprived of their position of power by the 'first past the post' system of elections which meant that, even with over 15% of the population, their community held no seats on the Corporation. In late 1917, the Sligo Ratepayers' Association (SRA), made up of both Protestant and Catholic ratepayers, was formed. They quickly gained the support of prominent nationalists and town councillors, and demands for electoral reform grew within the town.



Thomas Scanlan MP Image courtesy of Sligo Central Library Early in 1918, the North Sligo Nationalist MP, Thomas Scanlan, introduced a bill in the House of Commons which became the Sligo Corporation Act on 30 July 1918. The borough election took place in January 1919, and drew widespread interest, as it was the first local authority to use Proportional Representation in an election in Ireland or Britain. Turnout was high, and the result was a balanced one in terms of parties and religious denomination. Sinn Féin and Labour (plus one nationalist independent candidate) took 13 seats on the new Corporation, while the SRA and other independents gained 11 seats altogether.

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	DUBLIN
P.R.	7th October, 1919-
The Town	Clerk,
Bir.	LOCAL GOVERENDERT (INSLAED) ACT. 1919.
which has decided a and elect	ur Council will doubtless have observed from the correspondence a speared in the Press that the Irish Government have finally not to accept responsibility for the instruction of caudidates tors in the operation of the new system of voting and the lities which it presents.
holds ver will only by earding	a Council of this Society greatly regrets this decision as it ry strongly the view that the possibilities of the system y be realised if it is fully understood in its various appeals integ and electors. In these circumstances the Council has that it is bound as far as possible to supply the necessary lon.
Inant on	ving pressed the Local Government Board to arrange for at a popular lecture in each of the 127 Cities and Drban Dis-

Having pressed the Local Government Board to arrange for al least one popular lecture in each of the 127 Cities and Drban bistricts in which elections will take place in January, my Compeline proposes to carry out this campaign as far as possible with its out resources and in co-operation with Local Authorities. The Executive Committee, therefore, carrestly request the co-operation of the Chairmen and members of your Council in this voluntary effort.



This and previous page: Circular letter from The Proportional Representation Society of Ireland to each local authority, referring to training needed for electors and candidates in the upcoming local elections in Ireland, 7 October 1919 Image courtesy of Donegal County Archives

How Sligo paved the way for Ireland's

SLIGO "P. R." MUNICIPAL ELECTION. January, 1919.

Table showing particulars of West Ward Results and details of transfers.

No. of Votes, 940. No. of Seats, 8. Quota - 940 + 1 - 105.

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CANDIDATES	Count	franke Wirje Respin	Ratult	Transfer of Karr's surplus		Transfer of Thomas vi	Result	Transfer of Howley's votes	Result	Transfer of Lambert's votes	Result	Transfer of Finan's votes	Result	Transfer of Tigha's surplus	Realt	Transfer of Taveant's votes	Rena	Transfer of Roche's votes	Renat	Trunsfer of Hoghes's Votes	Result	Transfer of Facegrafts surplus	Result	Canfidates Elected in Order of Election
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ON January 15, 1919, the people of Sligo went to the polls and created history by becoming the first electorate in Ireland and created history by becoming the first electoma in Irelands to over under the proportional representation system, hate to be adopted throughout the country. For many years, the FR, system introduced but is continued to be reparated integly as an academic service — the hobby of a group of political horrists. Then cause Siga. In one day, the theory of the fore FR, Society was flowed with requests for information and Biterature. Immediately announcing a major campaign throughout the Society confidently dedition of the system of the society confidently additional of the society of the same local, initiative will produce similar areas in technical matter and produce similar areas in technical

CRISIS

The reason why Sligo was selected for this far-reaching electoral experiment is rooted in a borough financial crisis which became so serious that the furniture of the Town Hall was put up for sale in 1917.

decord experiment is rooted in a borough francoia ergs which became output due. The second second second second second second second data and second second

HUCE DEFTS Internet the sense that the other managing the sense luggers Glinder diamind tark when the Corporation took over the toorth affairs, they because labels for a manaive day. Internet the term of the sense labels for a manaive day. Internet the sense sense that the corporation took over the toorth affairs, they because labels for a manaive day. Internet the sense sense that the corporation took over the toorth affairs or minimage the sense corporation had minimaged is affairs or minipage too that the sense sense the sense sense that the corporation had minimaged is affairs or minipage to the sensetial services. Immediately they too this decision, a man-pager association was formed — by the very people who had the corporation tarking the higher cours for an injuration to stop the corporation tarking the higher cours for an injuration to stop the corporation tarking the higher cours. The first remains that the nativegeness sevene negative had the days of the Grand Jary. Commenting on the instrument of the set of th

NESS No matter who was to biame, several things were clear at this stage — all normal services had ceased to exist in the town, the Corporation was in an appalling financial mess, and angry ratepayers were demanding P.R. because they claimed they couldn't get representation on the Corporation under the old system.

with neglect of proper administration has caused such financial emberrassment that ...b financial affinito of the Corporation evidence gives at the enquiry, not along by the official but by the members of the Corporation, disclosed a lack of protech, business like management such as has not before come prominently under notice in the case of any other local subhority?

One of his more startling findings revealed that the wages sheets included a number of persons who, though listed as working for specified days each week, did not work at all — in fact they were pensioners.

The enquiry also discovered that one wages list contained at least five names recorded as working on specified days each week who titted idia't work at all or were not proper workmen. One was a blind man who had stopped working two years previously. Another was in France and a third was simply described as being 'absent'.

In the end, after much builts debates, a resolution agreem of R. was passed at a public normality in the Town Hall. Second without much objection from the the desicitor was no accepted without much objection from the the desicitor was members and from many townspropels. "In the end, the Corporation and the poople accepted R. Ho because there was no alternative open to them. The desixed at this time was backwardy, the town was poling without the normal services unaking al subging and cleaning, an injunction was hanging over their baseds in the High Court, the British Press was making al subging stock of the Borough a blust refusal from the British Covernient to allow and increase in the nue unless R.R. was adopted? In said. In any event, preparations got under wy for the acewaries (LH. H. The Covernient of the Marking Covernient to allow and London, who arrived in Silgo some days before the selection

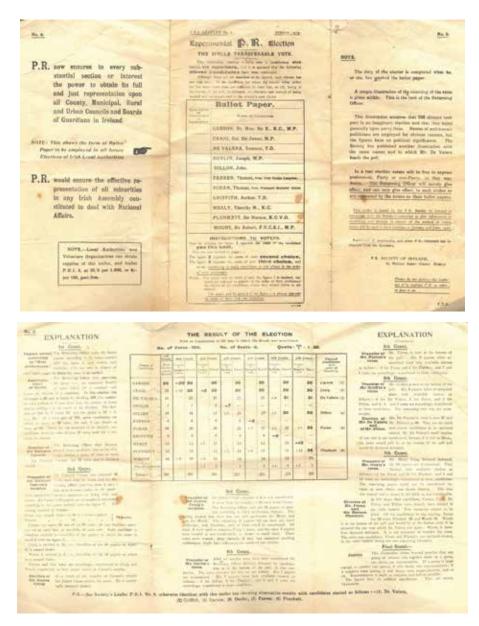


The count in progress during Sligo's first parliamentary election under P.R. held in May 1921.

The report taid the Corporation should take immediate steps to rescaled from the suppositiones in the steps interval perform or are incapable of rendering efficiences service". It concludes: "Unlies the members of the Council interval the costained "Unlies the members of the Council interval the costained "Unlies the members of the Council interval the costained "Linear the interval". Sing Feine, Labour and Independent. MESS

The spolled votes in one of the wards amounted to less than one per cent of the total polled, and the number of papers spolled bocause voters didn't understand the new system was about half the total spolled votes. In face, the ward with he highest number of spolled votes, the face, the ward with the votes the spolled votes and the lowest supercentage of illicreates had the highest number of spolled votes.

Article 'How Sligo paved the way for Ireland's P. R. system' in The Sligo Champion, Sesquicentenary supplementary edition, 1 January 1986 Image courtesy of Sligo Central Library



Leaflet outlining the Proportional Representation election process, October 1919 Image courtesy of Louth County Archives Service

The adoption of Proportional Representation for the Sligo election was lauded by politicians of all persuasions and by the local and national press (it was described by the Sligo Champion on 18 January as 'an historic event'). The overwhelmingly positive reaction thus paved the way for the British government to extend the system to all local authorities in Ireland in time for countrywide local elections in 1920. This extension was legalised under the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1919. The elections took place in 1920 in the midst of the War of Independence. Proportional Representation was later enshrined in the Constitution of the Irish Free State.



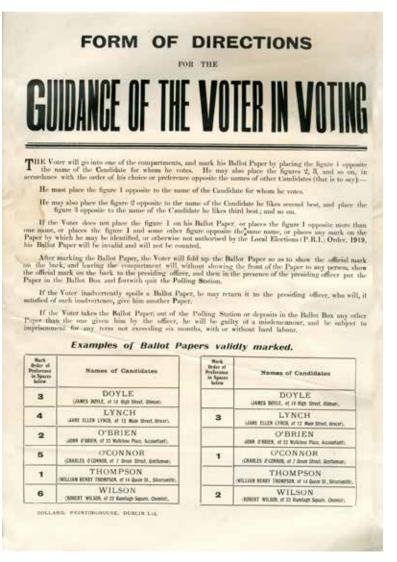
Advertisement for Returning Officers' tables for Proportional Representation elections, 1920

Image courtesy of Donegal County Archives

Council Chamber First Meeting of the Newly Elected aldermen & Councillons Elected under Local Forekment Gretand) (1.1. 1919 on the System of Rober tinnal Representations 126: Aldermon Maurice Jumlaw in the Chair Alderman Denny Connella Noris Connelle, Gassighte White De Made Comelles white De Aloche Culler Lation Quinton P. Walch Orton Kepere Joner But Dawison Braziel amingham (h2)

Extract from the minutes of the first meeting of Waterford City Council held after the first Proportional Representation election, 30 January 1920

Image courtesy of Waterford City and County Archive



Printed notice regarding form of directions for the guidance of the voter in voting, 1920

Image courtesy of Donegal County Archives

January 1920 election – borough and urban councils

With the War of Independence escalating, great importance was attached to the 1920 local elections. It was seen as an opportunity to further challenge British political control in a period of hostilities and growing political crisis. By the time of the local elections on 15 January 1920, the fighting that had begun a year earlier had seen 14 Irish police killed and over 20 wounded⁸.

The borough and urban 1920 elections were the first held under the new system of Proportional Representation in a bid by the British government to prevent the level of victory that Sinn Féin had in the 1918 general election. As the first local elections held in six years, there were many first-time voters amongst the electorate and many new candidates running for the first time. Candidates were divided between the traditional nationalists or Home Rule party and the more modern nationalists who ranged from republican nationalists, Sinn Féin, Labour, Volunteer groups and those unwilling to accept the form of Home Rule on offer.

Polling took place in a range of public buildings across each county including national schools, libraries, town halls, courthouses and workhouses. In relation to the urban elections in Galway, the Connacht Tribune in an article dated 24 January 1920 refers to the ballot papers being taken 'to the Judge's room in the Courthouse, the door of the room being locked and sealed. It was guarded by two policemen and two representatives of the Sinn Fein party, as well as by a representative of the Returning Officer, all night'.

The counting of votes took place usually in the courthouse and union offices. It was described as the 'dullest election...ever experienced' in Dublin by The Irish Independent (16 January 1920) and 'the most spiritless election' ever having been held in Galway by the Connacht Tribune (5 February 1920). However, it was not without its moments, such as when Frederick J. Allen, Dublin Corporation employee and chairman of the Sinn Féin election committee in Kingstown was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for having revolutionary literature in his possession⁹.

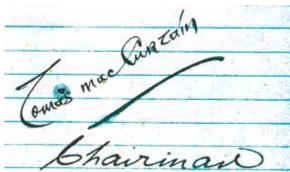
been u	foto is solicited in favour of the manimously selected to represent any and Economy.	t the Rate	spayers of the Borough of We	Albra.	ACCES FOR LINES ARE VOICE FOR					
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	FLANCY, PATRICE		COWMAN, PHILIP (Outgoing)		BROWNE, JAMES (Outgoing)					
	COFFEY, ROBERT A (Outgoing)	200	OATTS, THOMAS		BROWNE MICHAR					
1.12	CORDIN, RN MARD-	1.17	AXING. JUSTS	1401.5	ABITY PRANCES					
	CRIMINE JANSE		ALEWAR, JOHN (Outgoing)	1000	CONNELLY, RECEIPTAN					
	OTHERN, LANDERSE		LANELS, ENDO	100	DEMPSEY, HENRY					
	FENNELL, ALICE MARY	1000	LYMBERY, NATTHEW (Outgoing)	100	DOYLE, JOSEPH (Outgoing)					
1	MARTIN, MICHARS.	1.00	MeSUIRE, WM. H. (Outgoing)		CIBSON, RICHARD (Outgoing)					
	BIRREN, PATERCE	132	OCCURRENCE, MANTENEW	Carl	HADDEN, GEORGE (Outgoing)					
	MURPHY, JAMES (Dutgoing)		NUMETTER, TRANSPORT	Sala	BURAININ, JANSO					
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-	ROWE, CHARLES J.									
5	orssort, form	2775								
	WALLS, MER	3		The last						

Mock-up of the ballot paper for candidates representing the Ratepayers in the municipal elections in Wexford, with the slogan that voting for the names marked in bold print would be 'votes for efficiency and economy' The People, 14 January 1920 Image courtesy of Wexford County Archive

While the outcome of the municipal elections proved Sinn Féin's dominance, the effect of the Proportional Representation system meant that minorities won new representations. Labour made remarkable gains and Sinn Féin took control of seats in what were previously considered unionist strongholds in Ulster, while unionists did the same in nationalist areas in the south. The local elections provided people with an opportunity to address local issues, and in Sligo Corporation, for example, the Ratepayers' Association topped the poll.



Photograph of Tomás MacCurtain, the first republican Lord Mayor for Cork, 1920 Image courtesy of Cork City and County Archives



Signature of Tomás MacCurtain at the end of the minutes of his first meeting as Chairman of Cork City Council, 30 January 1920 Image courtesy of Cork City and County Archives



Printed notice of a demonstration organised by Wexford Trades and Labour Council in support of the Labour candidates in the municipal elections in Wexford, 1920 Image courtesy of Wexford County Archive

DUNDALK URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL.

DECLARATION ACCEPTING OFFICE.

Conneillor _____ for the Lauch Ward of the Urban

District of Dundalk, hereby declare that I take the said Office upon myself and will duly and faithfully fulfil the duties thereof according to the best of my judgment and ability.

Made and Subscribed before ma un 20th any of Strong 1020 M. Comerforth . Curr of count . Whiteming Officer .

Declaration of Peter Hughes on accepting office as councillor for the south ward of Dundalk UDC. 20 January 1920 Image courtesy of Louth County Archives Service

In other respects this Election was nevel. It was the first contrated Section since the passing of the aprioritation of the Reple act of 1918, which made important changes in the panchise, and gave the right of roling to manual women living with thus hustands, a condition which theretafore dynared them of the right to role no matter here great their qualifications might be. by that act the number of municipal robers was inorraded be about 63%. The act also powereded a new qualification for numbership of the bouncil, namely - ourseship of property situale in the Borrugh. The following are some of the particulars of the Sections :-Hart were sig Mombers to be elected for each of the four Borough anas 106 Manjs Donth The following were validly nomenated beach Painter Dreham Frances, 64 Inishtown Clonmedi Maching Dominich 33, Hadstone Sheep upper blonmel, bycle Filter Operative Baker Maching William 21, Many Sheet Clonmul Jaclo Power Joseph 50, Cachel Strut, Clennel. Jailor White Joseph 3, Wille Some Shat, Clonmede, Williment Haltin Hilliams, A. Welfe Jone Shut, Clemmil. Fitter Beades the foregoing nomination papers were delivered for :-Sayle Milliam Thomas 23, Guun Shut Sentheman houry Conus & upper blackatory Sheet Muchant but these tion latter nominations were invalid, and there being accordingly no control the sof validly memoraled bandidates were on the 16th instant, didaved duly elected for the area

Extract from minutes of Clonmel Corporation, noting that the right of married women to vote had increased the number of voters by 63% and showing candidates elected for the borough area of St. Mary's North, Clonmel, 1920 Image courtesy of Tipperary County Archives

103 30th January, 1920. A Statutable Meeting of the Council was held this day at the Town Hall at noon. This was the first meeting held under the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1919, an Enactment which prescribed for the first time for Municipal Elections to be held under the Proport ional Representation system of election. The Elections for the new Council took place on the 15th Instant, when the following 24 persons were elected, namely. As Alderment - James Sinnett, James Larkin, Richard Corish, Patrick Clancy, George Hadden, Nicholas Connelly. As Councillors:- Nicholas Byrne, Thomas Rossiter, Thomas Hayes, Philip Comman, Herbert Thompson, James Croabie, John Walsh, Michael Martin, Laurence Cumnins, Thomas O'Brien, James Billington, David O'Ne ill, James Sinnott, alice Mary rennell, Francis Carty. Joseph Boyse, Richard Gibson, Mary Anne O'Connor, It so happened that all the above Members were in attendance.

Extract from the minutes of Wexford Corporation, following the January election, on 30 January 1920, listing the newly elected council Image courtesy of Wexford County Archive

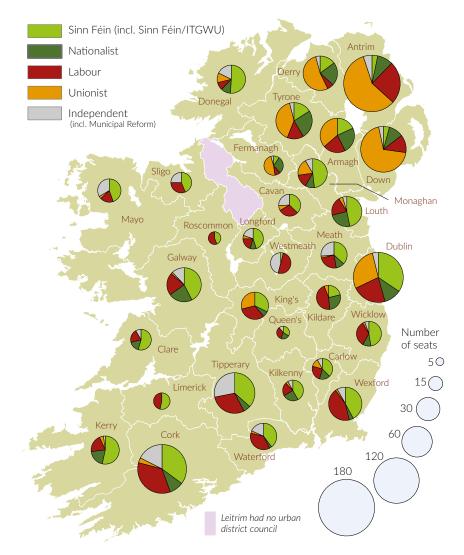
32

With a high turnout and some violent clashes occurring such as in Cork, the results saw Sinn Féin win 560 seats, Labour 394, Unionists 355, Home Rulers 238, Independents 161 and municipal reformers 108. Republicans took control in Dublin, Cork and Limerick, while Waterford and Derry had no single party in overall charge (10). A total of 10 out of 12 urban councils in Ulster including Strabane, Derry, Omagh and Armagh were now under joint nationalist/Sinn Féin control. Belfast was the only urban council where unionists gained control with 35 seats. It consisted of 60 members, five of whom were Sinn Féin, five nationalists and 13 Labour¹¹.

However, while Sinn Féin was victorious and progress was being made by the new Dáil Éireann, in reality, local councils were still very dependent on British assistance, therefore they remained in communication with the British Local Government Board. This was contrary to the instructions of the Dáil and despite many councils having passed a resolution soon after the elections acknowledging the authority of Dáil Éireann over that of the Local Government Board¹².

CORTINES) CORK MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS. JANUARY, 1920. Men of Rebel Cork, remember those who died to save our land Neath the Flag of Pearse and Connolly, prepare to take your stand Has the blood of Irish Martyr's for your sake been shed in vain Will the name of good old Rebel Cork be e'er disgraced again ? Will you shame the Irish Nation, Ireland's tricolour haul down ? Like the dirty Corporation who brought Asquith to our town Are the murders of brute Maxwell, cowardly Colthurst's all forgot ? Or George Croshie's famou: pl*card "only two more to be shot' Those false creatures you elected, never voiced the least protest. When the fiends incarnate murdered, Ireland's bravest, and her best All election's were suspended, for our British tyrants knew That our people were disgusted with the rotten service crew Now the time has come to deal with all the foul and loathsome pack They have clung to office too long, give the whole dama let the rack

Election flyer from the Liam de Róiste (TD and Councillor) archive Image courtesy of Cork City and County Archives



Map showing the share of seats won by parties in each county in the January elections, 1920

Image courtesy of Atlas of the Irish Revolution (UCC)

COUNTY OF DONEGAL.

Election of County Councillors in the Year 1920.

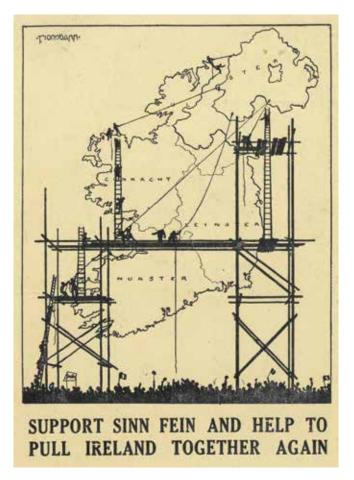
INSTRUCTIONS TO PRESIDING OFFICER.

Posting Notices,	1. You are to be at your Polling Station at about 7 a.m. If you find it insufficiently fursished you	
	will endewour to procure a table and as many chains as may be required. Before the Poll opens you are	
	to see that one Copy of Instructions to Voters is posted inside and one outside compariment for Voting	
	-one copy on outside of door of station and two at outside entrance to station. See also that the	
	Percils supplied are placed in the compariment for voting. You are to open the Poll in your Polling	
Hours at Pull.	Station at EIGHT o'clock in the karmoon and keep it continually open until the hour of EIGHT	
		- 20
	o'clock in the afternoon, when you are linally to close it.	
Attendant.	and a second	Arres .
	2. You are not to absent yourself from your Polling Station during any part of the time that the	
	Poli remains open.	
When the second second		
Sealing Ballet Bas.	3 You shall, before the commercement of the Poll, show the Ballot Rox, cuppy, to such periods,	
	if any, as may legally be present in your Polling Station, so that they may see it is empty, and shall then	
	lock it up, and put your seal upon it, so as to prevent its being opened without breaking such seal, and	
	shall keep it in your view for the receipt of flailot Papers, and keep it so locked and staled.	
	and the second	
Persons admitted to be	4. You are to segulate the number of Electors to be admitted at a time to your Station. The only	
fresent.	persons you are to pennit to be present in your Station are the Electors reconling their Votes, your	
	Clerk, ONE AGENT duly appointed for each Candidate, and the Constables on duty. You are not to	
	thre are Cardidee every for the plays - of secondary his Vero or my other preser shows ever to be	10000
	present in your Station. An Agent for a Candidate most, on being admitted to the Station, hand to	
and the second se	you his Appointment and Declaration of Secrety, doly made, and you are to retain these, and deliver	
	them to the Returning Officer or the Deputy Returning Officer.	
Electory sectified to Vote.	2. State and the second s second second s second second s second second se	
	o. Every person whose name is on the negater of Estimate support of your a contract of modern a	
	Italior Paper and to Vote at the Polling Station alloted to him or her: Provided the Elector shall not	
	have voted in another County Electoral Area of the County.	
How the Registers are		
to by marked.	6. Should the Unit on the Register be comprised in different Postnets was address	
the set of	Electors having the same number you will put the distinguishing mark, such as A, B, or C, together	
	with the number of Elector on the Register, on the Counterfol of the Ballot Paper, such as 10s,	
	10n, or 10c, as the case may be.	
120 CO 200 CO	2. Second statements of the second statement of the	
Procedure in gitting out Ballet Papers, checking		
Register, and marking	ADALY: WHEN BE OF SHE REPORT, DOR TO THE MERINES WHEN SHE IS THE OF THE WANTE IN THE OF THE OFFICE OF THE	
Counterfails of Ballet	Out the number, mine, and description of the factor as very appear on the response. For these tone	
Papers.	on the Counterfoil of the Ballot Paper the number of the Elector on the Register (and if necessary the	
	distinguishing mark, such as 10a, 10a, 10c, as the case may be, as directed by Instruction No. 6).	
	separate the Ballot Paper from the Counterfoil and stamp it on both sides with the official mark, and pot	
	a check on the proper Register to denote that the Elector has received a Ballot Paper, then hand Ballot	
	Paper to Elector.	
	and the second s	
Marking of Ballet	8. The Elector, on receiving the Ballot Paper, is forthwith to proceed into one of the compariments	Sec. 1
Paper by Eluber	in the Polling Station and there secretly record his or her Vote on the Paper, and fold it up to as to	
and a product	concent his or her Vots, but as as to leave the official mark on the tack visible ; he as she is then	
	(keeping the Ballot Paper still folded) to show you the official mark on the back of the Ballot Paper ;	
	and having done so, place the Ballot Paper, still folded, in the Ballos Boa in your presence. He or	
	she is to Vote without undue delay, and quit the Station as soon as he or she has put the Ballot Paper	
	into the Italiot Box.	
122420420104042420	9. If an Elector has leadwatently dealt with his or her Ballot Paper in such a manner so that it,	
Spellt Ballet Papers.	9. If an Elector has indeverticity dealt with its or the basis region in each a submet with the indevertence, and cannot be conveniently used as a Ballot Paper-on proving to your satisfactions the indevertence, and	
	delivering it up to you-you may give him or her another Sallot Paper in its place. You will	
	delivering it up to you-just may give him or ner motore same raper in its pace. You was	
	immediately cancel the spolled Ballot Paper by witting on it the words "Spoilt, Cancelled," and put	
	such spoiled Ballot Paper in Envelope No. 7, provided for unused and spoile Ballot Papers.	

Instructions to Presiding Officer in the election of county councillors in County Donegal in 1920

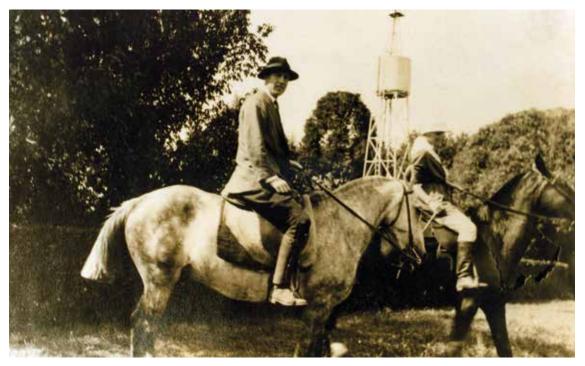
Image courtesy of Donegal County Archives

May and June 1920 election – county and rural district councils



Rural District Council leaflet for Carlingford, Co. Louth in respect of Sinn Féin candidates, June 1920 Image courtesy of Louth County Archives Service After its impressive performance in January, Sinn Féin expected to do well in the elections to county councils and rural district councils in the summer. The party promised to build more public housing and improve health and other local services, which were issues likely to win it support, apart from its separatist agenda.

Elections were held around the country on dates in late May and early June with local authorities having the option of fixing the polling day within this period. The introduction of Proportional Representation meant there was a need to educate people in how it worked. The Freeman's Journal reported on 9 June that the Proportional Representation Society, which had run a publicity campaign prior to the January elections, was restricted in its work in the later campaign because of lack of funds. Generally speaking, 'the electors had to depend upon National teachers and local organisers for instruction in the system', according to the Freeman.



Éamonn Bulfin on horse in Argentina. He was elected as chair of Offaly County Council in June 1920 in absentia having been deported in 1919 to Buenos Aires, his place of birth following internment in Frongoch for his role in the 1916 Rising. He was notable for raising the 'Irish Republic' flag over the GPO in the Rising

Image courtesy of the Bulfin Family

The War of Independence had gathered pace since January and the summer ballots took place in the context of greater militarisation. The Irish Republican Army was more prominent in electioneering throughout the country, including in the guarding of polling stations which drew the charge of intimidation from unionists.

Referring to the elections in Dublin, the Irish Times (8 June) noted that Sinn Féin was the only party to organise transport for its candidates and voters and 'from an early hour motor cars and other vehicles flying the tricolour brought in voters'.

HONORARY OFFICERS.

T. M. Russell proposed, Patrick Grogan seconded, and it was resolved :--" That Mr. Eamonn Bulfin be appointed Chairman of the Council for the ensuing year."

C. J. O'Riordan proposed, and T. M. Russell seconded, that Mr. John Kelly be appointed Vice-Chairman of the Council for the ensuing Year, and that during the absence of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman should discharge all the business appertaining to the office of Chairman of the Council."

Mr. Kelly then took the Chair.

THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND.

The following Resolution was passed unanimously, on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by T. M. Russell :---

"That this Council of the Elected Representatives of Offaly, at a duly convened Meeting, hereby acknowledges the authority of Dail Eireann as the duly elected Government of the Irish people, and undertakes to give effect to all Deceres duly promulgated by the said Dail Eireann, in so far as same effects this Council. That copies of this Resolution be forwarded to the Republican Minister for Foreign Affairs, for Transmission to the Governments of Europe and to the President and Chairman of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America."

Extract from minutes of Offaly County Council held on 19 June 1920 regarding the appointment of Éamonn Bulfin as chairman in absentia. It also records that it acknowledges the authority of Dáil Éireann as the duly elected government of the Irish people.

Image courtesy of Offaly Archives

Sinn Féin's victory was comprehensive. The party took control of 27 out of 33 county councils, and in Fermanagh and Tyrone, it combined with nationalists to form majorities. The Freeman's Journal declared: 'The defeat of Carsonism in Tyrone is one of the most important incidents of the elections.' Of 206 rural district councils, Sinn Féin took 172 and therefore also controlled most boards of poor law guardians. Their success extended even to Ulster, with the party winning control of 36 of Ulster's 55 rural districts. Many of the newly-elected councillors had no previous experience of local government, and some were serving Volunteers.

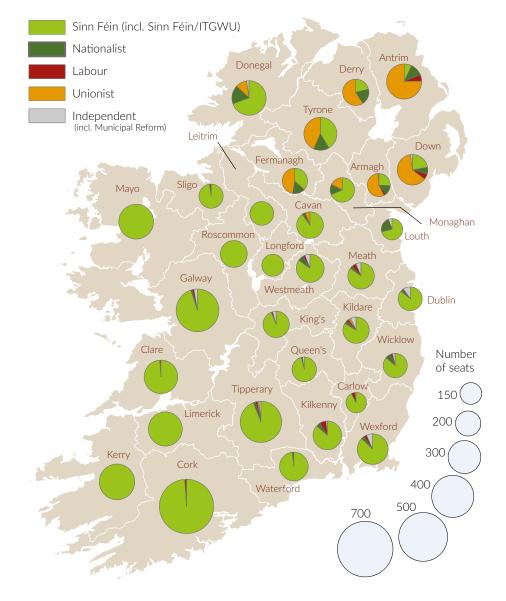
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Number of non-transferable papers - p-	18				18
TOTALS	266				211
Calculator's Signature	Senis Flhage	ere	Checked by	Curtowan	
	/				

Record of transfer of Edward Kelly's surplus votes in the Ballyshannon Rural District Council election, June 1920 Image courtesy of Donegal County Archives

The overall outcome of the elections gave the Department of Local Government much greater clout in the Dáil administration. The Department immediately instructed councils to carefully select chairmen, vice-chairmen and representatives to the General Council of County Councils with 'due regard being paid to National principle, ability and knowledge of local administration'. In practice, this was taken to mean that members of Sinn Féin should be preferred for those positions.

. 8	DAIL ÉTREAM. Martin
Mal	and the most
hereite	Menten Latprada dan Russorte Gait Genann, yie Cige an Aprilliang, Ar-Citar. Companian mi le aldenei te fie Senier, Del Emm, de Honin Han, Dali.
art/	GENERAL SECTEMATAY
1	12ay 17th 1920.
	The Clerk Longfori Brean District Council.
	A Ghara,
	With reference to the revolution ucknowledging the authoutfy of Bail Bireann, acay of which year recently forwaried to the Republican Minister for Poreign Affairs, I have to acquaint yea that I us now deviced that, in order to have this resolution formally brought to the notice of the President of the United States and the Chairman of the Poreign Helations Counties of the Denate of that Country, it will be necessary to have copies of the Recolution duly authenticated by the seed of the Council and accompanied by covering latture addressed to these gentlement forwarded to me for transmission.
	A further supply of duly atthenticated copies of the recolution will also be required for presentation to the Governments of Europe, and I shall accordingly be glad if you will have the measurery steps taken to have the seal of your Council affixed to thirty copies of the resolution.
	The completed copies should be forwarded to us firrough nome made charmel no as to obviate interference on the part of the fostal inthorities.
	Diammid Chligocastrugh
	00

Letter from the general secretariat of Dáil Éireann to the clerk of Longford Urban District Council with regard to the resolution acknowledging the authority of Dáil Éireann, 17 May 1920 Image courtesy of Longford County Library and Archives

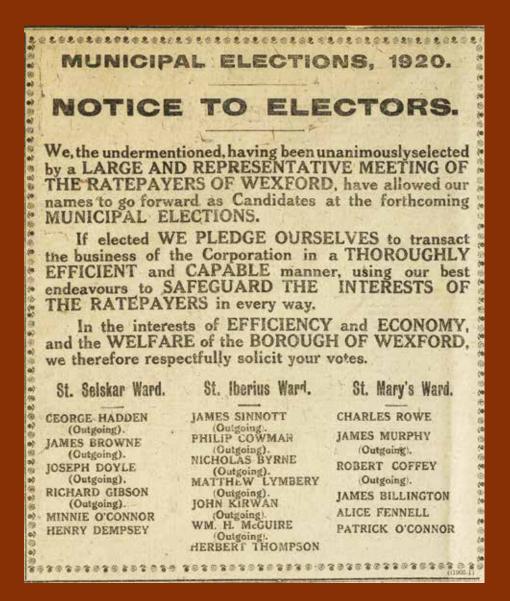


Map showing the share of seats won by parties in each county in the May/June elections, 1920

Image courtesy of Atlas of the Irish Revolution (UCC)



Pencil sketch of P.J. O'Byrne, Cathaoirleach of North Tipperary County Council, 1920-31 Image courtesy of Tipperary County Archives



Printed notice of candidates for the Ratepayers in the 1920 municipal election in Wexford. Alice Fennell was elected for St. Mary's Ward. From The People newspaper, 10 January 1920

Image courtesy of Wexford County Archive



Sinn Fein campaign poster, local elections 1920 Wicklow, urging women to vote for Robert Barton Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland

Women and the 1920 local election

By the time of the 1920 local elections, a degree of progress had already been achieved in terms of female representation at local government level in Ireland. Since 1896, women with certain property qualifications had been eligible for election as poor law guardians. Under the 1898 Local Government Act, they could stand for all the new councils except borough and county councils.

Education played an important part in helping women realise that they had a role to play in the future of their country. Many were actively involved in a number of movements, among them Sinn Féin, Cumann na mBan, the Irish Countrywomen's Association and in the various suffrage and labour campaigns. The Irish Women's Franchise League, in particular, canvassed and encouraged women to put their names forward as candidates in the local elections in 1920. Articles were published in the League's paper, The Irish Citizen explaining the process involved and encouraging the female electorate to support their own.

> 'Let no woman help any group that has not at least one woman on its ticket' The Irish Citizen, 5 January 1920

A total of 42 women were elected to local councils in 1920, signalling the way for greater participation of women in the electoral process at local level. Some of those elected were prominent members of Cumann na mBan; some were passionate campaigners for social and healthcare reform.

In the borough and urban elections on 15 January, Mrs Emily Crowe was the first-ever woman elected as part of a Sinn Féin majority on Limerick Corporation. Of 30 female candidates in Dublin and its townships, 14 were elected including Kathleen Clarke and Nell Humphreys. In Carlow, three women were elected in a ward with nine seats¹³.



The Honourable Albinia Broderick, first female member, elected to Kerry County Council in 1920 Image courtesy of The Kerryman photographic archive, Kerry County Archives Three unionist women were returned in the north-east, two were elected in Derry. While the majority of female candidates were Sinn Féin supporters, a number stood for Independent Labour. Other women reinforced local issues including Alice Fennell, who was elected to Wexford Corporation for the Ratepayers' Association.

There was further success for female candidates in the summer elections for county councils, rural districts and poor law guardians. As in January, some of those selected by Sinn Féin were relatives of the men of 1916 including Lillie Connolly and Margaret Pearse. Lady Albinia Broderick, an Irish republican, was the first female elected to Kerry County Council. Lady Margaret Dockrell, a unionist and former member of the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association, was elected to the Monkstown constituency of Dublin County Council. Women also acted as chair or vice-chair in Listowel, Rathdrum, Clifden and Strokestown district councils. Alice Cashel, elected as vice-chair of Galway County Council in 1920 had played a crucial role in the process of reforming local government and bringing it under the authority of Dáil Éireann.



Alice Cashel (elected vice-chair of Galway County Council in June 1920) Image courtesy of Dr Humphrys http://humphrysfamilytree.com/Cashel/al.html

Dáil Éireann.

Aireace Riasalcair Aiceamla

Department of Local Government

01r. No. 21.

19th. Novembor 1930.

To the Clerk of each Borough Council, County Council and Board of Guardians. (to be read at the next meeting of your Board or Council)

A ohnie,

A Circular has recently been issued by the English Local Government Board calling on rate-collectors to refuse to obey the instructions of their Gouncils. Having fulled to smash Local Administration in Ireland by withelding the usual grants the energy government is new attempting to do so by obstructing the collection of the rates and the measures that were devised to safeguard the public mentes from selaure.

This Department wishes now to outline the attitude it will adopt towards officials of public bodies who fail to carry out instructions of their local authority. If an official, for any reason, is unwilling to earry out instructions the substance of which either manated in the first instance from this Department or received its sametion, it is open to such official to resign his position and if he is a pennionable official to resign his position given to any equitable claim for pension he may submit. If on the other hand an official disagreeing with orders issued to him by his local authority with sametion of this Department clings to his position and endeavour to use his restion to theart the wishes of his exploying Council and the wishes of the position and endeavour to use his restion to theart the immediate dimmiscal of such official and will give no consideration to any submit he may subsequently make for pension for my that body. this Department, and no pension from public soney can be granted to any efficial she is dismissed for endeavouring to the will of the people of Ireland.

Mise le moss,

1. T. mac Cos 30119

Minister for Local Government.

Letter from W.T. Cosgrave, Minister for Local Government regarding collection of rates in local authorities and the repercussions for officials who fail to carry out the duties of their local authority (19 November 1920) Image courtesy of Waterford City and County Archive IE/WCC/GNA/131

1920-1925 Local government during an unstable period

Following the elections in 1920, the newly-elected councils passed resolutions recognising Dáil Éireann and rejecting the British Local Government Board. This support from local authorities was an important political step in the recognition of the legitimacy of Dáil Éireann and one that had serious consequences for them.

By their refusal to continue to report to the Local Government Board, those local authorities who did so lost the grant assistance paid to them by the Board. Their refusal to hand over rates collected locally also led to legal cases against them. Local authorities were raided by crown forces in an attempt to forcibly access the records. Hiding the books from local government auditors and refusing cooperation resulted in the arrest and jailing of many local authority officials, including town clerks and accountants.

Many of the elected members and staff were also serving in the IRA. In March 1920, the Lord Mayor of Cork, Tomás MacCurtain was assassinated by the RIC and his successor Terence MacSwiney was arrested and went on hunger strike, dying in Brixton prison in October 1920. In 1921 the Mayor of Limerick, George Clancy and former Limerick Mayor, Michael O'Callaghan were also murdered.

Local authorities continued as best they could to function and received instruction from W. T. Cosgrave as Minister for Local Government. The communiqués from Dáil Éireann focused on trying to raise revenue, the difficult task of maintaining rate collection and keeping it from the Local Government Board and on cutting costs to cope with the loss of grants. The signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in December 1921 established the Free State government in the 26 counties. The resulting Civil War left local authorities continuing to struggle to function and rebuild infrastructure and collect the necessary revenue to fund services.

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DAIL EIREANN. TRADE DEPARTMENT.

ADE DEPARTMENT.

May 5th, 1921.

Importation and Sale of British Goods Prohibition Order No. 3.

In accordance with the powers conferred on the Ministry by Dail Eireann at its Session in March, 1921, it is hereby ordered that on and after May 26th, 1921, the importation and sale of **BRITISH-MADE MARCARINE** is prohibited.

Every loyal citizen of the Republic is expected to give active support to the Government in making this Order absolute.

> Signed, EARNAN DE BLAGHD, Minister of Trade.

PREVIOUS ORDERS.

No. 1—Prohibits the importation of British-made Binders Mowing Machines Horse Rakes Ploughs Swathe Turners Hay Trolleys (Rick Shifters) Harrows Corn Drills Root Cutters as from March 31st, 1921.

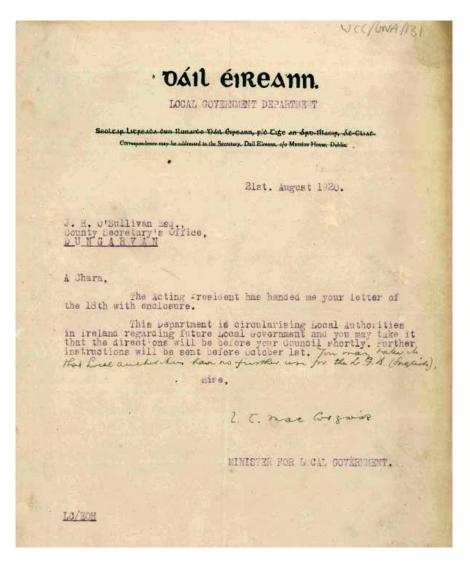
No. 2—Prohibits the importation and sale of British Biscuits, Boot Polishes, and Soap from May 14th, 1921.

Notice from Ernest Blythe, Minister for Trade, Dáil Éireann regarding prohibition of the importation and sale of British-made margarine, 5 May 1921. From the Longford Board of Guardians collection.

Image courtesy of Longford County Library and Archives

Times remained turbulent for local authorities and some republicandominated and financially-strapped councils (Dublin City, Cork City, Kerry, Leitrim and Offaly) were replaced by the new Free State Government with centrally-appointed commissioners for a time. The need for local government reform was, however, broadly supported by the general public and the Free State Government turned its attention to the matter and introduced the Local Government Bill, 1924.

The main focus of this reform was the abolition of the rural district councils and boards of guardians and consolidation of their road and health functions into county councils, urban councils and corporations. Boards of health were established with responsibility for sanitary and health services - these were established at county level or, in the case of larger counties, two boards were established. County Medical Officers were appointed to each county with responsibility for health and sanitation. The Bill was withdrawn by the Minister to allow further discussion and amendment. and the Local Government Act. 1925 was enacted in March 1925.



Letter from W. T. Cosgrave advising local authorities that they should have 'no further use of the Local Government Board (English)' Image courtesy of Waterford City and County Archive IE/WCC/GNA/131

DAIL EIREANU

Cir. No. 24.

Local Government Dept. 13th, December 1920.

In the struggle between the Irish nation and the English government the Local Authorities are playing in important purt. Through then the Irish Government has been enabled to take over control of the internal adadnistration of the Country, showing to the world the truth of President de Valera's claim that Dail Sireann is the DE FACTO as well as the DE JUES novermant of of occupation but nevertheless fulfilling the orlinary functions of government and receiving the actual and bebitums allegiance of the great majority of the citizens. To meet and beat this claim the energy government has left non stone unturned. The so called grants in reality a minerable portion (about a fortioth) of the money grung from the Country in taxation have been ruthlessly cut off, corrying the sar into the hespitals and the unions, matting the agod poor and the destitute organ. It is hoped by these the agod poor and the destitute origan. It is hoped by thene methods to bring the Public Bodies of iroland to their impes, it is hoped that these who would shrink from no sucrifico for themsolves will be weakened by the possibility of hardship for the agod and the helpless. The idea of attempting to buy a people with a miserable fraction of their own money is peculiarly inclush in its syniciam. But the people must not be cought back into slavery. The responsibility is on each Public Hody to so husband its finances that the hopes of the energy of inducing surrender by concente pressure will prove as vain as thair hopes to stampede and desoralise the people by murder and arson Even with the utsets economy there will be a definit in many cases. This deficit. must be met by loan from the banks. This Department believes that where the position is properly and reasonably explained to a bank there will be no disposition shown to unbarass local authoritles by a recusal. The banks must not be a lowed to make their reappointment as Treasurers a condition procedent to a loan - to do so shows a misconception of the situation. The Famils work deprived of the treasurently not uith any view to injuring them but with a view to protesting public monies from inequitable seizure. To have their accounts in debit would have been no pro-tection, as a Rank as Treasurer would have been ordered to may on tootion, as a many as treasurer roule have been ordered to say foot of Decreas "out of the first modies of the Council country into your control" and could not not use up its can private debt as against such decree. Further a Mank as Treasurer would be com-palled to make the fullest disclosures as to the funds of any Public Body while under present arrangements though the Bank will no doubt have the handling of the funds of local authorities as horstofore, it will have no knowledge on the subject. The Han'ts must not be allowed to attach obnoxious combitions to loans to local authorities: meither must they be allowed if offered comable becurity to ambarrass local authorities by refusing loane. They exist and flourish by the cod-will of the people - they saunot be allowed to wome into the ring against the people - re 8 1'6-

This page and following page:

Local Government Department, Dáil Éireann. Circular of 13 December 1920, showing how the results of the local elections has enabled the Irish Government to take over control of the internal administration of the country. Image courtesy of Waterford City and County Archive IE/WCA/WCC/GNA/88

income in this struggle. Councils should if necessary which the press poster they unioutbody possess to prove to one back that reduces incidities, that to do so - always provide air tonus and accurity is offered - amounts to on this outstand accurity is offered - amounts to on this outstand accurity is offered - amounts to on this outstand accurity is offered - amounts to on this outstand of sourity offered - amounts to the first outstand accurity is offered - amounts to oncidenthi in different flacess. It is put as a suggestion that is response when there of a Council should set himsil to every the ledgin of say 250 by a dozen or thenel, to every to the ledgin of say 250 by a dozen or thenel prove the same so ledged to be decaded collateral recurity contained an overdeaft to the Council's representateiver while economicity against leas the rates of the bathy. The energy are boding all their hopes on a financial provide the meat of Public Dodies necessitating a rout to the Owned House fold. It would be impossible to overlating the need for least effort to defeat these hores. The energy is catening overy move of the least hodies. Intelly often a found if the mistater for a bising and the feature the first function for setsure rea codated the Feature the funct immune from setsure rea codated the Feature to run there must be no collares of least the first to run there must be no collares of least for the function on the run there must be no collares of least the first to run there must be no collares of least the first to run there must be no collares of least for the the public Fodies must not lot door the least the first of run there must be no collares of least for the set is the run there must be no collares of least for the the public Fodies must not lot door the least the first of the first to run there must be no collares of least for the set of the first to run there must be no collares of least for the set of the first to run there must be no collares of least for the set of the run there m

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A TRANSTAILT MUTHISTER FOR LOOAL GOVERIMENT.

Some notable figures of the 1920 local elections



Robert Childers Barton Image courtesy of Houses of the Oireachtas www.dail100.ie



Thomas D. Sinnott Image from the T.D. Sinnott collection at Wexford County Archive

Robert Barton (1881-1975). An extensive landowner and former British army officer, Robert joined the republican movement after witnessing the ill-treatment of the 1916 leaders in Dublin. As TD for West Wicklow, he was elected Minister for Agriculture at the first Dáil sitting in 1919. Arrested in February 1919 for making seditious speeches, he was elected as chairman of Wicklow County Council in June 1920 during his detention. Re-elected to the Dáil in 1922, he was imprisoned later that year for his activities in the Civil War. He lost his seat in the general election of 1923 and was released from prison in December 1923. He did not seek election again, but held a number of public appointments thereafter.

Thomas D. Sinnott (1893-1965). Poet, linguist, secondary school teacher, historian and public administrator. T.D. took a prominent part in the 1916 Easter Rising in Enniscorthy and was arrested for his involvement with periods of detention in Stafford Jail and Frongoch until his release in December 1916. He was elected to Enniscorthy Urban District Council in 1920 and served as chairman of Enniscorthy Board of Guardians in June that year. Re-arrested for his activities during the War of Independence, he was appointed secretary to the Wexford County Board of Health in 1922. He was appointed first County Manager of Wexford County Council in 1942, a post he held until his retirement in 1953.



Terence MacSwiney Image from the Liam de Róiste collection at Cork City and County Archives



George Nicholls Image courtesy of Galway County Council

Terence MacSwiney (1879-1920). A poet and playwright who was involved in nationalist causes from an early period, Terence was one of the chief organisers and commanders of the Irish Volunteers in Cork from 1914. He was elected to the First Dáil in 1918 as Sinn Féin TD for Mid Cork and served as councillor with Cork City Council on his election in January 1920. He was elected as Lord Mayor of Cork and Commanding Officer of Cork No.1 Brigade Irish Volunteers following the assassination of Tomás MacCurtain in March 1920. He died on hunger strike at Brixton Prison, London on 25 October 1920.

George Nicholls (ca. 1886-1942) was a Dublin-born solicitor with strong links to Arthur Griffith. A prominent member of the Irish Volunteers Galway City Corps, he was arrested and interned during Easter Week 1916. He was elected to Galway County Council in 1920 and served as chairman, 1920-25. He voted in favour of the ratification of the Treaty. Serving as TD from 1921-27, he held the post of Assistant Minister for Home Affairs for a period in 1922 and as parliamentary secretary to the Minister for Defence, 1925-27.



Hanna and Francis Sheehy-Skeffington Image courtesy of Dublin City Library & Archive



Cllr. Kate Breen Image courtesy of The Kerryman

Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington (1877-1946). Elected member of Dublin City Council, 1920-1924. Well-remembered as one of Ireland's early feminists but it is little-known that in the local elections of January 1920, she was elected to Dublin City Council as a Sinn Féin representative. Her interests were mainly social development through education, as she served on a number of committees, including Public Libraries – which she chaired – Old Age Pensions, School Attendance Board, Technical Education and Scholarships. She continued to serve on the elected Dublin City Council until it was abolished by the Free State Government in May 1924.

Catherine (Kate) Breen (1869-1937). Daughter of a Killarney Urban District Council official, Kate served in Cumann na mBan during the 1916 Rising and was subsequently arrested and interned. She was later arrested for her part in promoting Sinn Féin politics during the 1918 General Election campaign. Elected to Killarney Urban District Council in January 1920, one of her first acts was to propose a suite of street name changes to reflect a republican Killarney. She was elected to Kerry County Council in 1926 and 1928 and also served as Chair of the County Board of Health and Public Assistance and as Vice-Chair of the General Council of County Councils.

Inishowen Rural District Council. *** ROBERT MOORE WORKHOUSE. CLERK OF COUNCIL. Carndonagh, 25th may 1970 Dear Charlie, I don't know what fout it in my head that Thursday was the day of our election but I have the impression I told you the counting would be on Friday and Saturday (week). Wed & Thursday 2nd 03rd proce are the days and I hope they will suit four commence equily week . mr. moore's official appointment for for herewith and also the names of the candidates in the two areas to be counted. Hoping you are all quite week Arancain. yours sincerely Edward Donnell

Letter from Edward O'Donnell, Inishowen Rural District Council, to Charlie [O'Callaghan, Returning Officer] regarding the dates of counting of votes in the local elections, 25 May 1920 Image courtesy of Donegal County Archives

Endnotes

Local Government reform

- 1 Dowell, R.B., 'Administration and the public services 1870-1921' in A new history of Ireland VI: Ireland under the Union II 1870-1921, ed. W.E. Vaughan (Oxford University Press, 1996), p593
- Lyons, F.S.L., 'The aftermath of Parnell, 1891-1903' in A new history of Ireland VI: Ireland under the Union II 1870-1921, ed. W.E. Vaughan (Oxford University Press, 1996), p594
- 3 Creedon, William P., Exemplar Hiberniae, 100 Years of local government in Ireland, p16
- 4 Ferriter, Diarmaid, Lovers of liberty? Local government in 20th century Ireland (National Archives of Ireland, Dublin, 2001), p9
- 5 Dáil100, Houses of the Oireachtas, <u>https://www.dail100.ie/en/long-reads/local-</u> government-elections
- 6 Gallagher, Frank, The four glorious years 1918-1921 (Blackwater Press, 1953), p44
- 7 Ibid, p72

January 1920 elections - borough and urban councils

- 8 Kee, Robert, Ireland: a history (London, 2003), p180
- 9 Dundee Courier, 24 January 1920
- 10 https://www.dail100.ie/en/long-reads/local-government-elections
- 11 <u>https://www.rte.ie/centuryireland/index.php/articles/municipal-elections-sinn-fein-and-</u> labour-perform-strongly-as-unionists-falt
- 12 <u>https://www.historyireland.com/20th-century-contemporary-history/revolutionary-government-in-ireland-dail-eireann-1919-1922-arthur-mitchell-gill-and-macmillan/</u>

Women and the 1920 local elections

13 https://www.thejournal.ie/1920-women-vote-4969283-Jan2020

Recommended reading

Web links to articles

https://www.dail100.ie/en/long-reads/local-government-elections/

https://www.historyireland.com/20th-century-contemporary-history/pr-the-sligo-boroughelection-of-1919/

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https://www.rte.ie/centuryireland/index.php/articles/municipal-elections-sinn-fein-and-labour-perform-strongly-as-unionists-falt

https://www.rte.ie/centuryireland/index.php/articles/britain-the-proportional-representationquestion-a-lesson-from-ireland-1920

Carmel Quinlan, Standing up for women in politics <u>https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/</u> heritage/century/century-women-and-the-vote/standing-up-for-women-in-politics-1.553520

Mary Cullen, A history of her story https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/heritage/century/century-women-and-the-vote/a-historyof-her-story-1.553415

Margaret Ward www.thejournal.ie/readme/1920-women-vote-4969283-Jan2020

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The Sligo Champion, 1920 The Freeman's Journal, 1920 The People, 1920 Connacht Tribune, 1920

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O'Sullivan, Harold, A History of Local Government in the County of Louth, from earliest times to the Present (Dublin, 2000)

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Appendix 1Results of the county council elections in June
1920 as transcribed from the Freeman's Journal,
12 June 1920

Counties highlighted in **bold** below represent amended details of seat numbers and party affiliations than what was published in the Freeman's Journal

LEINSTER	Total Seats	Seats by Party
Dublin	19	SF 12; Lab and SF 2; Ind. 2; Unionist 3
Meath	21	SF 20; Farmers' Union 1
Kildare	21	SF 15; Lab 5; Ind. N. 1
King's Co. (Offaly)	21	SF 19; Lab 2
Queen's Co. (Laois)	22	SF 18; Lab. Repub. 3; Unionist 1
Louth	28	SF 17; Trade & Lab. 2; Ind. 3; HR Party 6
Westmeath	23	SF 15; Lab. 5; Nat. 3
Longford	20	SF 20
Wicklow	20	SF 14; SF Lab. 3; Farmers' Assoc. 2; Nat. 1
Wexford	19	SF 12; Lab. 7
Kilkenny	19	SF 16; Lab. 2; Nat. 1
Carlow	20	SF 13; Lab. 7

MUNSTER	Total Seats	Seats by Party
Tipperary (North)	20	SF 19; Lab. 1
Tipperary (South)	23	SF 23
Cork	32	SF 32
Limerick	20	SF 20
Kerry	20	SF 20
Waterford	20	SF 17; Lab. Repub. 3
Clare	20	SF 20

CONNAUGHT	Total Seats	Seats by Party
Galway	20	SF 20
Мауо	24	SF 24
Roscommon	20	SF 20
Sligo	20	SF 19; Lab. Repub. 1
Leitrim	19	SF 19

ULSTER	Total Seats	Seats by Party
Donegal	20	SF 15; Nat. 3; U. 2
Derry	19	SF 4; Nat. 4; Unionist 11
Antrim	21	Unionist 17; Ind. U. 1; Nat. 2; SF 1
Armagh	23	SF 5; Nat. 3; Unionist 14; Ind. 1
Down	20	Unionist 13; SF 4; Lab. 2; Nat. 1
Tyrone	26	SF 8; Nat. 7; Unionist 11
Fermanagh	20	SF 6; Nat. 5; Unionist 9
Monaghan	20	SF 16; Unionist 4
Cavan	21	SF 20; Nat. 1

Appendix 2 List of local authority archives services in Ireland

Carlow County Council	Clare County Council
Carlow County Archive, County Library, Tullow Street, Carlow	Clare County Archives, Clare County Council, New Road, Ennis, Co. Clare
Tel: 059 9129705	Tel: 065 6846271
Email: <u>lkennedy@carlowcoco.ie</u>	Email: archives@clarecoco.ie
Web: www.carlowlibraries.ie/explore/local-studies	Web: <u>www.clarelibrary.ie</u>
Cork City & County Council	Donegal County Council
Cork City and County Archives, Cork City Council, Seamus Murphy Building, 32 Great William O'Brien Street, Cork City	Donegal County Archives, Donegal County Council, Three Rivers Centre, Lifford, Co. Donegal
Tel: 021 4505886	Tel: 074 9172490
Email: brian_mcgee@corkcity.ie	Email: archivist@donegalcoco.ie
Web: www.corkarchives.ie	Web: www.donegalcoco.ie/culture/archives/
Dublin City Council	Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown
Dublin City Archives, c/o Dublin City Libraries & Archive, 138-144 Pearse Street, Dublin 2	dlr Libraries, dlr Lexicon, Haigh Terrace, Moran Park, Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin
Tel: 01 6744996	Tel: 01 2362722
Email: <u>cityarchives@dublincity.ie</u>	Email: dgunning@dlrcoco.ie
Web: <u>www.dublincity.ie</u>	Web: www.libraries.dlrcoco.ie

Fingal County Council	Galway County Council
Fingal Local Studies & Archives, 46 North Street, Swords, Co. Dublin	Galway County Council Archives. c/o Galway County Library, Island House, Cathedral Square, Galway Co. Galway
Tel: 01 8704496	Tel: 091 509388
Email: karen.delacey@fingal.ie	Email: archivist@galwaycoco.ie
Web: www.fingal.ie	Web: www.galway.ie/archives
Kerry County Council	Limerick City & County Council
Kerry County Archive, c/o Kerry County Library HQ, Moyderwell, Tralee, Co. Kerry	Limerick City and County Archives, 58 O'Connell Street. Limerick Co. Limerick
Tel: 066 7121200	Tel: 061 496526
Email: archivist@kerrycoco.ie	Email: jacqui.hayes@limerick.ie
Web: www.kerrylibrary.ie	Web: www.limerickcoco.ie www.limerickcorp.ie
Longford County Council	Louth County Council
Longford County Library & Archives, Town Centre, Longford Co. Longford	Louth County Archives Service, Old Gaol, Ardee Road, Dundalk, Co. Louth
Tel: 043 3341124	Tel: 042 9324358
Email: mmorris@longfordcoco.ie	Email: archive@louthcoco.ie
Web: www.longfordlibrary.ie	Web: <u>www.louthcoco.ie</u>

Offaly County Council	Tipperary County Council
Offaly Archives, Unit 1F Axis Business Park, Clara Road, Tullamore, Co. Offaly	Tipperary County Archives, Tipperary Local Authority Complex, Carrigeen Business Park, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary
Tel: 057 9321421 / 057 9339968	Tel: 0761 065319 / 0761 065000
Email: info@offalyhistory.com	Email: rachel.granville@tipperarycoco.ie
Web: www.offalyarchives.com	Web: www.tipperarycoco.ie
Waterford City & County Council	Wexford County Council
Waterford City and County Archive, High Street / Dungarvan Library, Waterford / Davitt's Quay, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford Tel: 076 1102144 / 058 21144 Email: <u>archivist@waterfordcouncil.ie</u> Web: <u>www.waterfordcouncil.ie</u>	Wexford County Archive, 6A Ardcavan Business Park, Ardcavan, Co. WexfordTel: 053 9196572Email: archivist@wexfordcoco.ie Web: www.wexfordcountyarchive.com
Wicklow County Council	
Wicklow County Archives, Wicklow County Council, County Buildings, Whitegates, Wicklow Town	
Tel: 0404 20126	
Email: <u>cwright@wicklowcoco.ie</u>	
Web: <u>www.wicklow.ie</u>	