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Establishment, Emergent Forces and Municipal Politics: Dublin Corporation, 1899-1920.

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This thesis is submitted to University College Dublin in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History

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April 2024

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Acknowledgements

The idea for this project stemmed from my MA thesis, which examined the Irish Party's grassroots organisation, the United Irish League. From my MA thesis, I developed an interest in local level politics and how national parties operated in an urban environment, and I felt that a similar topic could be pursued for a PhD thesis. I began my PhD in January 2019 with an extremely ambitious idea of a comparative study that would examine municipal politics in Dublin, Liverpool, and Newcastle. This idea was too broad and was then narrowed down to a comparative study of Dublin and Liverpool. In 2020, the covid pandemic forced the closure of archives, libraries, and everything that was needed to complete a PhD. The project continued as a comparative study, but due to further closures of research facilities, travel restrictions, and waiting lists for access to archives, the project was refined again in September 2021 to a study focused on municipal politics and Dublin Corporation. To say the least, the journey to the completion of this thesis has been filled with twists, turns, and unexpected surprises. There are a number of individuals I want to thank who have helped me complete this journey.

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Statement of original authorship

I hereby declare that this thesis is entirely my own work except where other authors have been referred to an acknowledged in the text. I submit this thesis as a candidate for a PhD degree from University College Dublin. This thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other university.

Print: Seán Bolger

Signed:

Date: 9 April 2024

Abbreviations

AFIL – All For Ireland League

AOH – Ancient Order of Hibernians

CSORP – Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers

DCA – Dublin Citizens Association

DDA – Dublin Diocesan Archives

DHRA – Dublin Homeowners and Ratepayers Association

DLP – Dublin Labour Party

DLUA – Dublin Liberal Unionist Association

DTC – Dublin Trades Council

DVA – Dublin Victuallers Association

DWSLGA – Dublin Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association

GAA – Gaelic Athletic Association

ICA – Irish Citizen Army

ILP – Independent Labour Party

INF – Irish National Foresters

IRB – Irish Republican Brotherhood

ISRP – Irish Socialist Republican Party

ITGWU – Irish Transport and General Workers Union

IWFL – Irish Women's Franchise League

IWSLGA – Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association

LEA – Labour Electoral Association

LGVA – Licensed Grocers and Vintners Protection Association

LRC – Labour Representation Committee

MRA – Municipal Reform Association

NLI – National Library of Ireland

ODPRA – Ontario Department of Public Records and Archives

SPI – Socialist Party of Ireland

TCD – Trinity College Dublin

TNA – The National Archives

TTL – Town Tenants League

UCD – University College Dublin

UIL – United Irish League

URA – Unionist Registration Association

Introduction

A telegram boy stepped in nimbly, threw an envelope on the counter and stepped off posthaste with a word:

—*Freeman!*

Mr Bloom said slowly:

—Well, he is one of our saviours also.

A meek smile accompanied him as he lifted the counterflap, as he passed in through a sidedoor and along the warm dark stairs and passage, along the now reverberating boards. But will he save the circulation? Thumping. Thumping.

He pushed in the glass swingdoor and entered, stepping over strewn packing paper. Through a lane of clanking drums he made his way towards Nannetti's reading closet.

…

Mr Bloom halted behind the foreman's spare body, admiring a glossy crown.

Strange he never saw his real country. Ireland my country. Member for College green. He boomed that workaday worker tack for all it was worth. It's the ads and side features sell a weekly, not the stale news in the official gazette. Queen Anne is dead.

—Well, get it into the evening edition, councillor, Hynes said.

Soon be calling him my lord mayor. Long John is backing him, they say.

…

Mr Bloom laid his cutting on Mr Nannetti's desk.

—Excuse me, councillor, he said. This ad, you see. Keyes, you remember?

Mr Nannetti considered the cutting awhile and nodded.

—He wants it in for July, Mr Bloom said.

The foreman moved his pencil towards it.

—But wait, Mr Bloom said. He wants it changed. Keyes, you see. He wants two keys at the top.

The quotes above are all taken from James Joyce *Ulysses* and tell the story of Leopold Bloom's interaction with the foreman of the Irish Party's newspaper, the *Freeman's Journal.* The foreman of the *Freeman's Journal* was the Irish Party Councillor for the Rotunda ward, Joseph Patrick Nannetti. While being a member of Dublin Corporation, Nannetti was also an Irish Party MP for the College Green division in Dublin, which Bloom references in the above extract. Bloom also references Nannetti's plan to run for Lord Mayor, and eighteen months after the fictional events of *Ulysses,* Nannetti was elected Lord Mayor of Dublin in January 1906 and again in January 1907. Bloom also refers to Nannetti's links with Labour, 'he boomed that workaday worker tack for all it was worth'. Even though the extracts above are short, Bloom's interactions in the offices of the *Freeman's Journal* on Princess Street reveal the complexities and power of the Irish Party in the early twentieth century, Nannetti embodied these complexities better than most. As outlined in the extracts above, he was a Councillor in Dublin Corporation, an Irish Party MP for Dublin, a future Lord Mayor, and an influential figure in the Labour movement. All this is referenced in the offices of the *Freeman's Journal,* the powerful daily publication that supported the Irish Party or, as it is referred to in *Ulysses,* 'the great daily organ'. While these fictional events take place in the offices of the *Freeman* in the summer of 1904, across the city at Ormond Quay, Arthur Griffith was printing the first

edition of his *Resurrection of Hungary* in his newspaper, the *United Irishman.*[1] The *Resurrection of Hungary* was an alternative policy to the Irish Party's Home Rule, and while Bloom was in discussion with Nannetti, an alternative ideology was being printed almost at the same time. In *Ulysses,* Griffith and his Sinn Féin movement are also mentioned as the alternative and emerging Nationalism to the Irish Party.

'So anyhow when I got back they were at it dingdong, John Wyse saying it was Bloom gave the ideas for Sinn Fein to Griffith to put in his paper all kinds of gerrymandering, packed juries and swindling the taxes off of the government and appointing consuls all over the world to walk about selling Irish industries. Robbing Peter to pay Paul'.

This extract here that refers to Sinn Féin highlights the challenges Griffith's party faced in Dublin in the early twentieth century and how they sought to reform the city. The extract relates to all the corruption and shortcomings of the Irish Party, and Sinn Féin that emerged sought to change all these accusations. The extracts referenced here are short, but they reveal the landscape and intricacies of Dublin municipal politics in *Ulysses*. The Irish Party was the dominant and controlling force, with individuals like Nannetti ensuring party influence in a number of different organisations and public bodies, backed by the *Freeman* or 'the great daily organ'. At the same time, Griffith's alternative Nationalism and policy emerged during the Resurrection of Hungary, during which this doctrine became Sinn Féin, which sought to challenge the Irish Party.

Dublin in the early twentieth century was a city that was compromised of many different facets, and Kevin O'Shiel, a republican activist and lawyer, described Dublin around 1910 as being a combination of 'five different Dublins'.[2] The five different facets of Dublin that O'Shiel

[1] *Ulysses* is set on 16 June 1904. There was no edition of the *United Irishman* published on that day, the next edition was on 18 June 1904.
[2] RF Foster, *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland, 1890-1913* (London, 2014), p. 9.

referenced were ‘Castle Dublin’, with its government officials, police and law officers; there was the professional world of lawyers, doctors and university people; the ‘intelligentsia’ of writers and artists; the commercial world; the world of local ward politics; and, surrounding them all, the vast and hardly known world of proletarian Dublin in tenements and narrow streets.[3] While there may have been more Dublins than Shiel described, they were all connected and overlapped with each other to a certain extent, with some figures influential in more than one Dublin. This thesis is focused on the Dublin of local ward politics, which was the most fluid of the five Dublins and certainly overlapped with the other four. It is in this scene of Dublin municipal politics where this thesis is set and where there were the establishment and emerging forces that competed for the votes of proletarian Dublin, had a working relationship with ‘Castle Dublin’, and was heavily influenced by the professional class, intelligentsia, and the commercial world.

Research Question

After a series of measures throughout the nineteenth century, municipal government at the turn of the twentieth century played a vital role in the lives of ordinary citizens. For example, services such as sanitation, public health, electric lighting, and transport were all under the remit of municipal Corporations.[4] Local government also allowed political parties to gain control over Corporations and provided the training ground for many politicians before they got elected to national government.[5] The Local Government (Ireland) Act 1898 transformed local elections after significantly extending the municipal franchise. This, in turn, created a whole new electorate in which the established political parties could compete. The 1898 Act also provided the opportunity for new emerging parties to develop with a broader set of voters

[3] Ibid., pp. 9-10.
[4] RB McDowell, *The Irish Administration, 1801-1914* (London, 1964), pp. 164-165.
[5] Matthew Potter, *The Municipal Revolution in Ireland: A Handbook of Urban Government in Ireland since 1800* (Dublin, 2011), p. 113.

to appeal to. In the absence of Irish self-government, Dublin Corporation was regarded by many as the premier representative body in Ireland.[6] The central research question for this thesis is: how did the established and emergent groups develop, grow, and interact with each other in Dublin's municipal politics, 1899-1920? The starting point for this thesis is the municipal elections that were held in January 1899 after the passing of the 1898 Act, and the thesis will conclude after the municipal elections in January 1920. This timeframe, though extensive, allows for a thorough examination of the key parties, individuals, and administration of Dublin Corporation from its formative years after the 1898 Act right up to the emergence of a new Corporation in 1920 and after the events of the 1916 Rising. The starting point of January 1899 was chosen after the transformative 1898 Act, which created a new electorate that was captured by the Irish Party. The 1920 municipal elections are chosen as the endpoint of the study as these were the first municipal contests held after municipal elections were suspended in Britain and Ireland in the summer of 1915 due to the First World War. The 1920 elections are important for a number of reasons and need to be examined in detail due to the changes in the political system as a result of the 1916 Rising, the destruction of the Irish Party in the 1918 general election, and they were the first elections held under the proportional representation voting system. By extending this analysis to 1920, this thesis can then examine Dublin Corporation and its political sphere from the creation of a new administration in 1899 up to another new administration in 1920. Throughout the thesis, the themes that developed throughout these years will be teased out, and they will significantly contribute to our understanding of local government and political parties in Ireland in the early twentieth century.

While the central research question is outlined above, other sub-research questions and themes will be addressed throughout this study. The causative impact of the Local Government

[6] Virginia Crossman, *Local government in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Belfast, 1994). p. 81. Joseph V. O'Brien, *Dear, Dirty Dublin: A City in Distress, 1899 – 1916* (Berkely, 1982), p. 72.

(Ireland) Act 1898 on modernising and diversifying Irish politics with Dublin Corporation as a case study. The 1898 Act had a revolutionary effect on municipal elections, mainly due to the franchise extension, creating a whole new body of voters that parties could now try and influence. The question that arises after the 1898 Act was passed is: did the Local Government (Ireland) Act 1898 weaken the Nationalist control of politics by facilitating the role of smaller parties at a grassroots level? Local government with an extended franchise turned into a spawning ground for contenders to the Irish Party. It gave birth to political forces such as Sinn Féin and Labour, who would ultimately challenge (and in Sinn Féin's case overthrow) the power of the Irish Party at all levels. The changes due to the 1898 Act forced the Irish Party to contend with new ideas, movements, and ideologies that had previously been non-existent within the arena of representative politics. Throughout the thesis, the Irish Party's response to these new challenges will be analysed as well as the party's response to these challenges.

Another sub-theme this thesis explores is the 'machine' versus 'reform' model of local government. At the turn of the twentieth century, municipalities in Europe and the United States were experiencing a growth of reform parties that sought to improve urban governance and break the stranglehold these political machines exercised.[7] In the case of this study, the Irish Party is the machine. The Irish Party exercised complete control over the Corporation at the turn of the century. Like all political machines, the Irish Party in the Corporation had a rigid party structure, extensive grassroots organisation, efficient ward management system and disciplined leadership that allowed the party to dominate the annual elections.[8] As with all machines, the party was accused of being corrupt, using patronage to fund the machine, and

[7] For a detailed history of reform parties see: Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York, 1955). Frank Mann Steward, *A Half Century of Municipal Reform: The History of the National Municipal League* (Berkeley, 1950). Also see Ch. 11 – Reform in Edward Banfield, *City Politics,* (New York, 1966). For a history of machine politics relevant to a municipality see: Amy Bridges, *A City in the Republic: Antebellum New York and the origins of machine politics* (Cambridge, 1984). Jerome Mushkat, *Tammany: The Evolution of a Political Machine, 1789-1965* (New York, 1971).

[8] Denis R Judd and Todd Swanstrom, *City Politics: The Political Economy of Urban America* (London, 2012), p. 53.

having a general lack of interest in the needs of the citizens. These machines were run by highly committed party activists, who lobbied and won votes, and 'wirepullers' who ensured things ran efficiently.[9] However, the machine that governed the city did not benefit everyone, and this led to the formation of reform parties that sought to change how the municipality was governed.[10] These reformers who sought to undermine and dismantle the machine were generally formed from a broad alliance of interests that came together and merged to form a party to fight the machine.[11] The two emerging parties this thesis studies, Sinn Féin and Labour, fall into the category of the reform parties that were emerging during this period. Sinn Féin and Labour sought to reform the Corporation, make it more efficient, and break the oligarchy of the Irish Party. Ironically, this was the second upheaval in municipal politics in the city. In previous generations, the Irish Party successfully wrangled control of the corporation from Unionists. From the beginning, the reform movements sought to eliminate corruption, increase the efficiency of their respective municipalities, and, in a sense, make local government more democratic and representative.[12] In Dublin, like many municipalities, particularly in the United States, there is an opportunity to contribute to the 'machine' versus 'reform' analysis of local government.

Structure of Thesis

Ch. 1 – The Dynamics of Dublin Corporation

This chapter is an introduction to some of the different aspects of Dublin Corporation. It will introduce the geographical area this thesis focuses on and why the analysis of the thesis is focused only on the area covered by Dublin Corporation. How local government developed up to the 1898 Act will be discussed in an Irish context, and how Dublin Corporation developed

[9] Eugenio F Biagini, *British Democracy and Irish Nationalism, 1876-1906* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 187-188.
[10] Judd and Swanstrom, *City Politics*, p. 49.
[11] Ibid., p. 76.
[12] Edward Banfield, *City Politics* (New York, 1966), p. 138.

as its own municipality. The final section of the chapter provides an overview of all of the parties, organisations, and societies that were active in Dublin's municipal politics throughout this period.

Ch. 2 - Fit and Proper Persons? Dublin Corporation Councillors and Candidates, 1899 -1920:

475 individuals contested municipal elections in Dublin from 1899-1915. 251 of these individuals were successful, meaning 224 were unsuccessful, and this chapter is an in-depth analysis of all of these individuals who contested the elections. These individuals will be analysed based on basic parameters such as age, occupation, place of birth and other factors such as membership in other public bodies. By analysing these parameters, this chapter shows that there was a clear difference between the established parties and the emerging parties. It will show that the two established parties elected older representatives and had a greater influence on other public bodies and representatives from more respected professions than the two emerging parties. Throughout this chapter, these differences will be discussed to reveal the trends that characterised the parties under consideration throughout this thesis. No such quantitative analysis of candidates in elections in Ireland has been done before. Such an approach has contributed significantly to the understanding of the established and emergent forces, and including unsuccessful candidates in the chapter has yielded essential data on both groups and the wider demographics of local politics of all parties.

Ch. 3 – Dublin Corporation after the 1898 Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1899-1904:

This chapter begins after the passing of the 1898 Act and starts with the first reformed elections held in January 1899. The chapter will discuss the reunification of the Irish Party at a local level and how this played out in the elections for Dublin Corporation. It will show that once reunified, the Irish Party's 'machine' dominated the elections and control of the Corporation. The extension of the city's boundaries in 1900 will be discussed, and how the Corporation

assimilated the former townships of Clontarf, Drumcondra, and Kilmainham. The chapter will also examine the foundations that Arthur Griffith and advanced Nationalists laid for the formation of Sinn Féin in 1905. These foundations were laid around protests relating to royal visits in 1900 and 1903 and became the genesis of the first Sinn Féin party. Although this narrative of the emerging nexus of advanced Nationalism is a historiographically well-worn path, it will be examined here in the context of municipal politics and how this nexus coalesced and formed the National Council, a small political party that became the precursor to Sinn Féin.

Ch. 4 – The rise of the first Sinn Féin party, 1905-1909:

Sinn Féin was formally established during a meeting in the Rotunda in 1905. This chapter focuses on the first Sinn Féin party and traces its growth and development in the Corporation. Dublin Corporation was the only place Sinn Féin operated like a political party. This chapter analyses Griffith's new party and how it began to challenge the Irish Party for the Nationalist vote in the city as the first real, credible emergent force in the new, post-1898 Act municipal political arena in Dublin. The chapter also discusses the Sinn Féin party in the wider context of municipal reform parties that emerged worldwide around this time. These parties sought to reform their respective municipalities and create a 'clean' urban government. The chapter argues that Sinn Féin had the characteristics of these reform parties.

Ch. 5 – The limitations of Sinn Féin and the foundation of the Dublin Labour Party, 1910-1912:

This chapter focuses on the decline of Sinn Féin and how the party failed to establish any considerable control over the Nationalist vote in the city. The chapter will argue that Sinn Féin's decline was due to weak leadership from Arthur Griffith, who allowed a party to develop without any formal structure or discipline. One unique development is that this chapter will look at how Griffith's reluctance to align with William O'Brien's All For Ireland League in 1910 is discussed as a critical factor in Sinn Féin's history. This divided the party and led to

rapid decline, decimating Sinn Féin over the following years. By taking a municipal rather than national focus, by de-emphasising the figure of Arthur Griffith, this chapter proposes a fresh causative focus for the failure of Sinn Féin before the Home Rule Crisis, similarly the chapter emphasises the weakness of Griffith as a leader as a contributing factor to Sinn Féin's decline. While Sinn Féin declined, the Labour movement flourished after the Dublin Labour Party was established by James Larkin in 1911. This chapter then discusses the foundation of the DLP and the rigid discipline the party tried to put on new members to ensure success in future elections.

Ch. 6 – Dublin Corporation before the First World War, 1912-1914:

After the foundation of the DLP in 1911, the party experienced rapid success in municipal elections under the leadership of James Larkin. The DLP quickly overtook Sinn Féin and the Unionists to become the second-largest party in the Corporation. The chapter analyses the growth of the DLP and the response of the Irish Party to the new threat it faced from the DLP. Before the establishment of the DLP, organised Labour was non-existent in the Corporation chamber and had been successfully neutralised by the Irish Party. This chapter also provides an analysis of the 1913 Lockout from the perspective of the Corporation and how the Lockout influenced the city's representatives. This analysis of the conflict between the employers and workers contributes to an understanding of the events beyond the central figures such as Larkin or James Connolly.

Ch. 7 – Dublin Corporation in wartime, 1914-1917:

This chapter examines Dublin Corporation during the First World War. The chapter begins with an analysis of the political parties in Dublin before the events of the 1916 Rising and assesses what shape each party was in before April 1916. The Rising itself has been the focus of numerous different and detailed studies and will not be analysed in this chapter but rather used

as a mid-point to discuss the parties before, and then a section will also look at how the political parties changed in Dublin as a result of the events. In post-Rising Dublin, new themes and alignments began to emerge in the political scene, and these will be analysed in this chapter. The impact of the First World War on Dublin and the Corporation will be discussed in detail, how the Corporation tried to deal with the situation and how the war affected the people of Dublin.

Ch. 8 – A new Corporation, 1918-1920:

This chapter analyses the Corporation that emerged after elections resumed in 1920 after their suspension in the summer of 1915. The 1918 general election witnessed the destruction of the Irish Party at a national level as the party was swept away by Sinn Féin. Dublin Corporation remained with the Irish Party for two more years up to January 1920. During these two years, the political allegiances of the city's representatives and the ordinary Dubliner began to shift and align with the new political force, Sinn Féin, that was emerging. This chapter explores the development of these new allegiances and how they manifested themselves in the 1920 municipal elections. The 1920 elections are discussed in detail as the end point of the thesis and how the Corporation had changed significantly in the twenty years since the 1898 Local Government Act.

Historiography

The history of Dublin municipal politics sits between three major historiographies. Firstly, it sits firmly within the history of Dublin city and histories of Dublin, be they social, economic, or political. Secondly, this thesis contributes to the wider field of municipal and urban political history. This includes urban histories of Britain, the United States, Europe, and beyond. Finally, this thesis contributes to the history of the political parties of both Britain and Ireland in the early twentieth century.

While municipal politics is under-researched, some histories regarding Dublin Corporation are written, and various aspects of the Corporation are discussed. For Dublin, the standard text for a long time has been Mary Daly's *Dublin, the deposed capital: a social and economic history, 1860 – 1914.*[13] Though the thrust of this book, as the name suggests, is the economic and social history of Dublin, Daly does have a chapter dedicated to the politics of Dublin city. Daly suggests that 'the political and social background of the city's municipal politics provides an essential key to understanding attitudes towards health, housing, and other municipal matters'[14], and highlights Dublin Corporation's critical role in shaping the city and its services. Daly asserts that the chapter 'does not attempt to provide a detailed account of city politics, rather to sketch its main dimensions and the changes which took place'.[15] Another work similar to Daly's is *Dear, Dirty Dublin: a city in distress, 1899 – 1916,* by Joseph V. O'Brien.[16] Again, like Daly's work, this book focuses on social and economic conditions in Dublin. Still, O'Brien has one chapter concerned with municipal politics in Dublin, discussing the first reformed local elections in January 1899 in detail, but does not analyse elections in any other years. O'Brien, in this chapter, provides an overview of municipal politics in Dublin before the First World War and does not go into detail regarding any of the main parties, elections or individuals central to local government in Dublin.[17] More recently, David Dickson's *Dublin: The making of a capital city* explores the growth and development of the city from 1600 to 2000.[18] Like Daly and O'Brien, Dickson focuses on the economic and social development of the city and only briefly touches on politics in some of the chapters. Dickson discusses the revolutionary impact of the 1898 Act, which Dickson suggests 'brought tenement

[13] Mary E. Daly, *Dublin, the deposed capital: A social and economic history, 1860 – 1914* (Cork, 1984).
[14] Ibid., p. 203.
[15] Ibid., p. 203.
[16] Joseph V. O'Brien, *Dear, Dirty Dublin: A City in Distress, 1899 – 1916* (Berkely, 1982).
[17] See: Chapter 3 'Politics and the Dublin Corporation' in O'Brien, *Dear, Dirty Dublin,* pp. 70-101.
[18] David Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London, 2014).

Dublin to the polls'.[19] Dickson's general analysis of Dublin Corporation after the 1898 Act for the next twenty years is that 'after 1900 the reunited Irish Party completely dominated representation in City Hall for the next two decades, with the retail trade, especially publicans, still pre-eminent. Conservative/Unionists held a handful of seats, and other parties flourished briefly'.[20] While the works cited above provide good general histories of Dublin, each lacks an in-depth analysis of local politics. Daly, O'Brien, and Dickson all describe a Corporation that is firmly under the control of the Irish Party. This research elaborates on the picture created by these three studies and details how the Irish Party controlled the Corporation by investigating elections, ward management, and how the Irish Party successfully managed to control and dilute any threats from new parties. The three works also highlight Sinn Féin and Labour as the two emerging movements in Dublin and mention the threat they posed to the Irish Party's place within the city's politics. This thesis will explore Sinn Féin and Labour's history and trace the two emerging movements' foundation, growth, and development and their interaction with the Irish Party.

More recent research by Ciarán Wallace has contributed significantly to the historical understanding of local politics in Dublin.[21] Wallace's work covers the same period as this thesis, beginning after the elections held in January 1899 and ending in 1914. Wallace describes the political composition of the Corporation and suburban townships that acted as self-governing municipalities and were not amalgamated into the city's jurisdiction until 1930.[22] Wallace outlines how the Nationalist dominated Corporation was being choked by the Unionist controlled southern townships that prevented the Corporation from expanding its boundaries.

[19] Ibid., p. 414.
[20] Ibid., pp. 414-415.
[21] Ciarán Wallace, Local Politics and Government in Dublin City and Suburbs, 1899 – 1914 (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2010). Ciarán Wallace, 'Fighting for Unionist Home Rule: Competing identities in Dublin, 1880 – 1929' *Journal of Urban History,* Vol. 38, No. 5 (2012), pp. 932 – 949. Ciarán Wallace, 'Civil Society in search of a state: Dublin 1898 – 1922' *Urban History,* Vol. 45, No. 3 (2018), pp. 426 – 452.
[22] Wallace discusses in detail the political composition of the southern townships of Rathmines, Pembroke, Blackrock, and Kingstown.

While Wallace's work has contributed greatly to our knowledge of urban government in Dublin, his research focuses on Dublin Corporation and the southern suburbs, with more attention paid to civil society and the differences between the different authorities. Wallace highlights the Corporation's control by the Nationalists and compares this with Unionist domination in the suburbs. Wallace, in his research, outlines Sinn Féin and Labour as the two movements that begin to emerge and again contrast these with movements in the suburbs. While the main focus of Wallace's work is the interrelationship between suburban and city politics, this thesis puts the politics of Dublin Corporation and the city firmly to the forefront. The research undertaken in this thesis builds upon Wallace's work with a deeper, more detailed analysis of the politics of Dublin Corporation as a separate study that contributes to Wallace's work on the relationship between suburbs and the Corporation. This study focuses on the evolution of party politics within Dublin Corporation by charting the struggle between the dominant party, the Irish Party, two emergent forces, Labour challenging from below, Sinn Féin emerging from the sphere of anti-monarchical protest and advanced Nationalism to challenge the Irish Party on its own terms. All the while, a small but significant Unionist faction was waning in its power and influence, retreating to the suburbs, grappling to align and cope with new political movements. Ultimately, this thesis charts the fracturing of the Irish Party itself as rival United Irish League and Ancient Order of Hibernian factions began to compete in elections at City Hall for a Home Rule future they believed was imminent on the eve of the Rising.

Numerous local studies provide a brief history of each of the suburban townships. An excellent account of Dublin's suburban townships is Séamus Ó'Maitiú's *Dublin's Suburban Towns, 1834 – 1930: Governing Clontarf, Drumcondra, Dalkey, Killiney, Kilmainham,*

Pembroke, Kingstown, Blackrock, Rathmines and Rathgar.[23] Ó'Maitiú gives a valuable account of the expansions of the Corporation's services and also on the evolution and development of the surrounding townships into self-governing bodies that 'attempted to solve the problem of the provision of basic services needed to allow civilised life to advance, and the impact of the methods chosen to achieve these ends had on the development of the greater Dublin area'.[24] Other publications contributing to our understanding of local government and politics in Dublin Corporation are *Leaders of the City: Dublin's first citizens, 1500-1950,* edited by Ruth McManus and Lisa-Marie Griffith.[25] This edited collection focuses on the Lord Mayors of Dublin and discusses different aspects of individual time as Lord Mayors. The book contains chapters about JP Nannetti (1906-1908), Lorcan Sherlock (1912-1915), and Laurence O'Neill (1917-1920) relevant to this thesis. Each chapter analyses each individual, the important issues the Corporation faced during their time as Lord Mayor, how they dealt with these challenges, and concludes how their term in office should be remembered.[26] Thomas J Morrisey's *Laurence O'Neill (1864-1943), Lord Mayor of Dublin (1917-1924): Patriot and Man of Peace* provides a useful insight into Corporation politics from an independent Nationalist member such as O'Neill. Though the majority of this book is focused on O'Neill's later career, Morrisey contributes to our knowledge of the Corporation through O'Neill's progression in politics, in his roles on various Corporation committees, and in O'Neill's activities in his election campaigns and supporting other candidates such as Sarah Harrison.[27]

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[23] Séamus Ó'Maitiú, *Dublin's Suburban towns, 1834 – 1930: Governing Clontarf, Drumcondra, Dalkey, Killiney, Kilmainham, Pembroke, Kingstown, Blackrock, Rathmines, and Rathgar* (Dublin, 2003).
[24] Ibid., p. 14
[25] Ruth McManus and Lisa-Marie Griffith, *The Leaders of the city: Dublin's first citizens, 1500-1950* (Dublin, 2013).
[26] See: Ciarán Wallace, 'A rather mild sort of rebel': JP Nannetti, pp. 120-131; Lydia Carroll, 'Little' Lorcan Sherlock, 1912-15, pp. 131-141; Ruth McManus, 'Lord Mayor Laurence O'Neill, Alderman Tom Kelly and Dublin's housing crisis', pp. 141-152, in McManus and Griffith, *The Leaders of the city*.
[27] Thomas J Morrissey, *Laurence O'Neill (1864-1943), Lord Mayor of Dublin (1917-1924): Patriot and Man of Peace* (Dublin, 2014).

James H Murphy has recently published a history of Dublin Corporation in the nineteenth century in *The Politics of Dublin Corporation, 1840-1900: From Reform to Expansion.* Murphy's study begins after the Municipal Corporations (Ireland) Act 1840 and ends after the expansion of the city's boundaries in 1900.[28] Murphy's book is the 'first comprehensive study of the politics of Dublin Corporation between its initial reform in 1840 and its reform at the end of the nineteenth century after the 1898 Local Government Act when the city's electorate and boundaries changed radically'.[29] Murphy outlines the growth and development of political parties and political culture throughout the nineteenth century. Murphy describes how the Corporation was largely unaffected by national politics up until the 1880s when the Corporation became more politicised after its capture by Parnell's Irish Party.[30] Throughout the book, Murphy highlights the Nationalist-Unionist tensions as the old establishment of the Unionists sought to regain control of the Corporation before their abandonment to the suburbs.[31] In many ways, Murphy charts the first clash of established and emergent forces in the Corporation, by the emergence of the Irish Party, who challenged the Unionists for control of the city. This thesis charts what could be termed the second revolution in the composition of the Corporation initiated by structural reforms. However, the Irish Party withheld the challenge from Sinn Féin and Labour during this second revolution. By the turn of the century, the Corporation was Nationalist dominated but faced a new era with a much larger franchise and jurisdiction. This study starts where Murphy's work ends and builds on the discussion of the development and growth of parties, cultures, and ideals up to the First World War.

Padraig Yeates's *A City in Wartime: Dublin 1914-18* offers an excellent discussion of Dublin's municipal governance through the First World War and how the city's representatives

[28] James H Murphy, *The Politics of Dublin Corporation, 1840-1900* (Dublin, 2020).
[29] Ibid., p. 10.
[30] Ibid., p. 149.
[31] Ibid., p. 111.

responded to different challenges during the war years.[32] Throughout the book, Yeates analyses the effects of the war and wider political events on the Corporation. As the war progressed, rising food prices began to hit the city, requiring intervention from the city's representatives to alleviate these issues. Yeates also describes how the Corporation became an arena for discussing national issues during the Home Rule crisis, and councillors began to question and debate national politics' trajectory. *Dublin's Great Wars: The First World War, the Easter Rising and the Irish Revolution* by Richard S Grayson provides another analysis of Dublin during the war years. Unlike Yeates, Grayson focuses less on the city's government and instead gives an insight into the military experience of the city, such as recruitment and how this affected the city's politicians.[33] John Gibney's edited book *Dublin City Council and the 1916 Rising* is useful for discussing municipal politics on the eve of the 1916 Rising.[34] Marie O'Neill's article *Dublin Corporation in the Troubled Times 1914-1924* examines the Corporation in the early years of the First World War and the challenges faced.[35] Like Yeates, O'Neill details the effect the war began to have on the Corporation and how issues such as rising food prices and inflation contributed significantly to the social problems already facing the Corporation.

Several historical geographies have also contributed to our knowledge of Dublin and the physical development of the region. Joseph Brady and Annegret Simms discuss the development of Dublin city in a broader UK context. Brady and Simms discuss how the city grew in status throughout the nineteenth century, how this coincided with the growing powers

[32] Pádraig Yeates, *A City in Wartime: Dublin 1914-18* (Dublin, 2011).
[33] Richard S Grayson, *Dublin's Great Wars: The First World War, the Easter Rising and the Irish Revolution* (Cambridge, 2018).
[34] John Gibney, *Dublin City Council and the 1916 Rising* (Dublin, 2016). The relevant section of this book is 'Part 1: Dublin City Council, the Elected Members and the 1916 Rising'. This section contains the essays titled 'The politics of Dublin City Council and the 1916 Rising' by Pádraig Yeates; 'Councillor Richard O'Carroll, Councillor William Partridge, the Labour Party and the 1916 Rising' by Laurence W White; 'Alderman Tom Kelly' by Shelia Carden; 'Patriot and Man of Peace: Laurence O Neill (1864-1943), Lord Mayor of Dublin, 1917-24' by Thomas J Morrissey; 'William Thomas Cosgrave' by Anthony J Jordan.
[35] Marie O'Neill, 'Dublin Corporation in the Troubled Times' *Dublin Historical Record,* Vol. 47, No. 1, (1994), pp. 56-70.

of the Corporation to deal with an expanding city, and the challenges this presented. Ruth McManus has examined the growth and development of the city and suburbs in the early decades of the twentieth century. McManus illustrates how the suburbs developed to encircle the Corporation, leading to economic and political tensions between the various municipalities, thus complimenting Wallace's political analysis of the same phenomenon. McManus argues that the development of the suburbs was a hindrance to the city and withheld the Corporation's needed revenue.[36] Joseph Brady and Ruth McManus have also addressed the Corporation's role as a housing provider in *Building Healthy Homes: Dublin Corporation's First Housing Schemes 1880-1925.*[37] In this book, Brady and McManus discuss the challenges facing the Corporation in terms of housing development and the policies that the Corporation developed to address the chronic situation that Dublin faced.

Historical geographies have also addressed some of the social conditions confronting Dublin and the city council at this time. Jacinta Prunty's *Dublin slums, 1800 – 1925: a study in urban geography,* analyses the slum conditions that plagued Dublin and the attempts the Corporation made to solve this issue.[38] The political fallout from slum landlordism, particularly after the Dublin housing inquiry in 1913, is a theme in this study. Prunty provides a valuable context on the broader background to the history of Dublin's slums, bringing them back to their post-Act of Union origins to the decades after this study concludes. Juliana Adelman's *Civilised by Beasts: Animals and Urban Change in Nineteenth-Century Dublin* tells the story of nineteenth-century Dublin through human-animal relationships and highlights the growing role of the Corporation as a regulator in terms of public health. Through the passing of various legislation, Adelman traces how the power of the Corporation grew throughout the century to

[36] Joseph Brady and Annegret Simms, *Dublin: through space and time (c.900 – 1900)* (Dublin, 2001); Ruth McManus, *Dublin, 1910 – 1940: Shaping the city and suburbs* (Dublin, 2002).
[37] Joseph Brady and Ruth McManus, *Building Healthy Homes: Dublin Corporation's First Housing Schemes 1880-1925* (Dublin, 2021).
[38] Jacinta Prunty, *Dublin slums, 1800 – 1925: a study in urban geography* (Dublin, 1999).

give it a role in regulating and managing markets, slaughterhouses, and managing dangerous buildings or structures. By the twentieth century, the Corporation had developed several public health reforms based on the challenges faced.[39]

Histories of the established political parties under consideration for this thesis have generally been focused on each party's parliamentary exploits, with less attention given to how they operated in local politics. The classic text regarding the Irish Parliamentary Party has been FSL. Lyons' *The Irish Parliamentary Party, 1890 – 1910.*[40] Lyons's study of the IPP focuses primarily on parliamentary politics. However, Lyons has a chapter discussing the selection of parliamentary candidates that touches on some local aspects of the party. In this chapter, Lyons details how the IPP was organised at a local level through the UIL and how the party developed its grassroots structures. In recent years, more studies since Lyons have been published regarding the IPP that have added to our understanding of the party, mainly the work of James McConnel and Conor Mulvagh, which have contributed to the history of the parliamentary behaviour of the IPP.[41] *The Long Gestation: Irish Nationalist Life, 1891-1918* by Patrick Maume is a long overview of the Irish Party from the death of Parnell up to the 1918 Irish general election.[42] In his book, Maume refers to Dublin Corporation and the potential challenge the Irish Party faced from Sinn Féin. In the manner in which the Irish Party handled the advanced Nationalist movement, Maume outlines that the views of Sinn Féin were closer to those of some members of the Irish Party than had previously been acknowledged.[43] Paul Bew's *Conflict and Conciliation in Ireland: Parnellites and Radical Agrarians* argues that the Irish Party was never fully reunited after 1900, and the Ranch War from 1906-1909 exacerbated

[39] Juliana Adelman, *Civilised by Beasts: Animals and Urban Change in Nineteenth-Century Dublin* (Manchester, 2020).
[40] FSL. Lyons, *The Irish Parliamentary Party 1890 – 1910* (London, 1951).
[41] James McConnel, *The Irish Parliamentary Party and the Third Home Rule Crisis* (Dublin, 2013); Conor Mulvagh, *The Irish Parliamentary Party at Westminster, 1900-18* (Manchester, 2016).
[42] Patrick Maume, *The Long Gestation: Irish Nationalist Life, 1891-1918* (Dublin, 1999).
[43] Maume, *The Long Gestation*, p. 3.

divisions that were already present in the party at a local level.[44] Bew concludes that, during his period of study, there were two competing interpretations – one conciliatory and one militant – that fought for control of Irish Nationalism, but neither triumphed.[45] Similarly, this study sees a similar phenomenon to Bew. In Dublin Corporation, by 1916, control of Nationalism was being fought between the conciliatory UIL on one side and the more militant AOH on the other side.

The missing layer in the history of the Irish Party is the local. Michael Wheatley has explored this in *Nationalism and the Irish Party: Provincial Ireland, 1910 – 1916*.[46] Wheatley studies the Irish Party in five counties in an area he describes as 'middle Ireland' (Sligo, Leitrim, Roscommon, Longford and Westmeath), and while Wheatley's book is an excellent account of how the party functioned in provincial Ireland, he doesn't account for the growing Sinn Féin influence in his book and also chooses an area that is overwhelmingly Nationalist and is hardly representative of the complete picture of Irish politics at the time. The area that is chosen for this research has a much larger population and, in turn, a much more diverse political landscape in which more political parties operate. This study will contribute to Wheatley's analysis of local Nationalist politics in that it will discuss the Irish Party's interaction with new movements that began to challenge the Nationalists for control of the Corporation. One question examined by Wheatley in his book is whether the Irish Party was 'rotten' or 'representative' on the eve of the 1916 Rising. This theme will be explored throughout this thesis and an evaluation of the health of the Irish Party before the events of April 1916 will be provided with Dublin Corporation as the case study. The study will then expand to the 1920 Dublin Corporation elections and see if the Irish Party in the Corporation survived from its state described by Wheatley. As Wheatley has done in his five-county study

[44] Paul Bew, *Conflict and Conciliation in Ireland, 1890-1910: Parnellites and Radical Agrarians* (Oxford, 1987).
[45] Ibid., p. 221.
[46] Michael Wheatley, *Nationalism and the Irish Party: Provincial Ireland, 1910 – 1916* (Oxford, 2005).

of provincial Ireland, this thesis tests assertions at parliamentary level and provincial level with a study of Dublin's urban politics and the Irish Party. A.C. Hepburn's *Catholic Belfast and Nationalist Ireland in the Era of Joe Devlin, 1871-1934*, has done this for Belfast.[47] In his book, Hepburn charts the growth of the UIL and AOH and how Joseph Devlin used both organisations so effectively to build an election machine in west Belfast. One of the major advances this thesis makes on work like Wheatley, Hepburn, Bew, and Maume is that the two emerging factions in the Irish Party and Irish Nationalism were not 'conflict and conciliation' but rather an emerging 'Redmondite' UIL that displayed unwavering loyalty to John Redmond and an AOH faction. The AOH faction in Dublin can be seen as socially conservative. Catholic triumphalist, increasingly authoritarian, and violent in terms of the use of violence emerging from the time of the baton convention. In the existing historiography, the emerging divisions in Irish Nationalism are between Redmondism and Sinn Féin, but the forgotten third faction is the AOH (led by Joseph Devlin and supported by John Dillon), which was beginning to emerge on the right of constitutional Nationalism, and which increasingly introduced a Belfast style street politics both in terms of Catholic triumphalism, sectarianism, and the use of strong-armed physical tactics to deal with political opponents. In this thesis, the AOH grew in Dublin and introduced these tactics to Dublin's municipal politics. These strong-armed tactics were used by the Irish Party in their contests with the emerging parties of Sinn Féin and Labour. There is an archival explanation for this gap in the literature and our understanding of Irish politics, as John Redmond's UIL files were lost by Denis Gwynn on a train. This enormous collection would have contained everything into the inner workings of local UIL politics and grassroots Nationalism. Likewise, in regard to the AOH, Joseph Devlin ordered his papers to be burned upon his death. Like the UIL files, an insight into the local level Irish Party through the

[47] AC Hepburn, *Catholic Belfast and Nationalist Ireland in the Era of Joe Devlin, 1871-1934* (Oxford, 2008), p. 92.

organisation of the AOH was lost. This thesis, therefore, contributes significantly to a gap in the historiography and to an understanding of local and urban Irish Party politics, the UIL and the AOH.

Other local studies like Wheatley have addressed the machinery of the Irish Party before 1916, one of which is *Politics and Irish Life, 1913-1921: Provincial experience of war and revolution* by David Fitzpatrick.[48] In this study of Clare, Fitzpatrick outlines how the Irish Party dominated public bodies in the county and, after the extension of the municipal franchise after the 1898 Act, 'local, like national, politics became the preserve for those supporting the Irish Parliamentary Party'.[49] Fitzpatrick outlines how the UIL was more densely organised than its competitors in local elections and encompassed a broad range of interests and other societies amongst its organisation. By 1913, the UIL was facing competition from the AOH, which had begun to overtake the UIL as the main Nationalist organisation. Nonetheless, in 1914, the Irish Party was still well established in Irish communal life, and most organisations that wanted to progress in their own interests generally needed to find a place within the Nationalist organisations.[50] Marie Coleman's *County Longford and the Irish Revolution, 1910-1923,* shows the UIL to be in a state of pronounced decline and losing influence before the First World War.[51]

The Dynamics of War and Revolution: Cork City, 1916-1918 by John Borgonovo, provides a useful insight into local politics in Cork and interactions of the various political factions in the County and in Cork City.[52] Borgonovo describes the Irish Party's organisation in Cork City as 'powerful, flexible and muti-faceted'.[53] In Borgonovo's analysis, the UIL and

[48] David Fitzpatrick, *Politics and Irish Life, 1913-1921: Provincial Experience of War and Revolution* (Dublin, 1977).
[49] Ibid., p. 74.
[50] Ibid., pp. 80-85.
[51] Marie Coleman, *County Longford and the Irish Revolution, 1910-1923* (Dublin, 2003).
[52] John Borgonovo, *The Dynamics of War and Revolution: Cork City, 1916-1918* (Cork, 2013).
[53] Ibid., p. 9.

AOH in Cork City worked harmoniously, and the AOH was an 'arm' of the party that helped the UIL control most of the public bodies. While nobody has done the work on it yet, it is impossible to say if the Dublin UIL and AOH reunited in the face of a Sinn Féin threat or if they drifted further apart from 1916-1920 when Sinn Féin took control. However, as other studies have mentioned, the Nationalist organisations began to decline post-1914 and had weakened by 1916. Nonetheless, the Irish Party still remained a 'daunting political power, which made its subsequent collapse four years later that much more dramatic'.[54] Unionism in Cork dominated most of the city's commercial and business bodies, though politically, Unionists stood as independent or commercial candidates, and the City Unionist Association was never directly involved in politics.[55] The Labour movement in Cork up to 1915 was characterised by deep internal divisions and was even consumed by the UIL/AFIL split in 1909. Unlike in Dublin, there was no Labour party in Cork and trade union officials contested elections as candidates of the UIL or AFIL.[56] While there was a republican movement in Cork, there was only one branch of Sinn Féin, which was 'steered away' from municipal politics by its leaders despite approaches for cooperation from the AFIL. Sinn Féin never really developed into a political party in Cork. Instead, it mainly functioned as an Irish-Ireland interest group.[57] This thesis examines an earlier period than Borgonovo's work but takes a similar approach in that it examines political life in Dublin like Borgonovo has in Cork. The groups and organisations mentioned by Borgonovo are all discussed in this thesis in terms of their success, structure, growth, and development.

Crisis and Decline: The Fate of the Southern Unionists by RB McDowell is a general overview of the fortunes of Southern Unionists in the early twentieth century.[58] McDowell does

[54] Ibid., p. 12.
[55] Ibid., p. 15.
[56] Ibid., pp. 13-14.
[57] Ibid., p 21.
[58] RB McDowell, *Crisis and Decline: The Fate of Southern Unionists* (Dublin, 1997).

not focus on one specific geographical area in this book, rather a history of all of Ireland, but describes Dublin as the 'political and social centre' for southern Unionism.[59] McDowell also helpfully explains the structure of Dublin's Unionist organisations at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, his analysis of the role of these organisations only focuses on parliamentary contests and offers no discussion of participation in municipal elections or Unionism at a municipal level.[60] In this thesis, by contrast, local politics are found to be a locus of much Unionist activity and strength in the opening years of the twentieth century. By putting municipal politics at its centre, this thesis examines the role these local Unionist organisations played in Dublin's politics, the candidates they elected, and how the Unionists maintained an influence in the Nationalist dominated Corporation. *The Failure of Unionism in Dublin, 1900,* by Alvin Jackson, similarly to McDowell, is focused on parliamentary politics and discusses the fallout from the failed Unionist campaign in the 1900 general election.[61] Jackson argues that 'the defeats of 1900 effectively marked the end of Unionism as a significant movement outside of Ulster'.[62] While this is true on a parliamentary scale, in Dublin's municipal politics, Unionism still maintained a presence in the Corporation. Though dwindling in influence, the Unionists managed to control the Clontarf wards of the city for most of the period this thesis examines.

Unionist activity and participation in Dublin's municipal elections is mentioned in *From Socialism to Liberal Unionism: JL Mahon in Edwardian Dublin* by Edmund Rodgers.[63] Rodgers analyses the split in Dublin Unionism in 1904 that led to Liberal Unionist candidates competing in the city's elections, which were independent of the main Unionist organisation

[59] Ibid., p. 19.
[60] See Chapter 2 – 'The Mobilisation of a Minority' in McDowell, *Crisis and Decline* pp. 32-44.
[61] Alvin Jackson, 'The Failure of Unionism in Dublin, 1900' *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 26, No. 104, (1989), pp. 377-395.
[62] Ibid., p. 377.
[63] Edmund Rodgers, 'From Socialism to Liberal Unionism: JL Mahon in Edwardian Dublin', *History Workshop Journal,* Vol. 77, No. 77, (2014), pp. 137-159.

in the city. Though an in-depth analysis of local Unionism in Dublin and the complexities the movement was facing in a Nationalist Corporation, Rodgers' article only focuses on the Drumcondra and South City wards, where Liberal Unionist candidates stood for election and does not consider the role of the City of Dublin Unionist Registration in these years. The article also concludes in 1908 when JL Mahon, who founded the Dublin Liberal Unionist Association, left Dublin, thus ending the Liberal Unionist campaigns. Martin Maguire also provides a valuable account of the organisation of Unionist movements locally in Dublin in *The Organisation and Activism of Dublin's Protestant Working Class, 1883-1935.*[64] Maguire's study encompasses the chronology of this study, and, in his article, Maguire details the structures the City of Dublin Unionist Registration had in place throughout the city, from the various ward-based committees that ran the election campaigns of the Unionist candidates. The core of Dublin Unionism, Maguire argues, essentially 'constituted the middle-classes of the comfortable and respectable suburbs' and retreated into 'a social exclusiveness'.[65]

General histories of the Labour movement in Ireland are *A Labour History of Ireland, 1824-1960* by Emmett O'Connor and *Labour in Irish Politics, 1890-1930: Labour in the Age of Revolution* by Arthur Mitchell.[66] Regarding the Labour movement in Dublin, *The Parliament of Labour: 100 Years of the Dublin Council of Trade Unions* by Seamus Cody, John O'Dowd, and Peter Rigney contributes to our understanding of the growth of the various Labour organisations in the city.[67] The specific focus of this book is the Dublin Trades Council, but, as outlined in the introduction, the Trades Council was 'seen as a body which should be influenced, or controlled, by leaders of various political points of view'.[68] Throughout this

[64] Martin Maguire, 'The Organisation and Activism of Dublin's Protestant Working Class, 1883-1935', *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 29, No. 113, (1994), pp. 65-87.
[65] Ibid., p. 86.
[66] Emmet O'Connor, *A Labour History of Ireland, 1824-1960* (Dublin, 1992); Arthur Mitchell, *Labour in Irish Politics, 1890-1930: Labour in the Age of Revolution* (Dublin, 1974).
[67] Seamus Cody, John O'Dowd, and Peter Rigney, *The Parliament of Labour: 100 Years of the Dublin Council of Trade Unions* (Dublin, 1986).
[68] Ibid., p. 7.

book, the authors describe how these different groups interacted with the Trades Council and how the relevant political parties, such as the Labour Electoral Association or the Dublin Labour Party, came into being. This thesis expands on the work undertaken by Cody, Dowd, and Rigney, providing an analysis of how these Labour organisations conducted themselves in the city's municipal elections. This research also evaluates how the various Labour organisations' elected representatives acted in the Corporation once they were elected.

Lockout: Dublin 1913 by Padraig Yeates gives an insight into Labour Councillors in the Corporation. As the name would suggest, this is primarily concerned with the 1913 Lockout, and one of the downsides of this book as far as this study is concerned is that it does not follow the fortunes of the Labour movement after the Lockout ended.[69] Francis Devine's edited collection of essays titled *A capital in conflict: Dublin City and the 1913 Lockout,* like Yeates, is concentrated on the Lockout, but several essays reference the Labour movement in Dublin and the development of Labour politics during this time.[70] However, these essays focus on the Lockout and do not extend their analysis beyond it. By charting the history of the Labour movement before and after the Lockout, this thesis provides an account of the Labour Party after the Lockout ended and what Labour Party contested the 1920 elections. *Rebel City: Larkin, Connolly, and the Dublin labour movement* by John Newsinger is a good account of the Labour movement but is focused on Larkin and Connolly's roles in any developments. Connolly and Larkin were both outside of the Corporation and did not influence City Hall. The book does not discuss the politics of the Labour movement in the context of municipal politics.[71] Hugh Geraghty's *William Patrick Partridge and His Times (1874-1917)* is a vivid

[69] Pádraig Yeates, *Dublin: Lockout 1913* (Dublin, 2000).
[70] Francis Devlin, *A capital in conflict: Dublin city and the 1913 Lockout* (Dublin, 2013). Essays that are useful are: Chapter 9 – John Newsinger, 'Jim Larkin and *The Irish Worker',* pp. 193-214 and Chapter 10 – Niamh Puirséil 'The Echo of the Battle: Labour politics and the 1913 Lockout', pp. 215-238.
[71] John Newsinger, *Rebel City: Larkin, Connolly, and the Dublin labour movement* (London, 2004). Other histories of the Labour leaders are similar to Newsinger and only briefly discuss the political developments of Labour in Dublin. See: Emmet Larkin, *James Larkin: Irish Labour Leader, 1876-1947* (London, 1965); Donal Nevin, *James Larkin: Lion of the Fold* (Dublin, 1998); Emmet O'Connor, *Big Jim Larkin: Hero or Wrecker?* (Dublin, 2015); Donal Nevin, *James Connolly: A Full Life* (Dublin, 2005).

account of Partridge's role as a Labour member of the Corporation.[72] Geraghty discusses Partridge's activity in the Dublin Labour Party and how he operated in City Hall. Throughout the book, Geraghty illustrates how the Dublin Labour Party and Partridge sought various amendments to Corporation employment practices to protect workers and increase trade union influence in Corporation hiring. Geraghty's biography of Partridge provides an insight into the greater development of Labour politics in Dublin. Without a Labour Party in the years before 1911, many Labour candidates joined the emerging Sinn Féin movement to get elected to the Corporation.

Richard Davis has written a history of the early Sinn Féin movement in *Arthur Griffith and non-violent Sinn Féin.*[73] Davis has argued that the study of Sinn Féin in Dublin Corporation is crucial to understanding the movement's early history as Dublin was the only place where Sinn Féin operated as a political party. Davis argues that Sinn Féin shied away from developing branches elsewhere and opted for a focus on Dublin to develop and build their party machine.[74] This thesis builds on Davis's work and analyses the Sinn Féin organisation that operated in Dublin and elected members to Dublin Corporation. Michael Laffan's *The Resurrection of Ireland: The Sinn Féin Party, 1916-1923,* is another history of the early Sinn Féin movement. Though focused on a later era, Laffan's book covers the emergent years of Sinn Féin and the potential the movement showed in Dublin prior to the Rising.[75] In this research, the potential that Laffan suggests Sinn Féin showed is explored throughout, and the thesis will evaluate if Sinn Féin developed into a significant force in Dublin Corporation politics. Matthew Kelly's *The Fenian Ideal and Irish Nationalism, 1882-1916,* gives reference to the early success of National Council candidates such as PT Daly but does not expand on the development of Sinn

[72] Hugh Geraghty, *William Patrick Partridge and His Times (1874-1917)* (Dublin, 2003).
[73] Richard P Davis, *Arthur Griffith and non-violent Sinn Féin* (Kerry, 1974).
[74] Ibid., pp. 75-79.
[75] Michael Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland: The Sinn Féin Party, 1916-1923* (Cambridge, 1999).

Féin in the following years.[76] Senia Pašeta's article *Nationalist responses to two royal visits to Ireland, 1900 and 1903* is an excellent account of the formation of Cumann na nGaedheal and National Council, which eventually led to the formation of Sinn Féin.[77] In this article, Pašeta discusses the splits among Irish Party members of the Corporation regarding royal visits and how Arthur Griffith used these divisions to unite various groups, eventually merging and becoming the Sinn Féin party. This research builds on Pašeta's work regarding the foundation of Sinn Féin and traces this growth and development of Sinn Féin in Dublin.

One of the leading Sinn Féin members of the Corporation throughout these years was Alderman Tom Kelly, who represented the Mansion House ward. *The Alderman: Alderman Tom Kelly (1868-1942) and Dublin Corporation* by Shelia Carden is an impressive account of Kelly's political career.[78] Carden's analysis of Kelly as a Sinn Féin Alderman in Dublin Corporation is particularly useful. Carden traces Kelly's progression through the Corporation and some of the important schemes and initiatives in which Kelly played a role. Though mainly focused on Kelly, Carden discusses Kelly's time in the Corporation in conjunction with the early Sinn Féin movement's wider history. Another account of a leading Sinn Féin member of the Corporation is Michael Laffan's *Judging WT Cosgrave: The Foundation of the Irish State.*[79] In this book, Laffan provides a history of Cosgrave's early political career and his time as a Sinn Féin Councillor for the Usher's Quay ward.

Some significant research has been published regarding the development of the power and authority of local government in Ireland, which contributes to our understanding of how municipal government functioned and how it became such an important section of government.

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[76] Matthew Kelly, *The Fenian Ideal and Irish Nationalism, 1882-1916* (Woodbridge, 2006).
[77] Senia Pašeta, 'Nationalist responses to Two Royal Visits to Ireland, 1900 and 1903' *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 31, No. 124, (1999), pp. 488-504.
[78] Sheila Carden, *The Alderman: Alderman Tom Kelly (1868-1942) and Dublin Corporation* (Dublin, 2007). Other useful sources by Carden in relation to Alderman Kelly are Sheila Carden, 'Alderman Tom Kelly and the Municipal Gallery *Dublin Historical Record,* Vol. 54, No. 2, (2001), pp. 116-138; Sheila Carden, 'The Legacy of the Alderman' *Dublin Historical Record,* Vol. 62, No. 2, (2009), pp. 16-28.
[79] Michael Laffan, *Judging WT Cosgrave: The Foundation of the Irish State* (Dublin, 2014).

Matthew Potter's *The Municipal Revolution in Ireland: A Handbook of Urban Government Since 1800* is the best source to review when looking for a history of the development of local government in Ireland. Potter's book is a comprehensive analysis of how the functions of municipal governments in Ireland gradually increased throughout the nineteenth century, setting these developments in line with national issues and focusing his study on eleven different municipalities.[80] This evolution of urban government culminated in what he termed the 'Golden Age' (1871 – 1923) of municipal government, characterised by steady and continuous expansion in numbers and functions.[81] Before Potter's recent publication, Virginia Crossman had undertaken some significant research into local government in Ireland, tracing the development and growth of local authorities throughout the nineteenth century.[82] Diarmaid Ferriter's *Lovers of Liberty* deals with a hundred years of county and district councils nationwide. Mary E. Daly's *The Buffer State* examines the organisational history of the structures of local Irish administration since 1898.[83] Brendan O'Donoghue's *Activities Wise and Otherwise: The Career of Sir Henry Augustus Robinson, 1898-1922,* is a valuable account of the role of the Local Government Board as the overseer of all municipalities in Ireland.[84] *Ireland and the Death of Kindness: The experience of Constructive Unionism, 1890-1905* and *Unionist Rhetoric and Irish Local Government Reform, 1895-9* by Andrew Gailey are two excellent sources regarding the development of Irish local government being part of the broader Conservative government policy of constructive Unionism that sought to kill Home Rule with kindness.[85]

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[80] Matthew Potter, *The Municipal Revolution in Ireland: A Handbook of Urban Government in Ireland since 1800* (Dublin, 2011).
[81] Ibid., p. 1.
[82] Virginia Crossman, *Local government in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Belfast, 1994).
[83] Diarmaid Ferriter, *Lovers of Liberty: local government in 20th century Ireland* (Dublin, 2001); Mary E. Daly, *The Buffer State: the historical roots of the Department of the Environment* (Dublin, 1997).
[84] Brendan O'Donoghue, *Activities Wise and Otherwise: The Career or Sir Henry Augustus Robinson, 1898-1922* (Kildare, 2015).
[85] Andrew Gailey, *Ireland and the Death of Kindness: The experience of constructive unionism, 1890-1905* (Cork, 1987); Andrew Gailey, 'Unionist Rhetoric and Irish Local Government Reform, 1895-9' *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 24, No. 93, (1984), pp. 52-68. Another source that is similar to Gailey is Catherine B Shannon,

Sources

As with any study of any local authority, the key sources used throughout this thesis are the minutes of Dublin Corporation for 1899 – 1920. The minutes of the Corporation have been examined in detail for every year this study covers and forms the basis of the analysis of what was discussed during Corporation meetings. A comprehensive analysis of the minutes of Corporation meetings was crucial in creating a narrative of the discourse of members of the Corporation and what topics were discussed by those elected to City Hall. While the minutes of the Corporation were the key source in this research, they have been supplemented by a thorough and robust analysis of the press to support them. National papers such as the *Freeman's Journal, Irish Times,* and *Irish Independent* are referenced throughout the thesis and have been extremely important in supplementing what was recorded in the minutes of Corporation meetings. While national papers were used, local papers such as the *Dublin Daily News* and *Evening Herald* have been useful for finding a local perspective on certain topics and issues of the time. Additionally, the papers that were aligned with a particular faction or party have also been used in detail throughout the thesis. For the emerging advanced Nationalist organisation, the *United Irishman*, *Sinn Féin Daily,* and *Sinn Féin Weekly* were the papers of Arthur Griffith and his followers. In any history of the Sinn Féin party, these publications are central to the research. Likewise, for the Labour movement, *The Irish Worker* is a key source, and for the AOH, *The Hibernian Journal* is the key source. Other sources that have been utilised throughout the thesis are the Chief Secretary's Office Registered Paper (CSORP) to find useful information about the Corporation, such as the reports from the Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP) on the political situation and parties in Dublin. The DMP reports contained in CO 904 have also been consulted throughout the thesis to gather the views of the authorities

'The Ulster Liberal Unionists and Local Government Reform, 1885-98' *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 18, No. 71, (1973), pp. 407-423.

on certain parties and individuals. Another source used throughout the thesis is the Bureau of Military History Witness Statements. These first-hand accounts of individual's firsthand experiences and reflections have added another layer to the analysis.

Ch. 1 – The Dynamics of Dublin Corporation

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of Dublin Corporation throughout the period and discusses the development of the Corporation within the wider development of local government in Ireland during the 19th Century that culminated with the 1898 Local Government (Ireland) Act. The chapter discusses the geographical boundaries this thesis is focused on and the municipal wards that make up Dublin Corporation. The final section of the chapter discusses all of the political parties, interest groups, and societies that were involved in the politics and political sphere of Dublin Corporation. The chapter will not give an in-depth discussion of the various parties and groups but rather a general overview of each.

Development of Local Government in Ireland and Dublin

During the early nineteenth century, the form of local government in Ireland was the focus of intense political discussion and debate. Members of the Protestant ascendency held the vast majority of positions of responsibility almost exclusively. Local government, as a result, was a major source of grievance within the Catholic community, who viewed the prevailing system as unrepresentative and unfair.[1] The role of local government was extremely limited. Its primary responsibility was safeguarding the lives and property of those who ran the system, allowing them to pursue their interests instead. As the century progressed, the opportunities for Catholics to become involved in local administration became more plentiful, most notably with the introduction of elections for town commissioners, members of municipal corporations and poor law guardians. Laurence McBride has shown how the civil service underwent a similar transition during the nineteenth century. As the century progressed, Catholics began to

[1] Crossman, *Local Government in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, p. 2

dominate the rank-and-file positions within the civil service.[2] Local government, as a result, became an important arena for many aspiring Nationalist politicians.[3] Local elections provided an opportunity to debate national and local issues, and meetings of the locally elected bodies became the scene of conflict between political parties. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the functions of local government underwent significant expansion, and local authorities took on new responsibilities such as public health and welfare. By the closing decades of the century, local self-government was being pursued as an alternative and a stepping-stone to national self-government.[4]

The Municipal Corporations (Ireland) Act 1840 marks the beginning of a new period in Irish municipal history. The 1840 Act completely revolutionised the system of municipal government in Ireland and transferred the control of municipal affairs from a small, self-elected elite to a wider, more representative base. As a result of the Act, 58 municipal corporations in Ireland were dissolved, but 10 remained, one of which was Dublin Corporation.[5] The Act also reduced the area that Dublin Corporation controlled and defined the boundaries of the Corporation as the Royal Canal to the north of the city and the Grand Canal to the south of the city.[6] The franchise, however, was not extended significantly as a result of the Act, and only enfranchised male householders who inhabited a structure that was worth an annual rent of £10 or more could vote. The Corporations were divided into electoral districts or wards for the first time, and the candidate or candidates receiving the greatest number of votes in each ward were to be elected as Aldermen. A general election of the Corporation was not held every few years, but instead, one-third of Councillors went out of office annually, and one-half of Aldermen went out of office every three years. Each Councillor was elected for three years and each

[2] Laurence W McBride, *The Greening of Dublin Castle: The Transformation of Bureaucratic and Judicial Personnel in Ireland, 1892-1922* (Washington, 1991), p. 23.
[3] Crossman, *Local Government in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, p. 2.
[4] Ibid., pp. 1-4.
[5] John Joseph Webb, *Municipal Government in Ireland: Medieval & Modern* (London, 1918), p. 238.
[6] Potter, *The Municipal Revolution in Ireland*, p. 89.

Alderman for six years. The Corporation was also given minimal powers under the 1840 Act, mainly to make by-laws for the good government of the borough and to prevent or suppress nuisances (dangerous and unsanitary buildings or places).[7] As argued by Matthew Potter, the old system needed reform, not because the bulk of the population was excluded but because the majority of the propertied section of society was excluded. Consequently, the purpose of the reform was not to introduce the masses into the political process but to make local government more broadly representative of the respectable middle classes who had a stake in the system; the common sense and education to exercise their political rights sensibly; and, above all else, provided the bulk of municipal revenue.[8]

In 1849, a second reform of Dublin Corporation took place, which re-drew the boundaries of the Corporation and greatly increased the powers of the Corporation by merging many of the independent boards that operated in the city, bringing them under the remit of the Corporation.[9] The Dublin Improvement Act of 1849 consolidated many tasks under the Corporation, such as public health, paving, water, and lighting.[10] As suggested by Juliana Adelman, the 1849 Act was a turning point for the Corporation. After it was passed, Dublin Corporation was brought in line with many of the English Corporations regarding rights and responsibilities. Bodies formerly independent, such as the Wide Streets Commissioners, the Paving and Lighting Board, and the Pipe Water Board, were dissolved. The Corporation now took charge of their activities and created its own committees, such as the Public Lighting Committee or Paving Committee, to perform these duties.[11] By 1853, the Corporation had now controlled the city's markets and property, provided sewers and drains, cleaned streets, supplied fresh water, and regulated nuisance businesses. All of these activities had to be funded by

[7] Ibid., pp. 87-88.
[8] Ibid., p. 77.
[9] Murphy, *The Politics of Dublin Corporation*, p. 71.
[10] McDowell, *The Irish Administration,* pp. 192-193.
[11] Ibid., pp. 191-192.

collecting rates levied on the city. This, in turn, contributed to the expansion of the independent townships surrounding the city as the wealthier citizens migrated to the suburbs.[12] After the 1849 Act, the Corporation was dissolved, and fresh elections were held in 1850, with all separately rated male householders now included as burgesses – if and only if they had been on the register at their address for a period of thirty-two months. With the place of residency requirement, the municipal franchise stayed static in Dublin for several decades, though socially, it was more diverse.[13] In 1854, every municipality in Ireland experienced an increase in powers and authority after the Town Improvements (Ireland) Act 1854 was passed, which brought areas with a population exceeding 1,500 in line with the powers Dublin Corporation had already been granted.[14]

Before discussing the revolutionary impact of the Local Government (Ireland) Act 1898, it is necessary to analyse the legislation as part of the Conservative government policy of constructive Unionism. This policy, also commonly known as 'killing Home Rule with kindness', is the title that was given to the Irish policy adopted by Conservative governments from 1887-1905. The policies of constructive Unionism fell into three broad categories: land, local government, and Catholic university education. Land purchase was a central principle of constructive Unionism and was incorporated into a succession of Land Acts, culminating with George Wyndham's 1903 Land Act. The creation of a Catholic university was debated throughout the period, but the initiative failed due to opposition to state-sponsored denominational education. The Irish Universities Act of 1908, stewarded by Anthony MacDonnell, though during a Liberal administration, can be viewed as the after flow of constructive Unionism and solved a question of enormous importance to Ireland.[15] Local government reform was supported by constructive Unionists, as implementing a democratic

[12] Adelman, *Civilised by Beasts*, p. 92.
[13] Dickson, *Dublin*, p. 341.
[14] Potter, *The Municipal Revolution in Ireland*, p. 91.
[15] Léon Ó'Broin, *The Chief Secretary: Augustine Birrell in Ireland* (London, 1969), p. 21.

model based on the 1888 local government reform initiated in England and Wales.[16] The 1898 Local Government (Ireland) Act has been described by Andrew Gailey as 'nothing has been held to traditionally symbolise conciliatory Unionism more than the democratisation of Irish local government in 1898'.[17] The 1898 Act, like the Wyndham Land Act of 1903 and the 1908 Universities Act, ranks as one of the few pieces of British legislation that overtly shaped the Irish state that was to emerge after 1921. Compared to most British government initiatives, the reform of local government in 1898 was not a concession to popular demand. Instead, when announced, it was a surprise to the country.[18] Brendan O'Donoghue similarly describes the surprise with the local government reform, which was made quite suddenly without involvement by the Local Government Board.[19] The 1898 Act thrust an immense amount of work on the Local Government Board since it was responsible for constituting electoral divisions, framing rules to govern the election of Aldermen and Councillors, and preparing the financial basis upon which the local bodies established by the Act were to rest.[20]

In 1898, it was clear that Irish local government required further reform. A succession of Reform Acts 1832 and 1885 had given the vast majority of the male population the parliamentary franchise, resulting in a growing demand for similar reforms in the municipal franchise. A far smaller proportion of the adult population was able to vote in local elections compared to parliamentary elections. The franchise in cities and towns had not been significantly altered since the mid-nineteenth century and was now outdated.[21] A number of different bodies with different territorial boundaries also characterised local government by the end of the nineteenth century. The Local Government (Ireland) Act 1898 sought to address

[16] Alvin Jackson. 'Constructive Unionism', in S.J. Connolly (ed.), *The Oxford companion to Irish History* (Oxford, 1998), p. 113.
[17] Gailey, 'Unionist Rhetoric and Irish Local Government Reform, 1895-9', p. 58.
[18] Gailey, *Ireland and the Death of Kindness*, p. 40.
[19] O'Donoghue, *Activities Wise and Otherwise*, p. 32.
[20] McDowell, *The Irish Administration*, p. 189.
[21] Potter, *The Municipal Revolution in Ireland*, p. 196.

these issues. The 1898 Act established county councils and county borough corporations. A total of thirty-three county councils were established under the Act. As Tipperary, since 1838, had two grand juries, it was divided into two county council areas. The Act also established a sub-county structure of districts and towns consisting of rural district councils, borough corporations, urban district councils, and boards of commissioners. However, the main units of local government consisted of the county councils and the borough corporations. These new units took over all aspects of urban administration and the functions of older elected bodies, such as the grand juries and poor law unions. This included responsibilities in areas such as healthcare, housing, water, road construction, and maintenance. In contrast to England, areas such as policing and education remained centralised, with little responsibility granted to local administrations in Ireland.[22]

The revolutionary impact of the 1898 Act was mainly felt in rural Ireland, where the new system of local government with county and district councils allowed for the replacement of the unrepresentative bodies of the grand juries. In Dublin, the powers of the Corporation had long been established and extended by the Dublin Improvements Bill in 1849. The 1880s saw the capture of the Corporation by the Nationalists under the control of the Irish Party, and the Corporation was split between the Parnellite factions in the 1890s.[23] The main impact the 1898 Act had on Dublin was the franchise extension, which by 1898 numbered only 8,000. After the 1898 Act, the burgess roll was immediately enlarged to include all male-rated occupiers, leaseholders, freeholders, and lodgers of full age occupying rooms to the value of 4s per week and satisfying a one-year residency requirement. Dublin was unique in terms of the number of lodgers in the city, and this phenomenon created issues throughout this period. Some of these issues were simply getting lodgers registered to vote and, in other cases, adding individuals

[22] Mark Callanan, *Local Government in the Republic of Ireland* (Dublin, 2018), pp. 16-17.
[23] Murphy, *The Politics of Dublin Corporation*, p. 12. In the 1890s, Dublin Corporation was controlled by the Parnellite faction in contrast to many other public bodies that fell under the control of the anti-Parnellites.

who were not entitled to vote to the voting list. Some landlords supplied a list of 'lodgers' who shared the same name as the landlord. These people were more than likely members of the landlord's family but could not otherwise qualify to vote as they were not householders. These 'bogus lodgers' were more prevalent in the suburbs, but the practice took place in the city wards as well and called into question the validity of the electoral roll during some elections.[24] All special property qualifications for holding municipal office were abolished.[25] The franchise for municipal elections was also extended to all women, provided they met the same criteria as men. Women could also become members of both urban and rural district councils, though not county and borough councils such as Dublin Corporation, until 1911 when the Local Authorities (Ireland) (Qualifications of Women) Act (1911) was passed.[26] Table 1 displays the effect the 1898 Act had on the municipal franchise in Dublin.

Table 1: Dublin Municipal Wards franchise extension after passing of Local Government Act 1898

Ward	Population (1901 Census)	Municipal Electors 1898	Municipal Electors 1899
Arran Quay	31,109	637	4,323
Fitzwilliam	12,455	666	2,083
Inns Quay	24,940	621	3,628
Mansion House	11,892	269	1,558
Merchants Quay	25,434	622	2,757
Mountjoy	24,840	672	3,269
North City	8,784	368	1,785
North Dock	23,634	708	3,850
Rotunda	14,580	562	2,093
Royal Exchange	7,648	380	1,283
South City	4,385	360	1,108
South Dock	14,766	654	2,088
Trinity	12,331	368	2,241
Usher's Quay	23,655	368	3,367
Wood Quay	20,654	709	3,286
Totals	**261,107**	**7,964**	**38,719**

Source: Freeman's Journal, 16 January 1899.

[24] Ruth McManus, 'Dublin's Lodger Phenomenon in the Early Twentieth Century' *Irish Economic and Social History,* Vol. 45, (2018), p. 42.
[25] O'Brien, *Dear, Dirty Dublin*, p. 72.
[26] Potter, *The Municipal Revolution in Ireland*, p. 199.

From examining Table 1, it is clear to see the impact the 1898 Act had on the municipal franchise. The number of electors increased significantly, creating a new electorate for the political parties. Given that 80% of the electorate was newly enfranchised, this created a new battleground for parties to contest and a whole new section of voters to appeal to.

Geography – Dublin Corporation and its Boundaries

The area chosen as a case study for this thesis is the jurisdiction governed by Dublin Corporation only. From 1899 to 1901, this area was between the Royal Canal to the North and the Grand Canal to the South. In 1900, the Dublin Boundaries Bill was passed, and this increased the jurisdiction of the Corporation as the former townships of Clontarf, Drumcondra, and New Kilmainham were added to the city's boundaries. Table 2 displays the electoral wards this thesis focuses on.

Table 2: Wards that compromised Dublin Corporation's boundaries 1899-1920.

Ward	Year of Inclusion in Corporation
Arran Quay	1899
Clontarf East	1901
Clontarf West	1901
Drumcondra	1901
Fitzwilliam	1899
Glasnevin	1901
Inns Quay	1899
Mansion House	1899
Merchants Quay	1899
Mountjoy	1899
New Kilmainham	1901
North City	1899
North Dock	1899
Rotunda	1899
Royal Exchange	1899
South City	1899
South Dock	1899
Trinity	1899
Usher's Quay	1899
Wood Quay	1899

Source: 1898 Local Government (Ireland) Act, Dublin Boundaries Act (1900).

Each of the wards above elected three Councillors and one Alderman as representatives to City Hall. There was no difference between the role or authority of an Alderman or a Councillor

position. The only difference between the two was the length of term that each served. A Councillor was elected for a three-year term, while an Alderman was elected for six years. One-quarter of the Corporation were Aldermen, as each ward elected one Alderman and three Councillors. Generally, though not always the case, an Alderman was a more senior member of the Corporation and previously held a position as a Councillor. The number of members of the Corporation in 1899 was 60. In 1901, this increased to 80 after adding the five new wards. Elections were held annually, with one-third of the seats contested yearly due to this policy. It is crucial to outline that this thesis only focuses on Dublin Corporation and its set boundaries. The remaining townships of Pembroke, Rathmines, Blackrock, and Kingstown are not part of this research and will not form the basis of analysis regarding political parties, candidates, or elections. Figure 1 on the following page displays the wards under the remit of the Corporation from 1899 up to January 1920.

Figure 1: Dublin Wards, 1899-1920

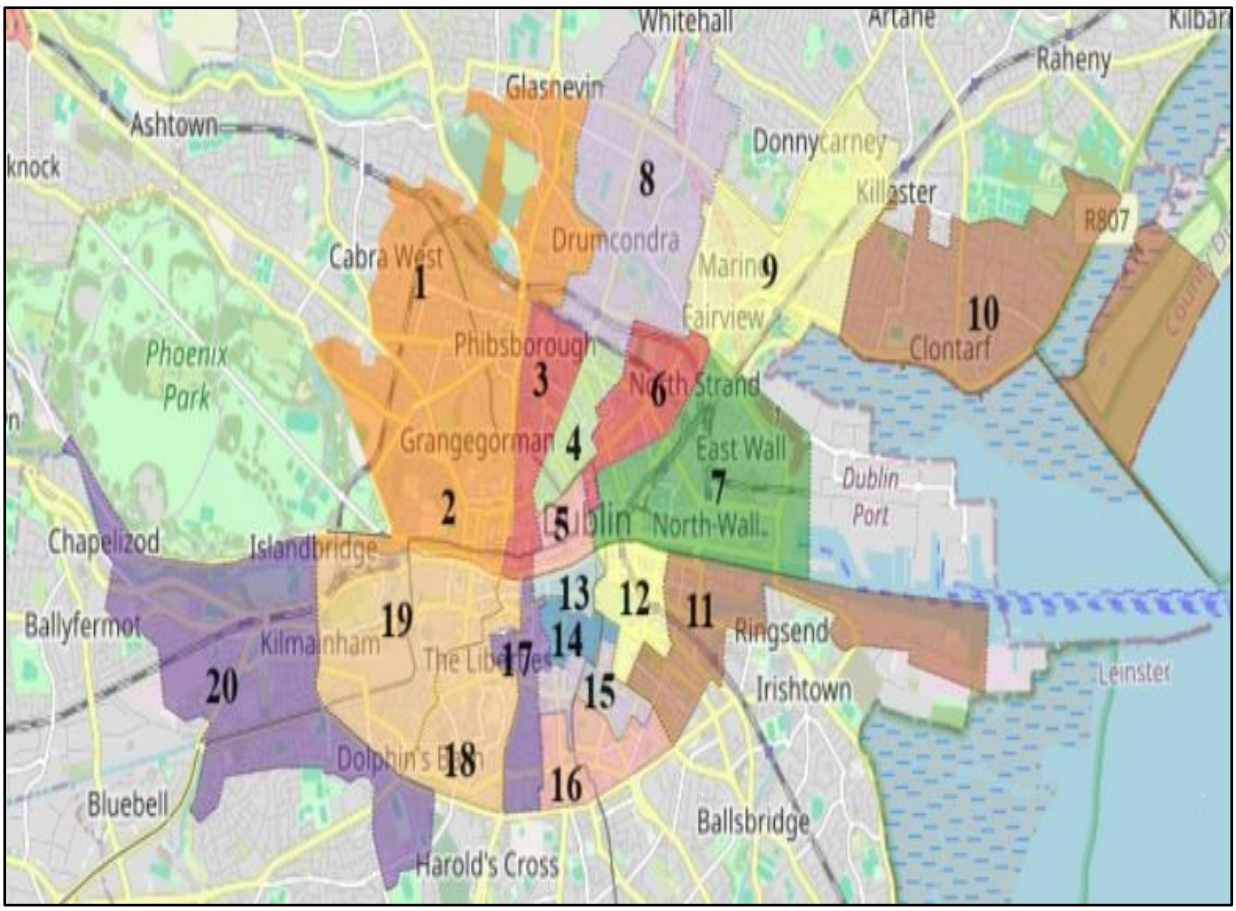


Figure 1: Dublin Wards, 1899-1920. Source: www.dublinhistoricmaps.ie

1 – Glasnevin	2 – Arran Quay	3 – Inns Quay	4 – Rotunda
5 – North City	6 – Mountjoy	7 – North Dock	8 - Drumcondra
9 – Clontarf West	10 – Clontarf East	11 – South Dock	12 – Trinity
13 – South City	14 – Royal Exchange	15 – Mansion House	16 - Fitzwilliam
17 – Wood Quay	18 – Merchant's Quay	19 – Usher's Quay	20 – New Kilmainham

Parties, Societies, and Interest Groups in Dublin's Municipal Politics

The Irish Party and affiliated groups

The United Irish League

Established on 28 January 1898 by William O'Brien, the UIL is credited as being one of the driving forces behind the reunification of the Irish Party during the post-Parnell era. This goal of the reunification of Irish politics was achieved in January 1900 when the Irish Party reunited under the leadership of John Redmond with the UIL, now hoping to bring men into the party who were 'personally free of the frustrations and resentments of the years of the split'.[27] Timothy Harrington, the Parnellite MP for Dublin Harbour, was present at the inaugural meeting of the UIL in 1898, though the UIL was slow in establishing a branch in Dublin in comparison to its rapid spread in rural Ireland.[28] An article published in the *Freeman's Journal* in September 1898 bemoaned the lack of progress in establishing a branch of the UIL in Dublin but stated that the enthusiasm for the growth of the movement was present.[29] The RIC carefully monitored the growth of the UIL after its foundation, providing a yearly account of the number of branches and members the UIL had in each county. The first recorded branches of the UIL in Dublin were in December 1900, when four branches consisting of 107 members were recorded.[30] While this figure suggests the UIL was present, it does not differentiate between County Dublin and Dublin city, where this research is focused. An examination of local newspapers, however, confirms that the UIL had branches established in the city by 1900. The first recorded meeting of a UIL branch in the city was in the Arran Quay ward in June 1900. The meeting was attended by William Field MP, who described the UIL as 'a solid organisation to represent the needs of the people'.[31] Irish Party Councillor Joseph Coughlan Briscoe next

[27] Bull, 'The United Irish League and the Reunion of the Irish Parliamentary Party, 1898-1900', p. 76.
[28] FSL. Lyons, *John Dillon: A Biography* (London, 1968), p. 181.
[29] *Freeman's Journal,* 19 September 1898.
[30] Return of UIL Membership for 1900 (TNA, CO 094/21).
[31] *Irish Independent,* 1 June 1900.

spoke and congratulated the members for being the first of the city wards to adopt the new Nationalist organisation and 'raise once more the green flag from the dust.'[32] A meeting of the Mountjoy Branch of the UIL was advertised in the *Freeman's Journal* in July 1900. The purpose of the meeting was to help the organisation take a foothold in the city and was attended by Alderman Joseph J Farrell and Councillor Joseph Coughlan Briscoe in attendance again.[33] Also, in July 1900, a UIL branch was established in the Rotunda ward, and Tim Harrington outlined the need for UIL branches to bring together 'the dissident voices of the last eight or nine years'.[34] Another report by the *Freeman's Journal* in September 1900 confirms the UIL was beginning to take hold in the city. Described as a 'monster meeting of Nationalists' held in the Phoenix Park, there were representatives from the four parliamentary divisions present at the meeting who were committed to the growth of the UIL in the city and to increasing its influence in municipal politics.[35] Table 3 on the following page illustrates the number of UIL members in Dublin from 1900, when the first branches were established, up to the end of 1916.

[32] Ibid., 1 June 1900. Irish Party Alderman William Coffey was elected as the President of the Arran Quay ward UIL, John D Nugent was elected as treasurer for the new branch.
[33] *Freeman's Journal,* 3 July 1900. Briscoe played a vital role in the growth of the Town Tenants League in Dublin and all over Ireland. His presence at the early UIL meetings in Dublin suggests he played a central role in the growth of the UIL in the city.
[34] *Irish Independent,* 12 July 1900. The Labour Alderman for the Rotunda ward, William Doyle, was elected as President of the UIL branch.
[35] *Freeman's Journal,* 3 September 1900.

Table 3: UIL Membership in Dublin, 1900 - 1916

Year	Members
1900	107
1901	92
1902	114
1903	135
1904	85
1905	155
1906	140
1907	493
1908	468
1909	279
1910	336
1911	374
1912	574
1913	598
1914	598
1915	637
1916	637

Source: Yearly returns of UIL membership 1900-1916 (TNA, CO 094/ 20 – 21).[36]

Table 3 illustrates the membership of the UIL in Dublin that was recorded by the RIC. The figures show the growth of the UIL but not an explosion in membership like what was experienced in more rural counties nor a decline in the pre-war years, as other studies have shown. While the RIC reports provide analysis and indicators of the health of the UIL in Dublin, the failure of these figures to differentiate between Dublin County and the City of Dublin is problematic when trying to focus on the area governed by Dublin Corporation. A more useful source is the minute book of the National Directory of the UIL. The UIL provided a yearly update of the organisation's health, keeping records of which branches paid the annual subscription fee of £3 to the national directory. At each meeting of the UIL's national directory, the branches which paid this subscription fee were listed. Those within the boundaries of Dublin Corporation could be identified from the list to provide an analysis between Dublin County and Dublin City. The figures provided by the UIL begin in 1904 but are still a more

[36] For information on membership and number of branches of the UIL from 1898-1921 for all of Ireland see: Seán Bolger, 'The United Irish League, 1898-1909: A Case Study of Local Home Rule Politics', (Unpublished MA Thesis, University College Dublin, 2017).

useful indicator for the health of the movement in the city than the RIC reports. Table 4 displays the number of branches that paid yearly subscriptions to the national directory from 1904 up to and including 1916. In contrast to the RIC reports, the minute book of the UIL only listed branches and did not state how many members were in a branch or area. Table 4 displays a figure for the whole of Dublin County and also the number of branches in the city that paid subscriptions.

Table 4: UIL branches in Dublin County and Dublin City

Year	Rest of County	City Branches
1904	4	1
1905	9	5
1906	9	2
1907	15	5
1908	10	4
1909	17	12
1910	27	17
1911	10	4
1912	25	17
1913	33	17
1914	26	11
1915	18	10
1916	29	12

Source: United Irish League Minute Book of the National Directory, (NLI, Minute Book United Irish League, Ms. 708).

The figures displayed in Table 4 again show the growth of the UIL in Dublin for both county and city and reveal this growth fluctuated throughout the period. UIL branches in the city were slower to organise and pay subscriptions than branches in other parts of Dublin. As Table 4 shows, many of these branches did not begin to organise until well after 1904. The first city branch to pay subscription fees was the Arran Quay ward Branch in 1904.[37] In November 1904, a branch of the UIL was established in the Usher's Quay ward.[38] Irish Party MP William Field

[37] Meeting on 10 August 1904. United Irish League Minute Book of the National Directory, (NLI, Minute Book United Irish League, Ms. 708).
[38] *Irish Independent,* 25 November 1904.

attended the meeting to establish the branch in Usher's Quay and called all Nationalists in Dublin to unite under the banner of the UIL as had been done in rural Ireland.[39] Two years later, in April 1906, a branch was founded in the Inns Quay ward.[40] The UIL in the city experienced modest growth judging by the number of subscriptions paid to the national directory, though more than likely, there was a branch in every ward with most of these dormant and only active once around the time of the municipal elections and for parliamentary elections. As the years progressed, however, the UIL became much more active in the city wards, and many more wards started paying subscription fees. This increase in branches paying subscriptions correlates with the growing threat of other political groups who began to challenge the UIL. In 1909 and 1910, there appeared to be many more branches active in the city, and during these two years, Sinn Féin was making its advancement in Dublin Corporation. Once the Sinn Féin threat subsided in 1911, there was a decrease in activity and then an increase in 1912 and 1913 when Labour began to rise. The UIL, after it was adopted as the national organisation of the Irish Party in June 1900, organised and built the party structure in the city for the Irish Party. This was done on a ward basis, with the individual ward branches giving support for the party and being involved in constant electioneering for the municipal elections, which in turn created a working structure that could be used for parliamentary elections.[41]

Ancient Order of Hibernians

The other grassroots organisation aligned with the Irish Party was the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH). Described as a 'political-religious pressure group', the AOH exercised most power within Ulster and Northern Nationalism. A recent publication by Martin O'Donoghue outlines the role the AOH had in Ulster during the third Home Rule Crisis.[42]

[39] Ibid., 25 November 1904.
[40] *Freeman's Journal,* 7 April 1906.
[41] Peter Murray, 'Electoral Politics and the Dublin Working-Class before the First World War' *Saothar,* Vol. 6, (1980), p. 15.
[42] Martin O'Donoghue, 'Faith and Fatherland? The Ancient Order of Hibernians, northern nationalism and the partition of Ireland' *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 46, No. 169, (2020), pp. 77-100.

Though technically another auxiliary of the Irish Party, there was a great deal of overlap between membership of the AOH and the UIL. The first official history of the AOH, written in 1910, acknowledged the overlap between both organisations and that the role of the AOH 'was to continue to support the UIL', the AOH also asserted that 'the UIL is the National organisation of Ireland'.[43] As studies have shown, however, the AOH surpassed the UIL as the dominant national organisation after 1910, and membership in the AOH swelled while the UIL contracted.[44] A 1906 publication, *The Unknown Power Behind the Nationalist Party: Its present work and criminal history*, cited the AOH as the driving force behind the Irish Party.[45] This work also acknowledged the overlap between the UIL and AOH, with a membership of the UIL often required to join an AOH division in many counties.[46]

Like the UIL, the AOH was slow to make its way to Dublin. The AOH expanded beyond Ulster to other parts of Ireland, but the first branch of the AOH was not established in Dublin until July 1904.[47] Just over a year later, the national secretary for the AOH, John D Nugent, wrote to the Archbishop of Dublin, William Walsh, requesting support from the Catholic Church for a branch in the city. Nugent, in his letter, describes the AOH in Dublin as 'our organisation is rapidly growing in numbers and our influence and responsibility are correspondingly increasing'.[48] Unlike the UIL, there are no known consistent records of the AOH and how many members or divisions the movement had in Dublin. The newspaper of the

[43] James J Bergin, *History of the Ancient Order of Hibernians* (Dublin, 1910), p. 85.
[44] Wheatley, *Nationalism and the Irish Party*, pp. 48-49.
[45] *The Unknown Power Behind the Nationalist Party: Its present work and criminal history* was written by Unionist propagandist Frederick Oliver Trench and the majority of this work is a rather scathing assessment of the AOH and nationalism. Trench was an Anglo-Irish landowner with over 22,000 acres to his name and was a long-time opponent of land reform organisations and the UIL. He became president of the Imperial Protestant Federation and edited their newspaper *Grievances from Ireland.* See: Patrick Maume, 'Trench, Frederick Oliver' in *DIB,* DOI: https://doi.org/10.3318/dib.008634.v1.
[46] Frederick Oliver Trench, *The Unknown Power Behind the Nationalist Party: Its Present Work and Criminal History* (London, 1906), pp. 173-174.
[47] Michael Foy, The Ancient Order of Hibernians: An Irish political-religious pressure group 1884-1975 (Unpublished MA Thesis, Queens University Belfast, 1976), p. 49.
[48] Letter from John D Nugent to William Walsh, 18 November 1905. (Dublin Diocesan Archives, Archbishop William Walsh Papers, Laity Files, IE/DDA/AB5/Laity/374/3).

AOH, the *Hibernian Journal,* provided sporadic updates on the progress and health of the movement. In the August 1907 issue of the *Hibernian Journal,* the paper claimed that the movement had made rapid progress in Dublin in the three years since the establishment of the first branch.[49] The article boasted that there were over 500 members of the order in Dublin, and the support for the AOH was so strong in the city that this allowed for the national convention to be held in Dublin.[50] At this stage, the AOH was proving a valuable ally to the UIL in fighting the early Sinn Féin threat. AOH members often acted as stewards during UIL meetings and provided support to the UIL candidates in elections for Dublin Corporation seats.[51]

In December 1908, the AOH opened their central offices and meeting hall at 31 Rutland Square. The ceremony was attended by the Lord Mayor, JP Nannetti, who was a Hibernian himself. During the ceremony, Nannetti spoke to praise the movement as the fastest-growing organisation in Ireland.[52] At the AOH biennial conference held in the summer of 1909, John D Nugent proclaimed that the AOH was the main Nationalist organisation in Dublin and had overtaken the UIL.[53] Nugent's words in the summer of 1909 were after the 'baton convention' during which the founder of the UIL, William O'Brien, attempted to address a crowd to consider Birrell's Land Bill. O'Brien was unable to speak due to the presence of Hibernians, who shouted down O'Brien and used 'rough' tactics to prevent him and his supporters from speaking.[54] The 'baton convention' was arguably the point where the AOH overtook the UIL as the Irish Party's main national organisation and was without doubt the zenith of Joseph Devlin's use of the AOH to ensure party discipline.[55] In April 1913, the *Hibernian Journal*

[49] *The Hibernian Journal,* August 1907.
[50] Ibid., August 1907.
[51] Foy, *The Ancient Order of Hibernians*, p. 138.
[52] *Irish Times,* 9 December 1908.
[53] *The Hibernian Journal,* August 1909.
[54] O'Donoghue, 'Faith and Fatherland?' p. 82; Joseph V O'Brien, *William O'Brien and the Course of Irish Politics* (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 187-188.
[55] Fergal McCluskey, 'Make Way for the Molly Maguires: The Ancient Order of Hibernian and the Irish Parliamentary Party, 1902-14.' *History Ireland,* Vol. 20, No. 1, (2012), p. 35.

reported that there were 5,480 active members in Dublin.[56] In December 1914, 34 AOH divisions in Dublin paid their yearly subscription fees to the central executive.[57] Judging by these figures provided by the AOH, it appears that the Hibernians had overtaken the UIL as the main organisation on the ground for the Irish Party in Dublin. The growth of the AOH in the years before the First World War was greatly boosted after the organisation became an approved society under the 1911 Insurance Act. From 1912, the AOH could attract members to the organisation as purely 'insurance' members.[58]

Town Tenants League

Another active arm of the Irish Party that operated in Dublin was the Town Tenants League. Founded in 1904, the Town Tenants League was the culmination of urban unrest that began in the 1880s and agitated for the rights of urban tenants.[59] The Town Tenants League aimed to secure 'for the people of the cities, towns… and villages the same freedom… won for the people of the land'.[60] The movement's main priorities for its members were to achieve legislative reform that would guarantee: (1) Compensation for permanent improvements carried out by tenants to a rented property; (2) Legislative security of tenure for tenants leasing property; (3) The establishment of a judicial council to secure fair rents for tenants; (4) The housing of workers as occupiers in suitable accommodation as reasonable rents. Modelled on the structure of the Land League, the Town Tenants League established at least one branch in every county to cater for each village, town, and city in the country. All branches had a president, vice-president, treasurer, secretary and an elected committee.[61]

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[56] *The Hibernian Journal,* August 1913.
[57] Ibid., December 1914.
[58] Wheatley, *Nationalism and the Irish Party*, pp. 48-49.
[59] Gerard Moran, 'The Land War, Urban Destitution and Town Tenant Protest, 1879-1882' *Saothar,* Vol. 20, (1995), pp. 20-21; BJ Graham and Susan Hood, 'Town Tenant Protest in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Ireland' *Irish Economic and Social History,* Vol. 21, (1994), p. 44.
[60] Graham and Hood, 'Town Tenant Protest in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Ireland', p. 44. For a more detailed analysis of the aims of the Town Tenants League see: William Field, '*The Town Landlord and his Tenants' The New Ireland Review,* No. 21, (1904), pp. 129-39.
[61] Graham and Hood, 'Town Tenant Protest in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Ireland', p. 50.

After its foundation in 1904, the Town Tenants League spread rapidly throughout Ireland and quickly established a foothold in every county. However, the centre of the TTL remained firmly rooted in Dublin, where the national executive met once a month. At the meeting of the national executive, cases of distress among urban tenants from all over Ireland were usually discussed before those present agreed on how to solve these issues.[62] Establishing the membership of the TTL or the number of affiliated branches is extremely difficult as the organisation published no official list of branches or members. This is compounded by the fact that many branches were active for three years or so and then fell dormant until they were needed again. There were no regional or county executives and no coordinated campaigns between branches in neighbouring towns. Additionally, there were no specifications for membership, some branches charged a fee to become a member; others had a much more casual interpretation of membership, with attendance at a meeting or a gathering enough for an individual to be considered a member. Newspaper reports confirm a branch of the Town Tenants in nearly every town in Leinster and Connacht. The movement was not as strong in Munster and was even weaker in Ulster, where it struggled to get a foothold.[63]

At a national level, the key figure in the association was William Field, Irish Party MP for Dublin's St Patrick's division from 1892 up to 1918. Field, a businessman from Blackrock Co Dublin, acted as the first president of the Town Tenants League, a position which he held for over a decade.[64] Another important figure at a national level was JJ Clancy, Irish Party MP for North County Dublin. Clancy played a key role in the passing of the Town Tenants (Ireland) Act 1906 and the Housing Act of 1908, which became known as the Clancy Act and created a boom in the construction of social housing in Ireland.[65] However, Joseph Coughlan Briscoe,

[62] *Freeman's Journal,* 11 November 1904.
[63] Conor McNamara, 'A Tenants' League or Shopkeepers' League? Urban Protest and the Town Tenants' Association in the West of Ireland, 1909-1918' *Studia Hibernica,* Vol. 36, (2010), p. 138.
[64] See Patrick Maume, 'Field, William', in DIB, DOI: https://doi.org/10.3318/dib.003075.v1.
[65] Potter, *The Municipal Revolution in Ireland*, p. 209.

an Irish Party Dublin Corporation Councillor, was arguably the most influential figure in the TTL in Dublin and controlled the movement during his time as general secretary.[66] Briscoe was first elected to Dublin Corporation as a Councillor for the Mountjoy ward in January 1899. He held on to this seat right up to when the elections in 1920.[67] While acting as general secretary of the association, Briscoe was also president of the Dublin City branch, the central branch of the whole organisation and arguably its most influential. In 1907, a conference was organised by the Town Tenants to congratulate Briscoe for his role in the passing of the 1906 Act and also his role in spreading the movement all over the country.[68]

In general, the Town Tenants enjoyed a good relationship with the Corporation, and members of the Corporation supported initiatives brought forward by the organisation. One of the central aims of the TTL was 'next to the general emancipation of town tenants, no question is of more urgent importance than that of providing proper houses at reasonable rates for workers in towns'.[69] In May 1907, the Corporation welcomed a delegation from the Town Tenants who addressed members on the need to protect tenant rights in urban areas and the development of the Corporation's housing scheme in Clontarf.[70] This delegation consisted of Councillor Briscoe and Councillor James Brady, who represented Clontarf East, along with members of the Catholic clergy. When the Dublin City branch met the week after, Briscoe addressed the meeting and spoke of the success of the association and the progress that was being made to improve conditions for urban dwellers in Dublin.[71]

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[66] McNamara, 'A Tenants' League or Shopkeepers' League? Urban Protest and the Town Tenants', p. 139. Briscoe acted as secretary of the Town Tenants League from 1904 up to 1926.
[67] Briscoe was re-elected when the elections resumed after the war in January 1920 as an Independent Nationalist.
[68] Letter from CJ Fleming, secretary of the Briscoe Presentation Committee to William Walsh, 2 January 1907. (Dublin Diocesan Archives, Archbishop William Walsh Papers, Laity Files, IE/DDA/AB5/Laity/381/7).
[69] Agenda of the annual conference of Town Tenants League in Dublin on 30 August 1906, (NLI, Francis Sheehy-Skeffington Papers, Ms. 21,643).
[70] Meeting on 6 May 1907, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[71] *Freeman's Journal,* 10 May 1907.

The Irish National Foresters

The Irish National Foresters (INF), like the AOH, was an approved friendly society. The INF was probably the most well-known and influential of the many friendly societies operating in Ireland during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During its heyday, the INF had branches throughout Ireland and the Irish diaspora. The INF also enjoyed a close relationship with Irish Nationalism.[72] The INF, in comparison to the three other Irish Party affiliated organisations, were much less active and more middle-aged. Like the AOH, the INF was a Catholic benefits society, longer established but much less politically active. The main function of the INF was usually to march, in regalia, in the annual St Patrick's Day and Manchester Martyrs' processions.[73] Formed in 1877, the INF restricted their membership to men who were 'Irish by birth or descent'.[74] Membership of the INF grew rapidly, and by 1911, it had become the largest friendly society in Ireland, with 116 branches and 9,102 members. In Dublin, the INF was controlled by the Dublin District branch, which was based in the city and had its meeting hall on Merchants Quay. When the Irish Party reunited in January 1900, the INF Dublin District branch at its weekly meeting declared that 'we rejoice at the reunion of the Irish Nationalist Party, and we hope it will be the means of achieving results conducive to the welfare of Ireland, by alleviating some of her grievances; and we further express our gratification at the unanimous election of Mr John E Redmond as chairman of the Irish Party'.[75] In 1913, at the 36th annual convention of the INF, the organisation was described as growing rapidly and experiencing record gains in membership and funds. Membership of the INF now stood at 74,520 with 885 affiliated branches. These figures provided more than likely included branches

[72] Joe Fodey, 'The Creation of the Irish National Foresters Benefit Society, 1877' *History Ireland,* No. 2, (2019), p. 24.
[73] Letter from Irish National Foresters Dublin District to William Walsh, 24 March 1901. (Dublin Diocesan Archives, Archbishop William Walsh Papers, Laity Files, IE/DDA/AB5/Laity/351/6).
[74] Anthony D Buckley, 'On the Club: Friendly Societies in Ireland' *Irish Economic and Social History,* Vol. 14, No. 1, (1987), p. 53.
[75] *Irish Independent,* 15 February 1900.

and members from across the globe.[76] Nonetheless, the Foresters were an extremely large organisation and one of the largest of the Irish Party affiliated associations. However, they appeared to be the least politically active and safely tucked under the Irish Party's 'umbrella'.

Unionists

In the years after the turn of the 20th Century and the outbreak of the First World War, the highest concentration of Unionists outside of Ulster could be found in Dublin. Their distribution in Dublin, however, was erratic, with the vast majority in the southern part of the County.[77] Unionists once exclusively controlled the government of the city, but after the reform of the Corporation, which began in 1840, Nationalists gradually wrestled control away from the Unionists, and by the 1880s, the Council was fully under Nationalist control.[78] As Alvin Jackson has shown, Unionism at the turn of the twentieth century in Dublin was in a state of disunity after the shambolic general election campaign in 1900.[79] At a municipal level, many Unionist candidates had decided to leave the area controlled by Dublin Corporation and focus their efforts on controlling the townships to the south of the city.[80] These self-governing suburbs provided broad avenues of high-quality houses where the city's elite, mainly Protestants and Unionists, could live in comfort and political tranquillity. Socioeconomic factors played a major role in this migration from the impoverished city to the airy suburbs, but religion, politics, and nationality played a major part. While non-Catholics (primarily Anglicans/Episcopalians and Presbyterians) accounted for less than 20 per cent of the population inside the city boundaries, across the suburbs, they were at almost 40 per cent; in Rathmines, non-Catholics exceeded 50 per cent. Suburban voters regularly elected councils

[76] *Freeman's Journal,* 9 August 1913.
[77] McDowell, *Crisis and Decline*, p. 4.
[78] Murphy, *The Politics of Dublin Corporation*, pp. 16-17.
[79] Jackson, 'The Failure of Unionism in Dublin, 1900', pp. 393-394.
[80] Ó Maitiú, *Dublin's Suburban Towns*, p. 127.

with Unionist majorities, while Dublin Unionists struggled to win one in ten of the Municipal Council seats.[81]

Some Unionists remained and contested elections for Dublin Corporation. In the first reformed elections held in 1899, Unionists won seven seats in total.[82] Five of these seven seats came from the South City and Royal Exchange wards, which would have always elected Unionist candidates. Unionist representation was increased in 1901 to fifteen after the addition of Clontarf, one of the previously independent northern townships added into the boundaries of the city in 1900. Unionists' strength would remain in the former northern townships, particularly the two Clontarf wards. Unionist influence in the old city wards dwindled, with only three Unionists elected in any of the old wards after 1901.[83] After the last elections held before the war in January 1915, there were only four Unionist members of the Corporation. Three of these members were in the Clontarf West ward, and the other remaining member was in the Glasnevin ward. The main Unionist organisation in the City was the Unionist Registration Association (URA), or the City of Dublin Unionist Registration Association, to give it the full title. The URA had their offices on Dawson Street and met every month.

The municipal program for the URA from Ernest Bewley's campaign in 1907 stated the aims of the organisation were: 'The exclusion of politics from the proceedings of the Corporation in order that members of all shades of political opinion may be enabled to work together for the good of the City. The observance of the strictest economy in every branch of Municipal work with a view to reducing the present high rate of taxation. The furtherance of any practical and effective scheme for the proper housing of the working classes'.[84] Though

[81] Wallace, 'Fighting for Unionist Home Rule', p. 937.
[82] *Dublin Daily Express,* 18 January 1899.
[83] These candidates were: Edward Weber Smyth elected in 1902 in the Royal Exchange ward, William Rippingale elected in 1904 in the Mansion House ward, and Ernest Bewley elected in 1907 in the South City ward.
[84] *Dublin Daily Express,* 3 January 1907.

generally overlooked in the Corporation and always dwindling in influence, the Unionists re-emerged in 1920 as the Municipal Reform Association.[85]

Labour Organisations

The Labour Electoral Association

The passing of the Local Government (Ireland) Act 1898 opened up new opportunities for Labour representation as the franchise was now widened to include more of the working-class sections of the population. A meeting of Labour delegates was held in the Trades Hall in March 1898 'for the purpose of considering the representation of Labour under the Local Government Bill'.[86] At the meeting, it was decided that a Labour party should be formed in Dublin based on the various trade unions and financed by them. It would secure the registration of workers to support potential candidates.[87] The Labour Electoral Association (LEA), as it was known, was officially launched at the end of September 1898 at a meeting in the Trades Hall. The principal business of the first meeting was 'the appointment of Ward Committees in connection with the forthcoming Municipal elections under the Local Government Act'.[88] The LEA then held its first public meeting a few days later to launch its election campaign. The LEA 'was formed by working men of duly elected delegates from the various trade and labour organisations in the city to secure direct representation upon the City Council and other public bodies'.[89] Independent Labour representation would only be very short-lived as the LEA collapsed in 1900. Peter Murray has suggested that the spread of the UIL in Dublin quickly absorbed the LEA and tucked the Labour movement firmly under the control of the Nationalists.

[85] See Ch. 8 for a detailed discussion of the Municipal Reform Association.
[86] *Irish Independent,* 1 April 1898.
[87] *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 1 April 1898.
[88] *Freeman's Journal,* 26 September 1898.
[89] *Irish Independent,* 3 October 1898.

Dublin Labour Party

In the years after the collapse of the LEA, some labour men or trade unionists got elected as members of Griffith's Sinn Féin, but it was not until 1911 that there would be another independent Labour organisation.[90] In January 1911, the DTC agreed to establish a Labour Representation Committee (LRC), which would be financed and supported by the trade unions. In April 1911, the LRC then formally established a political party known as the Dublin Labour Party (DLP). By May 1911, most trade unions in Dublin had affiliated with the DLP, including some of the most influential unions, such as the ITGWU and the Irish Drapers' Assistants Association.[91] In contrast to the LEA, the DLP sought to eliminate what its leaders identified as the failure of Labour politics in Dublin: individual opportunism, infiltration from other parties and a lack of discipline from members. Great emphasis was placed on the party's independence and the commitment of its elected representatives, who were, in effect, delegates subject to detailed voting instructions from the party's executive and general delegate meetings. Membership of the DLP was confined to delegates from affiliated trade unions and the DTC, thus excluding individual membership or membership from non-affiliated unions.[92] The DLP was a completely new Labour movement from the LEA, and its foundation in 1911 initiated an era where Labour representation was organised by a Labour body that was independent from other entities.

Socialists

The origins of the socialist movement began in Ireland in the 1880s, and the formation of the Irish Socialist Republican Party (ISRP) in 1896 was a significant step forward.[93] The ISRP emerged from the Dublin Socialist Club and was founded in May 1896 with James Connolly

[90] These include PT Daly, William Partridge, MJ Lord, and Richard O'Carroll. All were elected as Sinn Féin Councillors but in reality, there were more interested in Labour politics rather than any of Griffith's ideologies.
[91] Cody, O'Dowd, and Rigney, *The Parliament of Labour*, pp. 86-87.
[92] Murray, 'Electoral Politics and the Dublin Working-Class before the First World War', p. 16.
[93] Fintan Lane, *The Origins of Modern Irish Socialism, 1881-1896* (Cork, 1997), p. 3

elected as the first president.[94] Local Dublin papers advertised the first public meeting as 'Irish Socialist Republic. Great Public meeting in favour of the above will be held at Custom House on Sunday next 5pm. Mr Jas. Connolly, late of Edinburgh, and others will address the meeting. Mr Alexander Blane, ex MP, will preside'.[95] Only Connolly and six other members were present at the inaugural meeting of the ISRP, and the movement struggled to recruit new members. At the end of the first year, there was a total of 43 members, all male, and it's unlikely that the membership ever exceeded 100 but remained static at around 80.[96] The party, in its lifetime, was based mainly in Dublin. Attempts were made to form branches in other cities, such as Cork or Belfast, but this resulted in little or no success, and the ISRP remained a Dublin focused organisation.[97] The ISRP also had its own paper at its disposal, the *Workers Republic.* The journal was founded and dominated by Connolly around the same time as the ISRP. The paper was only published sporadically due to a lack of funds and ceased publication in 1903. It was revived again in 1915 but only lasted a year or so up to April 1916.[98]

The ISRP was dissolved in 1903, and the Socialist Party of Ireland (SPI) emerged from the ISRP's ashes. At a meeting held on 4 March 1904, it was agreed to merge what remained of the ISRP with the Socialist Labour Party that was based in Dublin.[99] Much of the personnel of this new party was the same as the ISRP, with the addition of William O'Brien, the trade unionist. The SPI would soon be reincarnated, and a second SPI was established in June 1909. This SPI arose from a meeting organised by William O'Brien in the Trades Hall on Capel Street

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[94] Nevin, *James Connolly*, p. 59.
[95] *Irish Independent,* 1 June 1896; *Evening Herald,* 1 June 1896; *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 2 June 1896. Alexander Blane was an IPP MP for Armagh South from 1885-1892. He lost his seat in the 1892 general election when he finished bottom of the poll in Armagh South as a Parnellite candidate with 59 votes. An anti-Parnellite candidate, Edward McHugh topped the poll with 3439 votes and a unionist, C.L. Falkiner was second with 2242 votes. Source: Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1801-1922,* p. 328.
[96] Nevin, *James Connolly*, p. 60.
[97] Adrian Grant, *Irish Socialist Republicanism, 1909-63* (Dublin, 2012), p. 19.
[98] James Curry, 'The Worker: James Connolly's 'organ of the Irish working class', in Mark O'Brien and Felix M Larkin (eds.), *Periodicals and Journalism in Twentieth Century Ireland: Writing against the grain,* (Dublin, 2014), pp. 87-88.
[99] Meeting on 4 March 1904, Minute Book of the Socialist Party of Ireland, 4 March 1904-17 January 1905, (NLI, William O'Brien Papers, Ms. 16,268).

to revive and finally unite the socialist groups in Ireland. The first public meeting of the revived SPI took place in September 1909, which O'Brien described in his diary as 'the most enthusiastic socialist meeting' that he had ever witnessed in Dublin.[100] This SPI was far more united than the previous version, with James Connolly taking a leading role in the party after his return from America in 1910.[101] Even though the socialist candidates never succeeded in winning a seat on Dublin Corporation, the various forms of socialist parties were always actively involved in elections and campaigning. The evolution of the socialist movement in Dublin is also important as it signifies the greater Labour movement that emerged post-1911 after Larkin arrived in Dublin.

Advanced Nationalists

Sinn Féin

In the pre-war years, Sinn Féin had emerged as the most serious threat from the advanced Nationalist ranks to the control the Irish Party had over the Nationalists in the city. The Sinn Féin party, led by Arthur Griffith, was not officially established until 1905. Before this, opposition from advanced Nationalists came in the form of Cumann na nGaedheal and then the National Council. The seeds of discontent with the Irish Party were planted during the Royal Visit of Queen Victoria in 1900 and the Irish Party's response to it. Opposition to this visit was orchestrated by Griffith using his journalistic skills in the pages of the *United Irishman* to bind together a loose coalition of individuals opposed to mainstream Nationalism. Cumann na nGaedheal was subsequently formed in September 1900 with John O'Leary, the veteran Fenian and IRB man, elected as the first president. Other members of Cumann na nGaedheal included those who supported Griffith in his opposition to the Queen's visit, such as Maud Gonne and John McBride. Cumann na nGaedheal was seen as an attempt to find a middle ground between

[100] 20 September 1909, Diary of William O'Brien, 1909, (NLI, William O'Brien Papers, Ms. 15,705/2).
[101] Grant, *Irish Socialist Republicanism*, p. 135.

the IRB and the Irish Party, hence attracting membership from a wide range of groups such as Young Ireland societies, 98 Clubs and a plethora of cultural and sporting organisations. But this loose coalition failed to materialise into the political force Griffith had hoped for. According to PS O'Hegarty, Cumann na nGaedheal was 'an educational movement', and as a result, 'its influence was limited'.[102]

Three years later, in 1903, King Edward VII visited Dublin. It was in the lead-up to this visit that provided Griffith and his colleagues with a new opportunity to produce a new wave of advanced Nationalist political propaganda. The anti-visit agitation in 1903 was better organised and more coherent than that of 1900. The People's Protection Committee (PPC) was set up to organise these protests and was eventually renamed the National Council. In the summer of 1903, the National Council would have PT Daly elected to the Corporation as the first of the advanced Nationalists to challenge the Irish Party and UIL.[103] The Sinn Féin party was then founded in 1905 as an official political party that sought to challenge the Irish Party in Dublin elections. The two royal visits and responses by advanced Nationalists and the subsequent founding of Cumann na nGaedheal and the National Council did not create Sinn Féin but contributed to its evolution. Issues including self-reliance, national identity and political association, which became important components of Sinn Féin ideology, were aired and debated during the visits. During the course of the visits, Griffith established himself as one of the main opponents and critics of the Irish Party.[104] Between the years 1905-1910, Sinn Féin became the main opponent of the Irish Party in Dublin. From an initial grouping of five Councillors, the party had its highest number of elected representatives in 1909, with thirteen members on the Corporation. Prominent members who were elected to the Corporation, such as John T O'Kelly, WT Cosgrave and Tom Kelly, would play a significant role in the politics

[102] P.S. O'Hegarty, *Sinn Féin: An Illumination* (London, 1919), p. 16.
[103] Davis, *Arthur Griffith and non-violent Sinn Féin*, pp. 33-34.
[104] Senia Pašeta, 'Nationalist Responses to Two Royal Visits to Ireland, 1900 and 1903', p. 504.

of independent Ireland. Founded on the back of the Irish-Ireland movement, the early Sinn Féin party was a classic example of an urban reform party rather than a radical form of Nationalism as one might have suspected. Sinn Féin's Councillors sought urban reform on behalf of the voters and improvements in the city.

The Irish Republican Brotherhood

At the turn of the century, the IRB had contracted significantly from its prime during the mid-Victorian period. Matthew Kelly has described how the IRB in 1880s Dublin was 'a complex web of association, allegiance, and intrigue'.[105] Kelly also describes the IRB's role in the Young Ireland Societies in Dublin in the 1880s, saying that 'Fenianism in the 1880s was not an efficient military organisation pursuing definitive revolutionary goals, but rather a socio-cultural space where people met. As a subversive subculture, with ill-defined separatist propensities, Fenianism provided an alternative political environment, independent of Westminster, Dublin Castle, and insurance of petit-bourgeois employment'.[106] Leon Ó Broin, in his history of the IRB, stated by 1905 that the movement was 'rather dormant' or 'very dormant'.[107] Ó Broin also estimated that in 1912, the IRB had 1,660 members, with 850 of these in Leinster.[108] Bulmer Hobson suggested that the IRB had 1,500 members in 1912, of whom over half of them lived in Dublin.[109] Based on Hobson's claims, the IRB was then heavily focused and concentrated in Dublin, and after 1910, was taking extreme care over whom it was recruiting and the security of the movement.[110]

As one might expect, finding evidence of IRB activity is difficult given it was a secret organisation and was never going to advertise anything in the local papers or publish an article.

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[105] Matthew Kelly, 'Dublin Fenianism in the 1880s: The Irish Culture of the Future?' *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 43, No. 3, (2000), p. 733.
[106] Ibid., p. 749.
[107] Leon Ó Broin, *Revolutionary Underground: The story of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, 1858-1924* (Dublin, 1976), p. 129.
[108] Ibid., p. 140, 155.
[109] Bulmer Hobson, *Ireland Yesterday and Tomorrow* (Tralee, 1968), p. 36.
[110] Diarmuid Lynch, *The IRB and the 1916 Insurrection* (Cork, 1966), p. 22. Cited in Michael Wheatley, *Nationalism and the Irish Party: Provincial Ireland, 1910-1916,* (Oxford, 2005), p. 60.

One avenue that can be explored for the purpose of this thesis is the relationship between the IRB and Sinn Féin as Ó Broin outlines, 'the question of the connection of Arthur Griffith, 'the father of Sinn Féin', and the IRB is often raised'.[111] Griffith's movements originated in the protests against royal visits, which attracted the interest of a wide range of advanced Nationalists. As Senia Pašeta suggests, many IRB men were attracted to Griffith as he increasingly challenged the IRB's dominance of radical Nationalism. Some of the Griffith-inspired organisations were a front for IRB activity, and some were drawn to Griffith's organisations due to the inactivity of the IRB and internal bickering that plagued the organisation in the early 1900s.[112] Some of these IRB men who were attracted towards Griffith's organisations got elected to Dublin Corporation on the back of support from Griffith and his followers.

Owen McGee has argued that the involvement of the IRB in politics at a local level with Sinn Féin, in the long run, transformed the movement and brought in a younger generation who played a key role in the IRB in the pre-war years. After the passing of the Local Government (Ireland) Act 1898 and the establishment of county, urban and rural district councils this facilitated the development of new political movements that were not aligned to the Irish Party. After the passing of the 1898 Act, there were now elected local bodies, and there was less of a need for the existence of the IRB as a covert organisation to serve as a medium to fill the void there once was in Irish local politics.[113] Matthew Kelly also refers to the 1898 Act as being important to the IRB. Following the passing of the Act, advanced Nationalists could now become more visible, and it was immediately grasped as a development of great significance by the IRB, which took an interest in advancing the movement through

[111] Leon Ó Broin, *Revolutionary Underground*, p. 108. For a full discussion of Griffith's connections with the IRB that date back to a police report dated 7 October 1891 see: Chapter 8, 'Arthur Griffith, and IRB Man?' in Broin, *Revolutionary Underground*, pp. 108-120.
[112] Pašeta, 'Nationalist Responses to Two Royal Visits to Ireland, 1900 and 1903', p. 495.
[113] Owen McGee, *The IRB: The Irish Republican Brotherhood from the Land League to Sinn Féin* (Dublin, 2005), pp. 266-267.

local elections.[114] In the first elections held after the passing of the Act, one estimate suggested that IRB members won 10% of all county council seats, 5% of all district council seats and 23 positions as chairmen of either a district or county council.[115]

Suffragettes

The foundation of the suffrage movement in Dublin dates back to 1876 when Anna Haslam founded the Dublin Women's Suffrage Association in February of that year. This organisation changed its name over the years but ultimately became known as the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association (IWSLGA).[116] Already able to stand for election for Poor Law Boards, the passing of the 1898 Local Government (Ireland) Act allowed women to contest elections for urban and rural district councils.[117] The IWLGA had a Dublin branch, the Dublin Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association (DWSLGA). The DWSLGA frequently organised public lectures across the city that addressed issues such as women's participation in elections and representation on public bodies such as urban councils or Boards of Guardians. At one such meeting held in the Mansion House in April 1901, Blackrock UDC member Margaret Dockrell stated that 'the time has come when all capable Irishwomen should take their fitting share in the fulfilment of the public duties imposed upon them by the Local Government Act'.[118]The IWSLGA membership had been overwhelmingly non-Catholic and middle-class, making little progress in terms of its aims. In November 1908, the Irish Women's

[114] Kelly, *The Fenian Ideal and Irish Nationalism*, p. 144.
[115] McGee, *The IRB*, p. 268.
[116] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *Smashing Times: A History of the Irish Women's Suffrage Movement, 1889-1922* (Dublin, 1984), pp. 24-25.
[117] Virginia Crossman, *The Poor Law in Ireland, 1838-1948* (Dundalk, 2006), p. 19. Thirty-one women were elected to councils immediately after the passing of the 1898 local government act. One of them was Margaret Dockrell who was elected in January 1899 in the Monkstown ward for Blackrock Urban District Council one of the southern suburbs surrounding the city. Dockrell was a Unionist, a member of the Irish Women's Franchise League and a regular contributor to the *Irish Citizen* after its inauguration in 1912. Though Dockrell was never directly involved with Dublin Corporation she was elected as leader of the Unionist organisation in Blackrock and chair of Blackrock UDC in 1906. For more information see: Mary Sheehan, 'Dockrell, Margaret Sarah', in DIB, DOI: https://doi.org/10.3318/dib.002647.v1.
[118] *Dublin Daily Express,* 12 April 1901.

Franchise League (IWFL) was founded by Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington and Margaret Cousins as a new organisation with its aim to obtain the parliamentary vote for Irish women.[119]

The IWFL was different from its predecessor as it acted like an umbrella organisation to which smaller suffragist organisations subscribed. The IWFL, by 1911, acted as a co-ordinator to all these smaller and geographically scattered groups. Within a few years, the IWFL would have over 20 smaller organisations affiliated.[120] Starting initially with just five members, the IWFL would reach a peak of just over 1,000 members in 1912, along with 160 or so male associates.[121] In 1911, a new conciliation bill was to come before the British parliament that would grant women the right to vote in parliamentary elections along the same lines as in municipal elections. In anticipation of this bill, Dublin Corporation welcomed a delegation from the IWFL in February 1911 that addressed the Council regarding the bill and its necessity to be passed in parliament.[122] Mrs Margaret Cousins spoke to the members of the Corporation present and stated that she had a petition signed by the women electors of the IWFL, which they asked the Corporation to present to the bar of the House of Commons and which requested the Government to grant facilities for the passing into law of the Women's Suffrage Conciliation Bill.[123] Margaret Cousins stated that the petition 'had been signed by all classes representing all spheres of life in the city. The Council had the power to bring this to the attention of the House of Commons and present it there'.[124] At the next meeting of the Corporation, the members present supported the Women's Suffrage Conciliation Bill and requested that the Lord Mayor present the petition to the House of Commons.[125] In April, the

[119] Cullen-Owens, *Smashing Times*, p. 42.
[120] Louise Ryan, 'Nationalism and Feminism: The Complex Relationship between the Suffragist and Independence Movements in Ireland', in Linda Connolly (ed.), *Women and the Irish Revolution: Feminism, Activism, Violence,* (Dublin, 2020), p. 17.
[121] Margaret Ward, *Fearless Woman: Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, Feminism and the Irish Revolution* (Dublin, 2019), p. 70.
[122] Meeting on 6 February 1911. Dublin City Council Minutes.
[123] *Dublin Daily Express,* 7 February 1911.
[124] Ibid., 7 February 1911.
[125] Meeting on 6 February 1911. Dublin City Council Minutes.

Corporation reaffirmed its support for the bill when Irish Party Alderman Charles McWalter stated that 'as numerous ratepayers of this City, and women engaged in various spheres of employment in the City, are precluded from exercising the Parliamentary Franchise, and as the entire women community throughout the country are subject to a similar deprivation of civil rights, owing to which the social and economic advancement of women has been retarded, the Council resolves that a petition be adopted, sealed with the City Seal, and presented to Parliament praying Parliament to pass into Law this present Session the Women's Suffrage Bill now before Parliament'.[126]

The Bill was not successful, and the Irish Party at Westminster voted against it as it might have jeopardised the final push for Home Rule. However, there was one advancement in the constitutional sphere that year when, at the end of the year, the Local Authorities (Ireland) (Qualifications for Women) Act 1911 was passed. This Act now meant that women could contest elections to county and borough councils such as Dublin Corporation.[127] In the municipal elections held in January 1912, immediately after the passing of the Local Authorities Act, Sarah Harrison became the first woman elected to Dublin Corporation. Harrison won a three-way contest in the South City ward and was elected as a Councillor. She held that seat for three years until she was defeated in January 1915 by Irish Party candidate Joseph Isaacs. Martha Jane Williams was the second woman elected to Dublin Corporation before the elections were suspended when she won a by-election in the Trinity ward in May 1915.[128]

[126] Ibid., Meeting on 3 April 1911.Support for extending the franchise to women in Parliamentary elections can be traced back to a meeting of Dublin Corporation held on 18 December 1908. Alderman McWalter was the speaker again who argued the case for women to get a Parliamentary vote.
[127] Potter, *The Municipal Revolution in Ireland*, p. 199; Marie O'Neill, 'Sarah Cecilia Harrison: Artist and City Councillor' *Dublin Historical Record,* Vol. 42, No. 2, (1989), p. 63.
[128] The elections of Harrison and Williams are discussed in detail in Ch. 6.

Interest and Municipal Reform Groups

Dublin Homeowners and Ratepayers Association

The precursor to the Dublin Citizens Association, the Dublin Homeowners and Ratepayers Association (DHRA), was established in 1901. The Homeowners and Ratepayers Association enjoyed membership from both Nationalists and Unionists and was not tied to either side. The secretary of the association was a man named James Allen, an auctioneer living in Glasnevin who unsuccessfully contested the municipal elections in January 1902 in the North City ward for the Irish Party.[129] Twelve members of the Homeowners Association contested municipal elections, and six were successful. All were elected before 1904, and each usually only served one term as representative. The political affiliation of these men was split between the Irish Party and the Unionists.[130] The general aim of the association was to monitor the Corporation's spending so that the money the ratepayers paid would not needlessly be wasted by the different Corporation committees.

Dublin Citizens Association

After 1908 and particularly during the period from 1911-1914, one of the greatest influences on the Corporation was the Dublin Citizens Association (DCA). The DCA sought to represent the interests of employers within the city by keeping rates low and by dismissing any attempts to improve working conditions in Dublin.[131] Like the Corporation, the Citizens Association met on almost a weekly basis, and the first president was Unionist Councillor Andrew Beattie.[132] The Citizens Association also had several sub-committees, such as finance or labour and sent delegations to the Corporation with views on how the city should be managed, how the Corporation could reduce rates in favour of employers and how the work around the city

[129] Allen was one of the very few Irish Party members in the city who was a Protestant.
[130] Of the six elected members, four were from the Irish Party and two were Unionists. The six unsuccessful candidates were three Irish Party members and three Unionists.
[131] O'Brien, *Dear Dirty Dublin*, p. 96.
[132] *Dublin Daily Express,* 19 February 1910.

might be completed at a lower cost.[133] Even though a Unionist was chairman of the Citizens Association, members were welcome from any political affiliation as long as they subscribed to the aims of the movement.

Licensed Grocers and Vintners Protection Association

In the early twentieth century, public houses were a crucial part of the social fabric of life in Ireland, acting as centres of local activity and the main centre of recreation for the male working-class. During the late nineteenth century, it was estimated that between a quarter and half of the population of Dublin visited a public house during Sunday afternoons. Public houses were also used as a location for a meeting by a wide spectrum of groups 'Organisations as varied as trade unions, young men's societies, and Fenian circles held meetings in pubs'.[134] Mary Daly's study of Dublin suggests that Dublin's politics slowly fell under the control of the brewing industry during the 1870s, and by the turn of the century, many of the Councillors were connected in some way to brewing, either as publicans or as manufacturers of alcohol. [135] Most locally and nationally elected bodies in Ireland were accused of falling under the control of publicans.

Needless to say, the Vintners Association took a keen interest in elections for the Corporation, and any meeting of the organisation reported in the press usually had a long list of councillors present.[136] The Vintners Association had its offices on Dame Street, and each December, it would have an election amongst its members to fill positions within the association and to elect committees that oversaw the association in different parts of the city.[137] The various committees were organised by parliamentary divisions, and the number of

[133] *Irish Times,* 11 December 1909.
[134] Laffan, *Judging WT Cosgrave*, pp. 30-31.
[135] Daly, *Dublin, The Deposed Capital*, p. 204.
[136] At the annual meeting of the Licensed Grocers and Vintners Protection Association in November 1907 there was nineteen members of the Corporation in attendance. Source: *Freeman's Journal,* 28 November 1907.
[137] *Irish Times,* 16 December 1908.

members elected to each committee depended on the size of the electorate in that division.[138] In 1912, for example, the members of the College Green division were entitled to elect eleven representatives; the Harbour division could elect eight; Stephen's Green seven; St Patrick's six; and North and South County Dublin could elect four each.[139] The election of members of the association to Dublin Corporation was always important to keep their influence in City Hall. In January 1909, the association's minutes recorded its congratulations to two of its members who had been elected, and thereby 'increased the strength of the Trade in the Corporation by two votes'.[140]

Dublin Victuallers Association

Another group with considerable influence in the Corporation was the Dublin Victuallers Association (DVA). The Victuallers were not as powerful as the Vintners and did not have as many members elected, but they still made their presence felt in municipal elections. Usually, the night before the municipal elections, the Victuallers Association would hold a public meeting 'to make final arrangements in support of the Trade Candidates'.[141] Like the Vintners, the Victuallers Association meetings were attended by many Councillors and other public representatives. William Coffey, who was Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1909, was a former president of the association and served as a Councillor and Alderman for over ten years. In 1914, Irish Party Councillor William Paul Delany in the Rotunda ward was elected as president of the association.[142] The main concern for the association was the price of meat in the city, and the association constantly fought to try to regulate and increase meat prices.[143]

[138] Ibid., 16 December 1908.
[139] *Dublin Daily Express,* 11 December 1912.
[140] Laffan, *Judging WT Cosgrave*, p. 33.
[141] *Evening Herald,* 14 January 1901.
[142] *Freeman's Journal,* 20 January 1914.
[143] *Dublin Daily Express,* 13 July 1903; *Irish Times,* 19 January 1914.

Cultural Groups

The Gaelic League

A cultural group such as the Gaelic League enjoyed substantial support across the city, with every party in the Corporation having some members who were part of the Gaelic League. John Hutchinson argues that a wide range of causes came under the umbrella of the Gaelic League, including the Irish language, industrial revival, arts and crafts, temperance, and cooperation. According to Hutchinson, cultural Nationalism, as opposed to political Nationalism, was 'a distinctive ideological movement with its Weltanschauung and propounders, forms of organisation, constituency and socio-political programme'.[144] The Gaelic League, however, always maintained that it was a non-political organisation and kept out of involvement in politics.[145]

Whether the Gaelic League was political or non-political is open to interpretation, and the League regularly harried the Corporation to promote Irish language and culture. In April 1900, the Corporation welcomed a deputation from the Gaelic League regarding the teaching of Irish in primary and secondary schools.[146] After the Council was addressed by the deputation, Councillor Joseph Hutchinson spoke on behalf of those present and stated 'that we, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of Dublin, desire that the Irish Language be maintained and fostered as the national language of Ireland, and that it receives special attention in all grades of education in this country'.[147] In August 1902, a letter from the Gaelic League requested that street signs be made bilingual to include both Irish and English and that in the future, streets in the city should be named after individuals 'associated with the struggle for

[144] John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish State* (London, 1987), pp. 136-136, 178-179, 196.
[145] Arthur E Cleary, 'The Gaelic League, 1893-1919' *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review,* Vol. 8, No. 31, (1919), pp. 405-406.
[146] One of the members of the deputation was Padraig Pearse.
[147] Meeting on 2 April 1900. Dublin City Council Minutes.

National Freedom in Ireland'.[148] In March 1905, the Lord Mayor, at the request of PT Daly, accepted an invitation from the Gaelic League to participate in an Irish language procession as a city representative.[149] The League was also successfully granted use of the Council chamber for meetings on several occasions. The Gaelic League, however, was unsuccessful in April 1913 when a deputation addressed the Corporation and tried to convince those present to make proficiency in Irish essential for appointments for roles in the Corporation.[150] Even though the Gaelic League claimed to be non-political, the movement exercised a certain amount of influence on the city's representatives.

The Gaelic League in the city also took an interest in the municipal elections every so often. The newspaper of the Gaelic League, *An Claidheamh Soluis,* before some municipal elections, published a list of candidates who were members of the Gaelic League and encouraged readers to elect them to City Hall. In January 1904, the paper wrote, 'the Dublin Municipal Elections must not – and, we are glad to say, will not – be allowed to pass without every individual candidate being challenged on his attitude towards Irish Ireland… needless to say, no member of the Gaelic League is justified in voting for any candidates who either declares himself on the side of the Gael, or refuses to declare himself at all'.[151] Before the elections, candidates were sent a list of questions by the Gaelic League inquiring if the candidate 'subscribed to this year's Irish Language Fund?' or 'will you give your public support to the propaganda of the Gaelic League?'.[152] If a candidate answered all of the questions in the affirmative, then the readers were asked to vote for them. The election of men who supported the Gaelic League and its aims to Dublin Corporation was vital for the preservation and promotion of Irish culture but also of Irish goods and industries, which the

[148] Ibid., Meeting on 12 August 1902.
[149] Ibid., Meeting on 6 March 1905.
[150] Ibid., Meeting on 7 April 1913.
[151] *An Claidheamh Soluis,* 2 January 1904.
[152] Ibid., 16 January 1909.

League also asked candidates to support.[153] In some elections, readers were even encouraged to vote for candidates who were not members of the Gaelic League but who were considered 'sympathisers' with the movement.[154] The Gaelic League's interest in municipal elections wanned as the years progressed, with no interest shown at all after 1909 in the pages of *An Claidheamh Soluis.* The consensus, however, is that the activity of the Gaelic League declined in the years before the First World War after a period of rapid expansion in the early 1900s. In his history of the Gaelic League, Padraig Ó Fearail has noted that the number of branches fell from 964 in 1906, to 588 in 1909, and in 1913 there were 388 branches. John Hutchinson describes a similar decline, only interrupted by the campaign to make Irish compulsory for entry to the new National University. Hutchinson attributes this decline, among other causes, to a resurgence of political Nationalism, severe internal dissensions, and temporary alienation of the Catholic Church.[155]

Conclusion

This chapter discusses the various sides of the Dublin Corporation and provides an introduction to the history of the corporation up to the point where this study begins. The chapter also explains the geographical boundaries of this study and why this is a study of Dublin Corporation and the area under this jurisdiction. There are other studies that discuss the surrounding areas or suburbs, but this is not the focus of this research. The last section of the chapter provided a brief and general analysis of all the different groups that were in some way involved in Dublin's political sphere.

[153] Ibid., 11 January 1908.
[154] Ibid., 11 January 1908.
[155] Wheatley, *Nationalism and the Irish Party*, p. 62.

Ch. 2 - Fit and Proper Persons? Dublin Corporation Councillors and Candidates, 1899 -1916.

Introduction

The following chapter will provide an analysis and overview of all the individuals who were elected to Dublin Corporation and all those who attempted to get elected but were unsuccessful in those attempts. The analysis will begin with the first reformed municipal elections after the passing of the Local Government Act (Ireland) 1898, which took place in January 1899, up to the last municipal election contested before the war, a by-election held in the Trinity ward in May 1915. This analysis does not extend to the 1920 municipal elections and instead just focuses on the elections that were held annually until 1915. The aim of this chapter is to investigate and shed light on the individuals who served on Dublin Corporation throughout these years. The chapter will also investigate those who were not elected but took part in the municipal elections. The chapter is divided into a number of subsections that will discuss various aspects of the members of the Corporation and the unsuccessful candidates. Basic characteristics of any elected public body and its candidates will be discussed, such as the age of the members of the Corporation and those who were not elected. Another aspect that the chapter will investigate is the occupations of those elected and those who were not elected. Other factors that the chapter will evaluate are the experience of elected members and whether those who sat in City Hall had parliamentary experience or experience serving on another public body, such as a Poor Law Union. The relationship between candidates and the wards they represented or contested will also be examined. This will be done by looking at topics such as were the candidate's residents in the ward they stood for election in or did they have any connection to the city or county by place of birth. While the above questions and topics are being discussed throughout this chapter, a focus will always be on distinguishing differences

between the two established parties, The Irish Party and Unionists and the two emerging parties, which were Labour and Sinn Féin.[1]

Research for this chapter

The research undertaken to build a database of the Dublin Corporation Councillors and candidates was conducted using different online sources that provided information regarding the lives of the individuals who contested the municipal contests. Information such as the address of each Councillor and candidate, party affiliation, and occupation was published in the local papers in the weeks prior to the municipal elections.[2] Basic data like the year of birth, place of birth, and religion were obtained from the 1901 and 1911 Irish Census. Other sources that were used to obtain information were the *Oxford Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Thom's Street Directory, and sometimes the obituary for an individual if it was published in one of the local or national papers after that person's death. Membership in organisations or other public bodies that Councillors and candidates may have been involved in was also taken from press reports. In the case of the database created for this chapter, some individuals were difficult to find information about. This was often the case with by-election candidates, as the press did not give the same attention to these contests. This, however, only represents a tiny fraction of the individuals in the database and is accounted for when creating tables and information based in the chapter.[3]

[1] All of the analysis for this chapter focuses on the difference between the establishment which was the Irish Party and Unionists versus Labour and Sinn Féin, the two emerging parties. There were other parties and groups that took part in Dublin's municipal elections such as the various Socialists parties, Temperance candidates, and Independents both Nationalist and Unionist. These however were only fringe parties and do not form the basis for any discussions in the chapter.

[2] The main newspapers used in the construction of the database were those associated with Dublin local politics such as: *Freeman's Journal, Irish Times, Dublin Daily Express, Irish Independent, Dublin Evening Mail* and *Evening Herald.* All these papers provided a detailed analysis of the annual elections in January and also any by-elections that were at various times throughout any year,

[3] 11 entries out of 475 in the database only had very basic information such as name, address, and party affiliation.

Corporation Personnel

Throughout the period 1899-1915, a total number of 250 individuals served Dublin Corporation as either a Councillor or Alderman. Out of these 250 individuals elected to Dublin Corporation throughout these years, only two were women. Though women could stand for election in municipal contests after the passing of the 1898 Local Government (Ireland) Act, this was limited to only urban and rural district councils. After the passing of the Local Authorities (Ireland) (Qualifications for Women) Act 1911, women could now contest elections to county and borough councils such as the Corporation of the city.[4] The first woman to contest an election for Dublin Corporation after the passing of the 1911 act was Sarah Cecilia Harrison, who stood for election in January 1912. Harrison was successful in her attempt in 1912 and became the first female Councillor to sit in City Hall. Harrison defeated the former sitting Unionist Councillor Thomas Robertson Scott and UIL candidate Charles McNamara to win the seat in the South City ward.[5] The second female elected to Dublin Corporation was Martha Jane Williams, who won a by-election in the Trinity ward in May 1915. As was usually the case with by-elections, less coverage was given to the contest in the press, and the contest was not mentioned in the *Irish Citizen*. Williams defeated Labour candidate and first President of the ITGWU Thomas Foran by 245 votes.[6] Williams was the last Councillor elected before the suspension of municipal contests due to the war. Williams was already a Poor Law Guardian for South Dublin Union prior to her election to Dublin Corporation. The election and campaigns of both Harrison Williams are discussed in detail in a later chapter, along with their time in the Corporation.[7]

[4] Potter, *The Municipal Revolution in Ireland*, p. 199; O'Neill, 'Sarah Cecilia Harrison: Artist and City Councillor', p. 63.
[5] *Irish Independent,* 16 January 1912.
[6] *Freeman's Journal,* 14 May 1915.
[7] See Ch. 6 for a discussion of Harrison and Williams in the Corporation.

Ages of Councillors and Candidates

Another factor to consider when analysing the members of Dublin Corporation and those who took part in the municipal contests is the age of a Councillor or Alderman when first elected and the age of the defeated candidates.[8] The mean age of a Councillor or Alderman during the period from 1899 to 1915 when first elected to Dublin Corporation was 44.4 years of age, and the mean age of an unsuccessful candidate was 43.2 years. Table 5 displays the mean age of a representative from each of the relevant parties when they were elected to the Corporation. Table 5 also shows the mean age of the unsuccessful candidates from each party and also a total figure that includes everyone who contested an election or served on the Corporation.[9]

Table 5: Mean age of party members when elected and unsuccessful candidates, 1899-1916

Party	Successful	Unsuccessful
Irish Party	44.8	46.2
Unionist	51.6	45.0
Labour	39.5	39.7
Sinn Féin	34.8	34.6
Total	44.4	43.2

[8] The age of each member used in these calculations was the age of the individual when they were elected. This figure was calculated from the date of birth given in the 1901 and 1911 census, then subtracted from the year which that person was elected. For example, if someone born in 1875 was elected in 1905 then the age is 30. There were also some individuals who got elected for two parties, but this factor was considered when calculating the figures. Richard O'Carroll was elected for Sinn Féin in 1907 and was 31 years of age, this figure was used in the Sinn Féin calculations. O'Carroll was then re-elected in 1909 for Labour and was 33 years of age which was the figure used in Labour calculations.

[9] The total figure for successful candidates also includes the ages of Independent candidates such as Peter Murray who was elected in 1904 and Sarah Harrison elected in 1912. The total figure for the unsuccessful candidates includes the ages of Independents and representatives from parties or organisations that never had success in getting anyone elected such as Temperance, the Irish Socialist Republican Party, and the Socialist Party of Ireland. The age for each individual used in the calculations was obtained by subtracting their year of birth provided in the 1901 or 1911 census from the relevant year of successful or unsuccessful election campaign.

The obvious conclusion to draw from these figures is the difference between the average age of the established parties and the emerging factions for both elected members and unelected members. The two established parties, the Irish Party and Unionists had considerably higher ages for both elected and unelected members than the emerging factions, Labour and Sinn Féin. In terms of a difference between the mean age of an unelected and elected member from the established parties, the ages of the Irish Party members were roughly similar. Those from the Irish Party who were successfully elected were only about two years younger than those who were not. For Unionists, those who were elected were older than the unsuccessful candidates, with elected members on average six years older than a Unionist who was defeated. For the two emerging parties, there is only a marginal difference in the age of elected and unelected members. The figures for both Labour and Sinn Fein are almost identical, with the ages of those who were not elected for either party still noticeably lower than the Irish Party and Unionists. While Table 5 provides a basic indicator regarding the age of Councillors and the differences between each party, Table 6 and Table 7 present a deeper analysis of the ages of each party's elected members and the unsuccessful candidates.

Table 6: Age breakdown of elected members for each party, 1899-1916

	Age Range (Years)							
Party		**20-29**	**30-39**	**40-49**	**50-59**	**60-69**	**70-79**	**80+**
Irish Party (N=161)	Number	9	45	57	37	12	1	0
	%	6%	28%	35%	23%	7%	1%	0%
Unionists (N=27)	Number	1	3	10	5	5	1	2
	%	4%	11%	36%	19%	19%	4%	7%
Labour (N=30)	Number	1	18	8	3	0	0	0
	%	3%	60%	27%	10%	0%	0%	0%
Sinn Féin (N=22)	Number	6	12	2	1	1	0	0
	%	27%	54%	9%	5%	5%	0%	0%

Table 7 – Age breakdown of unelected candidates for each party, 1899-1916

	Age Range (Years)							
Party		**20-29**	**30-39**	**40-49**	**50-59**	**60-69**	**70-79**	**80+**
Irish Party (N=101)	Number	2	28	31	25	13	2	0
	%	2%	28%	31%	25%	13%	2%	0%
Unionists (N=25)	Number	0	9	9	4	2	1	0
	%	0%	36%	36%	16%	8%	4%	0%
Labour (N=40)	Number	9	16	8	4	1	2	0
	%	22%	40%	20%	10%	3%	5%	0%
Sinn Féin (N=11)	Number	2	7	1	1	0	0	0
	%	18%	64%	9%	9%	0%	0%	0%

Table 6 breaks down each party's age range by a ten-year interval and provides the number of members in each age bracket and what percentage this is of the overall membership.[10] Again, like Table 5, the obvious finding is that the established parties had a greater number of older members than the newer parties. Taking 40 years of age as a mid-point in the analysis, the Irish Party had 66% of their elected representatives over the age of 40. Unionists had an even higher percentage over the age of 40, with 85% of the Unionist members over 50. In fact, there were only four Unionists elected before the war who were under 40. The fact that 72% of unsuccessful Unionist candidates were under 50 suggests, however, that there was a lack of appetite for younger Councillors among Unionist voters rather than a reluctance to cultivate a younger crop of local Councillors among the Unionist party in Dublin. Labour only had just over one-third of their elected members over the age of 40, with 37%. Sinn Féin was by far the most youthful party that had representatives in City Hall, with only 19% of Sinn Fein Councillors being over 40. What is also striking from Table 6 is the very high percentage of younger men who represented Sinn Féin and Labour. 63% of Labour's members were younger than 40, while for Sinn Féin, 81% of their members were under 40. If this is compared to the Irish Party and Unionists, then there is a clear difference between the established and emerging parties as the Irish Party had 34% of its Councillors under 40, whereas the Unionists only had 15%.

Table 6, however, is only concerned with the elected members of each party, and Table 7 displays the same form of information for unelected candidates from the four parties who had members elected to the Corporation.[11] The information displayed in Table 7 constructs a

[10] These figures in Table 6 were calculated using the year of births that were provided in 1901 and 1911 census. In some cases, certain candidates could not be found in the either census and in turn a date of birth could not be found. These candidates are excluded from the calculations in the construction of the table.
[11] Like with Table 6, candidates who the date of birth could not be found were excluded from the calculations in the construction of the table.

similar picture to that of Table 6. Like with elected members, there is a noticeable difference between the ages of the unsuccessful candidates from the two established parties and the unsuccessful candidates from the emerging parties. Again, the age of 40 years is used as a mid-point to divide the two sides and to determine the differences. The Irish Party had 71% of their unelected candidates over 40, and the Unionists had 64% over 40. Labour and Sinn Féin had almost an identical percentage of unelected candidates over 40 years, with 38% of Labour men who were not elected over 40 and 18% of Sinn Féin. Under the age of 40, the Irish Party had 29% of unelected candidates, and the Unionists had 36%. Labour and Sinn Féin then had the bulk of their unelected members under 40; Labour had 62%, and Sinn Féin had 82%. Thus, the emergent parties were not especially interested in running older candidates. Both were strongly young parties, especially Sinn Féin. Of the four parties that are analysed in Table 6 and Table 7, the only one with a noticeable difference between the elected members and unsuccessful candidates was the Unionist party. Even though the Unionists had older elected and unelected members, there was a difference between the two and Unionists who got elected were generally slightly older than those who were not elected. The Unionist voters in Dublin clearly preferred their elected representatives to be older and younger candidates did not get the same support.

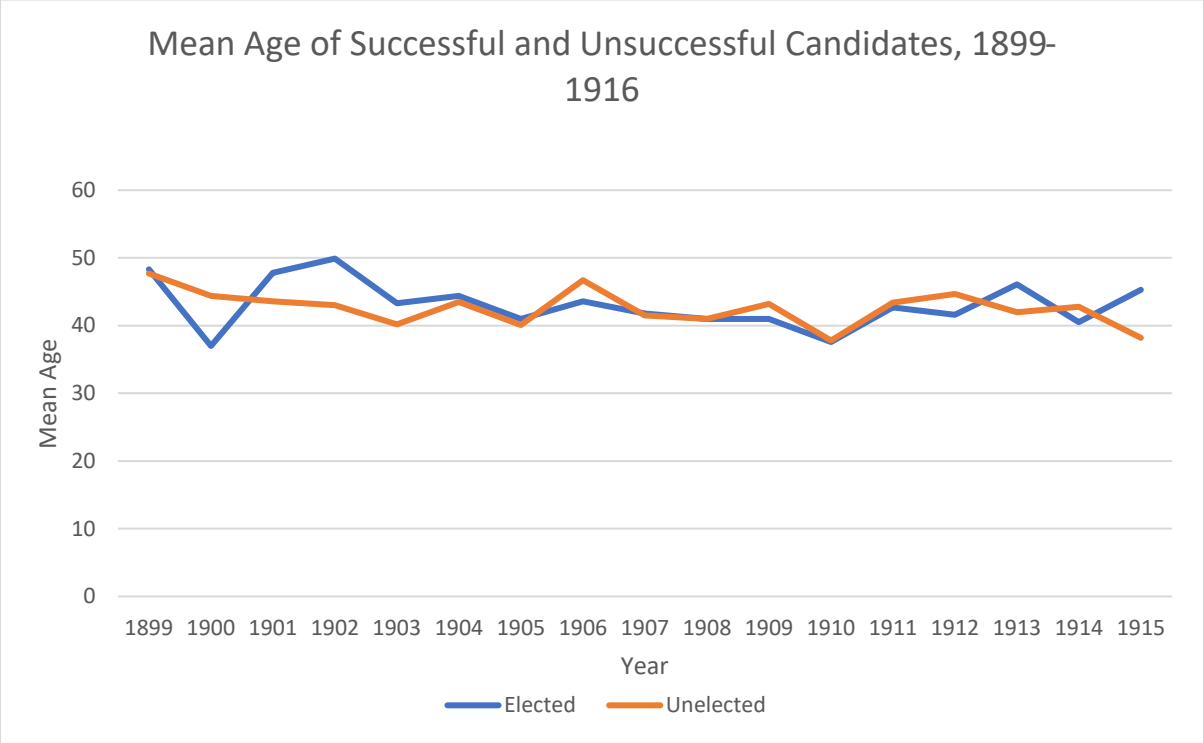
Another useful parameter is to trace the mean ages of successful and unsuccessful candidates who competed in the municipal elections during the years under consideration. Tracking the ages of successful and unsuccessful candidates will show whether there was an influx of older or younger members in a specific year or whether the average age of contestants, successful or not, remained relatively stable throughout these contests. Table 8 and Figure 2, which are on the next page, display the mean age of a successful and unsuccessful candidate for every election from 1899-1915. The ages used in the calculation of Table 8 and Figure 2 for successful candidates are only the ages of those elected for the first time that year. If a

candidate was defending their seat in 1904, for example, and won, they are not included in the calculation, only the new members who got elected for that year.

Table 8: Mean Age of successful and unsuccessful candidates, 1899-1916

Year	Mean Age Successful	Mean Age Unsuccessful
1899	48.4	47.7
1900	37.0	44.4
1901	47.8	43.6
1902	49.9	43.0
1903	43.3	40.2
1904	44.4	43.5
1905	41.0	40.1
1906	43.6	46.7
1907	41.8	41.5
1908	41.0	41.0
1909	41.0	43.2
1910	37.6	37.8
1911	42.7	43.4
1912	41.6	44.7
1913	46.1	42.0
1914	40.5	42.8
1915	45.3	38.2

Figure 2: Mean Age of successful and unsuccessful candidates, 1899-1916



Looking at Table 8 and Figure 2, it is clear that there was very little difference in the mean age of successful and unsuccessful candidates. The only years that there was a notable difference was in 1900, when the successful candidates were seven years younger than the unsuccessful candidates. In 1902, those who were elected were seven years older. In 1915 the elected candidates were seven years older again. Every other year, there was very little difference between someone who got elected and someone who did not. Tracing the age profile of the Corporation as a body, there was no significant change in the age of newly elected members. Only in 1900 and 1910 were the new members younger than 40. In general, the mean age of those elected was somewhere between 40 and 45.

While there may have been little difference between the mean age of successful and unsuccessful candidates in general, there may be differences when applying the same analysis to the four parties who had representatives elected to the Corporation. Table 9 is a breakdown of each year by party and displays the mean age of a successful and unsuccessful candidate

from each party. There are instances in Table 9 where a space is left blank, and this just indicates that there were no candidates from that party elected in that year or no candidate contested the municipal contests for that particular year. Like in the calculation of the figures in Table 8 and Figure 2, the ages used were that of candidates elected for the first time, not candidates who defended their seats in a specific year.

Table 9: Mean age of successful and unsuccessful candidates for each party, 1899-1916

	Irish Party		**Unionists**		**Labour**		**Sinn Féin**	
	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
1899	47.2	50.8	64.0	49.7	42.0	42.2		
1900	37.0	51.2		50.3		38.5		
1901	47.1	45.2	49.2	39.0		41.0		
1902	48.4	47.7	53.5	41.5				
1903	43.3	40.3		45.3	36.0		33.0	
1904	43.2	43.0	49.6	47.5	34.5	41.6	37.0	
1905	41.6	47.6	30.0	42.4		32.2	35.0	
1906	43.5	49.1		70.0		35.2	26.6	
1907	42.2	35.5	46.0	45.0	34.0	43.4	40.6	36.3
1908	40.8	60.0	31.0		53.0	32.0	42.0	33.0
1909	36.2	51.2	64.0	31.0	42.0	34.0	30.0	43.0
1910	37.6	41.0				47.5	28.0	31.6
1911	42.6	43.4		48.6		28.0		
1912	47.6	53.5	32.0	34.0	37.7	46.8		
1913	47.0	44.8	49.0		41.0	42.0	40.0	
1914	41.8	42.0	46.0	39.0	34.0	43.3		
1915	44.0	43.2			48.5	35.0		

Firstly, to discuss the mean age of the Irish Party candidates. The Irish Party candidates, both successful and unsuccessful, were of a similar age, often the age between candidates was almost identical. There were, however, some years where there was a marked difference in the ages of candidates. In 1900, 1908, and 1909, there was a tendency for the successful candidate to be younger than the one not elected. In every other year, the difference was very little, and in only three of the fifteen years, the age of an elected Irish Party Councillor fell under 40. The mean age of a Unionist representative was higher than the other three parties, but the ages of candidates who were elected fluctuated quite regularly. In some instances, the age of an elected candidate was over 60 on two occasions and once over the age of 50. In other years, however the average age of an elected Unionist was quite young and was closer to 30. On most occasions, however, the Irish Party and Unionists preferred their successful candidates to be older men, and this kept the average age of these two parties higher than Labour and Sinn Féin. When looking at the columns displaying the age of Labour and Sinn Féin candidates, the mean age was lower than that of the two other parties. Only in 1908 was the mean age over 50 years for either Labour or Sinn Féin. Every other year, the mean ages of candidates were usually under or close to 40 years of age.

Occupations of Councillors and Candidates

One other factor that must be considered when analysing Dublin Corporation and elections is the occupations of those who were elected and those who were not elected. Individuals from 207 different occupations contested the municipal contests throughout this period, and those who sat in City Hall represented 119 different occupations from many different walks of life. It is impossible to group this wide range of occupations under appropriate headings and categories. However, Table 10 and Table 11, which follow, are constructed based on the categories that were outlined as occupations in the 1901 and 1911 Census of Ireland. In each census, occupations an individual may have fallen into one of six different classes. The

different classes based on occupation were as follows: Class One – Professional, Class Two – Domestic, Class Three – Commercial, Class Four – Agricultural, Class Five – Industrial and Class Six – Indefinite or Non-Producing.[12] Before discussing the table, it is necessary to explain which occupations fall into each category and how the table was constructed.

Class One – Professional includes all individuals involved in professional occupations, such as physicians and barristers. Class one also includes those who worked in government jobs, such as civil servants and teachers. Class Three – Commercial was individuals engaged in commercial activities or the selling of goods, for example, merchants, grocers, hotel proprietors and publicans. Class Four – Agriculture was a person engaged in agricultural work or work involving animals, such as obvious occupations like farmers and farriers but also veterinary surgeons. Class Five – Industrial then included persons working in a wide range of activities, such as tailors and ironmongers, and included labourers, both general labourers and specific labourers, such as dock labourers.[13] Class Two – Domestic was people working that provided domestic services such as a cook or servant, and Class Six – Indefinite or non-producing were persons who did not fall into any of the previous categories. Classes Two and Six are included in the table but are irrelevant as no members of the Corporation fell into these categories.

Table 10 and Table 11 are then broken down into two sections based on these classes. The first section is labelled as 'A' Upper Group, and this includes Class One – Professional and Class Three – Commercial. The second section is labelled as 'B' Lower Group and accounts for Class Two – Domestic, Class Four – Agriculture, Class Five – Industrial and Class Six – Indefinite. The two sections, 'A' Upper Group and 'B' Lower Group, are not classified

[12] *Census of Ireland, 1901. Part 1. Area, Houses and Population: Also the Ages, Civil or Conjugal Condition, Occupations, Birthplaces, Religion and Education of the People.* [Cd. 847], H.C. 1902, cxxii, p. 51. *Census of Ireland, 1911. Part 1. Area, Houses and Population: Also the Ages, Civil or Conjugal Condition, Occupations, Birthplaces, Religion and Education of the People.* [Cd. 6049], H.C. 1912-13, cxiv.i, p. 45.
[13] Census of Ireland, 1901. Part 1. Area, Houses and Population. Cd. 847. Census of Ireland, 1911. Part 1. Area, Houses and Population. Cd. 6049-XIII.

in the 1901 or 1911 census but have been put together for the construction of these two tables. Section 'A' Upper Group represents those who would have been employed in more 'respectable' positions such as solicitors, engineers, or publicans. Section 'B' then represents those employed in jobs that were generally more common to the average worker, such as labourers, farriers, and painters. Table 10 and Table 11 are then subdivided into further sections that show members of each party, a total figure for all elected members of the Corporation and a total figure for all unsuccessful candidates.[14]

[14] The calculations in the construction of both tables were adjusted to only include individuals whose profession was found. Individuals with no profession provided in any of the sources were excluded from both tables.

Table 10: Occupational backgrounds of members of Dublin Corporation, 1899-1916

Group		Irish Party	Unionists	Labour	Sinn Féin	Dublin Corporation
'A' Upper Group	Class 1 Professional	29	8	0	5	42
	Class 3 Commercial	109	16	0	10	135
	Total Group 'A'	138	24	0	15	177
'B' Lower Group	Class 2 Domestic	0	0	0	0	0
	Class 4 Agricultural	8	1	0	1	10
	Class 5 Industrial	23	2	31	7	63
	Class 6 Indefinite	0	0	0	0	0
	Total Group 'B'	31	3	31	8	73
	Combined Totals	169	27	31	23	250

Table 11: Occupations of unsuccessful candidates, 1899-1916

Group		Irish Party	Unionists	Labour	Sinn Féin	Dublin Corporation
'A' Upper Group	Class 1 Professional	31	7	1	2	41
	Class 3 Commercial	53	15	2	8	78
	Total Group 'A'	84	22	3	10	119
'B' Lower Group	Class 2 Domestic	0	0	0	0	0
	Class 4 Agricultural	6	0	2	0	8
	Class 5 Industrial	19	4	39	3	65
	Class 6 Indefinite	0	0	0	0	0
	Total Group 'B'	25	4	41	3	73
	Combined Total	109	26	44	13	192

Previous studies of Dublin Corporation have described those who ran the city as men of commercial interests, publicans, and landlords.[15] Looking at Table 10, the data suggests that most Councillors and Aldermen would fit neatly into this profile as the commercial class provided the greatest number of representatives. In general, those who represented the city were part of group 'A' and were middle or upper class. 177 persons were in group 'A', and this accounted for 71% of all those who were elected, leaving only 29% from group 'B' and the lower sections of society. The Irish Party, which dominated the Corporation throughout this period, drew most of their members from group 'A', 138 out of 169, which was 82%. The Commercial class provided most of the Irish Party's representatives, 109 men in total or 64%. Unionists were of a similar composition to the Irish Party in that the bulk of their representatives were from group 'A'. 24 out of 27, or 89% of the Unionist representatives were from the upper group of society. Three Unionists were from group 'B', but they were not typical members of this section of society. The Unionist in the Agricultural class was James Crozier, who was a veterinary surgeon but was placed in this class based on his occupation, though it would have been one of the higher grades of occupations in this class.[16] The two Unionists in the Industrial class, Andrew Noble and William Thomas Dinnage were not average labourers or plumbers but building contractors who owned construction companies.[17]

Sinn Féin's members were drawn from both the upper and lower groups. 15 representatives or 65% from group 'A' and eight or 35% from group 'B'. Those who represented Sinn Féin from group 'B' were more associated with Labour than Sinn Féin policy. Councillors like William Partridge and Michael O'Lehane, both of whom represented Sinn Féin, are remembered more for their labour connections and involvement with trade unions in the city. Both Partridge and O'Lehane left Sinn Féin to join the growing Labour movement in

[15] Murphy, *The Politics of Dublin Corporation*, p. 188; Daly, *Dublin: The Deposed Capital*, pp. 219-220.
[16] *Dublin Evening Mail,* 15 January 1902; *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 13 January 1902.
[17] *Dublin Daily Express,* 7 January 1901.

the latter years prior to the war. Richard P. Davis, in his study of the early Sinn Féin party, has argued that Griffith in general preferred Sinn Féin's members to come from the higher sections of society or have respected professions.[18] One of the factors in the nomination of WT Cosgrave in the Usher's Quay ward in 1909 was based on the fact that he was a wealthy man being a grocer and publican. Patrick McCartan was nominated to replace PT Daly during the same elections for the Rotunda ward as Griffith was impressed with McCartan studying to be a doctor over his connections to the IRB.[19] McCartan himself was completely unaware of his nomination and had only been put forward in case Daly got disqualified due to an issue with his place of residence.[20] Sinn Féin drawing the majority of their members from Group 'A' showed in the aftermath of the 1913 Lockout when the party supported the employers over the striking workers. Finally, it can be observed that all of the Labour Party's representatives came from the lower sections of society and from the lower group 'B'. 31 of the 31 elected Labour representatives came from the industrial class. These occupations varied greatly, and from the 31 Councillors in the industrial class, each had a different occupation ranging from general labourer to carpenter to plumber. The wide range of labour professions is evidence of the unionisation and solidity of the movement post-1911 that stimulated the upsurge in Labour Councillors in Dublin.[21]

The occupations for those who were not elected, like mean age, were very similar to the occupations of the successful candidates. 119 persons, or 62% of the unsuccessful candidates, were from group 'A', and 73 individuals, or 38%, were from group 'B'. The commercial class provided most of the unsuccessful Irish Party candidates. 53 or 48% of the unsuccessful Irish Party candidates were from the commercial class, with occupations like grocers, spirit merchants, and provision merchants amongst the most common again. The

[18] Davis, *Arthur Griffith and non-violent Sinn Féin*, pp. 77-78.
[19] Ibid., pp. 77-78.
[20] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Patrick McCartan, WS 766, p. 18.
[21] O'Connor, *A Labour History of Ireland*, pp. 80-81.

unsuccessful Unionist candidates were mainly from group 'A', with 22 out of 26 or 85% from this category. The unsuccessful Unionists from group 'B', like their elected counterparts, were not the average workers. John Stewart Goodfellow, Alfred George Thornton, John Gilbert Nairn, and James Hubbard Clarke all had their professions listed as either building or painting contractors.[22] Sinn Féin, like the elected members, drew its unsuccessful candidates from both sections of society, though a higher percentage of 75% of those not elected were from group 'A'. Labour's unsuccessful candidates were only slightly different than the elected members in that three of these men came from group 'A'. George Oman, a jeweller; John Ennis, a corn merchant; and James Joseph Campbell, a clerk, were all members of group 'A'.[23]

[22] *Irish Times,* 11 January 1899; *Dublin Daily Express,* 9 January 1905; *Dublin Daily Express,* 9 January 1914.
[23] *Freeman's Journal,* 7 January 1900; *Freeman's Journal,* 6 January 1907; *Irish Times,* 11 January 1914. George Oman was a jeweller, John Ennis was a merchant, and James Joseph Campbell was a clerk.

Experience of members

Another topic to analyse regarding those who were elected to the Corporation is the experience the individuals had in terms of being involved in politics. This could be experience in national politics or if those elected were also involved in other public bodies such as Boards of Guardians and the Poor Law Unions. The number of members of the Corporation who were Councillors and MPs concurrently was relatively low, with only five men sitting at both City Hall and Westminster. The only party that had members as both a Councillor and MP was the Irish Party.[24] The Irish Party having representatives at both local and national levels was always a point of contention with Arthur Griffith who regularly argued that if a Councillor was an MP, then he should resign from his position on the Corporation.[25] Irish Party Councillors acting as MPs, according to Griffith, only signified that Dublin Corporation was another 'British Parliament'.[26] Griffith also believed the pluralism of the Irish Party took the Councillor's focus away from Dublin Corporation, with many Griffith suggesting they only sought election to the Corporation to use as a stepping stone to achieve election Westminster. The voters, however, were less concerned than Griffith was with the pluralism of the Irish Party. Councillors Timothy Harrington, JP Nannetti, and Alderman William Cotton served uninterrupted on the Corporation until they retired, winning every election they took part in. Sinn Féin only attempted to defeat one of these Irish Party MPs on one occasion, in 1908, when Michael O'Flanagan challenged Nannetti for his seat in the Rotunda ward. The result was a victory for Nannetti and the 'parliamentarians' by 205 votes.[27] The only one of the five MPs who also served as a Councillor to suffer defeat in a municipal contest was Patrick White. White was

[24] The Irish Party members who served as both Councillors and MPs at the same time were Tim Harrington, Joseph Patrick Nannetti, William Francis Cotton, Patrick White, and William Redmond. In the period prior to the First World War, no Sinn Féin or Labour Councillors contested national elections. Some Unionist Councillors unsuccessfully contested for parliamentary seats in Dublin.
[25] *The United Irishman,* 10 January 1903.
[26] *Sinn Féin,* 12 January 1907.
[27] *Irish Times,* 17 January 1908; *Sinn Féin,* 25 January 1908.

defeated by fellow Irish Party candidate Dr James Charles McWalter in the January 1905 municipal election when McWalter beat White by 349 votes to take the seat in the North City ward.[28] The other MP, William Redmond, resigned from his position after the Corporation decided to welcome Queen Victoria to Dublin in 1900.[29]

One other area where representatives gained experience in elected bodies was as members of one of the Poor Law Unions in Dublin. Dublin was the only urban area in Ireland with two Poor Law Unions, and the city was divided into the South Dublin Union and the North Dublin Union. The two other Unions in Dublin county were Balrothery and Rathdown which covered some of the suburbs but predominantly rural areas of the county.[30] Both Unions in Dublin were by far the busiest in Ireland with administering the poor law due to the large population of the county and the growing demand as the nineteenth century drew to a close.[31] As outlined by Mel Cousins, the Local Government (Ireland) Act 1898 completely transformed the composition and election of the Boards of Guardians and brought politics back into the poor law system.[32] Prior to the 1898 Act, the 1890s saw a considerable fall in political campaigns concerning poor law elections.[33] This was mainly due to the split within the Irish Party and there were only four poor law elections before the passing of the act. After the 1898 Act, the existing system of elected and appointed boards were abolished and replaced by wholly elected boards. The 1898 Act also widened the franchise for poor law elections to that of municipal contests.[34] In the first elections after the passing of the Act, candidates from different

[28] *Irish Times,* 17 January 1905. White kept his parliamentary seat in the 1906 general election.
[29] *Freeman's Journal,* 15 March 1900. William Redmond held his parliamentary seat in Clare East until his death in 1917.
[30] Mel Cousins, *Poor Relief in Ireland, 1851-1914* (Oxford, 2011), p. 214.
[31] Virginia Crossman, 'Writing for Relief in Late Nineteenth-Century Dublin: Personal Applications to the Mansion House Fund in 1880' *Cultural and Social History,* Vol. 14, No. 5, (2017), p. 594.
[32] Ibid., pp. 185-187.
[33] Ibid., p. 185.
[34] Ibid., p. 190. After the 1898 Act the local government franchise was widened to all householders and occupants of a portion of a house, provided they paid a certain amount of rent and were resident in the house for at least six months. The franchise was also extended to all women, provided they satisfied the same criteria as men did.

parties competed for the seats.[35] Like in the municipal contests, the campaigns were organised by the various branches of each party in the respective wards.[36]

Table 12: Poor Law Guardians from Dublin Corporation, 1899-1916

Party	Elected members who were also Poor Law Guardians	Total number of Councillors Elected	Percentage of total elected membership
Irish Party	34	170	20%
Unionists	8	29	28%
Labour	4	31	13%
Sinn Féin	1	23	4%
Corporation	47	250	19%

Table 12 displays the number of Poor Law Guardians who were also members of the Corporation. Taking the Corporation as one, 47 members or 19%, were elected to either the South Dublin Union or North Dublin Union.[37] When comparing each of the political parties, like with earlier comparisons regarding age and occupation, there is a clear difference between the established and the emerging factions. The percentage of Irish Party Councillors who were Poor Law Guardians was roughly the same as the Corporation percentage at 20%. The percentage of Unionists serving on one of the Unions was slightly higher at 28%. Labour and

[35] The 1899 Poor Law Elections in Dublin saw a fight between candidates from the Irish Party, Labour, Unionists and Temperance for the positions. Source: *Dublin Daily Nation,* 5 April 1899. Women also competed in the 1899 Poor Law elections and did well with 85 women elected all over Ireland and a number in Dublin. Source: Crossman, *Local Government in Nineteenth Century Ireland*, p. 56.

[36] *Dublin Daily Express,* 6 March 1899; *Irish Independent,* 31 March 1899; *Evening Herald,* 3 April 1899. Poor Law elections were held in the same wards as municipal elections and these wards were placed into the North and South Dublin Union based on where they were located. Arran Quay for example was a ward in the North Dublin Union and Usher's Quay was a ward in the South Dublin Union. The Poor Law Elections were held every three years in contrast to the Dublin Corporation elections that were held annually.

[37] No member of the Corporation was elected to either Rathdown or Balrothery Poor Law Union. The two other unions in Dublin County. This figure includes members who were Poor Law Guardians while also a member of the Corporation and members who were a Poor Law Guardian when not a member of the Corporation.

Sinn Féin, on the other hand, had lower figures than the Corporation figure. Labour had four Councillors, Thomas Lenehan, John Gibbons, Richard O'Carroll, and Thomas Lawlor, elected to the South Dublin Union, which was 13% of the membership. Sinn Féin had only one member, Paul Gregan, who was a Guardian, which was only 4% of the party's overall membership that was elected to the Corporation. The higher percentage of Councillors from the two established parties signifies the strength these parties had on other public bodies. This is particularly relevant in the case of the Irish Party, which controlled not only the municipal corporations throughout Ireland but also the vast majority of Poor Law Boards.

Councillors, Candidates, and their places of residence

An accusation that was sometimes aimed at elected bodies was the lack of interest or connection that representatives had with the areas they were supposed to represent. This was sometimes put to the Irish Party at a national level where party members were accused of having little connection with their constituencies, that very few members even lived in their constituencies, and that most were not born in the constituency or even county that they represented.[38] The objective of this section is to investigate the connection the members of Dublin Corporation and candidates who contested the elections had with the wards in which they stood for election. This section will also examine which party had the most representatives who were connected in some way to the people who voted for them and if a connection to the ward, whether it was residency or place of birth, was important when the voters went to the polls. The first question to consider is what number of those elected to the Corporation were residents in the ward that they represented and what number of those who were not elected were residents in the wards they contested. One would assume with a local public body that the majority of those who represented the various wards were residents in those areas and were

[38] Lyons, *The Irish Parliamentary Party*, p. 176.

locally chosen individuals who knew the characteristics of their respective wards. Table 13 displays the percentage of successful and unsuccessful candidates from each party who were not a resident in the ward they represented.

Table 13: Absentee Councillors and Candidates

Party	Successful Absentee Councillors	Unsuccessful Absentee Candidates
Irish Party	33%	45%
Unionists	49%	80%
Labour	65%	49%
Sinn Féin	35%	31%
Corporation	39%	52%

From looking at Table 13, 39% of all individuals elected to the Corporation were not residents in the ward they represented. When this is applied to the parties, both the Irish Party and Sinn Féin had a similar percentage to that of the Corporation. The Irish Party had 33% of its members not resident in the ward, while Sinn Féin had 35% of its representatives not living in their elected area. Both the Unionists and Labour had a higher percentage of their members than the Corporation figure that were not resident in the wards they represented. To discuss Unionists first, who had just under half of their members at 49% not living in their wards. Most of the Unionist Councillors lived in the townships or suburbs that surrounded the city. Out of the 28 Unionists that were elected to the Corporation, 20 lived in the townships or former townships of Clontarf and Glasnevin, whether they were elected to those wards or not.[39] The former township of Clontarf was the most popular place of residence for a Unionist, with 13

[39] The Northern Townships of Clontarf and Glasnevin were amalgamated into the Corporation's boundaries in 1900 along with Kilmainham. The two Southern Townships of Rathmines and Pembroke remained independent from the Corporation until 1930.

out of the 28 Councillors living in the area. Other Unionist Councillors lived in Rathmines, Rathgar, Rathfarnham, and Terenure. The Unionist Councillors who lived in the city were a long way away from the crowded tenements and poor-quality housing scattered around Dublin. Looking at the building returns forms for these houses on the 1901 and 1911 censuses. All were categorised as private dwellings that were 1st Class buildings. All but one Unionist Councillor also employed a number of servants.[40] This high percentage of Unionist Councillors living in the areas that surrounded the city would not have been wholly surprising as, outside of Ulster, it was only the Dublin suburbs that now had a significant Unionist presence.[41]

Of the four parties, Labour had the highest percentage of Councillors who were absentees and not residents in their wards. 65% of Labour's elected representatives did not reside in the areas that elected them. Compared to the other parties and the Corporation as a whole, this figure is quite high and interesting considering Labour portrayed itself as the 'workingman's party'.[42] After further investigation into the addresses provided by the candidates during the elections, 30 of the 31 Labour Councillors lived in the city. Only one Labour Councillor lived in the more upscale locations of the suburbs or former townships, Effingham Richardson, who lived in Clontarf. Apart from Richardson, all the other Labour members lived in the city wards, though not specifically the ward they represented. Most of these men lived in '2nd Class' houses, though there were a small few, such as PT Daly, who resided in a '3rd Class' house and two who lived in a tenement. In terms of the location in the city where the Labour Councillors lived, most lived within the poorer wards such as Usher's Quay, Arran Quay, Mountjoy, and North Dock.[43] Even though Labour had a very high

[40] This information was collected from the 1901 and 1911 census online by finding the individuals address and then examining the building returns forms for the relevant property.
[41] Alvin Jackson, 'Irish Unionism, 1870-1922' in D. George Boyce and Alan O'Day (eds.), *Defenders of the Union: A survey of British and Irish Unionism since 1801,* (London, 2001), p. 121.
[42] *The Workers Republic,* 15 December 1900.
[43] This information was collected from the 1901 and 1911 census online by finding the individuals address and then examining the building returns forms for the relevant property. These wards were outlined in the 1913 Dublin Housing Inquiry as being some of the worst developed in the city and contained many tenements.

percentage of their members not living in their elected wards, after further investigation, it was revealed that all bar one lived in the city and, for the most part, in the working-class areas of the city.

When a candidate attempted to get elected to the Corporation, place of residency and absenteeism did make a difference. Taking all candidates who stood for election, those who lived in their electoral areas were more likely to get elected than those who did not get elected, as 52% of the unsuccessful candidates did not live in their wards. For the voters of the Irish Party and Unionist candidates, place of residency appeared to be more important than voters of Labour and Sinn Féin. Particularly in the case of the Unionist candidates when 80% of unsuccessful candidates did not live in the ward that they stood for election in. These unsuccessful candidates lived mainly in the southern townships that remained independent from the city, and their failure to get elected may have indicated the weakness of Unionism in the city boundaries outside of Clontarf. Though unsuccessful in their attempts to win a Corporation seat, six out of the twenty-six unsuccessful Unionist candidates were successfully elected as a representative in one of the townships.[44] For Sinn Féin, the percentage of candidates, both successful and unsuccessful, who did not live in their wards were very similar. 31% of Sinn Féin candidates not elected were not residents in the ward, and 35% of those elected. The low figure for Sinn Féin members again shows the Dublin focus of the party and its selection of local men. Matthew Stafford, an unsuccessful candidate in the January 1908 elections in the Drumcondra ward, was president of the Sinn Féin branch in Drumcondra and involved in the Gaelic League in the ward.

[44] Loftus Nuzum, Robert Mitchell, and John Stewart Goodfellow who were all unsuccessful in 1899 were elected to Pembroke UDC. Henry Cochrane who was also unsuccessful was elected to Bray UDC. William West was unsuccessful in 1903 was elected to Pembroke UDC. Isaac Molloy who was unsuccessful in 1904 was elected to Kingstown UDC.

Birthplace of Councillors and Candidates

Another indicator that may be used to examine the relationship between a Councillor and candidates with their ward is where the individual was born. Table 14 displays the place of birth of all elected Councillors and Aldermen throughout these years. Like the previous tables, it is broken down by each individual party and then a total figure that represents the whole Corporation. On the following page, Table 15 displays the birthplaces of all unsuccessful candidates. Table 15 is again broken down by each party and then a total column that represents a collective of the four parties. The place of birth that was used in the calculation of Table 14 and Table 15 that will follow is the place of birth that each elected member of the Corporation gave in the 1901 or 1911 census. If born in Ireland, the place of birth provided was always just the county and nothing more specific than that, so it is impossible to know from the census returns if a Councillor or candidate was born in their ward.[45] It is possible to know then if individuals who contested the elections were born in Dublin, and the first column includes anyone who gave Dublin as their place of birth. The second column includes anyone born in the other eleven counties of Leinster and excludes Dublin. Column three is anyone born in Munster, column four is anyone born in Connacht, column five is anyone born in Ulster, and column six is anyone who was born in Britain. Finally, the last column is anyone born outside of these five locations. Just as Councillors' professions varied greatly, so did the place of birth, with members of the Corporation being born in nearby countries such as England and Scotland or as far away as Poland, the United States, and the West Indies.[46]

[45] It would have been possible to find out if Councillors or candidates were born in their wards through using Irish Geneology.ie which contains church and civil records. Unfortunately, there was no time to filter all the 475 individuals associated with this chapter through Irish Genealogy.

[46] Albert Altman was an Irish Party Councillor who was born in Poland. John Lawlor was an Irish Party Councillor who was born in the United States. Thomas O'Brien was an Irish Party Councillor who was born in the West Indies.

Table 14: Birthplace of Councillors, 1899-1916

	Place of birth						
Party	**Dublin**	**Rest of Leinster**	**Munster**	**Connacht**	**Ulster**	**Britain**	**Other**
Irish Party	76 (44%)	40 (23%)	18 (11%)	10 (6%)	11 (6%)	4 (2%)	2 (1%)
Unionists	7 (25%)	4 (14%)	3 (11%)	0 (0%)	6 (21%)	7 (25%)	0 (0%)
Labour	20 (65%)	4 (13%)	2 (6%)	2 (6%)	0 (0%)	2 (6%)	0 (0%)
Sinn Féin	13 (57%)	3 (13%)	3 (13%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	0 (0%)
Corporation	112 (45%)	50 (20%)	26 (10%)	12 (5%)	19 (8%)	14 (6%)	1 (1%)

Table 15: Birthplace of unsuccessful candidates, 1899-1916

	Place of birth						
Party	**Dublin**	**Rest of Leinster**	**Munster**	**Connacht**	**Ulster**	**Britain**	**Other**
Irish Party	44 (38%)	26 (22%)	13 (11%)	7 (6%)	16 (14%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)
Unionists	12 (62%)	1 (4%)	0 (0%)	1 (4%)	6 (23%)	4 (15%)	1 (4%)
Labour	27 (60%)	8 (18%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	4 (9%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Sinn Féin	9 (69%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total	92 (41%)	36 (16%)	13 (6%)	9 (4%)	27 (12%)	5 (2%)	2 (1%)

From looking at Table 14, it is clear that most individuals who were elected to the Corporation were born in Dublin, with 45%. Looking at the columns that follow, Leinster provided 20% of Councillors with 50 individuals. Out of these 50 Councillors from Leinster, counties that bordered Dublin provided most of these men, with 17 coming from Wicklow and then five each from Kildare and Meath. The other locations are all 11% or lower, with the province of Connacht contributing the lowest number of members, with twelve or just 5%. The composition of the Irish Party was almost identical to that of the Corporation, with 44% of its members born in Dublin and 23% coming from the other counties in Leinster. While the Corporation and, indeed, the Irish Party were regularly accused by their opponents of being unrepresentative of the people, they both found plenty of room for local men within their ranks.

Sinn Féin, during this period, was centralised in Dublin at the expense of progress in other provinces while drawing most of the party's membership from Dublin.[47] Those elected to the Corporation representing Sinn Féin would support this description of the party, as 57% of those elected were from Dublin. The figure for unelected Sinn Féin members further signifies the party's Dublin base, as 69% of all those who did not get elected were from Dublin. Though Sinn Féin drew members from other parts of Ireland and even abroad, with Walter Cole being from Liverpool, those who participated the most in Corporation discussions for Sinn Féin were all local men such as Tom Kelly, Seán T O'Kelly, and WT Cosgrave.

Labour also had the greatest number of elected members from Dublin, with 65%. As discussed in previous paragraphs, most of Labour's Councillors lived in the city, and with such a high percentage being born in the city, this outlines the influence of the local trade unions in the solidarity of the Labour Party in the city after 1911 and up to 1915.[48] Unionists only had 25% of their Councillors born in Dublin. This figure was well below the Corporation figure and a lot lower than the other parties. The same percentage of Unionist representatives were born overseas as were born in Dublin. Five Unionists were from Scotland, while two were from England, and as might have been expected, six Unionist Councillors were from Ulster, the heartland of Unionism in Ireland. The number of Unionist members from Dublin elected was relatively low, and any Unionist Councillor from the county had little influence within the movement at Corporation meetings. The main speakers for the Unionist Party were Andrew Beattie, Francis Vance, and George Healy, who were born in Down, Derry, and Limerick, respectively. While Dublin may have been the last stronghold for Unionism outside of Ulster, Unionists born in Dublin had little or no influence on the Dublin Corporation. The figure for

[47] Davis, *Arthur Griffith and non-violent Sinn Féin*, p. 79.
[48] The development and foundation of the Dublin Labour Party is analysed in detail later chapters.

unelected Unionist members would support this, as 62% of Unionists who did not get elected to the Corporation were born in Dublin.

In terms of the unsuccessful candidates, there is not any notable difference in the overall composition of the birthplaces of a Councillor or someone who failed to get elected. The total figures for elected and unelected candidates are almost identical, with only very marginal differences, if any. Dublin was still the biggest provider of unelected candidates, with 92 persons or 45% coming from Dublin. The makeup of successful and unsuccessful Irish Party candidates is very similar with little difference. Labour and Sinn Féin's figures for both groups are also very similar. 60% of Labour's unsuccessful candidates came from Dublin, while 69% of Sinn Féin's unsuccessful candidates were from Dublin. The elected and unelected figures indicate the Dublin focus for both emerging parties at that time. For the Unionists, the figure for the unsuccessful candidates shows the failure of candidates from the city to get elected to the Corporation. 62% of the unsuccessful Unionist candidates were from Dublin. If you were a Unionist candidate born in Dublin, you would have been less likely to get elected than your fellow candidate from Britain or Ulster.

Conclusion

Dublin Corporation was often labelled as many different things as possible throughout the years prior to the First World War. The Corporation and Irish Party were regularly criticised for being corrupt, unrepresentative, and outdated. In this chapter, these accusations were investigated, and an analysis was provided of all elected members of the Corporation and of those who unsuccessfully contested the elections. In terms of those who were elected to the Corporation, there was a clear difference between the two established parties, the Irish Party and Unionists, and the two emerging parties, Sinn Féin and Labour. Both the Irish Party and the Unionist Party were considerably older than their fellow Councillors in Sinn Féin and Labour. The age gap between these two groups may indicate a lack of new blood or younger members being

integrated into the Irish Party and Unionists or that these two had lost their appeal to the younger generations living in the city. When looking at the unelected candidates, there were the same differences between the established and emerging parties in that the unsuccessful Irish Party or Unionist candidate was older than one from Sinn Féin and Labour.

There was also a contrast regarding the occupations of members of each party. The Irish Party and Unionists drew many of their members from commercial or professional backgrounds. Sinn Féin had some members from commercial and professional backgrounds but also had members who were from industrial backgrounds. Labour, on the other hand, drew all its members almost exclusively from industrial professions. Again, when looking at the unsuccessful candidates from each party, the occupational backgrounds mirrored that of the successful candidates. The Irish Party and Unionists continued to draw their candidates from professional and commercial backgrounds, Sinn Féin had candidates from both, and Labour drew the majority of their candidates from professions that were considered industrial. None of the four parties had a significant difference between elected and unelected candidates in terms of profession, and the same man who got elected was similar to one who did not. The Corporation was labelled as falling into the hands of men of business and publicans, and from the analysis in this chapter, that accusation is true. 70% of those who represented the city fell into these categories, and 66% of those not elected fell into these categories. The average candidate for municipal election in Dublin was more than likely a man of professional or commercial interests.

There was also a difference between the experience of representatives of the different parties. The two established parties, for obvious reasons, had more experience in their ranks in terms of serving on other elected bodies such as Poor Law Unions, and the Irish Party had five Councillors who also served the party as an MP simultaneously to sitting on the Corporation. When investigating the relationship between Councillors and their wards, all bar the Unionist

Party had a justifiable connection to the ward they represented, whether in terms of residency in that ward or place of birth. Being a resident in the ward where you stood for election did make a difference to the voters, it would appear. 39% of those elected across all parties were not resident in the ward, while 52% of those not elected did not live in their wards. The voters of Dublin preferred their elected representatives to be living where they sought election rather than be absentee representatives.

Ch. 3 – Dublin Corporation after the 1898 Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1899-1904

Introduction

This chapter will analyse Dublin Corporation's politics after the passing of the Local Government (Ireland) Act 1898 up to the 1904 municipal elections. In the absence of Irish self-government, many regarded Dublin Corporation as the premier elected representative body in Ireland.[1] However, throughout the 19th Century, Dublin's municipal elections were contested under a very restricted franchise owing to various rules, such as property qualifications required to cast a vote. By the middle of the 1890s, there were only approximately 8,000 municipal voters in Dublin, compared with 37,000 for parliamentary elections.[2] The population of Dublin city, according to the 1891 Census, was 245,001. The municipal franchise in the 1890s only accounted for 3.26% of the total population.[3] After the passing of the 1898 Act, the municipal franchise was greatly extended from 8,000 voters to almost 38,000 voters. This increase in the number of electors added a new dynamic to the elections for Dublin Corporation. With the widening of the franchise, Ciarán Wallace has estimated that where seats were contested, a remarkable 82% of individuals exercised their right to vote in the Dublin municipal elections in January 1899.[4]

This chapter will first discuss the first elections from the perspective of the Irish Party, which by 1899 was still disunited and, in Dublin's case, still in the Parnellite and anti-Parnellite factions. In the mid-nineteenth century, the Unionists dominated Dublin Corporation, though

[1] Crossman, *Local Government in Nineteenth Century Ireland*, p. 81.
[2] *Irish Times,* 6 November 1895. Citied in Daly, *Dublin, The Deposed Capital*, p. 204. The population for Dublin City according to the 1891 Census was 245,001. The municipal franchise in the 1890s only accounted for 3.26% of the total population.
[3] Daly, *Dublin, The Deposed Capital*, p. 204.
[4] Wallace, 'Local Politics and Government', p. 104.

the Nationalists had wrestled control of the Corporation from them during the 1880s.[5] However, there remained Unionist Councillors who sat in City Hall, and a significant proportion of Unionist representatives were elected to the surrounding townships. One of the first targets the Corporation had was to capture these townships and amalgamate them into the city's boundaries. The Dublin Boundaries Act 1900 culminated this struggle between the Nationalist Corporation and Unionist townships, who, as Ciarán Wallace has argued, were fighting for Unionist Home Rule.[6] Another theme the chapter will focus on is the emerging advanced Nationalist movement in Dublin at the turn of the century, which eventually formed the genesis of the first Sinn Féin party, which was established in 1905. This chapter will contribute to the argument that the catalyst for the Sinn Féin movement can be found in opposition to the royal visits to Dublin in 1900 and 1903.

Historians such as Senia Pašeta, Matthew Kelly, and Richard Davis all identify the two royal visits as a point of unity for Griffith and his followers, leading to the foundation of Cumann na nGaedheal in 1900 and the National Council in 1903.[7] The increase in working-class voters increased Labour representation through the Labour Electoral Association (LEA). Initially doing quite well, Labour soon faded away and became engulfed by the Irish Party's machine or 'vampirised' as some have argued.[8] The chapter will analyse the LEA that emerged during the 1899 elections and how this soon faded and became a disunited movement assimilated into the Irish Party under the wide-ranging umbrella.

[5] Murphy, *The Politics of Dublin Corporation*, p. 12.
[6] Wallace, 'Fighting for Unionist Home Rule', pp. 932-949; Wallace, 'Civil Society in search of a state', pp. 426-452.
[7] Pašeta, 'Nationalist Responses to Two Royal Visits to Ireland, 1900 and 1903', pp. 488-504; Kelly, *The Fenian Ideal and Irish Nationalism*; Davis, *Arthur Griffith and non-violent Sinn Féin*.
[8] Wheatly, *Nationalism and the Irish Party*, p. 253.

Parnellites Vs Anti-Parnellites and Nationalist reunification

The first election to be held after the passing of the Local Government (Ireland) Act 1898 was scheduled for 15 January 1899. The United Irish League had been founded by William O'Brien in Westport Co. Mayo in January 1898 with the short-term aim of the UIL to organise local Nationalists in the west of Ireland around local agrarian issues. The long-term objective of the UIL was to reunite all Nationalists under one movement, healing the wounds of the Parnell split.[9] By the time the elections were held in 1899, the UIL had not entirely made its way into Dublin's politics, and the Nationalist campaign was divided between the Parnellites and the anti-Parnellites.[10] Since the Parnell split, Dublin had been a centre of support for Parnell. In the words of Frank Callanan, Parnell was the 'undisputed leader' in the capital[11] In the 1892 and 1895 General Elections, Dublin city returned three Parnellite MPs out of four seats.[12] These results in Dublin were the opposite to the national trends where anti-Parnellites reigned supreme, prompting the anti-Parnellite *Freeman's Journal* to refer to the city's 'sullen humour', and remark that 'the capital of Ireland has never led Ireland, it has always followed'.[13] At a municipal level, Dublin had always been loyal to Parnell, and throughout the 1880s, Unionist interest in Dublin Corporation waned while Parnell's Irish Party gained control of City Hall.

When Parnellism was at its height, eight Irish Party MPs were also members of the Corporation throughout the 1880s. Except for 1884, all Lord Mayors in the eight years between 1882 and 1889 were Irish Party MPs.[14] After the split, fifty out of sixty members of the Corporation signed a requisition to hold a special meeting to pass a resolution to support

[9] For a detailed analysis of the UIL and the role it played in the reunification of the Irish Party see: Philip Bull, 'The United Irish League and the Reunion of the Irish Parliamentary Party, 1898-1900' *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 26, No. 101, (1988), pp. 51-78; Philip Bull, 'The Formation of the United Irish League, 1898-1900: The Dynamics of Irish Agrarian Agitation' *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 33, No. 132, (2003), pp. 404-423.
[10] See Ch. 1 for a history of the UIL in Dublin. The first UIL branches in the City were not active until 1900.
[11] Frank Callanan, *The Parnell Split, 1890-91* (Cork, 1992), p. 299.
[12] Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1801-1922*, pp. 144-150, 151- 156.
[13] *Freeman's Journal,* 9 July 1892.
[14] Murphy, *The Politics of Dublin Corporation*, p. 156. The Irish Party MPs who were also members of the Corporation in the 1880s were Maurice Brooks, Charles Dawson, HJ Gill, TD Sullivan, Thomas Mayne, John O'Connor, and Thomas Sexton. Michael Davitt was also briefly a member of the Corporation in 1886.

Parnell. Yet when this meeting was called, only thirty-two members attended. As early as March 1891, the then Lord Mayor, Joseph Meade, helped to establish a Parnell leadership fund. Candidates, during their election campaigns for the Corporation, would proclaim their loyalty to Parnell. Yet when Parnell died, the response from the Corporation was muted, with only half the members turning up for a meeting to express their condolences.[15] As shown by James Murphy, the 1890s saw Dublin Corporation divided between Parnellites and anti-Parnellites and the grip the Irish Party established over the Corporation in the 1880s somewhat weakened. However, as Murphy argues, the divisions between both sides did not manifest themselves fully in Dublin and, to some extent, remained inconspicuous mainly due to the strength the Parnellites had in Dublin but also a reluctance by the Nationalists to allow Unionists to take advantage of such divisions.[16] One such exception was in December 1896, when some anti-Parnellite Councillors supported Unionist Sir Robert Sexton in his unsuccessful bid for the mayoralty against the incumbent Parnellite Lord Mayor, Valentine Blake Dillon.[17]

In the 1899 contests, however, every seat was contested, and the competition between both sides of Nationalism was more potent than in previous years. Both sides also had the support of a prominent Nationalist newspaper at their disposal. The *Irish Independent* advocated support for the Parnellite candidates, and the *Freeman's Journal* sought approval for the anti-Parnellites. As previously mentioned, the UIL had not fully filtered through Dublin's municipal politics by the time of these elections. Still, in the *Freeman*, all anti-Parnellite candidates were affiliated with the burgeoning movement. On the other hand, the Parnellite candidates ran on a separate ticket and were described in most of the Dublin papers as 'Independent Nationalists'. In the weeks leading up to the elections, both sides tried to rally support behind their candidates. Parnellite MP William Field addressed a rally and stated that

[15] Ibid., p. 173.
[16] Ibid., pp. 173-176.
[17] O'Brien, *Dear, Dirty Dublin*, p. 72. Valentine Blake Dillon was the cousin of John Dillon.

the polls would show that Dublin was the 'centre of Parnellism' and elections were an 'opportunity of showing the world that Dublin was still a Parnellite city'.[18] Even though the Nationalists entered these elections divided into two camps, both had very similar election programmes that they tried to convey to the enlarged electorate. Both sides adopted a platform that looked at extending the city's boundaries to capture the suburbs, improve dwellings for the poor in the city, expand technical education, and also to promote the concerns of labour. Both sides agreed on the unifying symbols of national self-government and a Catholic University for Dublin.[19] The Nationalists won a total of 45 out of 60 seats in the 1899 contests, with the anti-Parnellite faction taking 27 and the Parnellites taking 18.[20] The Parnellite and anti-Parnellite camps were prompt in their criticism of the other side regarding their election performance, with the *Freeman* declaring that the election was a 'Disastrous rout of the Independent (Parnellite) candidates'.[21] On the contrary, the *Irish Daily Independent* stated that there were notable victories for the Independent Nationalist candidates and that the election results showed strong support for John Redmond and his followers.[22] The attacks in the press on the Parnellites and anti-Parnellites from each side were reflective of the rift that existed in Irish politics at this stage and of the differences between John Redmond and John Dillon. Dillon's wife Elizabeth enthusiastically reported the results of these elections in a letter to Edward Blake in February 1899 as 'Redmond's candidates' defeat [in the local government elections] really is a tremendous triumph'.[23]

In February 1899, the Archbishop of Dublin, William Walsh, received a letter from a former Nationalist Councillor, Denis J Cogan, who decided against running for election to the

[18] *Irish Daily Independent,* 11 January 1899.
[19] O'Brien, *Dear, Dirty Dublin*, p. 78.
[20] Overall, there was 60 seats contested. Nationalists won 45, Labour won 8, and Unionists won 7. The Corporation prior to the 1899 contests was compromised of 48 Nationalists and 12 Unionists.
[21] *Freeman's Journal,* 18 January 1899.
[22] *Irish Daily Independent,* 18 January 1899.
[23] Elizabeth Dillon to Edward Blake, 28 February 1899 (ODPRA, EBP: microfilm, NLI, p4682/396). Cited in Mulvagh, *The Irish Parliamentary Party at Westminster*, p. 35.

new Corporation in the previous month.[24] Cogan was a Parnellite Councillor in the Rotunda ward before the 1899 elections. Cogan cited the rift and competition between the Nationalists as his main reason for opting not to contest in 1899 and asked the Archbishop to try and end the divisions in the city for the good of 'national unity'.[25] During an Easter Sunday Mass for Catholic members of the Corporation, Walsh spoke for the need to end divisions amongst the Nationalists and challenged those present to eliminate the different interests that had plagued the Corporation.[26] Walsh is a figure mentioned throughout this thesis and was a commanding figure in Dublin who exercised great influence over the city.[27] Walsh would play a role in the re-unification of Nationalist politics in 1900, but by 1905, he had withdrawn from politics to focus his time on efforts on educational and religious matters.[28]

During the first meeting of the reformed Corporation, one of the first orders of business for the Nationalists was a pledge of devotion to the cause of self-government and a promise to achieve this by any means necessary. Councillor for the North City ward, Patrick White, thought 'it was desirable at this the first meeting of the Council under the extended franchise to express their duty towards the measure of Local Government under which they were elected and to express their unaltered and unalterable attitude towards the greater question of Home Rule on which the Irish people had placed their hearts'.[29] White then moved 'That we, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors constituting the first Corporation of the City of Dublin elected by popular franchise, hereby declare our unalterable devotion to the cause of National Self-Government for Ireland, and our firm determination to use every legitimate means to

[24] Cogan was elected to Wicklow County Council for the Glendalough ward in the January 1899 elections. Cogan was a provision merchant based on Thomas Street in the city but originally from Glendalough. Cogan would get elected to Dublin Corporation again for the Irish Party in January 1911 for the Usher's Quay ward.
[25] Letter from Denis J Cogan to William Walsh, 7 February 1899 (Dublin Diocesan Archives, Archbishop William Walsh Papers, Laity Files, IE/DDA/AB5/Laity/364/6).
[26] *Irish Daily Independent,* 3 April 1899.
[27] Daithí Ó Corráin, 'Archbishop William Joseph Walsh', in Eugenio F Biagini and Daniel Mulhall (eds.), *The Shaping of Modern Ireland: A Centenary Assessment,* (Kildare, 2016), p. 110.
[28] Ó Corráin, 'Archbishop William Joseph Walsh', p. 119.
[29] *Freeman's Journal,* 24 January 1899. White would get elected as an Irish Party MP for North Meath in 1900.

secure its triumph'.[30] White's motion was seconded by William Redmond MP, who stated that 'we consider it our duty that an expression should be given to the unalterable determination of the Irish People while using Local Government and making the best use of it, not for a single moment to regard it as a substitute for the greater Government which we hope to see in College Green'.[31] William Redmond also used this opportunity to call for the reunion of Nationalist politics, 'This Council is composed of an overwhelming majority of Nationalists. There are some gentlemen who might differ from each other on various points but are a very small minority, they are all Nationalists, and I am certain that this resolution will receive the support of every Nationalist in this Council'.[32] All Nationalists present unanimously supported White's motion, and the Lord Mayor then carried the motion.

The Irish Party reunited in January 1900 under the leadership of John Redmond. By then, however, the squabbling between the Parnellite and anti-Parnellites in Dublin had subsided and was not as prevalent as it had been twelve months previous. The main opposition for the Nationalists in January 1900 was Labour, who had performed well and exceeded expectations in the 1899 elections. Only in the Trinity ward was a contest between Parnellite and anti-Parnellite candidates. The victor in the Trinity ward was the anti-Parnellite candidate James Lyons, who beat his Parnellite opponent Philip Meagher by 221 votes.[33] By the time the 1900 municipal elections were held, the UIL began filtering into Dublin's political sphere and began to unite the Nationalists. Timothy Harrington wrote to Redmond in March 1900 regarding the constitution of the UIL, how best to make this movement the national organisation of the Irish Party, and how to make the UIL fully efficient in Dublin.[34] From 1900, municipal elections would no longer be fought between Parnellites and anti-Parnellites but

[30] Meeting on 23 January 1899. Dublin City Council Minutes.
[31] *Freeman's Journal,* 24 January 1899.
[32] Ibid*,* 24 January 1899.
[33] *Dublin Daily Nation,* 17 January 1900.
[34] Letter from Timothy C Harrington to John Redmond, 3 March 1900 (NLI, John Redmond Papers, Ms. 15,194).

rather over questions of loyalty to the British Crown as a new form of advanced Nationalism began to attempt to influence the electorate and unity of the Irish Party.

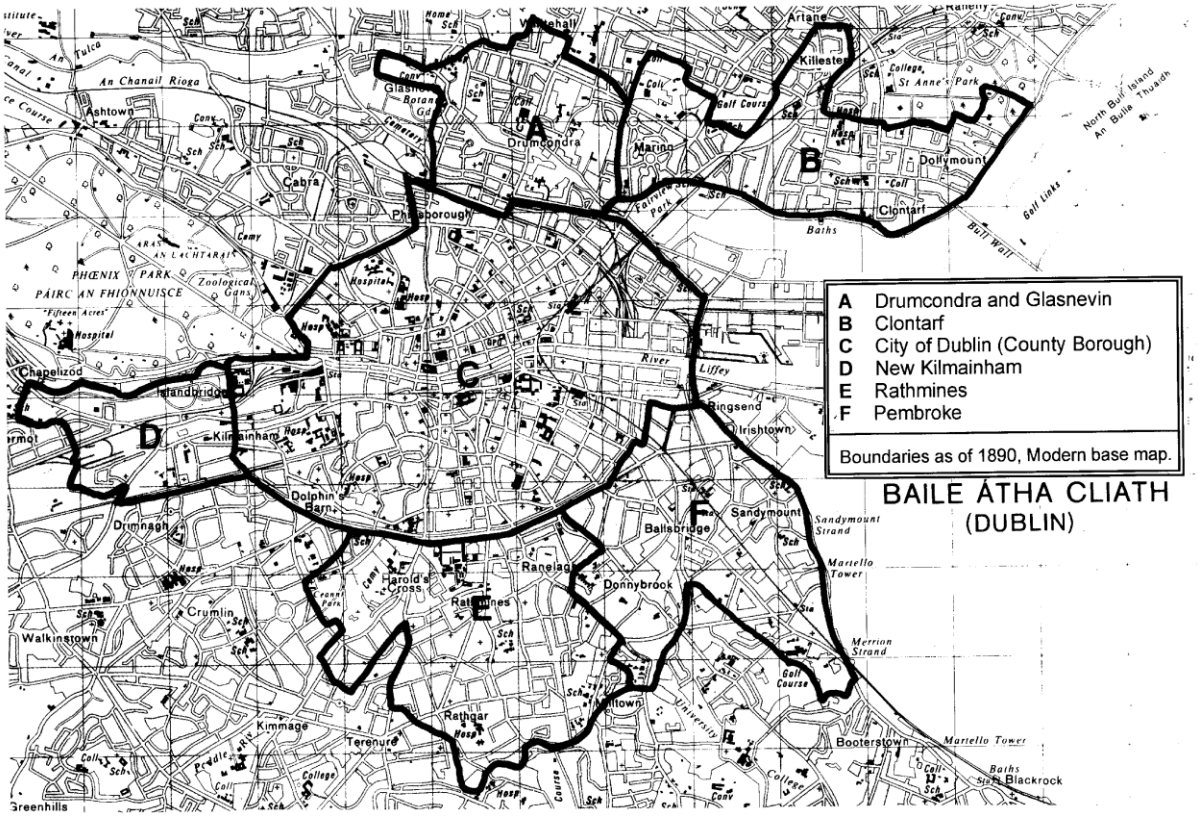
Fighting For Unionist Home Rule? The 1900 Boundary Extension

Unionists once dominated Dublin Corporation, ruling it almost exclusively and keeping out any Nationalist interests. In the 1870s, they began to withdraw from the battlefield to the redoubts of the townships.[35] By the late 1890s, Unionist influence had dwindled significantly, and in the last assembly before the 1899 elections, there were twelve Unionist representatives out of sixty at City Hall.[36] After the 1899 elections, the number of Unionist Councillors shrunk further, with only seven Unionists elected. The poor showing in the 1899 elections now had the Unionists as the smallest party in the Corporation behind the Nationalists and Labour.[37] By now, the Unionists had retreated to the townships where they controlled the various Boards of Commissioners. The Corporation had attempted annexation of the townships in the 1870s but to no avail. For the new Corporation, however, the question would be revisited almost immediately. To do this, the Corporation would have to absorb the surrounding townships into the city's jurisdiction, which required parliamentary approval.[38] The drafting of this bill to extend the boundaries of the city began soon after the 1899 elections, with the Corporation calling for the signatures of the four members of Parliament for the city of Dublin, the two county Dublin MPs, along with those of John Redmond, John Dillon and T.M. Healy to be placed on the bill, while also demanding that the bill receive the support of all the Irish Party members of Parliament.[39] Figure 3 on the next page shows the boundaries of Dublin Corporation in 1899, with the boundaries confined within the canals that circled the city with

[35] Murphy, *The Politics of Dublin Corporation*, p. 11.
[36] O'Brien, *Dear, Dirty Dublin*, p. 78.
[37] *Irish Times,* 17 January 1899. Four of the seven seats Unionists won in 1899 were all in won ward, the South City ward. This ward had long been the seat of veteran Unionist Alderman Sir Robert Sexton. Sexton would die soon after these elections and the South City ward soon ceased to be a ward Unionists enjoyed success in again until the election of Ernest Bewley 1907.
[38] O'Brien, *Dear, Dirty Dublin*, p. 82.
[39] Meeting on 30 January 1899, Dublin City Council Minutes.

the suburbs bordering these boundaries. Each surrounding suburb was, in reality, a different assembly governed by other representatives than those who took their seats in City Hall.

Figure 3: Dublin City and its independent suburbs, 1899



Source: Ciaran Wallace, *'Civil Society in search of a state: Dublin 1898-1922, Urban History, Vol. 45, No.3 (2017)*

Each of the surrounding suburbs was also distinguished from the city by varying levels of wealth, religious composition, and social standing of their residents. South of the city, Rathmines and Pembroke were by far the wealthiest and most socially elevated. Clontarf to the northeast, while still being affluent, was not as wealthy as the two southern townships but still respectable in terms of the employment and professions of Clontarf's residents, with Clontarf inhabitants predominantly Unionist like their counterparts to the south of the city. North of the city, there was Drumcondra, which was mainly populated by the Catholic middle class, and to the west of the city was Kilmainham, which was centred on industrial employment.[40] A key

[40] Wallace, 'Civil Society in search of a state', p. 432.

factor in the Corporation's eagerness to enlarge its boundaries was the potential increase in taxes and rates that would be gathered from a new area. An effect of the 1898 Local Government Act was an increase in the responsibilities of the Corporation in terms of providing services to the people. The residents of the townships could enjoy all of these services without contributing to them financially.[41] The Corporation wanted to extend the boundaries to correct the inequity whereby the residents of the suburbs enjoyed all of the city's facilities without being liable for taxes collected through the rates. The annexation of the townships would also add £350,000 to the city's valuation.[42] Joseph Brady has argued that with the Corporation confined within the canals, the city was denied much needed revenue to deal with chronic problems such as slum clearance that plagued the city as it was in the townships that the wealthy middle class chose to live, leaving the poor to the central areas.[43]

The *Evening Herald* reported in February 1899 that the majority of citizens of the city of Dublin were in favour of absorbing the townships to extend the city's boundaries and that the Corporation had expressed a willingness and eagerness to meet the representatives of the townships to discuss such business.[44] The townships, on the other hand, mainly the two wealthier and more powerful southern ones, Rathmines and Pembroke, did not share this enthusiasm that the Corporation had to extend the boundaries and provided stiff opposition to any attempts made to propose such a deal. Pembroke Urban District Commissioners declared that any such bill proposed by Dublin Corporation would be ruinous to the township. The Commissioners would take all steps necessary to reject such a bill and protect the rights of Pembroke and its residents.[45] Rathmines Urban District Council met in November 1899 and

[41] Silvi K Berger, Franco Mariuzzo, and Peter L Ormosi, 'Residential Exodus from Dublin Circa 1900: Municipal Annexation and Preferences for Local Government' *The Journal of Economic History,* Vol. 82, No. 4, (2022), p. 1117.
[42] O'Brien, *Dear, Dirty Dublin: A City in Distress, 1899-1916*, p. 82.
[43] Joseph Brady and Annegret Simms*, Dublin Through Space and Time (c.900-1900)* (Dublin, 2001), p. 263.
[44] *Evening Herald,* 20 February 1899.
[45] Meeting on 6 February 1899. Pembroke Urban District Council Minutes, no. 7, 5 April 1897-11 December 1899.

was equally critical of the proposed annexation, refusing to accept an invitation to a meeting with representatives of the Corporation to discuss any amalgamation and saying that any proposed bill 'is not in the interest of the township whatsoever and will be rejected'.[46] The *Irish Times* frequently reported on the tussle between the city and suburbs regarding the boundaries and, as expected, supported the cases for Rathmines and Pembroke to remain independent, regularly publishing letters from the clerks of both townships as to why they should stay free and condemning the Corporation for even proposing such a bill.[47] The political composition of the two southern townships was predominantly Unionist, with all previous representatives in Rathmines and Pembroke re-elected in January 1899 to the Urban District Councils, making any attempts by a Nationalist Corporation to capture these townships extremely difficult.[48]

Out of the three remaining townships, Clontarf provided the most significant opposition to the bill as Clontarf had a similar religious and social composition to that of Pembroke and Rathmines, fearing for its residents as to what rates they may be subjected to if they lost independence.[49] The Clontarf Board of Commissioners dismissed any attempts to organise a conference to discuss the boundaries extension, stating the only reason they would consider discussions with the Corporation was to have the name Clontarf removed from any such bill.[50] Drumcondra and Kilmainham were more supportive of becoming part of the city's boundaries, with the Board of Commissioners in Kilmainham happy to meet the Corporation to discuss any changes to the boundaries.[51] In Drumcondra and Kilmainham, the case against the Corporation had been weakened because the majority of ratepayers had petitioned in favour of the bill. Both townships had many working and lower middle-class residents who were sympathetic towards

[46] Meeting on 16 November 1899. Rathmines and Rathgar Urban District Council Minute Book, Volume No. 7, 1893-1902.
[47] *Irish Times,* 25 April 1899; *Irish Times,* 13 June 1899; *Irish Times,* 21 July 1899.
[48] Ibid., 18 January 1899.
[49] Wallace, 'Fighting for Unionist Home Rule', pp. 936-937.
[50] *Irish Times,* 8 March 1899.
[51] Meeting on 4 December 1899, Dublin City Council Minutes.

those who ran the city – the likes of shopkeepers, publicans, and building contractors with a Nationalist outlook.[52] The more upscale Clontarf was divided on the issue of amalgamation, and a plebiscite held in Clontarf in May 1900 proved controversial. The result of the plebiscite was 411 votes against amalgamation, with 291 votes in favour. However, there were 334 spoiled votes, and another 200 voting papers were not collected at all.[53] The Corporation immediately questioned the poll's validity, owing to the large number of spoiled votes and uncollected voting papers, along with the Chairman of the Commissioners, Lord Ardilaun, exercising an extensive personal influence in any outcome.[54]

Ciarán Wallace has described the Dublin Boundaries Act (1900) as the first success the Municipal Council had since the reformed elections in January 1899, with the assimilation of Kilmainham, Drumcondra and Clontarf Urban Districts into the city successfully negotiated by the City Council after committee hearings.[55] Rathmines and Pembroke remained independent after the opposition of both townships and Edward Carson's fierce opposition to the bill in Westminster, declaring the more affluent townships had no wishes to be taken over and that all who advocated amalgamation in the townships were defeated in the most recent elections in the suburbs.[56] Two other Unionist MPs in Dublin, James Henry Campbell and Sir Horace Plunkett, also voiced their concerns with the bill in Westminster, an act the Pembroke Commissioners graciously received.[57] The *Rathmines News* declared that the outcome was a victory for the residents of Pembroke and Rathmines and protected them from falling under the control of the Corporation.[58] While both southern townships remained independent, they were forced to contribute rates to the City Council along with some infrastructural control, a subtle

[52] Ó'Maitiú, *Dublin's Suburban Towns*, p. 137.
[53] *Freeman's Journal,* 24 May 1900; *Dublin Daily Nation,* 24 May 1900.
[54] *Freeman's Journal,* 24 May 1900.
[55] Wallace, 'Fighting for Unionist Home Rule', p. 934.
[56] *Hansard,* Fourth Series, Volume 80, 19th March 1900, pp. 1169-1171.
[57] Meeting on 31 October 1898, Pembroke Urban District Council Minutes, Volume no. 7, 5 April 1897-11 December 1899.
[58] *Rathmines News,* 6 January 1900.

victory in its own right for the Corporation.[59] The annexation of Kilmainham, Drumcondra, and Clontarf, along with the settlement reached with Rathmines and Pembroke, can be regarded as a victory for the Nationalist dominated Corporation over some of the Unionist controlled townships. Unionism, by this time, as Alvin Jackson has written, was still a significant electoral movement and presence in Ulster, with southern Unionism divided and dwindling in influence.[60]

With the annexation of the three northern townships, the Corporation raised much needed funds through taxation and increased rates. The residents of the northern townships now had to pay more than double the tax rate than they had previously. The increase in taxes could then be used by the Corporation to fund infrastructural projects.[61] It was not just Dublin Corporation that sought to expand its boundaries at the turn of the twentieth century. Newcastle City Council began a similar process in 1903 to annex the surrounding independent jurisdictions of Walker, Gosforth, and Benwell and Fenham Urban District Councils; the parish of Longbenton from within Tynemouth Rural District Council; and the parishes of Kenton and Fawdon from within Castle Ward Rural District Council.[62] The reason for Newcastle City Council's proposed annexation was similar to Dublin, pressure had grown significantly on the City Council to provide for the needs of a growing population and increasing the jurisdiction would allow for an increase in rates that could be used to fund the services provided to the citizens. Like in Dublin, Newcastle City Council was successful in annexing some of the desired areas and met stringent opposition from some areas that remained independent. Nonetheless, Dublin and Newcastle are just two examples of many other districts that sought

[59] Wallace, 'Fighting for Unionist Home Rule', p. 937.
[60] Jackson, 'The Failure of Unionism in Dublin, 1900', *Irish Historical Studies*, pp. 378.
[61] Berger, Mariuzzo, and Ormosi, 'Residential Exodus from Dublin circa 1900', p. 1119.
[62] Bertie Dockerill, 'Contested urban borders: the 1903 expansion of Newcastle upon Tyne's boundaries' *Town Planning Review,* Vol. 91, No. 2, (2020), p. 138.

to expand at the turn of the century. All of these cities faced similar issues of growing populations and financial hardships to deal with the challenges that this posed.[63]

One crucial change that resulted from the annexation of Clontarf, Drumcondra and Kilmainham was the increased number of elected representatives to the Corporation. Before the annexation, Dublin Corporation contained sixty members. After adding the three former townships, the figure rose to eighty members.[64] The January 1901 elections were when these new wards would first send representatives to City Hall. Consequently, the Unionist representation was boosted when the new wards were added to the Corporation. Of the twenty new members elected to the Corporation, eight were Unionists. This raised the representation of Unionists from seven to fifteen, or 19% of the total representation. Clontarf was the most successful of added areas for the Unionists, where they won six out of eight seats between the two Clontarf wards. Indeed, Clontarf would become the centre for Unionist representation after 1901. If the original plan of incorporating Pembroke and Rathmines townships had succeeded, these proposed ward changes would probably have yielded a sizeable Unionist minority of about one-third in what would have then been an 88 member Corporation.

Popular Protest and Advanced Nationalism

Arthur Griffith had previously flirted with the idea of aligning with the Irish Party. However, he became disillusioned after the fall of Parnell, and by the turn of the twentieth century, he was one of the most outspoken critics of Parnell's former party.[65] As Padraic Colum has shown, Griffith, at the time of the Parnell split, was a Parnellite and supported Parnell in the aftermath.[66] By 1900, Griffith was the editor of his paper, the *United Irishman,* which was used

[63] Ibid., p. 150.
[64] Five new wards were added to the Corporation and were Clontarf Eat, Clontarf West, Drumcondra, Glasnevin and New Kilmainham. Each ward in 1901 elected four representatives, an Alderman and three Councillors. These wards were then contested on a rotational system like the original wards.
[65] Brian Maye, *Arthur Griffith,* (Dublin, 1997), p. 84.
[66] Padraic Colum, *Arthur Griffith* (Dublin, 1959), pp. 22-24.

as his platform to criticise the Irish Party. Coming to prominence during the second Boer War, Griffith had amassed a set of supporters opposed to the Irish Party. His following was mainly Dublin based and acted as a thorn in the side of the Irish Party, viewing themselves as alternative Nationalists to challenge the authority of the recently reunified Irish Party under the leadership of John Redmond.[67] Though in general, Griffith's followers were loosely connected, two royal visits, beginning with Queen Victoria's visit in 1900 and then King Edward's tour in 1903, would unite his followers into an organisation that would start to challenge the dominance of the Irish Party as the only Nationalist organisation in Dublin Corporation.

In Dublin, it was announced that Queen Victoria would be visiting the city in April 1900. The visit of the British monarch would place the Corporation in an awkward position regarding how to handle the event. The Corporation was predominantly Nationalist, and any showing of allegiance to the British Crown or enthusiasm for such a visit could be perceived as contentment with British rule in Ireland.[68] The *Times* described the planned visit as being non-political, and the London newspaper appealed to the citizens of Dublin to refrain from organising protests in opposition.[69] The Nationalist press immediately dismissed this view of a non-political visit to Dublin.[70] The *Freeman's Journal* stated that 'the visit of her Majesty was meant as a substitute of remedial legislation and a suppression of Nationalist agitation'.[71] Similarly, the *Irish People* reminded its readers that 'Irishmen should not forget that they owe no gratitude either to the Queen or the Government she represents',[72] and outlined why the Corporation should refuse to welcome the Queen for the greater good of Nationalists in Ireland.[73] The Nationalist Councillors were naturally anxious to avoid being labelled as

[67] Owen McGee, *Arthur Griffith* (Kildare, 2015), pp. 42-46.
[68] James H. Murphy, *Abject Loyalty: Nationalism and Monarchy in Ireland during the reign of Queen Victoria* (Cork, 2001), p. 290.
[69] *The Times,* 8 March 1900. *The Times,* 14 March 1900.
[70] The term 'Nationalist press' is used here to describe the papers in Dublin that were supportive of the Irish Party's policy.
[71] *Freeman's Journal,* 11 March 1900.
[72] *Irish People,* 17 March 1900.
[73] Ibid., 17 March 1900.

'flunkies' or being 'pro-British', but also did not want to embarrass the IPP in their dealings with British politicians or the goodwill of the British electorate.[74] Throughout early 1900, the Council seized upon opportunities to proclaim its anti-imperialism. In particular, the Corporation voiced its support for the Boers in South Africa by passing resolutions supporting President Kruger and rebuking the British policy in the South African colonies.[75] During a meeting in early March, it was proposed by Irish Party Councillor John Clancy that the Corporation wished to 'place on record the expression of their heartfelt, deepest sympathy with President Kruger and his subjects in the Transvaal in their brave endeavours to preserve their independence and retain the undeniable rights of freemen'.[76] Irish Party Councillor and MP Tim Harrington described the war as 'a war of a big nation against a small and free Republic; a war of financers in London, of empire-makers in the Transvaal and unscrupulous statesmen in the Cabinet… The Boers deserved their liberty, they were fighting for it and for their homes; and it came natural to Irishmen, having the feelings of engendered in their minds by the oppression and wrongs they had suffered from the times they had been under the control of England and up to the present'.[77] When Clancy's resolution was voted on by members, it passed by only one vote, with 16 voting in favour and 15 voting against the motion.[78]

Irish Party leader John Redmond spoke in the House of Commons and welcomed the Queen's upcoming trip to Dublin without being hostile towards the visit or wholeheartedly supporting it. Redmond declared that 'our people will treat with respect the visit which the venerable Sovereign proposes to make to their shores, well knowing that on this occasion no attempt will be made to give that visit a party significance, and that their chivalrous hospitality

[74] O'Brien, *Dear, Dirty Dublin*, p. 86. Flunkey was the term used to describe individuals who were considered servants of the British Monarch and not true Irish Nationalists.
[75] Meeting on 5 March 1900, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[76] Ibid., Meeting on 5 March 1900.
[77] *Freeman's Journal,* 6 March 1900.
[78] Meeting on 5 March 1900, Dublin City Council Minutes. Eight Irish Party members voted against the motion including the Lord Mayor Thomas Devereux Pile and the High Sheriff, Alderman Joseph Downes. All six Unionists, who were at the meeting, voted against the motion along with one Labour Councillor, Effingham Richardson.

will be taken in no quarter to mean any abatement of their demand for their national lights, which they will continue to press until they are conceded'.[79] The Corporation called a special meeting on 14 March 1900 to discuss the visit and what approach should be taken on behalf of the city of Dublin. Two days before this meeting, the Lord Mayor, Irish Party Councillor Thomas Devereux Pile, wrote to the Archbishop of Dublin, William Walsh and outlined his intention to welcome Queen Victoria to Dublin by establishing a Citizens' Committee to decorate the streets and 'making arrangements generally for a fitting reception'.[80] While eager to welcome the Queen to Dublin, Pile was aware of the delicate situation. While he stated that he had the support of other Irish Party members such as Alderman Joseph Meade, Pile was conscious to avoid 'anything in the shape of an Address which would no doubt in a Committee of the kind lead to a regrettable difference of opinion'.[81]

Two days later, the members of the Corporation met to discuss the Queen's visit. Lord Mayor Pile opened proceedings and argued that the Queen was to be presented with an address and official welcome by the Corporation. Pile stated, 'We, the Aldermen and Councillors of the Corporation of the City of Dublin, beg to offer your Majesty, on behalf of ourselves and our fellow citizens, a hearty welcome on your arrival in the Capital City of your Kingdom of Ireland'.[82] Pile acknowledged, however, that there were divisions amongst the Nationalists present, 'It is quite true that there exists amongst some of my Nationalist colleagues a feeling that the presentation of a courteous and dignified address involves some sacrifices of principle'.[83] Alderman Meade supported Lord Mayor Pile and rose to second the motion and asked others present to 'consider it on the ground of the reception of their Sovereign, and not

[79] *Hansard,* Fourth Series, Volume 80, 8 March 1900, pp. 402-403.
[80] Letter from Thomas D Pile to William Walsh ,12 March 1900 (Dublin Diocesan Archives, Archbishop William Walsh Papers, Laity Files, IE/DDA/AB5/Laity/371/6). Pile was one of only three Irish Party members of the Corporation who were Protestant. The other two were Richard Jones a Councillor for the Arran Quay ward from 1899-1904, and the other was John Irwin a Councillor in the North City ward from 1900-1908. Pile represented the Fitzwilliam ward, which elected two Unionists in the 1899 elections.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Meeting on 14 March 1900, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[83] *Irish Times,* 15 March 1900.

on any political ground'.[84] Tim Harrington MP then rose to speak in protest against the resolution and criticised the Lord Mayor for encouraging so-called Nationalists to support his views. Harrington 'did not think – as an Irish Nationalist who took part in the struggle for Irish Nationality, and who had done something to extend the franchise to the general mass of the citizens of Dublin – that one of the first uses that would be made of that extended franchise would be to pull this, the capital of Ireland down, to pull it back fifty years in the person of one who posed as a Nationalist Lord Mayor'.[85]

After the heated debate between Councillors, it was decided that a 'Céad Míle Fáilte' should be presented to the Queen on behalf of the citizens of Dublin. The resolution to deliver an address passed by a narrow of 30 for and 22 against, with Lord Mayor Thomas Pile leading the side advocating a yes vote.[86] The Nationalist press reacted furiously to this decision and claimed that the Corporation had been influenced by Redmond's conciliatory approach in Westminster a week or so earlier.[87] Lord Mayor Pile and Redmond were accused of betraying Irish Nationalism and submitting themselves to British rule. William O'Brien's *Irish People* roundly condemned the supplicancy of the Irish Party, saying that their decision not to shun the visit risked the grievances of the Irish people and the calls for self-government to 'vanish like smoke'.[88] Presenting an address to the Queen meant 'the so-called representatives of Nationalist Dublin must simply be sick to their knees, worshipping and wondering, like the simple Irish chiefs immortalised in Maclise's picture, whose poor beards were pulled by the contemptuous Castle courtiers of seven centuries ago. An address has been framed and voted which is worthy of contended slaves'.[89] A few days after the meeting, Pile again wrote to Archbishop William Walsh and outlined his reasons for wanting to present the Queen with an

[84] Ibid., 15 March 1900.
[85] *Irish Daily Independent,* 15 March 1900.
[86] Meeting on 14 March 1900, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[87] *Irish People,* 17 March 1900.
[88] Ibid., 17 March 1900.
[89] Ibid., 17 March 1900.

official welcome. Pile, in this letter, also asked for the Archbishop's assistance in helping his tarnished image after the attacks he received in many of the Nationalist papers.[90]

Senia Pašeta has suggested that Dublin Corporation's decision to present the Queen with a loyal address emphasised the deepening ideological cracks within the Nationalist movement that were now beginning to appear. The gaps now forming within Nationalism were soon pounced upon by Arthur Griffith, who highlighted and exploited these divisions as his 'new Nationalism' began to take form.[91] Griffith, the editor of the *United Irishman* newspaper, labelled Redmond as an 'English gentleman' and those who sat in City Hall as the 'Queen's own'.[92] A variety of groups protested their opposition to the royal address, such as Inghínídhe na hÉireann, which was founded by Maude Gonne, who was one of the drivers of anti-British feeling in Dublin.[93] In this opposition and discontent with the actions of the Corporation, and more generally with the Irish Party to the Queen's visit in April 1900, the foundations were laid for an emerging Nationalist force to oppose the traditional Irish Party. Orchestrated by Griffith, using the *United Irishman* as a form of propaganda, Griffith was able to weave together a loose coalition of cultural and literary Nationalists that would form the basis for his Cumann na nGaedheal movement in September 1900 as a separatist organisation intended to rival the Irish Party.[94] Though the success of Cumann na nGaedheal was at its best limited, being described as more of an 'educational movement' for Nationalists rather than a more explicitly political group.[95] This new movement would form the basis for Griffith to establish his National Council in 1903, leading to the formation of the Sinn Féin party.[96]

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[90] Letter from Thomas D Pile to William Walsh ,17 March 1900 (Dublin Diocesan Archives, Archbishop William Walsh Papers, Laity Files, IE/DDA/AB5/Laity/371/7).
[91] Pašeta, 'Nationalist Responses to Two Royal Visits to Ireland, 1900 and 1903', p. 492.
[92] *United Irishman,* 17 March 1900.
[93] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Helena Moloney, WS 391, p. 1
[94] O'Hegarty, *Sinn Féin: An Illumination*, pp. 15-16.
[95] Pašeta, 'Nationalist Responses to Two Royal Visits to Ireland, 1900 and 1903', p. 496.
[96] Matthew Kelly, 'Radical Nationalism, 1882-1916' in Thomas Bartlett (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland, Volume IV: 1880 to the Present,* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 48-51.

The municipal elections in January 1901 were fought over the issues that arose throughout 1900 regarding the visit of Queen Victoria. The *Freeman's Journal* and *Irish People* urged voters to support the UIL and National candidates over the Unionists or 'Flunkeys'.[97] John Dillon spoke at a UIL meeting in the Arran Quay ward and that it was the responsibility of the people to oust Dublin Corporation of the men who disgraced the city by passing a congratulatory address to the Queen and that the city's representatives did not share the true national sentiment, but in accordance with the spirit of flunkeyism and 'West Britonism'.[98] The much more radical newspaper, the *United Irishman,* was more or less critical of every Nationalist candidate who stood for election in January 1901, describing UIL members as both 'flunkeys' and the 'Queen's own'.[99] The *Irish People* enthusiastically reported on the election results and, in particular, the role played by the UIL, praising the League for its work in the recent elections and uniting the majority of Nationalists under one banner while opposing anyone who was considered a threat.[100] The *United Irishman,* on the other hand, was less than impressed with the candidates elected and the UIL, along with William O'Brien, for not opposing the re-election of Thomas Pile, who welcomed Queen Victoria to the city some months previous.[101]

When the Corporation held its first meeting after the 1901 contests, Thomas Pile was quickly dismissed as Lord Mayor.[102] Pile's supporters suggested his re-election as Lord Mayor for another year, citing the extension of the city's boundaries as the reason for a second term. Pile's nomination struggled to get the support necessary, and Alderman John J Farrell nominated Irish Party MP Tim Harrington, who 'was a real Irish Nationalist' and 'when he would sit in the Mayoral chair he would never make use of his position to lower the old National

[97] *Irish People,* 5 January 1901; *Freeman's Journal,* 12 January 1901.
[98] *Irish Times,* 14 January 1901.
[99] *United Irishman,* 12 January 1901.
[100] *Irish People,* 19 January 1901.
[101] *United Irishman,* 19 January 1901.
[102] Meeting on 23 January 1901. Dublin City Council Minutes.

flag'.[103] Harrington was duly elected to the position. He had been one of the founders of the UIL in 1898 and had long been an advocate for the reunion of the Irish Party. The *Freeman's Journal* welcomed the decision to replace Pile with Harrington and elect a Lord Mayor who was 'genuinely representative of Nationalist feeling'.[104] Unfortunately for Harrington and the members of the Corporation, Queen Victoria's death presented another uncomfortable situation to address so soon after her visit. Unionist Councillor for the South City ward, Henry Brown, proposed 'That we, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors of the City of Dublin, beg respectfully to tender to the members of Royal Family our sincere sympathy with them in, and our feelings of deep regret at, the great affliction that has befallen them in the death of Her Majesty'.[105]

In his new position as Lord Mayor, Harrington questioned this action, declaring that the Corporation could not participate in any demonstrations of loyalty to the Crown due to the present conditions in Ireland. Harrington suggested an amendment to Councillor Brown's motion that stated 'without in any way detracting from the high personal qualities of the deceased, and carefully guarding against any expression of feeling which might seem ungracious or unworthy of the traditions of our nation, this Council must decline in the present political condition of Ireland, to take any part in demonstrations of loyalty to the English throne'.[106] The Unionists present expressed their dismay at Harrington's amendment, with Unionist Alderman William Ireland describing the amendment as 'one of the most melancholy things that could happen in the Council today'.[107] The members present then voted on Harrington's amendment, and it was defeated, with 22 voting in support and 30 voting against. Councillor Brown's original motion was then declared carried and an expression of sympathy

[103] *Freeman's Journal,* 24 January 1901.
[104] Bull, 'The United Irish League and the Reunion of the Irish Parliamentary Party', p. 66; *Freeman's Journal,* 24 January 1901.
[105] Meeting on 23 January 1901. Dublin City Council Minutes.
[106] Ibid., Meeting on 23 January 1901.
[107] *Irish Daily Independent,* 24 January 1901.

was recorded for the Royal Family after the Queen's death.[108] After he was elected Lord Mayor, Harrington wrote to the Archbishop outlining his intentions while Lord Mayor of the City. While Harrington stated it was not in his immediate interest to become Lord Mayor, he felt compelled to accept the nomination and position rather than someone 'against the National interest'.[109] Harrington also pledged himself to be a Nationalist Lord Mayor and explained why the Corporation welcomed the Queen some months prior. Harrington blamed Redmond's speech in Parliament for influencing the members of the Corporation.[110]

The National Council and Advanced Nationalists enter the Corporation

The question of loyalty to the British Crown would soon again become the central topic discussed at Council meetings when the King announced a state visit to Dublin. Edward VII was portrayed as a new kind of monarch who was more sympathetic towards Irish concerns to allow him to win the support of the Irish people, announcing a trip to Dublin for the summer of 1903. It was reported that the purpose of this visit was to promote the policy of conciliation between Ireland and England, with a 'new era' of good relations about to unfold, particularly after the passing of Wyndham's Land Act in early 1903, which was viewed as the zenith of this conciliatory policy.[111] The planned visit placed the Corporation in another difficult position. What action the Council would take was discussed in another lengthy debate in July 1903, with the members divided on the issue.[112] The majority of the Corporation was opposed to welcoming the King, though the 'pro-British' crowd were anxious to change this, and the Lord Mayor, Tim Harrington, was even offered a sum of money to influence his decision.[113]

[108] Meeting on 23 January 1901, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[109] Letter from Timothy C Harrington to William Walsh, 24 January 1901 (Dublin Diocesan Archives, Archbishop William Walsh Papers, Laity Files, IE/DDA/AB5/Laity/356/6).
[110] Ibid., Harrington was tipped to become leader of the Irish Party after reunification in January 1900 but Redmond got the position ahead of him. Harrington's critical attitude towards Redmond's handling of the situation, has significance beyond the Corporation.
[111] Gailey, *Ireland and the Death of Kindness*, pp. 162-171.
[112] Meeting on 3 July 1903, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[113] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Mary O'Sullivan, WS 465, pp. 2-3.

Dublin's Unionist newspapers, The *Irish Times* and *Dublin Daily Express* welcomed the forthcoming visit. Both newspapers echoed what was reported in *The Times:* that this could be used as an opportunity to begin friendly relations and should be taken advantage of to display good gratitude to Britain.[114] The *Freeman* admitted that the King was a 'friendly sovereign' but argued that the City Council should give no official welcome. If the representatives of the city presented the King with an official address, 'that would imply a recognition of the Constitution fraudulently established by the Act of Union'.[115] Instead, the King should still be warmly welcomed by Dublin's citizens as an act of goodwill.[116] After winning the momentous Land Act from the Conservatives, John Redmond and other leading Irish Party MPs complicated the matter further by refusing to condemn the visit openly.[117] The IPP hierarchy expressed a wish for the nation to welcome the King as a show of gratitude after passing the Land Act. Redmond, however, received a warning from John Sweetman that an address to the King was ill-advised and would not be representative of the feelings of the majority of Nationalist Ireland.[118] Redmond addressed a gathering of delegates from UIL branches in Brunswick Street and outlined that he had 'no quarrel with the King', described him as 'friendly to Ireland', and 'did not know a better object lesson for the King to bring back with him than the spectacle of a people friendly, courteous, and hospitable, but a people representing their views through their representatives, or their elected public bodies'.[119] Redmond convened a similar message in his response to the letter received from John Sweetman and outlined that 'while no discourtesy should be shown to the King the presentation of a addresses from public bodies in Ireland under the circumstances is most humiliating and likely to be most injurious

[114] *Irish Times,*19 March 1903; *Dublin Daily Express,*18 March 1903.
[115] *Freeman's Journal,* 2 July 1903.
[116] Ibid., 2 July 1903. Ibid., 23 July 1903.
[117] *Irish Times,* 18 April 1903.
[118] Letter from John Sweetman to John Redmond, 5 June 1903 (NLI, Sweetman Family Papers, Ms. 47,582/6).
[119] *Irish Times,* 9 April 1903.

to our hopes'.[120] The opposition to the proposed visit began almost immediately and against the 'flunkies that exist in our popularly elected local councils'.[121]

This ambiguity displayed by the Corporation and the Irish Party regarding the visit was soon swooped upon by Griffith, who quickly began a campaign against the Irish Party as he had done three years earlier. There was a marked difference between the anti-visit agitation organised by Griffith in 1903 in comparison to 1900. The opposition to King Edward's royal tour was vocal, decisive, and well-organised, replacing the impromptu and spontaneous scenes during Queen Victoria's time in Dublin. Groups such as Inghínídhe na hÉireann, which were founded during Queen Victoria's visit, were active in their canvassing of members of the Corporation outside their homes, businesses and outside City Hall during Corporation meetings.[122] More critical for Griffith was the involvement of prominent IPP MPs in not condemning the tour and suggesting that the Irish nation be cordial towards the King. This involvement of IPP MPs provided Griffith with the ammunition to launch a series of attacks against the party in his paper. The decision by the IPP to not shun the visit led Griffith to declare that 'between the Irish Home Ruler and what is known as the Irish Unionist there is no difference of principle. Both are agreed that it is the right of an outside power to direct our destinies, and both desire the perpetuation of the foreign control of this country'.[123] Griffith described the Irish Party as 'wretched serfs who strut the Home Rule platforms, mounting defiance to England, and yet whenever an opportunity offers prostrate themselves in the dust, and crave the Englishmen to honour them by walking on them'.[124]

Determined to expose what they saw as the hypocrisy and lies of the Irish Party, Griffith and his followers formed the People's Protection Committee (PPC) to organise themselves in

[120] Letter from John Redmond to John Sweetman, 9 May 1903 (NLI, Sweetman Family Papers, Ms. 47,582/6).
[121] Letter from John Sweetman to the *Freeman's Journal,* 24 April 1903, (NLI, Sweetman Family Papers, Ms. 47,582/5).
[122] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Helena Moloney, WS 391, p. 3
[123] *United Irishman,* 18 April 1903.
[124] Letter from Maude Gonne to John Sweetman, 7 May 1903, (NLI, Sweetman Family Papers, Ms. 47,582/7).

opposition and protest against the visit and used the *United Irishman* as the organ to air their views.[125] Protests from the PPC came to a head at an IPP fundraising meeting in Rotunda in late May 1903. Organised by the Dublin UIL, the meeting was attended by John Redmond, William O'Brien, and Lord Mayor Tim Harrington. When Redmond rose to speak, he was shouted down by Griffith's followers, including Edward Martyn and John McBride. The meeting eventually spiralled out of control and descended into a melee, which the press was to refer to as the 'Rotunda riot'.[126] The PPC was heavily criticised for its actions by both the Nationalist and Unionist newspapers in Dublin for trying to sabotage the recent progress made between the IPP and the Conservatives, singling out those who caused trouble as 'rowdies'.[127] If Griffith had hoped not only to tarnish the reputation of the IPP in Ireland but also in Britain, the Rotunda incident was widely reported by influential national daily papers in London. The *Daily Telegraph* and *Morning Post* both published articles in the aftermath questioning why any British government would advance the calls for Irish self-government after what had been witnessed.[128] The *London Daily News* went as far as to say that Ireland remained in the 'doldrums' politically, and any talk of political advancement clearly cannot be seen.[129]

The Corporation met in early July to discuss the forthcoming visit of the King and what approach should be taken by the city's representatives.[130] Irish Party Alderman William Cotton attempted to argue a case for welcoming the King to Dublin. Alderman Cotton suggested that 'the Council do present an address of welcome on behalf of the citizens to their Majesties the King and Queen on their entrance to the city on the occasion of their coming visit'.[131] Lord Mayor Tim Harrington attacked the motion and affirmed 'that no address which would be

[125] Senia Pašeta, 'Nationalist Responses to Two Royal Visits to Ireland, 1900 and 1903', p. 499.
[126] *Freeman's Journal,* 18 May 1903.
[127] *Irish Daily Independent,* 19 May 1903; *Irish Times,* 20 May 1903; *Dublin Daily Express,* 20 May 1903.
[128] *Daily Telegraph,* 19 May 1903; *Morning Post,* 21 May. 1903.
[129] *London Daily News,* 20 May 1903.
[130] Meeting on 3 July 1903, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[131] Ibid.

presented to His Majesty on behalf of the people of Dublin can be taken as representing the feelings of the citizens which does not set forth the inalienable right of the Irish people to national self-government'.[132] Cotton, backed by the Unionist Councillors and former Lord Mayor Pile, attempted to address Harrington's decision but was heckled by calls of 'traitor' and 'West Brit'.[133] A few days after this meeting, Lord Mayor Harrington wrote to Redmond and outlined that any suggestion of an address to the King 'would not work'.[134] Harrington also criticised Irish Party members of the Corporation who advocated an address and, in the letter to Redmond, described former Lord Mayor Daniel Tallon as 'your friend Tallon has turned out a bad egg'.[135] In the end, the King received no official welcome from the Corporation, much to the jubilation of Griffith and his followers.

Griffith gloated in the *United Irishman* and wrote, 'Seven weeks ago when we opened the campaign against the misrepresentation of the capital of Ireland, the flunkeys laughed consumedly, they had the press of Dublin with them, either actively of passively, they had the leaders of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and they had the Lord Mayor. They thought themselves secure, and they thought they could afford to despite the opposition of the United Irishman. We have taught them otherwise'.[136] Pressure on Council affairs from advanced Nationalists such as Griffith had now developed into a common feature that would soon challenge the UIL in Dublin's elections. Although these protests in opposition to the royal visit did not spread elsewhere, these events in Dublin led many to conclude that cultural organisations such as the Gaelic League and most young Nationalists were no longer supportive of the Irish Party.[137] Griffith would soon form a new organisation, the National Council, in August 1903 in response

[132] *Freeman's Journal,* 4 July 1903.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Letter from Timothy C Harrington to John Redmond, 9 July 1903 (NLI, John Redmond Papers, Ms. 15,194).
[135] Ibid.
[136] *United Irishman,* 4 July 1903.
[137] McGee, *Arthur Griffith*, p. 68.

to King Edward VII's visit.[138] The National Council would provide Griffith and his followers with the chance to challenge the Irish Party in municipal contests and would be one of the final steps in the eventual formation of Sinn Féin in 1905.[139]

In August 1903, a UIL Councillor in the Rotunda ward resigned his seat on corruption charges. John Lawlor was accused of 'illegal practices' regarding his election during the municipal contests in January of the same year.[140] Lawlor's resignation vacated a position in the Corporation and provided the National Council with an opportunity to put forward a candidate for election.[141] The National Council selected PT Daly to contest the seat in the Rotunda ward. Daly, a trade unionist and Fenian but also heavily involved in Cumann na nGaedheal, was the first member of Griffith's advanced Nationalists to attempt to challenge the UIL.[142] Daly's campaign was orchestrated around the King's visit during the summer, with Daly described as a candidate of true national sentiment and not of flunkeyism, a man of 'exceptional ability' and his election seen as a 'safeguard against the intriguing of recreants masquerading under the national banner'.[143] The DMP reported that Daly and his followers brought a new sense of anti-British feeling in municipal elections and portrayed the Irish Party as being traitors to the nation.[144] Daly's two opponents for the seat were a UIL candidate whose campaign focused on stopping infiltration into the Council by men who would tarnish the national image and a Unionist candidate.[145] The election resulted in a victory for Daly and the National Council. Daly defeated the Irish Party's nominee by 157 votes and was the first of Griffith's associates to win a seat on the Corporation. The result was immediately heralded in the *United Irishman,* and Griffith graciously thanked the Rotunda voters for seeing through the

[138] Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*, p. 21.
[139] Kelly, *The Fenian Ideal and Irish Nationalism*, p. 137.
[140] *Irish Daily Independent,* 8 August 1903.
[141] Ibid., 25 August 1903.
[142] Davis, *Arthur Griffith and non-violent Sinn Féin*, pp. 33-34.
[143] *United Irishman,* 29 August 1903; *Freeman's Journal,* 1 September 1903.
[144] CSORP/1903/1551. DMP report on Dublin municipal election, August 1903.
[145] *Dublin Evening Express,* 1 August 1903.

lies and corruption of the Irish Party. Griffith claimed that 'the election has demonstrated how hollow the pretence of the United Irish League is that it represents the feelings of the citizens'.[146] After being elected, Daly wrote a letter to the editor of the *Freeman* thanking the public for their support and expressing the hope that his election would start something new for the Nationalist movement.[147]

Daly would soon be joined on the Corporation by another member of the National Council when the Dublin Corporation elections were held in January 1904. After the death of Labour Alderman Thomas Lenehan in the Inns Quay ward, Walter L Cole was nominated to contest the seat for the National Council. Cole's endorsement was similar to Daly's, with Cole being portrayed as a man who truly represented the Nationalists of the city as opposed to the publicans of the UIL.[148] *An Claidheamh Soluis* called on 'all Leaguers resident in the Ward, as a matter of courtesy, support prominent city Leaguer Mr Cole'.[149] The Gaelic League passed a resolution in favour of Cole's election, 'We notice with pleasure that Mr W.L. Cole is going forward for election to the Corporation of the city. We know him to be an earnest worker for Irish ideals, and we call on every Gael within the Ward to cast his vote on his behalf'.[150] Cole easily defeated his UIL opponent by 308 votes, and the victory was credited to Cole's close links with the Gaelic League. The *Dublin Daily Express* reported that the Gaelic League 'absolutely wiped out the combination of the United Irish League and the publicans in the Inns Quay ward'.[151] The success of PT Daly and Walter Cole being elected to Dublin Corporation, as argued by Matthew Kelly, represents the first appearance of Sinn Féin as a political grouping to challenge the IPP, albeit confined to Dublin municipal politics at this stage.[152] The DMP

[146] *United Irishman,* 5 September 1903.
[147] *Freeman's Journal,* 4 September 1903.
[148] *United Irishman,* 9 January 1904.
[149] *An Claidheamh Soluis,* 2 January 1904.
[150] *United Irishman,* 9 January 1904.
[151] *Freeman's Journal,* 18 January 1904; *Dublin Daily Express,* 18 January 1904.
[152] Kelly, *The Fenian Ideal and Irish Nationalism*, p. 141.

reflected on the election of Cole as the growing strength of advanced Nationalism in Dublin's politics and a movement which they considered dangerous and unstable in comparison to the Irish Party.[153]

The Workingman's Party? Dublin Labour at the turn of the century

Dublin, like many cities, benefitted from what Henry Pelling has described as the 'new unionism' wave that swept through Britain and Ireland in the 1880s and 1890s.[154] During this period, trade union membership grew, and labour politics began to develop and organise. Like every other organisation in Ireland, the Labour movement was affected by the Parnell split, with 1890 and 1891 being two particularly turbulent years for Labour in Dublin.[155] The Dublin Trades Council (DTC) was the only Labour body in the city, composed of a vast array of smaller unions that emerged during the 'new unionism'. The DTC emphasised that it was non-political and tried to distance itself from the schism that had engulfed Irish politics. Both the Parnellite and anti-Parnellite sides tussled for the support of Labour, while the DTC successfully maintained its cloak of political neutrality throughout this period. As Fionnuala Waldron has shown, the individual trade unions and their leaders were often in attendance at Parnellite meetings, and DTC meetings were often punctuated with support for Parnellites and Parnell.[156] The passing of the 1898 Act opened up new opportunities for the progression of Labour politics. Many more working-class individuals now had a vote after the municipal electorate was extensively enlarged. These new opportunities that were now presented to Labour led to a meeting of Labour delegates held in the Trades Hall in March 1898 'for the purpose of considering the representation of Labour under the Local Government Bill'.[157] The Labour Electoral Association (LEA), as it was known, was officially launched at the end of

[153] CSORP/1904/1187: DMP report on Dublin municipal elections, January 1904.
[154] Henry Pelling, *A Short History of the Labour Party* (London, 1968), pp. 2-7.
[155] Waldron, 'Statesmen of the streets corners', p. 152.
[156] Ibid., p. 257.
[157] *Irish Daily Independent,* 1 April 1898.

September 1898 at a meeting in the Trades Hall. The principal business of the first meeting was 'the appointment of Ward Committees in connection with the forthcoming Municipal elections under the Local Government Act'.[158] During a meeting held by the LEA in the Inns Quay Ward in October 1898, the speaker William Richardson said that 'what the workers wanted was fair representation on all public boards, and especially on the Municipal Councils…Up to the present time the workers had not got exactly that fair representation to which they were so justly entitled, but now a change had come through the Local Government Bill'.[159]

The Labour Electoral Association (LEA) put forward ten candidates in January 1899, with the LEA's electoral program portraying the traditional trade union demands of local labour to be employed for Corporation contracts, fair conditions regarding wages and hours, and only trade unionists to be employed on public contracts.[160] While the LEA candidates were relatively small in number and did not even contest a seat in every ward, the Nationalist press still felt the need to address this threat, with the *Freeman* stating that many Nationalist candidates would also advance the concerns of the Dublin working class such as JP Nannetti, standing for election in the Rotunda ward.[161] The *Irish Daily Independent* also made a similar statement, stating that the Parnellite candidates in the Mansion House ward, such as Tom Kelly, were as committed to promoting the aspirations of Labour and Trade Union principles as they were to advancing the Nationalist cause.[162] The LEA candidates performed well in the elections and won an Alderman seat in three wards. In the wards where the Labour candidates headed the poll, they defeated Nationalist stalwarts in the process. Edward Fleming topped the poll

[158] *Freeman's Journal,* 26 September 1898.
[159] Ibid., 17 October 1898. William Richardson was elected as the first president of the LEA. He was already a Councillor on Dublin Corporation prior to the establishment of the LEA in September 1898.
[160] O'Brien, *Dear, Dirty Dublin*, p. 78.
[161] *Freeman's Journal,* 16 January 1899.
[162] *Irish Daily Independent,* 7 January 1899. Kelly's association with Labour stems from his involvement with the York Street Workingmen's Club which he joined in 1890. By the time of his election to the Corporation in 1899, he had developed an awareness of the needs of the Dublin working-class. Source: Carden, *The Alderman*, pp. 5-12.

ahead of the influential Irish Party MP Tim Harrington in the North Dock Ward. In Mansion House, Patrick Dowd beat the incumbent Lord Mayor Daniel Tallon, and in Rotunda, William Doyle was head of the poll over JP Nannetti.

The gains made by the LEA were rightly acknowledged by the Nationalist press, who praised the newcomers to municipal politics and the growth in support for Labour representation on the City Council.[163] The newly elected LEA Councillors quickly called a public meeting to discuss how they should approach their roles.[164] The overall results were a massive endorsement of the LEA. The question now was whether the LEA would maintain its cohesion and possibly achieve a dominant influence over other Councillors who were sympathetic to Labour, such as Nannetti. This could only be completed by the LEA remaining independent from the other parties, particularly the Irish Party or risk being engulfed by the Nationalists.[165] The results of the first elections in Dublin fit into the overall theme of the results for all of Ireland in 1899, with Nationalists winning the vast majority of the seats in urban and rural counties across the country. Like in Dublin, these elections saw the emergence of organised Labour in urban politics for the first time, with Labour doing well in cities such as Dublin and Cork. Once elected to the Corporation, the Labour members struggled to win the support of the Nationalists and Unionists who were also present.

The LEA's great hopes of influencing the Corporation quickly deteriorated. In the municipal elections held in January 1900, two LEA Councillors' seats were up for election under the rotational system, Michael Canty in North City and John Gibbons in Ushers Quay. Canty was challenged by John Irwin, a Nationalist candidate and owner of several paper manufacturing businesses.[166] Irwin committed himself to the social and labour question, to

[163] *Irish Independent,* 19 January 1899.
[164] *Freeman's Journal,* 19 January 1899.
[165] Cody, O'Dowd and Rigney, *The Parliament of Labour*, p. 41.
[166] *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 5 January 1900.

which he vowed to 'pay his hearty support'.[167] He described himself as 'an inhabitant of the ward, a large ratepayer, and employer of labour'.[168] In the contest, Irwin defeated Canty by 330 votes.[169] In Usher's Quay, Gibbons was challenged for his seat by William Crimmins, an Irish Party Poor Law Guardian and publican. Gibbons was highly critical of Crimmins' candidature, which he believed was an attempt to monopolise the poor law and municipal representation in the ward.[170] Gibbons urged the voters to elect him as he was their 'sole direct labour representation'.[171] Gibbons, however, was defeated by Crimmins by a margin of 447 votes.[172] After the election, defeat Gibbons accused Crimmins of foul play that contributed to his defeat. Gibbons claimed that the door to the polling booth was closed for a period of time when working men were returning from work and thus could not cast their votes for the LEA candidate.[173]

Four other LEA candidates stood for election in 1900, but all four were beaten comprehensively. Independent Labour representation soon ended in Dublin Corporation when the LEA collapsed in 1900. The great hopes of inroads by the working classes into the political process with the enlarged franchise after 1899 never materialised. The Labour movement in Dublin failed to build on the results the party got in the first elections, with the eight seats initially won being their highest number of representatives until 1912.[174] Even after the enlargement of the Council in 1901, which added twenty seats, none of the twenty new members represented Labour.[175] The years that followed repeatedly saw Labour candidates receive drubbings at the hands of the UIL when seeking election. Between 1902 and 1905,

[167] *Dublin Daily Nation,* 12 January 1900.
[168] Ibid.
[169] *Irish Independent,* 17 January 1900.
[170] *Dublin Daily Nation,* 8 January 1900.
[171] Ibid.
[172] *Irish Daily Independent,* 17 January 1900.
[173] *Dublin Daily Nation,* 22 January 1900. These accusations were only published in the *Dublin Daily Nation* there was no follow up or investigation after.
[174] O'Brien, *Dear, Dirty Dublin*, p. 91.
[175] *Irish Times,* 18 January 1901.

seventeen Labour representatives sought election, with only three being successful. This, coupled with the defeat of sitting Councillors, contributed to a constant decline in Labour representation. Mary Daly has noted that Dublin's Labour movement failed to create a separate identity from their Nationalist opponents, with many of the Labour group identifying themselves with their fellow corporators and rising out of their class rather than with it, thus failing to rouse the working-class support.[176]

Another factor that contributed to the failure of the LEA was the party's lack of independence and its relationship with the Irish Party. Previous studies have shown how the Irish Party acted as a vampire or 'vampirized' new movements that could have potentially threatened the party. Essentially, the Irish Party would infiltrate these movements and bring them under the party's umbrella while also having Irish Party members who could appeal to the movement they were trying to capture.[177] The brief history of the LEA and its relationship with the Irish Party in Dublin Corporation provides insight into the theory of 'vampirization' and how the Irish Party machine operated in municipal politics. From its inception, the LEA was aligned with the Irish Party, as evidenced by one of its first public meetings. Irish Party MP William Field attended the meeting held in the Trades Hall in October 1898. A letter was also read out from John Redmond, who could not attend. Local Councillors Richard Jones and James McCarthy, both Irish Party members, were also in attendance.[178] The presence of such individuals in a launch campaign for independent Labour representation shows some confused thinking on the part of the LEA. The Chairman, speaking at the meeting, went on to say: 'The association was not formed to be dragged at the tail of any political party, or to further the interests of any individuals, no matter to what party or isms the belonged'.[179] The LEA's

[176] Daly, *Dublin, the deposed capital*, p. 217.
[177] Wheatly, *Nationalism and the Irish Party*, p. 253. Wheatly in his book has Labour included as a section of the Irish Party along with Nationalist organisations such as the UIL or AOH.
[178] *Irish Daily Independent,* 3 October 1898.
[179] Ibid.

viability as an independent political party immediately comes into question with the attendance of Irish Party MPs and Councillors at one of the first public meetings for the party. Even at some of the meetings held in wards where the LEA candidates were competing, there was usually a representative of the Irish Party. William Field addressed a meeting held in the Trinity Ward to support the LEA candidate, and a meeting in the Fitzwilliam Ward had JP Nannetti and fellow Irish Party Councillor Joseph Hutchinson in attendance.[180]

The Irish Party put forward candidates at the municipal level, such as JP Nannetti, who claimed to represent both Labour and Nationalist interests. Nannetti described himself in election campaigns as 'Labour first, Nationalist second', his election to the Council described as 'The burgess and workers of the Rotunda Ward may rest assured that should Mr Nannetti be elected to the Corporation, of which there appears little doubt, their interests will be absolutely safe in his hands'.[181] The aim of selecting candidates like Nannetti, the Irish Party, was to appeal to the working-class electorate and dilute any threat that may have been from Labour.[182] After the collapse of the LEA in 1900, Aldermen William Doyle and Patrick Dowd quickly identified themselves with the UIL and secured a niche for themselves in municipal politics, leaving behind their links to Labour.[183] The Irish Party, however, always remained in control of the relationship between themselves and Labour in the Corporation. Alderman Dowd's failed attempts to win the mayoralty in 1902 and 1903 signify this. Alderman Dowd lost out in each contest to Tim Harrington for the position of Lord Mayor. Dowd was nominated as 'representative of the labour movement', which he argued other members of the Corporation 'had to consider, that since the passing of the Local Government Act, 1898, labour had been placed in a position where it could wield great power, where it must get its chance of

[180] *Freeman's Journal,* 2 December 1898; *Dublin Daily Nation,* 5 January 1899. The LEA candidate in the Trinity ward that William Field spoke in favour of was Alex Blane a former Irish Party Parnellite MP for South Armagh. Blane had by 1899 left the Irish Party and became involved in Labour circles.
[181] *Dublin Weekly Nation,* 22 October 1898.
[182] Wallace, 'A rather mild sort of rebel': JP Nannetti' in *Leaders of the City*, p. 120.
[183] Cody, O'Dowd and Rigney, *The Parliament of Labour*, p. 65.

performing the highest functions that could be given to its representatives'.[184] Dowd, on both occasions, failed to get the support of the Nationalists present and was unsuccessful. After his re-election in 1903, Harrington wrote to the Archbishop as he usually did after a successful campaign and stated that 'the issue at stake was a very important one as far as the future peace and good government of the City was concerned'.[185] Harrington said, 'If that Traded Hall should ever get possession of the Mayoral Chair, especially with Ald Dowd, the employers of the City would be likely to have an unpleasant year of it'.[186] Harrington also told the Archbishop he had no intention of running again until Redmond asked him to keep the employers on the side of the Party. Harrington also stated that Redmond had written to Dowd warning him of contesting the position.[187] Harrington then wrote to Redmond the following day, thanked him for his help defeating Dowd, and said that 'the whole city is rejoiced'.[188] According to Harrington, if Dowd had succeeded, 'there is not an employer in the City who could say a word to one of his workmen that the Lord Mayor and a deputation from the Trades Hall would not descend upon him the next day and demand an explanation'.[189]

Conclusion

After the 1898 Local Government Act was passed, the electorate was significantly increased, and every seat on Dublin Corporation was contested in the January 1899 elections. The results of these elections were what would have been expected, with the Nationalists winning the vast majority of the seats and taking control of the Corporation as they previously had. The Nationalists, however, were still split into Parnellites and anti-Parnellites in the 1899 elections, and the anti-Parnellites outperformed their rivals to win the Nationalist majority in the one

[184] *Irish Times,* 24 January 1903.
[185] Letter from Timothy C Harrington to William Walsh, 24 January 1903 (Dublin Diocesan Archives, Archbishop William Walsh Papers, Laity Files, IE/DDA/AB5/Laity/365/3).
[186] Ibid.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Letter from Timothy C Harrington to John Redmond, 25 January 1903. (NLI, John Redmond Papers, Ms. 15,194).
[189] Ibid.

bastion of Parnellism. At the new Council's first meeting, all the Nationalists were united in the pursuit of Home Rule, and the Irish Party reunited a year later in January 1900. By the time of the reunification of the Irish Party, the UIL was beginning to get a foothold in Dublin, uniting the city's two Nationalist camps in the process. Unionist dominance in the Corporation had diminished since the 1880s, but some Unionist Councillors remained very much in the minority. The Dublin Boundaries Bill ended any hope of a Unionist revival at City Hall, and Pembroke and Rathmines UDCs became the last centre of Unionism in Dublin, leaving all the city wards outside of Clontarf to the Irish Party.

The years 1899-1904 were highly significant in the history of the advanced Nationalist movement. During these years, the Nationalists opposed to the Irish Party found a source of unity around two royal visits and merged into a political movement. The ad hoc protests around the visit of Queen Victoria in 1900 led to the formation of Cumann na nGaedheal, which was a loose coalition of those opposed to the Irish Party. Three years later, King Edward visited in 1903, and the protests were much more organised, which facilitated the formation of the National Council. Under the stewardship of Arthur Griffith, the National Council would soon have a representative sitting at City Hall. PT Daly was elected after a by-election in the Rotunda Ward in August 1903. Soon after, the National Council had another member elected when Walter Cole was successful in the municipal elections in January 1904. The advanced Nationalists now had individuals elected and had defeated Irish Party candidates in the process. This initial success would be built on and led to the formation of the first Sinn Féin party in 1905.

While advanced Nationalism was a significant development throughout these years, there was a very brief development of independent Labour politics. One of the unexpected results of the 1899 elections was Labour's success. They won the second largest number of seats behind the Nationalists, with eight Labour representatives elected. The LEA had been

formed just before these elections to organise the various trade unions in the city and secure Labour representation. After an initially positive start, these hopes of the LEA soon faded. The LEA failed to secure Nationalist support, and poor election results in 1900 led to the organisation's collapse soon after. Those Labour Councillors that remained were quickly assimilated into the Irish Party, and any potential Labour threat was quelled. It was not until James Larkin's arrival in Dublin and the formation of the Dublin Labour Party in 1911 that Labour would become a significant force again. As chapter 6 will show, the Dublin Labour Party would be a completely different entity. The LEA of 1899-1900 had none of the syndicalism or radicalism of Larkin. The LEA also lacked any form of internal party discipline and sought no show of loyalty from its members. Ultimately, the LEA proved both too naïve and too moderate to provide a credible threat to the Nationalist dominance of the Corporation. The brief lifespan of the LEA is a perfect example of the vampirizing process of the Irish Party, as described by historians such as Paul Bew and Michael Wheatley. The LEA can be seen as the first emergent force in Dublin municipal politics to be examined in this thesis. As this chapter has shown, the threat and potential shown by the LEA were successfully met by the Irish Party. On the other hand, this chapter has outlined the foundations of Griffith's movement, which is the other emerging force that this thesis examines. While the gains of the advanced Nationalists were much more moderate than those of Labour, Griffith's emerging movement was laying the foundations for a more credible threat to the UIL and the Irish Party in the Corporation. In contrast to the LEA, the advanced Nationalists by 1904 had two things that helped their growth and unity: a manifesto – The Resurrection of Hungary- and, even more importantly, the *United Irishman* newspaper.

Ch. 4 – The rise of the first Sinn Féin party, 1904 – 1909

Introduction

The central aim of this chapter will be to analyse and trace the development of the first Sinn Féin party. As was discussed in the previous chapter, the foundations for Sinn Féin were laid around organised protests in response to the visit of Queen Victoria and King Edward VII. These protests led to Cumann na nGaedheal being established in 1900 and then the National Council in 1903. PT Daly was the first member of the National Council elected to the Corporation after a by-election in the Rotunda Ward in 1903. After the initial election of PT Daly and then Walter Cole, Irish Party members of the Corporation, such as Thomas Kelly, joined Griffith's movement. The first section of the chapter will trace the early development of the National Council and Sinn Féin. This section will examine the early municipal program of the movement and what promises the associated candidates made to the electors. The first section will also discuss how the movement's number of elected representatives increased rapidly and how the grouping became a functioning party that garnered voters' support.

After a series of successful elections, Griffith's adherents peaked at thirteen in the Corporation by 1909. By then, the National Council had become Sinn Féin in 1905, another Nationalist organisation that could challenge the long-established Irish Party. Rather than being a radically different form of Nationalism from the Irish Party, the first Sinn Féin party was a classic example of a municipal reform party. The second section of this chapter will look at Sinn Féin in the context of a municipal or urban reform party. Urban reform parties or anti-corruption movements developed all over the world from the mid-19th Century to the early 20th Century. These alliances of shopkeepers, trade unionists, and suburban residents campaigned against the self-serving establishment parties in the city halls that dominated the municipality. While these movements were located across the globe, all reform parties sought to change how

municipalities were dominated by old-style party politics, in that control of the municipality lay in the hands of one party and, in some cases, the hands of one or a select few individuals. These old-style parties exercised control over voters and public officials by distributing specific material inducements such as favouritism in granting jobs or contracts and granting licenses to particular trades or improvements in specific parts of cities.[1] All old-style municipalities were similar in that local political influence was centralised in them rather than distributed among other parties.[2] These municipal reform movements wanted to restore the linkage between local government and the community by lessening the influence of the established parties and other groups associated with them. The reformers also wanted to create a fairer system of local government that would benefit the city's residents.[3] The candidates representing these reform parties often received significant press coverage and, if elected, promised to cleanse the public bodies of ills such as corruption, jobbery, and allocation of contracts. These reform parties also sought to improve their respective municipalities by improving vital services they considered neglected by the established parties. The reform candidates often advocated improvements in housing, electric lighting, water provision, and sanitation to the voters. This chapter will discuss Sinn Féin as a municipal reform party within the context of Dublin's municipal politics and show how the Sinn Féin movement embodied the characteristics of a reform party that sought to change the Corporation.[4]

[1] William H Dutton and Alana Northrop, 'Municipal Reform and the Changing Pattern of Urban Party Politics' *American Politics Quarterly,* Vol. 6, No. 4, (1978), pp. 429-430.
[2] Raymond E Wolfinger, 'Why Political Machines Have Not Withered Away and Other Revisionist Thoughts' *The Journal of Politics,* Vol. 34, No. 2, (1972), p. 366.
[3] William H. Dutton and Alana Northrop, 'Municipal Reform and Group Influence' *American Journal of Political Science,* Vol. 22, No. 3, (1978), p. 691.
[4] Ciarán Wallace has outlined this point of Sinn Féin being a reformist party in Wallace, 'Early Sinn Féin – The Anti-Corruption Party'.

Burgeoning Advanced Nationalism

After the initial election of PT Daly as the first candidate aligned to Arthur Griffith's National Council, Griffith's movement experienced rapid growth over the following number of years. During this period of growth, the National Council became Sinn Féin and the second largest party in Dublin Corporation. Sinn Féin also emerged as a Nationalist alternative to challenge the Irish Party for control of the Corporation. Daly was joined in City Hall by the Gaelic Leaguer Walter L Cole, who got elected in January 1904. After Cole's election, Michael Joseph Lord, a Labour candidate elected in January 1903, joined the National Council to increase their number to three. After the elections in January 1904, the DMP reported that there was an increase in support for the National Council and its policy, which was opposed to the Irish Party but, at this stage, small in number.[5] In May 1904, a vacancy arose in the New Kilmainham Ward. William Partridge won a seat on the Corporation as a Labour candidate after defeating an Irish Party candidate, Christopher Donaghy, by 509 votes.[6] Though elected as a Labour candidate, Partridge quickly aligned himself with the National Council and joined Griffith's faction.

In the 1905 municipal elections, the National Council ran an organised campaign for its candidates, supported by the members already in the Corporation. Published in Griffith's newspaper, the *United Irishman,* before the elections, the manifesto pledged to 'forward the principles of the Sovereign Independence of the Irish Nation (above all other issues), of Temperance, of the improvement of Social and Home Conditions of Life among our people, and of a pure administration of Municipal business in Dublin'.[7] The manifesto also pledged to support 'the Gaelic and Industrial Revival Movements, and to all movements originating within Ireland, instinct with National tradition, and not looking outside Ireland for the accomplishment

[5] CSORP/1904/1187: DMP report on Dublin municipal elections, January 1904.
[6] *Irish Independent,* 5 May 1904.
[7] *United Irishman,* 14 January 1905.

of their aims'.[8] The manifesto promised a progressive and reforming municipal policy such as 'the abolition of the Slum System under which so many of our Citizens are forced to live, and providing healthy homes for the masses of the people, is the first and most necessary work which demands the attention of the Municipal Council'.[9] Other policies included supporting University Education, the extension of public libraries, the abolition of the police tax, restraining the power of the publicans, and general improvements to the lives of workingmen in the city. The National Council referred to supporting trade unions and turning the Corporation into a model employer.[10] The manifesto was signed by the National Council members and supporters in the Corporation, PT Daly, Walter L Cole, Michael Joseph Lord, William Johnstone, and Thomas Kelly.[11] Out of the six contests the National Council fielded candidates in, they were successful in four.

After this election, the National Council now had eight members elected to the Corporation, described by Griffith as 'men composing the only honest, the only intelligent, and the only National Party in the Dublin Corporation'.[12] The National Council now began to function as an organised political party in opposition to the Irish Party and developed a party structure. Councillor Michael J Lord was elected as the first chairman of the party in the Corporation, and Alderman Thomas Kelly was elected as the first secretary.[13] Throughout 1905, Sinn Féin 'came to life', it was an organisation that was building support and 'advocated a policy of self-reliance, the election of Parliament of men who would not sit in the British

[8] *United Irishman,* 14 January 1905.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] These six members each had a very diverse background and signified how wide-ranging Griffith's group was. PT Daly was a member of the IRB and a trade unionist, Thomas Kelly was a former Irish Party Councillor, Walter Cole was best known for his involvement in the Gaelic League and Irish Ireland movements. The other three, Michael Lord, William Partridge and William Johnstone all had links to Labour but drifted to the National Council once elected.
[12] Ibid., 21 January 1905.
[13] *The Irish Worker,* 9 September 1911. This information was provided by a letter from PT Daly published in the paper in which he recalled his time as National Council/Sinn Féin member of Dublin Corporation.

House of Commons, but would sit in Ireland'.[14] By the middle of 1905, the police in Dublin were reporting that support for the National Council was increasing at an alarming rate and was being monitored. It was reported that an 'intimate' relationship was developing between the National Council, Cumann na nGaedheal, the Gaelic League and the IRB. They had all agreed to support the National Council and to 'work energetically against the parliamentarians'.[15] Despite this growth in the movement and the support of other likeminded associations, Griffth, at this stage, was not keen on participation in the forthcoming general election. Griffith, in a letter to John Sweetman, conveyed his hesitancy in the idea of challenging the Irish Party in a national contest.[16] In October 1905, it was then reported that all of these groups were 'more or less combined in the open and general anti-British movement to make the British Government in Ireland impossible by carrying out the Sinn Féin, or Hungarian Policy, advocated by the *United Irishman* newspaper, and thus secure the independence of Ireland'.[17]

On 28 November 1905, the first Convention of the National Council took place at the Rotunda in Dublin. At the Convention, the National Council transcended local politics and remodelled itself as a functioning political party. However, Griffith's focus was to remain in Dublin and contest elections for Dublin Corporation, with little appetite shown to form branches in other parts of the country.[18] In the *United Irishman* issue published on 9 December 1905, a full report of the National Council Convention was provided. The paper published a long list of over 100 delegates who were present, including members of Dublin Corporation and representatives from cultural organisations such as the GAA, Gaelic League, and Young Ireland Societies.[19] Griffith proposed the objective of demanding national development through individuals and movements working inside Ireland and then made a lengthy speech

[14] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Áine Ceannt, WS 264, p. 4.
[15] Precis of DMP reports, August 1905 (TNA, CO 904/11).
[16] Arthur Griffith to John Sweetman, 15 August 1905. (NLI, Sweetman Family Papers, Ms. 47,585/3).
[17] Precis of DMP reports, October 1905 (TNA CO 904/11).
[18] Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*, p. 23.
[19] *United Irishman,* 9 December 1905.

explaining a practical Sinn Féin programme and system of economics, subsequently published and re-published as the *Sinn Féin Policy*.[20] After Griffith's speech, the topic of organisation was discussed, and divisions arose as to how to organise the movement. Griffith opposed the organisation and the formation of branches throughout the country. He wanted to keep the movement as a propagandist body that was centralised in Dublin and maintain organisation on an individual basis. Griffith was supported by his Dublin Corporation representatives, Aldermen Tom Kelly and Walter Cole, with Cole fearful that formal branches could potentially compete with other societies, such as the Gaelic League in which Cole was actively involved.[21] Griffith and his supporters were countered by provincial delegates who wanted the establishment of branches to challenge the UIL and 'an organisation to meet the parliamentarians step by step, to advance as they retreat'.[22] The provincial delegates were successful, and the convention sanctioned the establishment of branches with at least ten members in every electoral district.

At this first conference, the slogan Sinn Féin was adopted and shortly became the catchphrase for separatist politics in Ireland. The Chief Commissioner of the DMP reported on the Sinn Féin conference as being presided by Edward Martyn and attended by 'about 300 persons of the extremist class'.[23] Now, a new Nationalist organisation had been formed in Ireland to challenge the Irish Party and its formation requires further analysis, particularly in relation to Griffith. As has been outlined, Griffith and his immediate followers in Dublin showed no real desire to establish Sinn Féin as a political party in opposition to their existing organisation. After the conference, Sinn Féin would be dominated by a leader who disbelieved in the necessity for its very existence and did not want the movement to establish any formal

[20] Davis, *Arthur Griffith and Non-Violent Sinn Féin*, p. 23; Kevin Rafter, *Sinn Féin, 1905-2005: In the Shadow of Gunmen* (Dublin, 2005), p. 44.
[21] Davis, *Arthur Griffith and Non-Violent Sinn Féin*, pp. 74-75.
[22] *United Irishman,* 9 December 1905.
[23] Precis of DMP reports, November 1905 (TNA, CO 904/11).

structure outside of Dublin. It could be argued that Sinn Féin, from the outset, was controlled by an individual who had no desire for such an organisation and, by chance, found himself at the head of an emerging Nationalist organisation. Whereas the National Council was Dublin centred with a focus on the Corporation, there were now hopes to try and make Sinn Féin into a national organisation, something Griffith had no appetite for. Ironically, the conference held in the Rotunda in November 1905 began with a history of the National Council as an organisation that only came into existence by chance. At the conference, it was said by Griffith 'As you know, the National Council was suddenly called into being in the summer of 1903, when the visit of the King of England threw so many Nationalists off their balance, caused them to forget their principles, whether from weakness or corruption, and afforded the anti-national party a means to triumph over the apparent ineffectiveness of Ireland's aspirations'.[24] Just two years later, Griffith now found himself presiding over another organisation in Sinn Féin that was called into being after the conference.

Griffith and Sinn Féin remained content to focus on municipal representation in January 1906 and took no part in the British general election that year, deciding against putting forward any candidates but to continue the progress that had been made in Dublin's municipal politics.[25] No Sinn Féin candidates contested any of the parliamentary contests in Dublin or anywhere in Ireland. The focus on municipal representation was clear from the publications of the *United Irishman* for January 1906. Griffith's paper gave little or almost no opinion on the British general election, only briefly criticising Redmond's conciliatory policies and trust of the Liberals while also declaring 'Home Rule to be dead' and that Nationalists should abandon this approach. Instead, the pages of the *United Irishman* gave substantial coverage to the Dublin municipal elections that were held on 15 January and hoped to increase the number of Sinn

[24] *United Irishman,* 9 December 1905.
[25] Kenny, *The Enigma of Arthur Griffith*, p. 148.

Féin representatives on the Dublin Corporation.[26] Eight Sinn Féin candidates stood for election. Like in previous elections, these candidates were described as true Nationalists, with Sinn Féin again trying to appeal to the voters with a progressive municipal program.

Griffith's paper regularly criticised the UIL and described the Irish Party's grassroots organisation as 'mainly composed of publicans' that was destroying the city.[27] As argued by Elizabeth Malcolm, Griffith's persistence in criticising the influence of the drinks trade in the Corporation and his support of the temperance cause was one of the central beliefs of this new Nationalism that also found a place in the GAA and Gaelic League.[28] Malcolm outlines how, in *The Resurrection of Hungary,* Griffith showed how the Austrians fostered a reputation for drunkenness upon the Hungarians in an effort to discredit them as a nation and implied that the English had done the same to the Irish.[29] If elected, the Sinn Féin representatives will 'sit, act, and vote with the Nationalist and Reform Party in the Dublin Corporation'.[30] Six of the eight candidates who contested seats were successful, including two retiring Councillors, PT Daly and MJ Lord, both of whom were re-elected unopposed for the Rotunda ward and New Kilmainham ward, respectively.[31] Griffith described the return of six representatives as a 'sweeping victory for the Sinn Féin policy' and another blow to the 'UIL whiskey ring' that ran the Corporation as Sinn Féin added four new Councillors to the overall representation the party had in City Hall.[32]

Sinn Féin and Griffith now had nine representatives elected to the Corporation, and was by now the main form of opposition to the Irish Party. After the initial election of PT Daly in 1903, the movement grew rapidly in Dublin and recorded substantial victories over Irish Party

[26] *United Irishman,* 6 January 1906. *United Irishman,* 13 January 1906.
[27] *United Irishman,* 6 January 1906.
[28] Malcolm, *Ireland Sober, Ireland Free*, p. 319.
[29] Ibid., p. 319.
[30] *United Irishman,* 13 January 1906.
[31] *Irish Times,* 17 January 1906; *United Irishman,* 20 January 1906.
[32] *United Irishman,* 20 January 1906.

candidates in the municipal elections. After Sinn Féin's success in the 1906 municipal elections, the DMP Chief Commissioner reported that the most interesting feature of the Corporation was the growing number of members who were supporters of the Sinn Féin policy.[33] However, the leader of the Irish Party, John Redmond, remained generally dismissive of Griffith and his followers at this stage, even with supporters of Sinn Féin policy now the main opposition in Dublin.[34] Sinn Féin's modest success before 1906 probably justified Redmond's dismissive attitude towards Griffith's supporters.[35] Griffith and others had supported John McBride's candidacy for the South-Mayo by-election in 1900 and had been resoundingly defeated. Many of these same individuals coalesced around the opposition to Queen Victoria's visit in 1900 and King Edward's in 1903, but this appeal of the National Council and Cumann na nGaedheal was limited to Dublin and small pockets of support in provincial Ireland.[36] Even though Redmond dismissed the threat from Sinn Féin, some Irish Party members within Dublin were taking note of the growing movement in the city by late 1906. Richard Hazelton, an Irish Party candidate defeated by the former Unionist Chief Secretary Walter Long in the Unionist stronghold of South Dublin in the 1906 general election, wrote a letter to William Field MP, concerned at the rate at which advanced Nationalism had grown in the city. Hazelton feared that soon the National Council and Sinn Féin might capitalise on its success in Dublin municipal elections. Hazelton stated, 'I may be foolish, but I have an idea that the Sinn Féin crowd will make an effort next time to capture one or two seats in Dublin city. I believe we underrate their strength in Dublin … I know Mr Redmond laughed at the suggestion of their opposition last January, but I do not share his optimism, and I think everything possible should be done to prepare for it'.[37]

[33] Precis of DMP reports, January 1906 (TNA, CO 904/11).
[34] Dermot Meleady, *John Redmond: The National Leader* (Kildare, 2014), p. 97.
[35] McConnel, *The Irish Parliamentary Party and the Third Home Rule Crisis*, p. 122-123.
[36] Ibid., p. 123.
[37] Letter from Richard Hazelton to William Field, 17 December 1907, (NLI John Redmond Papers, Ms. 15,195/3).

Dublin's Municipal Reform Party

The Sinn Féin movement that emerged in Dublin at the turn of the twentieth century was comparable with municipal reform parties that had emerged, most notably in the United States and Britain. This reform movement began in the United States in 1894 after the foundation of the National Municipal League, which united various city reform groups throughout the country in an attempt to overthrow the corrupt machines that controlled many cities in the United States.[38] Though emerging slightly later, Griffith's movement embodied the characteristics of these reformist parties. Sinn Féin's Councillors reflected the typical profile of anti-corruption and reform parties elsewhere. They were younger than their Irish Party colleagues and far more youthful than their Unionist colleagues.[39] Sinn Féin's candidates were educated white-collar workers and did not include many publicans, builders, or landlords. Like the other reform parties, Sinn Féin campaigned for the reform of the municipal Council and against the self-serving establishment parties.[40]

In the Council chamber, members of the National Council and Sinn Féin attempted to change a wide range of Corporation business and dealings that they considered unfair or neglected by the Irish Party. One such issue was the Lord Mayor's position and the salary attached to the position. Like many reform parties that emerged, the city's mayoral position was seen as one that should be evenly distributed between the parties, with a salary for such a position needing to be abolished.[41] Councillor Michael J Lord first raised the Lord Mayor's salary issue in January 1904. Upon the Irish Party's Joseph Hutchinson's nomination for the mayoralty, Lord argued that the position should receive no salary as it was the Mayor's duty to serve the people. Lord's motion quite understandably only received the support of his National

[38] Amy Bridges and Richard Kronick, 'Writing the Rules to Win the Game: The Middle-Class Regimes of Municipal Reformers' *Urban Affairs Review,* Vol. 34, No. 5, (1999), p. 691.
[39] Chapter 2 provides an analysis of parameters such as ages of party members.
[40] Wallace, 'Early Sinn Féin – The Anti-Corruption Party', p. 36.
[41] Dutton and Northrop, 'Municipal Reform and Group Influence', p. 709.

Council colleagues, Daly and Cole.[42] In March 1904, Thomas Kelly proposed that the salary of the Lord Mayor be fixed at £1,687 per annum. Kelly had the support of Lord, who criticised the current wage of £3,687 and the Irish Party's plan to increase it further to £5,687 from 1906.[43] The Sinn Féin representatives, in their opposition to the proposed increases to the Mayor's salary, pointed to the city's poverty and the necessity to come to terms with the housing question.[44] Kelly's motion received the support of the Unionists present. Still, it was eventually defeated after former Lord Mayor Tim Harrington accused Kelly and Sinn Féin of doing their best to 'belittle and depreciate the position of Lord Mayor'.[45] A special meeting of the Corporation in September 1905 eventually approved the increases to the Mayor's salary against the opposition of Kelly, Daly, Lord, and Partridge.[46] The increase in the Lord Mayor's salary incensed Councillor Partridge so much that he threatened to resign his seat on the Corporation as a protest to highlight the immorality of the increase amid the appalling poverty in the city at the time. His colleagues eventually persuaded him to stay as a member of the Corporation.[47]

It was not just the mayoralty and attached salary that was a contentious issue for Sinn Féin. As their numbers increased in the city chamber, Sinn Féin's Councillors sought to expose the corruption of those who ran the city. Griffith believed it was 'Dublin Corporation who are really responsible for the social decay of the city'.[48] At a Corporation meeting in February 1906, Alderman Thomas Kelly asked for a report of the Corporation's finances to be published after he accused the Corporation of lavish spending and wasting money that could have been used to regenerate parts of the city.[49] Alderman Kelly's claims were met with laughter and

[42] Meeting on 23 January 1904, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[43] Ibid., Meeting on 7 March 1904.
[44] Ibid., Meeting on 7 March 1904.
[45] Ibid., Meeting on 7 March 1904.
[46] Ibid., Meeting on 29 September 1905.
[47] Geraghty, *William Patrick Partridge and his times*, p. 106.
[48] *United Irishman,* 24 February 1906.
[49] Meeting on 12 February 1906, Dublin City Council Minutes.

jeering, with his motion related to the Corporation's finances defeated and not carried.[50] Alderman Cole proposed a similar motion in March 1904. Seconded by Councillor Lord, Alderman Cole requested 'That a quarterly statement be submitted to Members of this Council showing the state of the City Finances'.[51] Cole's motion, when voted on, was defeated by 45 votes against and 9 for, only receiving the support of two Unionists and two Irish Party Councillors. Corporation spending was a common criticism of the Irish Party by Sinn Féin. In August 1906, another motion proposed by Kelly sought to prevent the increase in wages of Corporation officials. In March 1906, the Sinn Féin Councillors accused the UIL of corruption when allocating paving contracts to relatives of Councillors. Also, they questioned why the head of the paving committee owned a gravel company that supplied works undertaken by the Corporation.[52] Griffith's Councillors regularly struggled to get answers from the UIL, who often deflected questions and referred to improvements that had been made in the city. When Sinn Féin Councillor Thomas Clear suggested that the Corporation extend the supply of electric lighting in Kilmainham, the Lord Mayor was quick to respond that lighting had been improved in streets near the Mansion House, which impacted the electric lighting funds.[53]

It was not just finances and accusations of corruption that Sinn Féin aimed at the Irish Party. The development of electric lighting was a pressing issue that their Councillors sought to address and improve. In August 1904, Michael Lord voiced his concerns regarding the performance of generators around the city and called on the Corporation's Electric Lighting Committee to replace these.[54] In February 1905, Sinn Féin protested against a scheme for lighting in the city to be taken over by another agency and argued that the municipality should retain control of such a vital resource. This motion was defeated by 34 votes against and 28

[50] Ibid., Meeting on 12 February 1906.
[51] Ibid., Meeting on 14 March 1904.
[52] Ibid., Meeting on 5 March 1906.
[53] Ibid., Meeting on 12 March 1906.
[54] Ibid., Meeting on 17 August 1905.

for. However, public lighting control remained with the Corporation.[55] The main water supply for the city was another resource that needed improvement and modernisation to cope with the needs of a growing city. During a Corporation meeting in July 1904, it was announced that extensive enhancements would be made to the water supply to the North City area. While supportive of the measure, William Partridge criticised how long it took for such a scheme to begin.[56] The following month, it was announced that the contract for this work was given to a Kilkenny firm, which drew criticism from Sinn Féin. Sinn Féin also demanded that the Corporation investigate the costs of improvements as 'the cost of the operations carried out under the supervision of the Corporation officials to be excessively high as compared with estimated costs shown in tenders received for the execution of this work'.[57] This contracting out of the improvement works resulted in the laying-off of Corporation labourers, and a demonstration was held in the city on 12 August to protest this decision. The protest brought no change, but the issue continued to be pressed by Sinn Féin in City Hall. The following year, William Partridge and Michael Lord demanded a report on the progress of the water scheme. As a result of their pressure, a report of the progress was presented to the Corporation in August 1905. The process was repeated each year until the competition of the scheme in 1911.[58]

Success like this, however, was very rare for Sinn Féin. Already a minority in the Corporation, the party struggled to ally with anyone to overpower the Irish Party. The Irish Party took note of Sinn Féin's reformist agenda, and in November 1907, the central branch of UIL in the city discussed ways of improving the chronic housing problem and structural improvements before their election campaign.[59] In most cases, emerging reform parties often associated with others to form an alliance to challenge the establishment.[60] This was not the

[55] Ibid., Meeting on 5 February 1905.
[56] Ibid., Meeting on 4 July 1904.
[57] Ibid., Meeting on 8 August 1904.
[58] Geraghty, *William Patrick Partridge and his times*, p. 106.
[59] Precis of UIL reports, 6 November 1907 (TNA, CO 904/21).
[60] Banfield and Wilson, *City Politics*, pp. 131-133.

case in Dublin. Only briefly would Sinn Féin and the Unionists join forces, but this alliance would never last as Sinn Féin had previously openly denounced Crown policy and had its foundations in opposition to two Royal Visits to Ireland. Sinn Féin, however, emerged as a classic urban reform party and sought to change the Corporation for the better, promoting transparency in Corporation business and schemes such as housing and the provision of lighting that would significantly improve the lives of ordinary citizens. As Shelia Carden has shown, some Sinn Féin policies did bear fruit. One, in particular, was the advancements in social equality with the introduction of competitive entry into local government and other public services. Alderman Thomas Kelly played a significant role in these improvements, which had largely replaced the old system of patronage, which had previously made it impossible for any young man to secure a position in the municipal service on his own merits. Walter Cole wrote in *Sinn Féin:* 'The splendid boon, for, possibly the child of the poorest man in Dublin won by Alderman Kelly would be shorn of its greatest value was it to deny continuous progress to successful competitions for clerkships and similar posts'.[61]

Establishment Response and the Irish Council Bill

In the January 1907 municipal elections, Sinn Féin put forward six new candidates for these elections along with Patrick O'Carroll, who was defending his seat in New Kilmainham. The stated aim of these candidates, along with current sitting Councillors, was 'in short our programme stands for Nationalist Capital of a self-governed Ireland the progress of the Municipality, the removal of the disabilities of workingmen representatives, and the happiness and prosperity of the citizens'.[62] Like in 1905, Sinn Féin, ran an organised ticket during these elections for their candidates and published their manifesto the week of the polls. The manifesto published in *Sinn Féin* in January 1907 contained many similarities to two years earlier and

[61] Carden, *The Alderman*, p. 60.
[62] *Sinn Féin,* 12 January 1907.

was highly progressive. The manifesto pledged to support improvements in social and living conditions among city residents, referred to supporting Irish industries and the cultural revival, and the municipalisation of public services. The manifesto again referred to the importance of trade unions and the need to alleviate unemployment in the city.[63] January 1907 was the first time the press labelled the candidates as 'Sinn Féin' representatives. Nationalist newspapers, such as the *Freeman's Journal* and *Irish Independent, and* Unionist newspapers, including the *Irish Times* and *Dublin Daily Express,* all labelled the candidates as representatives of Sinn Féin.[64] Before the elections, Griffith claimed that the Irish Party and Unionists were uniting in anticipation of the challenge from the emerging Sinn Féin movement.[65]

Griffith accused Lord Ardilaun of using his paper, the *Dublin Daily Express,* to create an alliance between Unionist and Nationalist voters to defeat Sinn Féin candidates in many of the wards around the city.[66] Griffith wrote that 'The *Daily Express* has called upon all Dublin Unionists to unite with the whiskey-ring in defeating the Sinn Féin candidates in the Dublin Municipal Elections, Lord Ardilaun's organ during the last twelve months has consistently condemned the majority of the Corporation for its extravagance... but on the eve of the Municipal Elections the *Daily Express's* consistency, fears and indignation disappear, and it sounds the bugle-call to the Unionists of Dublin to array themselves behind the men whom for twelve months it has painted as corruptionists and public plunderers, and cast their votes to give them a new lease of power'.[67] While Sinn Féin and Unionists had formed an alliance in the Corporation previously when trying to oppose Irish Party nominations for the mayoralty, the cordial relationship between both factions was now clearly breached. An article published in the *Dublin Daily Express* in early January suggests that maybe Unionists and Nationalists

[63] Ibid.
[64] *Freeman's Journal,* 17 January 1907; *Irish Independent,* 17 January 1907; *Irish Times,* 17 January 1907; *Dublin Daily Express,* 17 January 1907.
[65] *Sinn Féin,* 12 January 1907.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.

entered a temporary alliance. The paper claimed that 'there are, unfortunately, even worse elements in the Nationalist circles from which the Corporation candidates are so largely drawn… the Sinn Féin party, whose ideals are to the last degree seditious and disintegrating, are making strenuous efforts, not alone to secure representation in the Chamber, but a position there of dominating influence. If they succeed in their object, the Corporation of the future will be even worse, and very much worse, than the Corporation at present'.[68] The paper suggested that the 'object of all electors, Unionist and Nationalist alike, ought to be to secure the return of responsible men, and to defeat the candidature of those who were anxious to enter the Council merely to strengthen the movement towards sedition and disloyalty, and who care much less for the interests of the ratepayers than for the triumph of sensational tactics and toy-treason'.[69]

These contests were not as successful as Griffith and Sinn Féin may have anticipated and three of the seven candidates were returned. Despite not having the success he had hoped for before the elections, Griffith generally remained satisfied with the progress that was being made by Sinn Féin and suggested that 'overall sections – Unionist and Parliamentarian – the supporters of the Sinn Féin policy predominate in the capital of Ireland'.[70] The Unionist press also acknowledged the growing support for Griffith's movement in Dublin and how now, at least at municipal level in Dublin, there was an emerging Nationalist force to compete with the Irish Party. The *Irish Times* outlined that 'the most striking feature of about the election is the accession of strength gained by the supporters of the Sinn Féin policy'.[71] The organ of the Irish Party, the *Freeman's Journal,* reported the elections as a resounding success for the UIL after the defeat of Sinn Féin's candidates and Unionist losses.[72] The *Freeman* did not acknowledge

[68] *Dublin Daily Express,* 3 January 1907.
[69] Ibid.
[70] *Sinn Féin,* 19 January 1907.
[71] *Irish Times,* 17 January 1907.
[72] *Freeman's Journal,* 17 January 1907.

the growing Sinn Féin movement in the city but instead published a report from a UIL meeting in Arran Quay at which Stephen Gwynn MP spoke. Gwynn criticised Sinn Féin's policies as being a 'misread interpretation of history' and also questioned the Irishness of the leaders of Sinn Féin, citing their lack of understanding of the Irish language and cultures.[73]

The Irish Council Bill was introduced by Chief Secretary Augustine Birrell on 7 May 1907 and was part of the broader plan of the Liberal government's pledge 'to govern Ireland according to Irish ideas'.[74] Two years prior, Sir Anthony McDonnell's failed devolution scheme wreaked havoc throughout the Conservative government and had severed any chances of the policy of moderation, conciliation, and conference between Irish nationalists and Unionists.[75] Birrell's 1907 bill provided for the creation of a council consisting of 80 to 90 members, three-quarters of whom were to be elected and the rest nominated; the chief secretary was to be a member of the Council. This body was to control the departments of the Local Government Board, the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, Public Works, the Primary and Intermediate Education Boards and the Congested Districts Board.[76] The bill, however, did not meet Redmond's demands on some key points, and the Irish Party leader was cautious in his comments regarding it. Without rejecting the proposals, Redmond repeated his pledge to submit the bill for consideration to a convention of the UIL in Dublin some days later.[77] The bill immediately caused outrage in Nationalist Ireland and was roundly condemned by the press. The *Freeman* described the legislation as 'modest in scope and almost timid in the safeguards it provides for the working of the new Irish authority it proposes to set up. Neither its apologists or assailants can pretend that it is in any sense a Home Rule Bill, or even

[73] Ibid., 18 January 1907; *Irish Independent,* 18 January 1907.
[74] Ó'Broin, *The Chief Secretary*, pp. 113-118.
[75] FSL Lyons, 'The Irish Unionist Party and the Devolution Crisis of 1904-5' *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 6, No. 21, (1948), p. 22.
[76] Lyons, *The Irish Parliamentary Party*, p. 115.
[77] A.C. Hepburn, 'The Irish Council Bill and the fall of Sir Antony MacDonnell, 1906-7' *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 17, No. 68, (1971), p. 488.

a substitute for Home Rule'.[78] Griffith was equally scathing in his assessment in the pages of *Sinn Féin* and declared that 'the betrayal is now complete…Home Rule is now gone forever…We were not prepared for the insult to Ireland which Mr Birrell outlined'.[79] Griffith also criticised Redmond and the IPP and stated that this bill was all Redmond would get after years of patiently waiting and providing service to the Liberals.[80] The reaction to the bill in Dublin municipal politics was also hostile. Immediately after the announcement of the bill, Sinn Féin Councillor PT Daly wrote a letter to the *Freeman* and called on the Lord Mayor to consider the following resolution: 'That we, the members of the Municipal Council of Dublin, condemn in the strongest possible manner the provisions of the Irish Council Bill and that we look upon it as an insult to the Irish people'.[81]

The Corporation convened a special meeting a few days later to discuss the bill, and Daly put forward his resolution to his fellow Councillors.[82] Daly, supported by Alderman Walter Cole, fiercely criticised Birrell's bill's provisions and denounced Redmond for consistently asking the Irish nation to support the Liberals if this was the outcome.[83] Daly described the bill 'as that measure should be called, not an Irish Council Bill, but a bill for the purpose of increasing the powers of the representatives of the Crown in Ireland'.[84] Daly concluded his speech and stated that after the Irish Party had been supported for twenty-seven years in Parliament, they were worse off now than when they started, 'The present bill deserves their severe condemnation, and hopefully, the unanimous opinion of this meeting would be in favour of its indignant rejection'.[85] Tim Harrington defended Redmond and the Irish Party.

[78] *Freeman's Journal,* 8 May 1907.
[79] *Sinn Féin,* 11 May 1907.
[80] Ibid.
[81] *Freeman's Journal,* 15 May 1907.
[82] Meeting on 17 May 1907, Dublin City Council Minutes. This Corporation meeting was before the UIL's National Convention to consider the bill.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.

When addressing Daly's criticism of the IPP, Harrington believed that 'no party in Europe had made such progress in the last 20 to 25 years as the Irish Party'.[86]

Harrington, however, acknowledged that the Irish Council Bill was far from satisfactory. But he reminded Daly, amongst others, that Redmond had not supported the bill and that it would be discussed at the upcoming UIL convention. The Corporation unanimously adopted Daly's resolution. Lord Mayor JP Nannetti, when bringing the meeting to a close, stated that while he voted in favour of Daly's resolution, he reminded the members of the Corporation that a National Convention was about to be held and that, as the result of that Convention, the bill might be amended as to render it worthy of acceptance.[87] On 21 May, the Convention assembled in the Mansion House in Dublin. Redmond stood alone before the assembled delegates of the UIL, as John Dillon was absent after the sudden passing of his wife a week earlier. At the Convention, Redmond denounced the bill as 'utterly inadequate in its scope', and a resolution demanding its abandonment was passed with little opposition or support for the bill.[88] Despite the levels of discontent among the UIL with the Irish Councils Bill, the rejection of the bill by Redmond and the IPP shocked Irish opinion and significantly strengthened Sinn Féin. Sinn Féin had made steady progress, but in the aftermath of Redmond's rejection of the bill, Sinn Féin became something of a mecca for all the dissatisfaction in Nationalist Ireland.[89]

Some significant developments took place on a national level in 1907 that are important in the general history of Sinn Féin and the advanced Nationalist movements in Ireland. While not crucial to Dublin municipal politics, these developments are still worth briefly mentioning. In early April 1907, a meeting took place in Dundalk of delegates from the Executive Committee of Cumann na nGaedheal and the Dungannon Clubs to discuss the amalgamation

[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Lyons, *The Irish Parliamentary Party*, p. 116.
[89] Mulvagh, *Irish Parliamentary Party at Westminster,* p. 81.

of the two organisations. At the meeting, it was agreed to join both groups to form the Sinn Féin League, with Dublin Corporation Councillor PT Daly elected as this new organisation's first president.[90] The first objective of the Sinn Féin League was 'the regaining of the Sovereign Independence of Ireland' and secondly to 'the building up of Ireland intellectually, materially and physically'.[91] Griffith and the National Council, however, did not join the new organisation and decided to remain independent for a number of months. The reasons for Griffith's refusal to join the Sinn Féin League have generally been understood as a struggle for leadership of this new Nationalism that was emerging. Matthew Kelly and Richard Davis both suggest that Griffith was sceptical about including separatists such as Bulmer Hobson in any new organisation, and a rivalry between Griffith and Hobson had developed.[92] Hobson, reflecting on his association, described Griffith as an 'excellent propagandist but was extremely dogmatic and I found him difficult to work with'.[93] Griffith's absence from the new organisation was only brief. In September 1907, five months after the formation of the Sinn Féin League, the National Council merged into the Sinn Féin League, to be known as Sinn Féin from 1908. As Michael Laffan has argued, Griffith took over the Sinn Féin League and forced it to adopt his policy. Griffith regarded the new united party formed in 1907 as an extension of his National Council, with Griffith as the dominant figure.[94]

Another significant development was the defection of Irish Party MPs towards Sinn Féin in the fallout from the Irish Council Bill. After the UIL National Convention held in May 1907, some Irish Party members defected to Sinn Féin and suggested that the government's betrayal left the field open for abstention from Parliament. The most prominent of these was Sir Thomas Esmonde, MP for North Wexford, Chief Whip of the Irish Party and chairman of

[90] Davis, *Arthur Griffith and non-violent Sinn Féin*, p. 33.
[91] *The Irish Peasant,* 13 April 1907. Citied in Davis, *Arthur Griffith and non-violent Sinn Féin*, p. 33.
[92] Kelly, *The Fenian Ideal and Irish Nationalism*, p. 173; Davis, *Arthur Griffith and non-violent Sinn Féin*, p. 34.
[93] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Bulmer Hobson, WS 82, p. 3
[94] Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*, p. 23.

the General Council of County Councils; James O'Mara, MP for South Kilkenny; and CJ Dolan, MP for North Leitrim. The MPs Patrick White, Tom Kettle and Tom O'Donnell wanted more vigorous opposition to the government, but all three decided to remain with the party.[95] While the resignations from the party numbered only a few MPs, these resignations highlighted for the first time the penetration of the party by Sinn Féin ideals while also emphasising the low morale of the party.[96] Griffith enthusiastically reported the defection of Irish Party MPs towards Sinn Féin as a 'conversion to Sinn Féin' by prominent members of the Irish Party and also a justification of his beliefs while the policies of Redmond were clearly failing.[97]

When Irish Party MP CJ Dolan defected to Griffith, he adhered to his pledge, resigned his seat, and sought re-election for his North-Leitrim constituency as an abstentionist Sinn Féin candidate. Dolan's challenge was the first challenge by advanced Nationalism to take a parliamentary seat from the Irish Party since John McBride's South Mayo campaign in 1900, which resulted in a heavy defeat of six to one.[98] The difference this time was that Dolan came from within the Irish Party and had an established relationship with his constituents, thus making his threat to the hegemony of the Irish Party more credible than McBride's. The by-election took place in February 1908, and progress had been made in giving attention to Sinn Féin nationally as this was the first time that Sinn Féin policy had been put before the electorate and attracted a great deal of attention.[99] Sinn Féin had also established a foothold outside Dublin in Leitrim, with eleven Sinn Féin clubs now present in that county.[100] The campaign in North Leitrim between the Irish and Sinn Féin was a protracted, violent, and very bitter affair. Election workers from all across Ireland travelled to support both candidates, and the IRB was particularly active in Dolan's campaign. Dolan's election agent was Seán MacDiarmada, and

[95] Maume, *The Long Gestation*, p. 89.
[96] Lyons, *John Dillon*, p. 299.
[97] *Sinn Féin,* 22 June 1907; *Sinn Féin,* 29 June 1907.
[98] Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*, p. 27.
[99] Lyons, *John Dillon*, p. 299.
[100] Laffan, *The resurrection of Ireland*, p. 27.

Bulmer Hobson was another prominent organiser of support for Dolan.[101] The election result was a comfortable victory for the Irish Party's candidate FE Meehan, who received 3103 votes over Dolan's 1157 votes, giving the Irish Party a majority of 1946 votes.[102]

Leitrim would have been considered a safe IPP seat, and Michael Laffan has suggested that Sinn Féin could take encouragement from their showing.[103] Patrick McCartan, who travelled to Leitrim to support Dolan's campaign, believed that even though it was a defeat, the election campaign 'had served to bring the Sinn Féin policy into the public eye'.[104] Griffith considered the result of the election as the beginning of a new political era with 'twelve hundred votes cast in an Irish constituency in denial of the claim of the Parliament of England to legislate for this country'.[105] The result of the election was also important as it showed that Sinn Féin had effectively split the Nationalist vote in Leitrim and, compared with the South Mayo campaign in 1900, the advanced Nationalist cause had significantly improved.[106] McBride, in 1900, had only received 427 votes, Dolan received 730 more votes than this, and this increase in votes for an advanced Nationalist opponent against the Irish Party would have caused a shock for Redmond and the Irish Party hierarchy.[107] Patrick McGarry argues that the vote in North Leitrim was arguably a vote of disapproval of the IPP and its failure to deliver Home Rule as it was a vote in support of Sinn Féin. Following Dolan's defeat, interest in Sinn Féin in Leitrim declined dramatically, with no active branches in the county in 1910 and no show of support in any neighbouring counties. Dolan himself left politics after his defeat and emigrated to America.[108]

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[101] Patrick McGarry, *Leitrim: The Irish Revolution, 1912-23* (Dublin, 2020), p. 9.
[102] Brian M. Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1801-1922*, p. 359.
[103] Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*, p. 27.
[104] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Patrick McCartan, WS 766, p. 16.
[105] *Sinn Féin,* 29 February 1908.
[106] Davis, *Arthur Griffith and non-violent Sinn Féin*, p. 48.
[107] Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1801-1922*, p. 366.
[108] McGarry, *Leitrim,* p. 10.

Sinn Féin's Peak

While Sinn Féin were campaigning nationally for Dolan's potential election in North Leitrim, the elections for Dublin City Council were still held in mid-January 1908. Ten Sinn Féin candidates sought election to Dublin Corporation that year. While considerable focus was given to Dolan's campaign, Griffith still dedicated a large section of *Sinn Féin* to the municipal contests.[109] Some days before the election, Sinn Féin organised a meeting to promote their municipal programme to the city's electors. Described by Griffith as 'one of the largest and most enthusiastic meetings ever held in Dublin was held Sunday last at the Customhouse in support of the Sinn Féin candidates'.[110] The meeting was attended by all current Sinn Féin Councillors along with the candidates seeking election, with Griffith himself also addressing the crowd. The subject of discussion for most of the meeting was the housing of the working classes and the improvements Sinn Féin would make in this regard.[111] Griffith, when he spoke at the gathering, stated that 'the policy of the Sinn Féin members of the Corporation was simple and clear. It was to compel the Corporation to use its powers even though they were so drastic that every rackrenting slum-owner cried out against them'.[112] Griffith also used this opportunity to again accuse the Irish Party of alleged corruption amongst their Corporation members and how the 'ring' system had combined to attempt to beat Sinn Féin influence out of the Council.[113] The Sinn Féin Party, according to Griffith, 'was the only party that had fought for the interests of the citizens of all classes against the rings and mono-lies that secretly aimed to govern the city. They were the only party with a policy and programme, and if the men of

[109] *Sinn Féin,* 11 January 1908.
[110] Ibid., 18 January 1908.
[111] Ibid.; *Irish Independent,* 14 January 1908.
[112] Ibid.
[113] *Irish Independent,* 14 January 1908. The term 'ring system' used here by Griffith is short for 'whiskey ring' which he often used to describe the Corporation and Irish Party due to large number of its members involved in the drinks trade.

Dublin came to the polls in full strength next Wednesday, that programme would be carried out'.[114]

Unfortunately for Griffith, the electors were not convinced by his pleas, and the results of the elections were underwhelming for his candidates. Only four out of the ten Sinn Féin candidates standing for election were successful. Griffith blamed Sinn Féin's defeats on the failure of their supporters to register to vote in the elections and thus left the party weak in certain wards, particularly Inns Quay, where Sinn Féin lost a contest for an Alderman position and a Councillor position in the same election. Griffith believed 'that in Dublin at the present time, there are some 10,000 Sinn Féiners entitled to the franchise and who do not possess it. We shall publish for their benefit in future issues the procedure necessary for them to obtain it, and if they take the trouble to do so, we will bury Parliamentarianism in the Irish metropolis at the next election'.[115] According to Griffith, the failure of Sinn Féin supporters to register cost the party four seats and Sinn Féin may have added four new representatives rather than one.[116] Griffith's claims of voters failing to register indicate a lack of organisation or naivety on behalf of Sinn Féin. The police reported that the UIL in Dublin had election agents at work in October 1907 to give them a head start on Sinn Féin and organised demonstrations in support of their own candidates.[117] A UIL meeting held in the Foresters' Hall in the Merchants Quay ward was to 'organise the Ward in the interests of the UIL, and to oppose the Sinn Féin Party in the coming Municipal contests'.[118] The *Freeman* praised the UIL's agents in the wards where Sinn Féin suffered defeat and each candidate's campaign. The *Freeman* accused Sinn Féin of making ridiculous claims against the Irish Party and launching personal attacks against many of the UIL representatives and suggested that these election results showed that Sinn Féin still

[114] *Sinn Féin,* 18 January 1908.
[115] Ibid., 25 January 1908.
[116] Ibid., 25 January 1908.
[117] Precis of UIL reports, 11 October 1907 (TNA, CO 904/21).
[118] Precis of UIL reports, 20 October 1907 (TNA, CO 904/21).

had no authority in the city.[119] In reality, Sinn Féin faced the monumental task of trying to surpass the UIL in terms of electoral activity. Soon after these contests, an electoral 'war' began between both parties in terms of getting voters registered and distributing pre-election material. The UIL began this registration work mid-summer and had numerous election agents in the wards.[120] Due to the strength and financial power of the UIL, Sinn Féin were always going to lose this war.[121]

Another obstacle Sinn Féin had to face in the elections in January 1908 was the support the Irish Party candidates received from the Catholic Church. In October 1907, William Walsh, the Archbishop of Dublin, received a letter from the Thomas Davis branch of the National Council that alleged a priest, Canon Downing, was campaigning against Sinn Féin in Inns Quay. The letter alleged that Downing was attempting to portray Sinn Féin as being anti-Catholic, with the Thomas Davis branch outlining that the majority of Sinn Féiners are Catholics, but the movement 'endeavours to unite all Irishmen on a common platform of Irish nationality'.[122] The following day, Archbishop Walsh received a letter from Denis M Doyle, a Sinn Féin Councillor in the Drumcondra ward. Doyle, though not a representative in Inns Quay, believed the actions of Canon Downing were unjustified and were falsely spreading misinformation about Sinn Féin. Doyle called on the Archbishop to intervene on Sinn Féin's behalf or risk 'a renewal of the scenes of the Parnell split, when the very churches and altars of Ireland were made the wrangling ground for horrible, and wicked political discussion'.[123] Archbishop Walsh wrote back to Councillor Doyle in regard to his claims and stated he could not get involved as 'it would be going out of my sphere of duty', and Walsh believed Canon

[119] *Freeman's Journal,* 17 January 1908; *Freeman's Journal,* 18 January 1908.
[120] Precis of UIL reports, 10 June 1908 (TNA, CO 904/21).
[121] Murray, 'Working Class Politics', p. 17.
[122] Letter from Thomas Davis Branch of the National Council to William Walsh, 25 October 1907 (Dublin Diocesan Archives, Archbishop William Walsh Papers, Laity Files, IE/DDA/AB5/Laity/381/7).
[123] Letter from Denis M Doyle to William Walsh, 26 October 1907 (Dublin Diocesan Archives, Archbishop William Walsh Papers, Laity Files, IE/DDA/AB5/Laity/381/7).

Downing was entitled to express his opinions the same way 'had they been made by any layman in the city'.[124]

The accusations against Sinn Féin continued, and in November 1907, Walter Cole wrote to the Archbishop complaining that 'the supporters of the Sinn Féin movement in the Inns Quay ward have been assailed by charges of hostility to the Church and to the Catholic Religion which have of late been renewed in intensified degree'.[125] Cole, like Doyle, outlined that Sinn Féin was not anti-Catholic and that Sinn Féin and the Irish Party 'both aim at the betterment of Ireland but don't agree as to the methods to be adopted to bringing it about. Men of all religions are in both organisations. The differences between them refer to ordinary political tactics and have nothing whatever to do with religion and its practices'.[126] Walsh wrote back to Cole, telling him he was already aware of the situation as this was the fourth letter he had received on the topic. Like in his letter to Doyle, Walsh refused to intervene and said he only intervenes in situations 'in the interests of peace' but not in the municipal contests.[127] Some weeks later, Walsh received a letter from the Drumcondra and Glasnevin Branch of the National Council that stated there were now fourteen branches in the city, and they 'confidently look forward to the acceptance of the Sinn Féin policy by a large majority of the people of Ireland within the next few years'.[128] The refusal of Walsh, however to not intervene and the support the Irish Party received from the Catholic Church was a contributing factor to Sinn Féin's defeats in the 1908 elections as the Church was a powerful ally to have on side.

By 1908, at a national level, it appeared that the Irish Party leadership was more acutely aware of Sinn Féin's growth. In December 1907, Joseph Devlin wrote to John Dillon to

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[124] Ibid.
[125] Letter from William Walsh to Denis M Doyle, 29 October 1907 (Dublin Diocesan Archives, Archbishop William Walsh Papers, Laity Files, IE/DDA/AB5/Laity/381/7).
[126] Letter from Walter Cole to William Walsh, 30 November 1907 (Dublin Diocesan Archives, Archbishop William Walsh Papers, Laity Files, IE/DDA/AB5/Laity/381/7).
[127] Letter from William Walsh to Walter Cole, 1 December 1907 (Dublin Diocesan Archives, Archbishop William Walsh Papers, Laity Files, IE/DDA/AB5/Laity/381/7).
[128] Letter from Drumcondra and Glasnevin Branch of the National Council to William Walsh, 11 December 1907 (Dublin Diocesan Archives, Archbishop William Walsh Papers, Laity Files, IE/DDA/AB5/Laity/381/6).

consider the idea of assimilating the growing Sinn Féin movement into the Irish Party. Like with most new movements that emerged and as it has been discussed in terms of the LEA, the Irish Party was considering 'vampirizing' Sinn Féin and taking control of Griffith's organisation. Devlin wrote, 'if you approve, of making a strong appeal to the Sinn Fein crowd to come into the movement, and suggesting that their presence in the movement would bring it added strength and power, and that they are much more likely to render effective service to the cause they advocate by exercising influence within than by standing without'.[129] Devlin outlined that 'that the only point on which we differ is that of the retention of the Irish members at Westminster, and that this might be waived, provided, on the other hand, that the Party would pledge itself, when Parliament was not sitting, to devote themselves during the Recess, each member in his own constituency, to all the practical objects contained in the Sinn Fein programme'.[130]

Devlin's letter to Dillon outlines that the Irish Party leadership was becoming more aware of the growth of Sinn Féin and saw the potential for accommodating Sinn Féin within the Irish Party's machine, with Devlin also happy to pursue the Sinn Féin programme to a certain extent if Sinn Féin dropped their abstentionist policy. Devlin, in the letter, then states that John D Nugent was putting an article in the January 1908 edition of the *Hibernian Journal* with reference to Sinn Féin. This article was titled 'Where are we?' and stated that 'So far as the policy of Sinn Féin is concerned, we are glad to note by letters written and speeches delivered by the more prominent leaders of that movement that there is a disposition to give other organisations who are pursuing a self-reliant an independent policy a fair field… Nationalists associated with the UIL are endeavouring to bring back into that organisation the policy of Biggar and Parnell. As we have before suggested we can see no reason why a

[129] Letter from Joseph Devlin to John Dillon, 20 December 1907 (TCD, John Dillon Papers, Ms. 6729/120).
[130] Ibid.

conference between the prominent leaders of the UIL and of the National Council should not prove effective… if such a conference takes place it need not compromise any organisation or involve any sacrifice of principle on either side, and even if it is ineffective there will be no harm done'.[131] This conference never happened, and in *Sinn Féin* Griffith made no reference to the article in the *Hibernian Journal.*

Despite only winning three contests and Cole losing his seat, Griffith was still pleased with how his party fared in January 1908 and believed the results, along with the total votes Sinn Féin received, indicated 'an accession of strength to the Sinn Féin Party in the Municipal Council'.[132] After these elections, Sinn Féin now had twelve representatives in Dublin Corporation, the party's highest total before the war. After the Dublin local elections in January 1908, the Irish Party still had the most members with 57 Councillors, Sinn Féin had 12 Councillors, the Unionists had 9 Councillors, and Labour had 2 Councillors.[133] Early 1908 up to 1909 was the high point for Sinn Féin before the war. The party enjoyed its most significant influence in Dublin municipal politics at this time, and it also found a national platform with CJ Dolan's North Leitrim campaign. Griffith wrote in early February 1908 that 'the growth of the Sinn Féin movement in Ireland during the past twelve months has no parallel. Its adherents now number one-fourth of the whole population... the National Council can confidently look forward to the acceptance of the Sinn Féin idea and adherence to the Sinn Féin policy by a large majority of the people of Ireland within the next few years'.[134]

Sinn Féin put forward eight candidates in January 1909 and hoped to build on the progress of the past two years. Sinn Féin believed that 'there is considerable opportunity to improve the Corporation at the present elections, and we hope full advantage will be taken of

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[131] *The Hibernian Journal,* January 1908.
[132] *Sinn Féin,* 25 January 1908.
[133] Meeting on 23 January 1908, Dublin City Council Minutes; *Irish Times,* 17 January 1908.
[134] *Sinn Féin,* 1 February 1908. Griffith arrived at this figure of one-fourth of the support of the whole population purely based on the North-Leitrim result. Dolan received 1,157(27%) of the 4,260 total votes cast in the contest.

it'.[135] Sinn Féin were defending seats in four wards, and the other four candidates were attempting to win new seats to add to the thirteen Councillors the party had in the Corporation. As was usually the case, each seat contested by Sinn Féin was a straight fight with a candidate representing the Irish Party or the UIL. Like in previous elections, most of Sinn Féin's pre-election campaign and speeches were focused on reforming the Corporation regarding housing, salaries, the revival of Irish industries and stamping out the corruption and jobbery that had plagued Dublin City Council for many years.[136] Griffith now believed that Sinn Féin had generated so much support before these elections that most contests would only be a formality. The Irish Party was so concerned by the growth of Sinn Féin in the city that now an effort was being made to 'wipe out all Sinn Féin influence within the Corporation'.[137]

Four of Sinn Féin's candidates were successful in these elections, and the party retained the same number of Councillors as it had before the elections. One of the new Sinn Féin Councillors was WT Cosgrave, who joined the movement after attending the 1905 convention in the Rotunda and believed that association with Sinn Féin 'had a profound influence in arousing the National consciousness'.[138] Sinn Féin now had its highest number of Councillors, and this was noted by the DMP, which was concerned about the growth of these members of the Corporation who were 'extremists' and used 'seditious language'.[139] Four Sinn Féin members were elected as chairmen of Corporation Committees a few days later. Alderman Tom Kelly, after his defeat in his campaign for the mayoralty, was elected as chairman of the Public Health Committee, Councillor Seán T O'Kelly was elected chairman of the Finances and Leases Committee, Councillor Patrick Clear was elected chairman of the Markets Committee, and Councillor TJ Sheehan elected chairman of the Paving Committee.[140]

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[135] Ibid., 9 January 1909.
[136] Ibid., 2 January 1909. Ibid., 9 January 1909.
[137] Ibid., 16 January 1909.
[138] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, WT Cosgrave, WS 268, p. 1.
[139] CSORP/1909/1258: DMP report on Dublin municipal elections, January 1909.
[140] Meeting on 23 January 1909, Dublin City Council Minutes; *Irish Times,* 26 January 1909.

Sinn Féin's Councillors, however, could not make any progress in reforming the Corporation, and Griffith blamed the Lord Mayor for the party's lack of progress by the middle of the year. Griffith wrote that 'Sinn Féin members of the Council have had small impartiality and smaller courtesy accorded them since the present Lord Mayor was installed. Their motions and amendments have been on many occasions, summarily throttled by the process of ruling them out of order, and their requests for a statement on the grounds on which the ruling was made have, in nearly every instance, been contemptuously ignored or discourteously replied to'.[141] Griffith's comments came just days after Sinn Féin Councillor's WT Cosgrave and John T O'Kelly caused wild scenes at a Corporation after they put forward a motion of no confidence against the IPP.[142] The Lord Mayor had put forward a motion calling on the MPs representing Dublin to use their power to oppose the level of taxation to be placed on the city by Lloyd George in his budget and called on Dublin's Parliamentary representatives to record their votes against the entire budget proposals'.[143] Cosgrave responded to this motion with an amendment that 'we have no further confidence in the Irish Parliamentary Party' and accused the IPP of not giving the budget consideration they claimed they had.[144] This amendment was immediately ruled out of order by the Lord Mayor, prompting a response from John T O'Kelly, who believed 'the supposed opposition by Irish members to the budget had been so farcical that they would be degrading themselves the eyes of the citizens of Dublin and in the eyes of the people of Ireland'.[145] Dublin's newspapers described the events that immediately followed these motions as' disgraceful' and' disorderly' as Sinn Féin's Councillors became involved in the shouting match with the Lord Mayor and UIL Councillors.[146] The meeting was eventually adjourned after Sinn Féin's members were forcefully removed from the Council chamber. The

[141] *Sinn Féin,* 19 June 1909.
[142] Meeting on 14 June 1909, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.
[146] *Dublin Daily Express,* 15 June 1909; *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 16 June 1909.

events indicated great bitterness and hostility between the Sinn Féiners and the other and larger section of the Nationalist members of the Corporation'.[147] However, despite Sinn Féin's success in Dublin and its establishment as the main opposition to the Irish Party, some members of the movement were concerned with its focus on Dublin municipal politics. Bulmer Hobson believed that 'the movement in Dublin got wrapped up in local politics, and, in trying to get members elected to the Dublin Corporation, neglected to organise in the country'.[148]

Conclusion

Sinn Féin experienced rapid growth in such a short period. By 1908, the party had fourteen Councillors elected to the Corporation. It had emerged as the most significant organisation to challenge the Irish Party since they took over the Corporation in the 1880s. Having begun as a somewhat shapeless cultural movement, Griffith's organisation solidified into the National Council and then Sinn Féin. This chapter shows that Sinn Féin can be considered a classic urban reform party. These urban reform parties emerged all over the world, but they all embodied the same characteristics. Intent on changing how their respective municipalities were governed, the reformers sought to destroy or alter the old-style politics that dominated local government. Sinn Féin's Councillors, when they first emerged on the scene, began to attack the dominating Irish Party and question them over a wide range of issues. Sinn Féin sought to reform positions such as the Lord Mayor of the City and create a fairer system of municipal government. Like the other reform movements, Sinn Féin attempted to improve aspects of the Corporation that they considered to be neglected by the Irish Party. Attempts were made to improve housing, water provision, electric lighting, and working conditions. However, Sinn Féin were always in the minority, and unlike most other reform parties, they could not form an

[147] *Irish Times,* 15 June 1909.
[148] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Bulmer Hobson, WS 82, p. 6

alliance that would prove to be any real threat to the Irish Party. The Unionists were briefly in alliance with Sinn Féin, but this partnership would never last.

Sinn Féin became a topic of national discussion with the 1908 North Leitrim by-election contest, and although this ended in a defeat for the candidate Charles Dolan, Griffith and Sinn Féin supporters took encouragement from the result. However, as was discussed in the chapter, Sinn Féin's support peaked around the time of this contest, and no significant progress was made in the aftermath of Dolan's defeat, either in Dublin or other parts of Ireland. The failure of Sinn Féin to make any further progress on the back of such a high-profile by-election indicates that the support Dolan received was arguably a vote against the IPP to show the dissatisfaction with the party as it was a show of genuine support for Sinn Féin. In the years that followed, Sinn Féin's popularity would decline further, and the movement would wither away.

Ch. 5 - The limitations of Sinn Féin and the foundation of the Dublin Labour Party, 1910 – 1912

Introduction

The following chapter discusses the experiences of the two emerging movements in this thesis, Sinn Féin and Labour, from 1910 -1912. The years 1910-1912 were crucial in the development of both Sinn Féin and Labour and laid the foundations for how both parties functioned before municipal contests were suspended in 1915. The chapter will begin by analysing Sinn Féin's decline after the Corporation elections in January 1910. Though the number of Sinn Féin representatives elected was never greater than thirteen, the party led by Arthur Griffith had emerged as the most serious threat to the hegemony of the Irish Party. Just two years prior, Griffith had boasted in *Sinn Féin* that his movement was growing rapidly in the city and would soon eclipse the 'parliamentarians'.[1] Throughout these years, however, Sinn Féin began a rapid decline. With electoral defeats and apathy from the electorate along with internal conflict, by the summer of 1911, Sinn Féin had retracted from municipal politics and was operating as a propaganda movement, as the National Council originally had in 1903. In the following chapter, Sinn Féin's transformation into a propaganda movement will be analysed. While Sinn Féin sagged, the Labour movement in the city began to flourish. The Dublin Labour Party (DLP) was formed in April 1911, a watershed moment for Labour politics. The formation of the DLP is significant as it was the first Labour movement that was not aligned with or influenced by the Irish Party. Former Labour movements and candidates in the city were, in reality, pawns of the Irish Party. The DLP was a party formed solely to advance Labour politics

[1] *Sinn Féin,* 25 January 1908.

and was a pledge-bound party. The formation of the DLP will be discussed, and how this party differed from the previous Labour movements.

The start of Sinn Féin's decline and Hibernians in Dublin politics

Arthur Griffith and Sinn Féin would have been in a buoyant mood regarding the prospect of success and further gains as the party prepared for the municipal elections in January 1910. Throughout the summer and autumn of 1909, Sinn Féin held several public lectures. Griffith's aim for these lectures was to increase the support base Sinn Féin had built in Dublin over the preceding years. Griffith also hoped these lectures would serve as propaganda and win more support from the Irish Party's voter base.[2] The meetings were reported weekly in *Sinn Féin* and described as often receiving the 'enthusiastic support of the citizens of Dublin'.[3] These public lectures were organised in the different municipal electoral wards in the city. For example, in late June, there were lectures in the North City and Usher's Quay wards, and the following week, the lectures were in the Glasnevin and Drumcondra wards.[4] Griffith believed that now 'abundant evidence was to the fore that the citizens of Dublin are not adherents to the policy of the Parliamentary Party… the frequent applause plainly indicated that Dublin supported Sinn Féin'.[5]

Sinn Féin put forward ten candidates for election, but only two of these candidates were successful. The two Sinn Féin candidates who were successful were Patrick O'Carroll, who retained his seat in the New Kilmainham ward and Lorcan O'Toole, who won a seat for the party in the Trinity ward. Both O'Carroll and O'Toole won a straight contest with a Labour candidate who was backed by the Irish Party. In five wards where Sinn Fein suffered defeat, they were defeated by candidates who had the support of the Ancient Order of Hibernians

[2] Ibid., 10 July 1909.
[3] Ibid., 26 June 1909.
[4] Ibid., 3 July 1909; Ibid., 10 July 1909.
[5] Ibid., 3 July 1909.

(AOH). The AOH had never fielded or backed candidates in Dublin elections before January 1910 but announced their intention to field candidates aligned to the Irish Party in the AOH monthly paper, *The Hibernian Journal.*[6]

Michael Foy has traced the growth and development of the AOH in Dublin. John D Nugent inaugurated the first division of the AOH in July 1904. By the summer of 1907, the movement was flourishing, with over 500 members in Dublin.[7] At the AOH biennial convention in July 1909, Nugent stated that the movement was growing rapidly in Dublin and was now becoming the leading Nationalist organisation in the county.[8] Foy also outlines previous frictions between the AOH and Sinn Féin, including Joseph Devlin's ousting of AOH members sympathetic to Griffith's policies, the AOH's role in defeating CJ Dolan in North-Leitrim by-election in 1908, and how these experiences left Griffith resentful and bitter regarding the AOH and Devlin who he considered to be overtly sectarian.[9] The AOH was boosted further in 1911 when the organisation became a benefit society under the 1911 Insurance Act. From 1912, the AOH then had the ability to attract 'insurance' members, which greatly boosted membership.[10] Sinn Féin had never faced a challenge from the AOH in Dublin, but the AOH was successfully used against Sinn Fein clubs in counties in Ulster in previous years to halt Sinn Féin's progress or attempted progress.[11] The AOH wanted to compete in Dublin's elections to 'further strengthen the Nationalist spirit in the city, infuse the spirit of

[6] *The Hibernian Journal,* January 1910.
[7] Foy, The Ancient Order of Hibernians, pp. 137-138.
[8] *The Hibernian Journal,* August 1909. In April 1913 *The Hibernian Journal* reported that there were 5,480 active AOH members in Dublin. In December 1914 there were 34 AOH divisions in Dublin that paid their membership fee to the central executive. Source: *The Hibernian Journal,* August 1909; *The Hibernian Journal,* April 1913; *The Hibernian Journal,* December 1914.
[9] Foy, *The Ancient Order of Hibernians*, pp. 139-144.
[10] Wheatley, *Nationalism and the Irish Party,* p. 49. O'Donoghue, 'Faith in the Fatherland', p. 79. This is covered in more detail in chapter 1.
[11] Letter from Patrick McCartan to Joseph McGarrity,10 August 1907 (NLI, Joseph McGarrity Papers, Ms. 17,457/61).

Hibernianism in the city's Wards, and oust those who at the present time are misrepresenting the people'.[12]

Over the years that followed, the AOH would continue to grow in Dublin's municipal politics and drive a rift between themselves and the UIL. Speaking at the Hibernian Bazar in the summer of 1910, Joseph Devlin announced that AOH had found a permanent meeting hall in Dublin after purchasing a building in Rutland Square. Commenting on the growth of the AOH in Dublin, Devlin stated that he found 'a source of pride and gratification that Dublin could lay claim to the premier position amongst the towns and cities of Ireland in the growth and development of Hibernianism'.[13] Despite this proclaimed growth, the AOH abstained from the municipal elections in January 1911. This decision was to show that the AOH was not a rival to the UIL or that the AOH did not control the UIL. AOH County Secretary for Dublin, MJ Leonard, speaking at a Hibernian meeting after these elections, stated the role of the AOH was to support the UIL, as it had done in the contests that just concluded, reports of the AOH taking over the UIL were false.[14] During the poor law elections in May 1911, however, the cordial relationship between the AOH and UIL appeared to have ceased, and a 'bitter feud' was now reported in the press between both groups.[15] At a meeting of the City Executive of the UIL, AOH members walked out after UIL branch president Lorcan Sherlock refused to withdraw UIL candidates from wards contested by the AOH.[16] The AOH in the city was led by John D Nugent, who AC Hepburn has suggested became one of the most influential figures in Dublin politics.[17]

[12] *The Hibernian Journal,* January 1910.
[13] *Irish Independent,* 16 July 1910.
[14] Ibid., 27 February 1911.
[15] *Dublin Daily Express,* 8 May 1911.
[16] Ibid. Lorcan Sherlock was president of the City Executive of the UIL, honorary secretary was John D Nugent.
[17] A.C. Hepburn, *Catholic Belfast and Nationalist Ireland in the Era of Joe Devlin, 1871-1934* (Oxford, 2008), p. 92.

Before the elections in 1910, the AOH County Secretary for Dublin, MJ Leonard, appealed to 'each member of the Order in Dublin to use all possible influence in order to ensure the return of the AOH candidates in the respective wards'.[18] Griffith, writing after the elections, admitted that the support the 'Molly-Maguires' received in the city's elections surprised him and, no doubt, was the defining factor in Sinn Féin's losses.[19] He accused the AOH of manipulating the elections by intimidating young Catholics to vote for their candidates and described them as 'a society that had its origin in hell, and will end in hell'.[20] Overall, the AOH recorded more than double the votes Sinn Féin got in their two-way contests. In the fight between the AOH and Sinn Féin, the AOH candidates received 5,514 votes compared to the 2,726 votes Sinn Féin got across all seven wards. Though no seats were lost or gained, the failure to add any seats was a blow to Griffith's hopes. Colum Kenny has argued that while Sinn Féin, to this point, had made steady, albeit limited progress, the failure to advance further outlined that the voters remained unconvinced to throw their support behind Sinn Féin.[21]

AC Hepburn, in his study of Joseph Devlin and Northern Nationalism, outlined how Devlin successfully used the AOH as an organiser and enforcer in Belfast to allow him to control West Belfast.[22] The AOH in Dublin adopted similar tactics around 1910 to defeat Sinn Féin and thwart any further potential progress for Griffith's movement. As the strength of the AOH, they came into regular conflict with Sinn Féin supporters during pre-election meetings and often disrupted Sinn Féin supporters from speaking on the platform. The AOH also supported UIL meetings in Dublin and acted like stewards to stop any disruption that Sinn Féin attempted to make.[23] Sinn Féin Councillor John T O'Kelly, when describing his time as a member of the Corporation, cited the AOH as one of the main obstacles that halted Sinn Féin

[18] *Irish Independent,* 11 January 1910.
[19] *Sinn Féin,* 22 January 1910.
[20] Ibid., 22 January 1910; Ibid., 29 January 1910.
[21] Kenny, *The Enigma of Arthur Griffith*, p. 155.
[22] Hepburn, *Catholic Belfast and Nationalist Ireland in the Era of Joe Devlin*, pp. 92-94.
[23] Foy, The Ancient Order of Hibernians, pp. 137-138.

progression. O'Kelly stated, 'When we of the Sinn Féin party held meetings as we frequently did during those early years to progress the Sinn Féin policy, our most vigorous opponents were always members of the AOH'.[24] O'Kelly outlined how Sinn Féin could rarely hold meetings in support of their candidates before elections as the AOH would turn up in greater numbers and ensure the meeting could not proceed.[25] The introduction of the AOH to Dublin's municipal elections in 1910 introduced these strong-arm tactics and methods to the city's politics. Over the following years, the AOH continued to grow and become the dominant auxiliary of the Irish Party in Dublin.

The Limits of 'Sinn Féinism'

Soon after the municipal elections held in January 1910, Sinn Féin's rapid decline and disintegration as a movement began. As PS O'Hegarty wrote, 'the country definitely threw off the Sinn Féin idea and the organisation dwindled down to a branch in Dublin… From 1910 to 1913, the skeleton of the Sinn Féin organisation continued in existence; the Dublin Central Branch met regularly; the paper appeared regularly; annual conventions were held; but no political work other than indoor educational and propaganda work was done'.[26] Robert Henry Mitchell describes an organisation similar to O'Hegarty, one that lost all political gain and was practically moribund from 1910 to 1913.[27] As Sinn Féin decided against participation in elections for Westminster, the party's performance in Dublin Corporation elections was significant as it was the only place where Sinn Féin's 'machine' developed and operated as a political organisation.[28]

[24] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Seán T O'Kelly, WS 1,765, p. 1.
[25]Ibid. O'Kelly describes how the AOH would attend Sinn Féin meetings and attack Sinn Féin supporters with batons and throw stone at speakers. Sinn Féin would sometimes then bring members of local GAA armed with hurleys to protect their members from the AOH.
[26] O'Hegarty, *Sinn Féin: An illumination*, p. 39.
[27] Mitchell, *The Evolution of Sinn Féin*, p. 88.
[28] Davis, *Arthur Griffith and non-violent Sinn Féin*, p. 88.

The post-mortem of Sinn Féin's poor showing in the municipal elections occurred almost immediately when the party held a conference in the rooms of the National Council on O'Connell Street.[29] Griffith was still optimistic about Sinn Féin's future despite a poor showing. Griffith suggested that the poor electoral performance was due to the renewed public interest in Home Rule and a rise in the popularity of the Irish Party.[30] Sinn Fein's longest-serving member of Dublin Corporation, Alderman Tom Kelly, presented a much bleaker reading of the current and future situation. These were not good years for the party, and Kelly suggested that the time had come for Sinn Féin to consider a policy of abstention from the Corporation. Kelly urged Sinn Féin and its supporters to withdraw from the Corporation as he felt the movement had made very few inroads into the Irish Party control of the Corporation or Irish Party voters.[31] Kelly stated that he 'could understand the Liberal promise of Home Rule creating a reaction against Sinn Féin, but could not understand such a prostitution of the franchise which resulted in the casting of thousands of votes for the types elected in opposition to (Sinn Féin candidates) Messers Daly, Sheehan, Brady, and Doyle'.[32]

Kelly was in the Corporation for eleven years and considered that time wasted. Sinn Féin's energies and efforts he thought would be better suited to a national propaganda campaign. He wished to leave the municipal Council to the nominees who were satisfied with the state of things that exist in the municipality of Dublin.[33] Alderman Kelly's proposition of abstaining from the Corporation outlined his lack of hope for Sinn Féin's prospects and the party's lack of progress after encouraging signs around 1907. Kelly's idea of withdrawing from the Corporation was also at odds with one of Sinn Féin's basic principles: abstaining from

[29] *Sinn Féin Daily,* 20 January 1910. The National Council meeting rooms were the Sinn Féin meeting rooms. Griffith used the term National Council to describe his Dublin organisation.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 20 January 1910. Kelly had first been an Irish Party Councillor in January 1899 before joining Sinn Féin in 1905. He had an association with Griffith prior to joining his organisations and was a regular attendee at the meetings of the Celtic Literary Society in the 1890s along with Griffith.

Westminster by Nationalist MPs. Griffith's doctrine, which he outlined in his 1904 publication *The Resurrection of Hungary,* proposed that Irish MPs elected for Westminster withdraw from the London parliament, meet in Dublin, and constitute themselves as an Irish parliament. They would then proceed to rule the country, and the British government in Ireland would, it was hoped, wither away as people gave their allegiance to the new Irish government.[34] If Sinn Féin's Councillors left Dublin Corporation, they would no longer be present in what was considered Ireland's premier administration, given no self-government.[35] Owen McGee has also outlined how Griffith viewed Dublin Corporation and local councils as a crucial element of this push for self-government. Before publishing his Hungarian series, Griffith in the *United Irishman* argued that Nationalist revolutionaries should aim to 'capture the municipal administration of all Ireland' to put pressure upon the Irish Party to abstain from the imperial parliament and make a stand for Irish independence.[36] Griffith essentially viewed local government as a platform for promoting the ideals of Sinn Féin. Kelly's proposal to withdraw from the Corporation was not an option and was at odds with Griffith's ideals.

Other party members immediately rejected Kelly's proposition to withdraw from the Corporation. James Brady, defeated in the Inns Quay ward, believed that encouragement and positives could be taken from the results. His candidacy was announced hurriedly, and a combination of opposition from the Licensed Vintners and AOH led to his defeat.[37] Brady held the view that Sinn Féin's members of the Corporation were servants of the citizens and could not withdraw without a mandate from their constituents. What Brady felt was needed was a Sinn Féin branch in each ward with an election committee to organise candidates' campaigns.[38]

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[34] Tom Garvin, *The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics* (Dublin, 2005), pp. 81-82.
[35] Crossman, *Local Government in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, p. 81.
[36] McGee, *Arthur Griffith*, p. 76.
[37] *Sinn Féin Daily,* 20 January 1910. The Licensed Grocers and Vintners Protection Association were regularly involved in Dublin's municipal elections to increase their influence on the Corporation. Source: Laffan, *Judging WT Cosgrave*, p. 33.
[38] Ibid.

Councillor Richard O'Carroll supported Brady's stance on Sinn Féin's continued presence in municipal politics. O'Carroll believed that Sinn Féin had progressed too much to walk away at this point. WT Cosgrave stated most emphatically that he would not withdraw. Cosgrave thought it would be a great mistake for the party of reform to withdraw with the city heavily in debt, high rates, slums to be abolished, the main drainage system to be perfected, and the lighting to be made an economic success.[39] PT Daly strongly opposed the withdrawal from the Corporation had it not been for disgraceful tactics employed by the opponents of Sinn Féin. The results of the elections would have been a cause for celebration.[40] Walter Cole suggested that Sinn Féin stands on its own base and that Alderman Kelly or any other Sinn Féin member of the Corporation had no right to withdraw.[41] Alderman Kelly reiterated that the best course of action was withdrawing as a party from the Corporation. When he put the motion forward, it was defeated, and the result was celebrated with loud cheers by the others in attendance. After Alderman Kelly's motion was lost, a resolution was carried that stated, 'this meeting expresses full confidence in the Dublin Corporation Sinn Féin Party, and declines to consider its withdrawal, but insists that it should continue its good work. The Sinn Féin programme includes the reformation of Irish Public Boards, and withdrawal from the Corporation would be abandoning a large part of that programme'.[42]

While Griffith and those at the meeting rejected Alderman Kelly's calls to withdraw from the Corporation, Brian Maye has argued that Griffith was now beginning to realise that whatever support had slowly been coming Sinn Féin's way was now returning to the Irish Party

[39] Cosgrave is referring to Sinn Féin municipal programme that was published in *Sinn Féin* prior to the municipal elections in January 1908. During Sinn Féin's greatest period of success they constantly sought to improve aspects of the city that they considered left to rot by the Irish Party. Source: *Sinn Féin,* 11 January 1908.
[40] Some of these disgraceful tactics were outlined in *Sinn Féin* after the elections. One was in the Merchants Quay ward where Joseph Mooney was the Sinn Féin candidate who was beaten by James Vaughan of the Irish Party. In Merchants Quay three other candidates appeared on the ballot paper with the surname Mooney to confuse the voters according to Griffith. Other tactics Sinn Féin's opponents were accused of was bribing voters with free drink to vote for Irish Party candidates. Source: *Sinn Féin,* 22 January 1910.
[41] *Sinn Féin Daily,* 20 January 1910.
[42] *Irish Independent,* 21 January 1910.

as a result of the January 1910 general election.[43] Another internal division also decimated Sinn Féin throughout 1910 and alienated any support Griffith had from individuals who were associated with the IRB. Tensions between the IRB and Griffith have been well documented, and the relationship between both was always precarious but workable.[44] Though always an uneasy relationship between Griffith and the IRB, Owen McGee has outlined how Sinn Féin played an essential part in the development of the IRB pre-1916. McGee has indicated that the democratisation of local government after the 1898 Local Government (Ireland) Act facilitated the development of independent political strata and activists not associated with mainstream Nationalism.[45]

The formation of Sinn Féin allowed IRB activists such as PT Daly, Bulmer Hobson, and Patrick McCartan to become involved in politics.[46] Their involvement in Sinn Féin allowed them to reorganise the IRB solely among those directly associated with Sinn Féin and to alienate the older IRB members. In a letter to Joseph McGarrity, Patrick McCartan believed Griffith's organisation and others affiliated, such as the Gaelic League, were the perfect base to work from to throw the Irish Party and UIL 'overboard'.[47] PT Daly, as IRB secretary, actively pushed a policy amongst younger members of the IRB to support Sinn Féin as a form of legitimising their movement.[48] Bulmer Hobson stated that he became actively engaged in Griffith's movement because it essentially acted as a guise for the IRB.[49] Although Sinn Féin and the IRB relationship was symbiotic, Matthew Kelly believes that the hierarchy of the IRB

[43] Maye, *Arthur Griffith*, p. 106.
[44] Ó'Broin, *Revolutionary Underground*, pp. 130-133.
[45] McGee, *The IRB*, p. 66. McGee has also suggested that after the reformed municipal elections in January 1899, that 114 County Councillors and 486 District Councillors elected were IRB men.
[46] PT Daly and Patrick McCartan were both elected as Councillors for Sinn Féin in Dublin Corporation. Hobson never stood for election and was more associated with organising and increasing Sinn Féin membership. Griffith always displayed a hostility towards Hobson and tried numerous times to have him removed from Sinn Féin's Executive.
[47] Letter from Patrick McCartan to Joseph McGarrity, 20 December 1905 (NLI, Joseph McGarrity Papers, Ms. 17,457/28).
[48] McGee, *The IRB*, p. 314-316.
[49] Hobson, *Ireland Yesterday and Tomorrow*, p. 4.

was always suspicious and distrustful of Griffith. While impressed by the opportunities presented by Sinn Féin's success in Dublin, the IRB was concerned with Griffith's control of Sinn Féin, which could undermine the IRB's independence.[50] The separatists were also worried about Griffith's sole focus on Dublin politics and his refusal to see beyond Dublin Corporation as an opportunity to advance Sinn Féin. Hobson believed that, in late 1909, Sinn Féin was letting opportunities pass them by regarding pushing the movement beyond Dublin. Hobson wrote to John Devoy that 'National ideas are spreading over the country and Parliamentarianism is less supported than ever, but the present Sinn Féin Executive is unable to handle the situation, and they are letting a splendid opportunity slip'.[51]

The link between Sinn Féin and the IRB was finally severed after a heated meeting of the Sinn Féin Executive on 20 December 1909. At this meeting, it was suggested that an alliance between Sinn Féin and the 'dissident parliamentarian' William O'Brien's All For Ireland League (AFIL) and the followers of TM Healy be established in which each organisation would work together to send MPs to Westminster.[52] By 1909, the AFIL had surpassed Sinn Féin as the emerging Nationalist movement in the country to challenge the Irish Party. The AFIL was founded by O'Brien in the aftermath of the 'baton convention', with its base initially in Cork, but O'Brien had hoped to grow the movement wider.[53] A few months after the foundation of the AFIL, O'Brien claimed that the organisation had 'progressed both in Ireland and Great Britain, to a degree for which there is no precedent in the history of the United Irish League, or even the Land League, and in quarters to which neither of these movements ever suggested anything except distrust and repulsion'.[54] O'Brien sought an

[50] Kelly, *The Fenian Ideal and Irish Nationalism*, p. 189.
[51] Letter from Bulmer Hobson to John Devoy, 10 August 1909, *Devoy's Post Bag, 1871-1928,* Volume II, ed William O'Brien and Desmond Ryan, (Dublin, 1948), p. 348.
[52] Richard P Davis, *Arthur Griffith and non-violent Sinn Féin,* (Kerry, 1974), p. 64. The initial contact between Sinn Féin and the AFIL was made by Captain Shawe-Taylor on the request of O'Brien. Source: William O'Brien, *The Irish Revolution and how it came about,* (Dublin, 1923), p. 66.
[53] Sally Warwick-Haller, *William O'Brien and the Irish Land War* (Dublin, 1990), p. 257.
[54] William O'Brien, *An Olive Branch in Ireland* (London, 1910), p. 472.

alliance between the AFIL and Sinn Féin as this would allow him to establish a base in Dublin and avoid the AFIL being associated mainly with Cork. Sinn Féin had established a 'wholesome supremacy in the capital', and an alliance between both would create a movement that would have a 'firm hold on the imagination of the country'.[55]

There was some affinity between the two parties, not least because they represented the only organised opposition to the Irish Party but also because many Sinn Féin members admired O'Brien's reputation as an agrarian campaigner and agitator. Griffith was a strong Parnellite, and he revered O'Brien for his role in defending Parnell. He despised those (including Tim Healy) who brought Parnell down. Another common thread was the betrayal of youth and idealism by the Irish Party leadership, and O'Brien and Griffith claimed that it was, respectively, the AFIL or Sinn Féin who offered hope to coming generations.[56] What was envisaged was that O'Brien would provide funds to support Sinn Féin candidates in some constituencies while Sinn Féin would support O'Brien's candidates in the constituencies they contested in Munster.[57] A National Council in Dublin was to decide when the Irish representatives were to attend and to control their actions at Westminster.[58] O'Brien's Dublin solicitor, now a Sinn Féiner, James Brady, suggested that he and George Gavan Duffy should stand for election in Dublin constituencies, backed by Sinn Féin, the AFIL, and TM Healy.[59] James Brady was a former member of the Irish Party in Dublin and a former Irish Party representative in the Corporation. He was first elected to the Corporation for the Royal Exchange ward in January 1899. He was then elected for the Irish Party again in Clontarf East in 1903. He retired from the Corporation in 1908 but sought re-election in January 1909 and

[55] O'Brien, *The Irish Revolution and how it came about*, pp. 66-67.
[56] Patrick Joseph Murphy, The Banshee's Kiss: Conciliation, Class and Conflict in Cork and the All For Ireland League, (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Liverpool, 2019), p. 100.
[57] Sinn Fein always struggled financially and received a lot of money from the IRB and Clan na Gael. Griffith's *Sinn Féin Weekly* would cease publication in January 1910 due to lack of funds after the IRB split.
[58] Frank Callanan, *TM Healy* (Cork, 1996), p. 465; O'Brien, *William O'Brien and the Course of Irish Politics*, pp. 19-23.
[59] Davis, *Arthur Griffith and non-violent Sinn Féin*, p. 61

January 1910 as a Sinn Féin candidate. Brady, at the time of proposing the Sinn Féin and AFIL collaboration, had been well integrated into Griffith's party. In a pre-election speech for his candidature in the January 1910 municipal elections, Brady stated he was a 'Sinn Féin, Irish-Ireland, and Temperance candidate'.[60] Brady went on to outline his commitment to Sinn Féin and had 'made up his mind that the policy of reform advocated by the Sinn Féin Party in the Municipal Council was the straightforward and honest policy', in previous years as a member of the Irish Party Brady had 'pursued a mistaken policy'.[61]

Griffith reported on the meeting in *Sinn Féin Daily* as a discussion of Brady's proposal and a test of opinion within Sinn Féin and played down any significance. The outcome of the meeting was the rejection of the proposals from Brady and O'Brien. Griffith stated in his paper that 'Sinn Féin would not initiate any contests in Ireland at the present stage on the ground that to do so would hamper the general national progress of Sinn Féin…it was unanimously decided that the Sinn Féin Executive should pursue its national programme of reconstruction; allow Parliamentarianism to finally condemn itself in the next Parliament'.[62] Quite a different account of the meeting was given in another Dublin paper, *The Irish Nation and Peasant.* William Patrick Ryan edited *The Irish Nation and Peasant*, initially supporting Sinn Féin's policies. By now, however, he was openly criticising Sinn Féin and Griffith in particular.[63] The report of the meeting in the *Peasant* was highly critical of Griffith and painted him as the villain, further dividing both sides.[64] The meeting was described in the *Irish Nation and Peasant* as a 'political sensation' and to discuss William O'Brien's 'bold scheme to capture the Sinn Féin organisation'.[65] Brady's proposal was reported as a 'plan of a new Council of Sinn Féiners,

[60] *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 8 January 1910.
[61] Ibid.
[62] *Sinn Féin Daily,* 30 December 1909.
[63] Niall Murphy, 'Social Sinn Féin and Hard Labour: the journalism of WP Ryan and Jim Larkin, 1907-14' *Irish Studies Review,* Vol. 22, No. 1, (2014), pp. 45-46.
[64] What happened at the meeting was leaked to the *Irish Nation and Peasant* by someone present, but no culprit was ever identified. PS O'Hegarty did however leak Brady's initial letters regarding an alliance between Sinn Fein and the AFIL prior to the meeting in December.
[65] *The Irish Nation and Peasant,* 1 January 1910.

Imperial Home Rulers, O'Brienites, UI Leaguers, etc, which would control the Nationalist movement and the Irish Party of the future… This project was also understood to be favoured by Mr Griffith'.[66] The publication claimed Griffith supported the idea and faced vehement opposition within Sinn Féin led by PT Daly and Bulmer Hobson. When the Executive voted on Brady's proposal, it was lost by eleven votes to eight.[67] If such a proposal had been adopted, *The Irish Nation and Peasant* claimed it would have been against Sinn Féin policy and 'such tactics would also alienate some of the strongest Sinn Fein supporters'.[68] The result of Griffith's ill-fated decision to confer with O'Brien was the alienation of those linked with the IRB who had so far been crucial in the development of Sinn Féin. Even though the extremists had won a victory over the moderates, they ultimately decided to walk away from Sinn Féin over the coming months, thereby contributing to Sinn Féin's decline.[69]

William O'Brien, writing some years later about the potential collaboration between his AFIL and Sinn Féin, acknowledged Griffith's organisation as a genuine partner to challenge the Irish Party. O'Brien believed that a joining of forces between the AFIL and Sinn Féin would capture the Gaelic League, GAA, Young Ireland Societies, and Land and Labour Societies under one banner. O'Brien's hope was 'that out of the bands of ardent young Irishmen of all types and conditions who would flock to our free platform there would spring another Parnell with the youth, the ardour, and the high purpose to lead the Nation on to a future of nobler inspirations and achievements'.[70] O'Brien, however, states that the stumbling block to a collaboration was Sinn Féin's insistence on withdrawing from parliament, which O'Brien questioned as a doctrine that had so far failed Griffith, as shown by the result of the North-

[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid. Some of those who supported Griffith regarding a potential alliance with William O'Brien were Alderman Tom Kelly, TS Cuffe, and Seán Milroy. The majority however rejected the proposals as it was at odds with Sinn Féin's policy of abstention.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Marnie Hay, *Bulmer Hobson and the Nationalist Movement in Twentieth Century Ireland* (Manchester, 2009), p. 84.
[70] O'Brien, *The Irish Revolution and how it came about*, p. 67.

Leitrim by-election in 1908.[71] O'Brien believed the failure of Sinn Féin and the AFIL to collaborate was a missed opportunity, and while his AFIL grew, Griffith's Sinn Féin declined soon after, which O'Brien attributed to the ascendency of the Hibernians in Dublin to leave Sinn Féin with only a name.[72]

Griffith's view on the potential amalgamation is difficult to capture as he only reported on the November meeting in *Sinn Féin Daily* and offered no personal opinion on what happened, nor did he ever write about the failure of the courtship with the AFIL. Before O'Brien's proposition, Griffith had been reporting on the AFIL's progress and O'Brien's return from Italy. In September 1909, Griffith wrote that O'Brien planned to return to Ireland for the general election in January 1910, and O'Brien had amassed a significant amount of support in Munster. On O'Brien's movement, Griffith wrote, 'From the attitude of Mr O'Brien we may assume that, though not declaring himself a Sinn Féiner, he will advise the country, or whatever part of it that will be subject to his influence, to adopt a policy founded on self-reliance and largely in consonance with our own'.[73] Griffith, when reporting on O'Brien's return and the AFIL, was clearly intrigued and saw similarities between both camps, but ultimately, the failure to push ahead and align with the AFIL in the face of opposition from the IRB destroyed Sinn Féin. PS O'Hegarty, who opposed the collaboration, wrote in the aftermath that 'Sinn Féin credit went lower and lower in the country and Fenian element withdrew their support'.[74] William O'Brien's AFIL never attempted to gain a foothold in Dublin again, and O'Brien confined his efforts to Munster after the failed attempt to join forces with Sinn Féin in 1910.[75]

[71] Ibid., p. 68.
[72] Ibid., p. 69.
[73] *Sinn Féin Daily,* 20 September 1909.
[74] O'Hegarty, *Sinn Féin: An Illumination*, pp. 38-39.
[75] O'Brien, *The Irish Revolution and how it came about*, p. 69.

A Steep Decline and Anti-Royalty Again

Griffith and Sinn Féin had little time to lick their wounds after the poor electoral performance or the fallout from O'Brien's proposal, as the party had to contest a by-election as a result of the resignation of Patrick McCartan from the Corporation. McCartan, firmly within the IRB faction of Sinn Féin, was only elected to the Corporation in January 1909. His time in the Corporation was short-lived, but his correspondence with Joseph McGarrity provides a fruitful analysis of the inner workings of Sinn Féin. McCartan had decided to leave the Corporation by September 1909, highlighting his disillusionment with the party. McCartan describes a party led by Griffith with no mindset to expand beyond Dublin. Griffith wanted everything centralised in Dublin and only elected representatives who would 'fall at the feet of Griffith'.[76] A month later, it was described as being wholly divided in Dublin, representatives of the party had no cohesion and were only interested in their own gains.[77]

McCartan's letter to McGarrity after he left the Corporation provides the greatest insight into the party's position at that time. McCartan was extremely critical of Sinn Féin for moving away from its founding principles. Sinn Féin 'criticises the flaws within parliamentarianism rather than denouncing it'.[78] McCartan laid the blame for the sudden halt in the progress of Sinn Fein at the feet of Griffith for not embracing the opinion of others such as Hobson and for his dealings with William O'Brien, 'the men who make movements a success here will not in future have confidence in Griffith on account of his intrigues with O'Brien and the moderates'.[79] McCartan's comments here clearly show the distaste the IRB elements in Sinn Féin had for any collaboration with O'Brien AFIL and any participation in

[76] Letter from Patrick McCartan to Joseph McGarrity, 18 September 1909 (NLI, Joseph McGarrity Papers, Ms. 17,457/86).
[77] Letter from Patrick McCartan to Joseph McGarrity, 23 October 1909 (NLI, Joseph McGarrity, Papers, Ms. 17,477/87).
[78] Letter from Patrick McCartan to Joseph McGarrity, 21 January 1910 (NLI, Joseph McGarrity, Ms. 17,457/52). McCartan was also critical of Griffith for not taking a stronger approach to challenges posed by the UIL and AOH in elections. Claimed that Griffith was afraid of conflict with Nugent and Johnstone.
[79] Ibid.

sending representatives to Westminster. Once Griffith had even floated the idea of a partnership with O'Brien, the separatists such as McCartan could no longer support or operate within Sinn Féin. Commenting on the poor showing in the recent elections, McCartan believed the party deserved no support from the electorate, 'I don't think they deserve to gain any (seats). In their few branches, they discuss little. They go to elections with a great deal of nonsense and wonder why the people don't take to them'.[80] McCartan was also scathing in his opinion of some of his former Sinn Féin Councillors. Timothy Joseph Sheehan, who lost his seat in January 1910, bore the brunt of this criticism. Sheehan was branded a 'crook' by McCartan and was accused of giving contracts to friends in return for bribes. Sheehan was also accused of owing money to Sinn Féin, something known by PT Daly, but nothing was done about it. McCartan ends his letter doubting Sinn Féin would survive in any form much longer with very few prospects for the movement.[81]

The accusations of corruption by McCartan never reached the press and remained confined to his correspondence with McGarrity. If these accusations had been published, the ramifications for Sinn Féin could have been significant. Sinn Féin had always prided itself as a party of reform, anti-corruption, and anti-jobbery.[82] For such practices to be active in Sinn Féin would have proved highly embarrassing for Griffith. However, Sinn Féin would soon move away from being actively involved in politics as a municipal reform movement and abandon the party's emphasis on anti-corruption and seeking reform within the Corporation. Griffith's party would re-invent themselves as objectors to displays of allegiance to British royalty just as they had done in 1903 as the National Council. The first opportunity for this was the death of King Edward VII in May 1910. The Corporation convened a special meeting to 'consider and adopt a resolution of sympathy with her Majesty the Queen and other members

[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Wallace, 'Early Sinn Féin – The anti-corruption party', pp. 36-37.

of the Royal Family, on the occasion of the death of his Majesty King Edward VII'.[83] The Lord Mayor, the Irish Party's Michael Doyle, proposed a motion of sympathy and stated, 'it is customary to pass resolutions of this character without debate. That has always been the custom here, and without any further reference I desire to move the resolution'.[84] Sinn Féin's WT Cosgrave objected to the motion until it was amended to include 'that until our ancient Constitution is restored, and the Irish nation is governed by laws made with our own will and consent'.[85]

Lord Mayor Doyle responded to Cosgrave and believed his amendment was out of order, as the meeting was convened to pass a resolution of sympathy, not to discuss one. Cosgrave responded by saying 'while I am sympathetic with this, I think there is the danger that our position as Nationalists, and those who with us object to the government at present of this country, would be misunderstood if we allowed this resolution to pass without expressing our opinions concerning it'.[86] Cosgrave was supported in his views by fellow Sinn Féin members of the Corporation, Daniel McCarthy, Patrick O'Carroll, and Tom Kelly. The Lord Mayor, however, refused to listen to the Sinn Féin Councillors and accused them of disrupting what should have been a straightforward meeting. When the Corporation voted to offer sympathy to the royal family, the motion passed by 33 votes to 7.[87] The only members who refused to support the motion were the Sinn Féin Councillors who were present.[88] Griffith labelled the Irish Party in the Corporation as 'the weepers' after their decision.[89] According to Griffith, 'the stalwart United Irish Leaguers and Hibernians were found to be far away, and it was left to the Sinn Féin members of the Corporation to save Dublin from being branded as a

[83] Meeting on 12 May 1910, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] *Sinn Féin,* 21 May 1910.

city of hypocrites'.[90] Sinn Féin received little support this time in their opposition to loyalty. Even the more radical Irish Party members, such as Joseph Hutchinson, refused to support Sinn Féin, something which Griffith highlighted.[91] The *Freeman's Journal* dismissed Griffith's words and actions, while the Unionist *Dublin Daily Express* claimed that Sinn Fein's stance was 'not based upon disrespect for the dead King but upon principle'.[92]

Sinn Féin's sixth annual convention was held in the Mansion House in October 1910 and confirmed the movement's decline.[93] The convention began with Tom Kelly reading a list of apologies from those who could not attend. Letters of apology for non-attendance were read from John Sweetman and Edward Martyn. Some of those who did not attend stated that, while they remained sympathetic to Sinn Féin's policies, their time as party members had ended.[94] None of the former members who were IRB men sought re-election to the National Executive and left Sinn Féin firmly under Griffith's control.[95] Griffith, when he addressed the meeting, admitted over the last eighteen months that 'undoubtedly a certain amount of support that had been slowly coming towards Sinn Féin had gone to the Parliamentary Party'.[96] In his biography of Griffith, Owen McGee stated that while the events of 1910 confirmed Sinn Fein's decline, Griffith's party was essentially a stillborn party; its policies were virtually impossible to implement and only ever existed in Dublin.[97] The Sinn Féin that emerged after the convention in 1910 was a movement that was firmly under Griffith's control and would return to what Griffith's National Council was, a propaganda and educational movement rather than a political movement.

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[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid. Joseph Hutchinson was one of the few Irish Party members elected to Dublin Corporation who was in the IRB at one stage. Hutchinson supported the National Council (Sinn Féin) in their opposition to the royal visit in the summer of 1903.
[92] *Freeman's Journal,* 23 May 1910. *Dublin Daily Express,* 14 May 1910.
[93] Davis, *Arthur Griffith and non-violent Sinn Féin*, p.66. Sinn Féin were granted permission by the Irish Party to use the Mansion House on the condition that they would not criticise the Irish Party's policies at Westminster.
[94] *Sinn Féin,* 8 October 1910.
[95] Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland,* p. 31.
[96] *Sinn Féin,* 8 October 1910.
[97] McGee, *Arthur Griffith*, pp. 120-121.

After this convention, Sinn Féin's position on Dublin Corporation would soon deteriorate rapidly. In the municipal elections of January 1911, Sinn Féin lost four seats on the Corporation. Three of these seats were lost after the retiring Sinn Féin Councillor did not even seek re-election, nor did Sinn Féin field a candidate in those wards. Thomas Clear did not defend his seat in the Mansion House ward, Denis Healy vacated his seat in Usher's Quay, and Daniel McCarthy chose to leave his seat in Merchants Quay. These three seats that Sinn Féin vacated were all taken by Irish Party candidates.[98] The failure of these Sinn Féin members to seek re-election shows that these men no longer had an interest in the party or its presence in the Corporation. The failure of Sinn Féin to find any candidates to replace the retiring Councillors also shows the party no longer valued participation in municipal elections. The lack of coverage in *Sinn Féin* regarding the contests was also significant in these elections.

Previously, Griffith had dedicated pages to the municipal contests in Dublin, urging voters to back his candidates, but these elections were not mentioned until after the results. Before these elections, no reference was made in *Sinn Féin* to the contests or consideration given to the sole candidate. With three candidates rejecting the chance to defend their seats and no replacements found, there appears to be a lack of interest and hunger to continue with representation in Dublin Corporation. Alderman Kelly's description of the party going as far as it could in Dublin Corporation now seems relevant. Griffith gave his post-election thoughts in a particularly sombre tone compared to other years. The publication began rather bluntly with 'In Dublin Sinn Fein has lost…the great mass of people in Dublin who from the date of surrender of the Parnellite Parliamentary Party to Anti-Parnellism left politics in disgust have returned within the last two years and are casting their strength to the side of Parliamentarianism'.[99]

[98] *Irish Independent,* 17 January 1911. Thomas Clear would return to the Corporation as a Labour Councillor in 1915. Two of the three seats vacated by Sinn Féin in 1911 were won without contest by the Irish Party. In the Mansion House the Irish Party defeated a Labour candidate.
[99] *Sinn Féin,* 21 January 1911.

While Sinn Féin lost influence in the Corporation after election defeats in January 1911, the planned royal visit of King George in July 1911 provided Griffith with an opportunity to regain some support in Dublin. Richard Davis has argued that the visit in July 1911 confirmed Griffith and Sinn Féin's return to essentially a propaganda movement, similar to the National Council model in 1903.[100] Like the National Council, Griffith now had only one branch of Sinn Féin, the Dublin Central Branch, which he used as his pivot. Expansion into other parts of the country and conflict with the Irish Party was forced on Griffith by others who had since left Sinn Féin. Now, he could begin an educational campaign as he saw it, based on his newspaper and protests.[101] In March 1911, the DMP reported that Sinn Féin had held a meeting under the stewardship of Griffith. During this meeting, a resolution was adopted that called on the Corporation not to present an address to the King, and it was suggested that Sinn Féin hold a demonstration in the Phoenix Park on the day of the visit.[102] In anticipation of the visit, Griffith established a United National Society Committee in May 1911 to oppose any idea of a welcome being offered to the King.[103]

In a fashion similar to the National Council in 1903, the national societies organised all groups opposed to the visit. Such protests had not been seen since the days of the Boer War. Just before the planned visit, the police were concerned that the 'more extreme members' would attempt to disrupt the visit and cause damage to decorations and displays around the city.[104] However, this time, the Irish Party were on the same page as Sinn Féin and the dissenters. As the demonstrations were organised by Sinn Féin and their associates, 'many constitutional Nationalists and Parliamentarians were sympathetic to this opposition, on account of the continual shelving of Home Rule'.[105] They opposed any show of allegiance to

[100] Davis, *Arthur Griffith and non-violent Sinn Féin*, p. 68.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Precis of DMP reports, 29 March 1911 (TNA, CO 904/13).
[103] *Sinn Féin,* 13 May 1911.
[104] Precis of DMP reports, 3 July 1911 (TNA CO 904/13).
[105] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Helena Moloney, WS 391, p. 15.

the British Monarch, thus weakening Griffith's position. At a meeting of the Arran Quay ward UIL, John D Nugent urged the elected members from that ward to oppose any loyal address for the greater good of Nationalism in Dublin and Ireland.[106] Similarly, the UIL branches in the Mountjoy and North Dock wards both passed resolutions in opposition to offering any welcome to the King.[107]

The Irish Party members of the Corporation met privately just before the visit, described in the press as a meeting of the Nationalist 'caucus' in Dublin.[108] At the meeting, the decision to offer a welcome to the King was defeated by 23 votes to 4, with 3 abstentions.[109] The Lord Mayor, Alderman JJ Farrell, was in favour of the address, though the result showed the consensus this time with Irish Party Councillors was against such a decision.[110] The Corporation attempted to meet as a whole body the day after the meeting of Nationalists. Before the meeting, City Hall was surrounded by an angry mob of individuals and organisations vehemently opposed to the royal address.[111] Such was the mob's anger and clashes with the police, only thirteen members of the Corporation could make it into the chamber, and the meeting was abandoned. Irish Party Councillor Joseph Coughlan Briscoe addressed the crowd outside and promised them that the King would receive no official welcome.[112] The King did receive a welcome from the Lord Mayor, Irish Party Alderman Joseph Farrell, but in the Coombe Hospital rather than as traditionally at Leeson Bridge.[113]

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[106] *Irish Independent,* 5 July 1911.
[107] Precis of DMP reports, July 1911 (TNA, CO 904/13).
[108] *Freeman's Journal,* 6 July 1911.
[109] *Irish Independent,* 5 July 1911. Those who voted in favour of an address were the Lord Mayor Alderman Joseph J Farrell, the High Sheriff John Michael Cogan, Councillor Gerald Begg and Councillor Patrick Shortall.
[110] Those who voted in favour of an address were the Lord Mayor Alderman Joseph J Farrell, the High Sheriff John Michael Cogan, Councillor Gerald Begg and Councillor Patrick Shortall. The three members who decided to abstain from the vote were Alderman Joseph Downes, Councillor Michael Doyle, and Councillor James Joseph O'Neill.
[111] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Sidney Czira, WS 909, p. 6
[112] *Dublin Daily Express,* 6 July 1911.
[113] O'Brien, *Dear, Dirty Dublin*, p. 91.

Griffith and Sinn Féin may have won notoriety for the protests around the visit of the King in July 1911, but their time as a threat to the Irish Party's influence in Dublin had ended. Sinn Féin's fortunes in elections would continue on a downward trajectory, and just a year later, only four Sinn Féin members would sit in City Hall. From then on, Sinn Fein would gain attention in other ways, mainly through propaganda campaigns. Sinn Féin's electioneering and participation in the municipal contests had come to an end. Sinn Féin would soon be swept away by the Labour tide that would hit Dublin and did not have any structure, money, or candidates to fight Labour who would succeed Sinn Féin as the primary challengers to the Irish Party's control of the Corporation.

Labour's break from Nationalism, the formation of the Dublin Labour Party

While Sinn Fein spent the years 1910-1912 suffering a swift decline and pulled away from Dublin Corporation and the municipal elections, the fortunes of Labour were contrary to this. The Labour movement throughout these years was completely transformed and galvanised. Labour began to reconstruct from being a disoriented grouping of Councillors to an organised party united and committed to the cause of labour. Previous Labour Councillors claimed to represent the interests of labour but were not a united party and could pick and choose what they voted for or against to suit their own needs and interests. After 1911 and the formation of the Dublin Labour Party (DLP), all Labour Councillors and Aldermen stood under one banner. Other parties, such as the Irish Party, did not influence them.

During the years before the establishment of the DLP, Labour had very little success in Dublin municipal politics. Efforts were made to organise along political lines in 1903, but this amounted to nothing. Other factors, such as a lack of solid leadership, too many small organisations not working coherently, and chronic lack of funds, greatly hindered the development of a Labour Party. Some Labour men such as Micheal O'Lehane, William

Partridge, and PT Daly got elected as Sinn Féin candidates in the absence of a Labour party.[114] The Labour Electoral Association (LEA) was established to compete in municipal contests in anticipation of the reformed elections in January 1899 after the Local Government Act (Ireland) 1898.[115] The aim of the LEA in Dublin, as discussed at a meeting of the Dublin Trades Council in October 1898, was to send 'delegates to Dublin Corporation…to argue the cause of labour and of the working man.'[116] The LEA enjoyed success in its first outing in January 1899 and won seven out of eleven seats contested.[117] The apparent success of the LEA was very short-lived, and four of these seven Councillors lost their seats a year later, in 1900.[118] The Labour representatives that did remain were more of a 'Nationalist-Labour' outlook or, as classified by Joseph V O'Brien, an 'old school labourite', which was someone who might as well be classed as a Nationalist rather than someone who fought for the working classes.[119] One of the constant Labour members of the Corporation, William Doyle, was a good example of an 'old school labourite'. Doyle was first elected Councillor for the Rotunda ward in January 1899. In 1900, he was elected as an Alderman and held this position until he retired from the Corporation in 1914. While a Labour representative, Doyle was actively involved in Nationalist organisations in the city. He was a member of the Irish Party organisations such as the AOH, Irish National Foresters and Town Tenants. John W Boyle described the Labour members of the Corporation in the first decade of the century as 'most of the Labour group identified themselves with their fellow corporators and rose out of their class rather than with it'.[120]

After a disastrous showing in the 1911 municipal elections when only one Labour candidate, Michael John Carroll, stood for election and was beaten in the Mansion House ward,

[114] Mitchell, *Labour in Irish Politic, 1890-1930,* pp. 22-27.
[115] Cody, O'Dowd, and Rigney, *The Parliament of Labour*, p. 36.
[116] Meeting on 10 October 1898. Dublin United Trades Council Minute Book 24 December 1893 – 20 January 1908, (NLI, Minute Books of Dublin United Trades Council, Ms. 12,779).
[117] *Irish Independent,* 17 January 1899.
[118] Ibid., 17 January 1900.
[119] O'Brien, *Dear, Dirty Dublin*, p. 91.
[120] John William Boyle, *The Irish Labour Movement in the Nineteenth Century,* (Washington, 1988), p. 255.

the DTC met and agreed that direction was needed in Labour politics in the city. Some of the leading figures in the DTC at this stage were John Simmons, who had acted as secretary since 1886, and the president was Michael O'Lehane, a former Sinn Féin Councillor. At this meeting, it was proposed that 'the Trades Council considers the necessity of establishing a Labour Representation Committee (LRC) with an independent labour policy, and with a desire to forward the interests of the workers, and appeal to the organised trades to render their moral and financial support'.[121] All supported this proposition at the meeting. George Leahy, a former Labour candidate who was defeated in the 1899 municipal elections, stated that now was the time to bring direction to Labour politics and only select candidates who would fight the labour cause and not go against labour in the Corporation.[122] Soon after, the Executive of the DTC met and agreed with the decision made a few days prior. Establishing an LRC would allow the unification of labourers, workers, and the working class to elect representatives committed to their cause.[123] A similar move took place in Britain, albeit ten years or so earlier. In 1900, the Trades Union Congress in Britain came together to establish an LRC that would align an array of Labour bodies with the intention of getting candidates elected to parliament. The LRC in Britain ushered in a new era of Labour politics and brought direction to what was a scattered and incoherent movement. In turn, this laid the foundations for the British Labour Party.[124]

In April 1911, the LRC adopted new rules and constitution and became the Dublin Labour Party (DLP).[125] A vital aid the DLP had compared to any of its predecessors was the support of a newspaper, *The Irish Worker*, edited by James Larkin. *The Irish Worker* was first issued in May 1911 and played a central role in the initial growth of the DLP and during the

[121] Meeting on 30 January 1911. Dublin United Trades Council Minute Book, 3 Feb 1908 – 2 June 1913 (NLI, Minute Books of Dublin United Trades Council, Ms. 12,780).
[122] Ibid.
[123] Meeting on 2 February 1911. Executive Minute Book, Dublin United Trades Council, 3 February 1910 – 3 May 1913 (NLI, Minute Books of Dublin United Trades Council, Ms. 12, 782).
[124] Arthur Lesie Morton, *The British Labour movement, 1770-1920: A History* (London, 1973), pp. 114-116.
[125] Puirséil, 'The Echo of the Battle Labour politics and the 1913 Lockout', in *A capital in conflict*, p. 221.

municipal elections.[126] In June 1911, *The Irish Worker* published the DLP's rules and constitution. The object of the DLP was 'to unite the forces of Labour to secure the representation of Labour representatives to parliament and local government bodies'.[127] What also made the DLP distinct from previous Labour organisations in Dublin was that any candidate going forward for election was required to accept the constitution of the DLP, meaning that anyone elected was now pledged bound to the party.[128] The constitution of the DLP stated that 'Candidates and members must accept this constitution; agree to abide by the decisions of the Committee in carrying out the aims of this constitution; appear before their constituencies under the title of Labour candidates only; abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any party not eligible for affiliation, and they must not oppose any candidate recognised by the Committee'.[129] The first elections contested by the DLP were the January 1912 municipal elections, which will be discussed in the next chapter. What was important for Labour by the close of 1911 was the establishment of the DLP as a united body of Labour representatives. Crucial to the DLP was the party pledge and commitment to remain aloof from the other organisations, namely the Irish Party, who had controlled or influenced Labour before the formation of the DLP. The DLP would experience rapid success and create a united Labour Party in the Corporation. By the time municipal elections were suspended in 1915, Labour was the second-largest party in the Corporation.

Conclusion

1910-1912 resulted in differing fortunes for the two emerging movements within Dublin's municipal politics. Sinn Féin had appeared to challenge the Irish Party, but after 1910, this progress came to a sudden halt. Sinn Féin emerged as a progressive urban reform party that

[126] Newsinger, 'Jim Larkin and *The Irish Worker',* in *A capital in conflict*, p. 193; Murphy, 'Social Sinn Féin and Hard Labour: the journalism of WP Ryan and Jim Larkin, 1907-14', p. 48.
[127] *The Irish Worker,* 3 June 1911.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.

presented a municipal programme to the electors that promised to improve the Corporation and various aspects of the Corporation's business. In these years, the focus on municipal reform left the Sinn Féin party, and very little interest was given to the city contests or the candidates. Several internal divisions crippled the movement, and Griffith's party dwindled to one inactive central branch in Dublin. Sinn Féin, in 1911, reverted to a protest movement like the advanced Nationalist groups in 1900 and 1903. Sinn Féin gave up the reform programme in favour of the safe platform of anti-monarchy. However, this time, the Irish Party adopted Sinn Féin's approach, and Griffith gained little. The Irish Party's response to the Royal Visit in 1911 is important and showed that the party had, in effect, adopted Sinn Féin's policies of anti-monarchy. The Irish Party taking this approach to the visit ensured that Sinn Féin could not use this opportunity as they had previously done in 1900 and 1903 to gather support from the public.

As Sinn Féin struggled, the Labour movement in the city began to galvanise and unify to form a structured party. The DLP was established in 1911 as the first unified Labour party in the city that removed infiltration from other parties. Before the DLP, Labour was disunited with candidates who were not aligned with any 'Labour Party'. The Irish Party had successfully 'vampirised' the Labour movement in Dublin, and it was just another arm of the Nationalists. Irish Party candidates such as JP Nannetti claimed to represent the interests of Labour. Nannetti was a member of the Dublin Trades Council while also being a member of the Irish Party. After the formation of the DLP, all Labour candidates were united under one banner, and the party had a constitution published in the *Irish Worker*. All DLP candidates had to accept this constitution, so the party was pledge bound and had loyalty from its candidates. The DLP first contested elections in 1912, and from then on, was the emerging movement in Dublin. As Sinn Féin retracted from active participation in elections and lost popularity with the electorate, Labour and the DLP took up the mantle as the emerging force in Dublin.

Ch. 6 – Dublin Corporation before the First World War, 1912-1914

Introduction

The defining event in Dublin from 1912 to 1914 was undoubtedly the Lockout, which began in August 1913. The aim of this chapter is not to focus wholly on the Lockout but instead on the response of all the parties within Dublin Corporation to the industrial conflict. The Irish Party, as the established power in Dublin, has been accused of being dismissive of the Lockout and concerns of workers and taking little interest in the conflict. This chapter will examine the response of the Irish Party representatives in the Corporation to the Lockout. It will determine if the Irish party became actively involved in the conflict or if the party fell silent like IPP MPs.[1] The chapter will also examine the Irish Party's response to the new emergent force of Labour that began to contest municipal elections throughout these years. Sinn Féin had subsided as a threat to the Irish Party by 1912, but Labour was now starting the challenge under the leadership of James Larkin in the Corporation. The chapter will discuss the Irish Party's response to the emergence of the Dublin Labour Party.

In terms of the two emerging parties, the growth of the DLP will be analysed, including how the party began to win elections and get individuals elected to the Corporation. One aspect of the DLP that will be discussed is how the party emerged as another reformist party that presented a reform manifesto to the electors. This reformist agenda will also be examined in terms of what the DLP Councillors proposed in the Corporation and what they sought to change once elected. The other emerging faction was Sinn Féin, which was now in decline. In this chapter, the parallels between Sinn Féin and the DLP will be examined in terms of how both

[1] McConnel, 'The Irish Parliamentary Party, industrial relations and the 1913 Dublin Lockout', p. 32. Also see Ch.7 – The 1913 Dublin Lockout in McConnel, *The Irish Parliamentary Party and the Third Home Rule Crisis*.

had similarities when they attempted to challenge the Irish Party. The small Sinn Féin party that did remain will be discussed in the context of a movement that was beginning to withdraw from active participation in elections and operate mainly outside the Corporation.[2] One topic that will be investigated is the response of Sinn Féin to the Lockout and what side, if any, did Sinn Féin take. Sarah Harrison was elected to the Corporation in January 1912, and her election for the suffrage movement is another theme of the emerging forces that will be discussed. Harrison's election campaign will be assessed, as well as the themes and agendas she had while in the Corporation.

Sarah Harrison: The First Female Councillor

Though women could stand for election in municipal contests after the passing of the 1898 Local Government (Ireland) Act, this was limited to only urban and rural district councils.[3] After the passing of the Local Authorities (Ireland) (Qualifications for Women) Act 1911, women could now contest elections to county and borough councils such as Dublin City Council.[4] The first woman to contest an election for Dublin Corporation after the passing of the 1911 act was Sarah Cecilia Harrison, who stood for election in the South City ward in the January 1912 municipal elections.[5] A meeting of the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association before the elections expressed their pleasure with Miss Harrisson's selection as a candidate.[6] Before she decided to contest the election for the Corporation, Harrison would have been known in Dublin's political and social circles. In 1904, she was involved in the proposal to find a new gallery of modern art in the city. She was a member of the Irish Women's Franchise League (IWFL) and frequently heard the grievances of the poor

[2] Laffan, *Judging WT Cosgrave*, p. 38.
[3] Crossman, *The Poor Law in Ireland*, p. 19.
[4] Potter, *The Municipal Revolution in Ireland*, p. 199; O'Neill, 'Sarah Cecilia Harrison: Artist and City Councillor', p. 63.
[5] Harrison was nominated for election by former Irish Party MP Laurence A Waldron.
[6] Meeting on 11 January 1912 (NAI, Minute Book of the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association, 8 September 1910 – 12 December 1912).

of the city. In 1909, Harrison was appointed secretary of the Dublin City Labour Yard, which provided employment for those who failed to receive relief from the Corporation's distress committee.[7]

During her pre-election meetings, Harrison described herself as a Nationalist who also sought votes from Unionists and ran on a 'non-political' ticket, as described by the *Freeman's Journal*.[8] Harrison addressed a pre-election meeting organised by the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association (IWSLGA) and stated that she wanted 'economic administration of the city's finances, representation of the views of women, especially on matters relating to the care of children, and that there exists a need for an experienced representative on the Council for the poor and unemployed'.[9] While being a Nationalist herself, Harrison failed to see any place for party politics when striving to improve the conditions of life of all classes in the city.[10] Cliona Murphy has described the relationship between the Irish Party and the suffrage movement as rather tempestuous, with the Irish Party showing little interest in women's suffrage. Their interest in suffrage began to wane, particularly during the final push for Home Rule.[11] While Harrison described herself as an independent Nationalist, Senia Pašeta has argued that Harrison refused to abandon the Irish Party, even with their lack of engagement in women's suffrage.[12] Harrison also displayed a lack of alignment with the IWFL as she was opposed to the militancy of the organisation, which she considered 'disastrous to the cause of women'. In March 1912, Harrison and two other suffragists attended a Home Rule demonstration in the city and gained entry on the grounds of their proven loyalty to the constitutional cause. Harrison told Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, 'of course I put Home Rule

[7] Margarita Cappock, 'Sarah Cecilia Harrison: Artist, Social Campaigner and City Councillor', in Logan Sisley (ed.) *Revolutionary States: Home Rule and Modern Ireland,* (Dublin, 2012), pp. 84-85.
[8] *Freeman's Journal,* 6 January 1912.
[9] *Dublin Daily Express,* 1 January 1912.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Cliona Murphy, *The Women's Suffrage Movement and Irish Society in the Early Twentieth Century* (London, 1898), p. 164.
[12] Senia Pašeta, *Irish Nationalist Women, 1900-1918* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 81.

above everything else'.[13] In April 1912, Harrison attended an IWFL gathering 'to explain to members of the IWFL that she personally put Home Rule before Women's Suffrage, and to plead with them on behalf of the Irish Party'.[14] Harrison urged 'all nationalist women who desire to do their duty by their country … to put aside all effort to obtain the suffrage until such a time as we have our own Parliament sitting in Dublin'.[15] Harrison's candidature received support from Nationalists such as Tom Kettle, who addressed her meetings along with coverage in the Unionist newspapers.[16] The Unionist press believed that Harrison 'had done a great deal to make Protestants and Catholics feel that they were brothers. For seven years she had worked amongst them, and they all knew what she had done for social reform in the city'.[17] Arthur Griffith and Sinn Féin also endorsed Harrison, with Alderman Tom Kelly present at her meetings.[18]

Harrison's campaign, however, was supported and backed by some members of the Irish Party and the UIL in the city. The contest for the seat in the South City ward was between Harrison, Thomas Robertson Scott, a Unionist who was endorsed by the Dublin Citizens Association, and Charles McNamara, who was listed in the papers as the UIL candidate. Before the election, the South City ward UIL organised a meeting in support of McNamara, who, according to the branch in the ward, was the candidate for whom the UIL supporters were advised to vote.[19] During an election meeting held in early January in support of Harrison at which Tom Kelly, Thomas Kettle, and Anna Haslam spoke, the President of the City Executive of the UIL, Councillor Lorcan Sherlock, stated that the UIL would not stand in the way of Harrison's campaign. Sherlock stated, 'there would be no opposition from the United Irish

[13] Ibid., pp. 78-80.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] *Freeman's Journal,* 12 January 1912; *Dublin Daily Express,* 12 January 1912. Tom Kettle was one of the founding members of the IWFL.
[17] *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 6 January 1912.
[18] *Sinn Féin,* 13 January 1912.
[19] *Freeman's Journal,* 15 January 1912.

League to Miss Harrison's candidature. They were out to win that election for her on account of her programme, and during the past few hours, promises of support had been received from some important electors in the South City Ward'.[20] A meeting held the day before the election in support of Harrison was attended by Irish Party Alderman James Charles McWalter, who said the voters of the ward would be utterly ungrateful if Harrison was not returned as Councillor for the ward.[21] On the day of the election, the *Freeman's Journal* published a letter from Lorcan Sherlock that instructed all UIL voters in the ward to vote for Harrison. Sherlock stated that McNamara 'is not the candidate of the United Irish League… every vote given for him is really a vote for the Unionist, and I do hope the Nationalist electors will rise above petty questions and vote solidly for Miss Harrison and social reform'.[22] Harrison's candidature seems to have split the UIL in regard to who to support. The UIL branch in the ward advocated McNamara, the City Executive and its president, Local Sherlock, supported Harrison. Harrison's campaign and the support she got from some sections of the UIL outline the relationship she had with the Nationalist movement, and, as has been previously discussed, she was a supporter of the Home Rule cause.

Harrison was successful in defeating the former sitting Unionist Councillor Thomas Robertson Scott and Nationalist candidate Charles McNamara to win the seat in the South City ward.[23] Harrison topped the poll with 397 votes, Robertson Scott was second with 248 votes, and McNamara finished bottom of the poll with 83 votes.[24] Harrison served a three-year term as a Councillor and raised many issues to try and improve the lives of the poor. Her particular interests were the question of unemployment, the welfare of the poor of the city and the

[20] *Dublin Daily Express,* 6 January 1912.
[21] *Freeman's Journal,* 15 January 1912.
[22] Ibid.
[23] *Irish Independent,* 16 January 1912.
[24] Ibid. Harrison with 397 votes got 55% of all votes cast and essentially took the Nationalist votes in the ward from the UIL.

provision of a permanent gallery of modern art.[25] Almost immediately after her election, she initiated an enquiry by the Local Government Board into the actions of the Distress Committee in employing those unable to find work. The inquiry into the Distress Committee was held during August and September of 1912. Harrison personally conducted the case and made several serious allegations against the committee, such as private work being done by the committee using Corporation materials, that the unemployed were being unfairly used instead of Corporation employees, that accounts were not being correctly kept, and that regulations were not correctly followed. Although the inquiry's final report did not find anyone guilty of her more severe allegations, it did conclude that the Distress Committee should have been doing more to help the poor.[26]

Harrison's efforts to improve the work of the Distress Committee created friction between herself and some of her male counterparts. In October 1912, the UIL in the Wood Quay ward submitted a letter to the Corporation demanding her resignation or the removal of her vote in the Council chamber.[27] Councillor Laurence O'Neill strongly condemned the actions of the Wood Quay UIL, and a motion was passed in support of Miss Harrison.[28] Harrison coming into conflict with her male counterparts was not unique to Dublin Corporation. In 1910, Eleanor Rathbone was elected as the first female member of Liverpool City Council. Like Harrison, Rathbone had a deep-rooted interest in helping the poor of the city, and like Harrison, Rathbone came into conflict with male members of the City Council regarding her initiatives and how she pursued them.[29] Harrison was also a member of the markets committee and the paving committee and condemned the actions of the employers

[25] O'Neill, 'Sarah Cecilia Harrison: Artist and City Councillor', p. 69.
[26] Ibid., pp. 69 – 70.
[27] Meeting on 7 October 1912, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[28] *Irish Independent,* 8 October 1912.
[29] PJ Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism: A Political and Social History of Liverpool, 1868-1939* (Liverpool, 1981), p. 275.

during the 1913 Lockout.[30] In the aftermath of the Lockout, Harrison brought forward a motion in October which referred to 'the violent and unwarranted baton charge by the Police on inoffensive people'.[31] Harrison also sought equal pay for equal work and proposed a motion in March 1913 that 'seeing the Women Sanitary Inspectors have the same examinations, the same hours, the same starting salary and equally onerous important work as the men, the Council hereby agrees to give the equal remuneration'.[32]

In the January 1915 elections, Harrison's seat was due to be contested, and she decided to stand again and attempt to win a second term. By now, the IWFL had a well-established newspaper, *The Irish Citizen,* which was used to promote Harrison's campaign, no longer needing the goodwill of other papers.[33] The mouthpiece of the IWFL called on the burgesses of Dublin to wholeheartedly support Harrison. In her three years as a Councillor, 'her record of work is unparalleled: for three years, she has laboured, giving of her best in the cause of public probity and high civic standards. Her presence has been an object-lesson as to the great need of capable women in public life, for single-handed she has done more than all her male colleagues to fight corruption, to expose trickery, and to promote efficiency'.[34] Harrison faced one challenger for her seat, Joseph Isaacs, a Nationalist who had the support of the Dublin Citizens Association. The DCA had now become a powerful organisation throughout the city and in the aftermath of the Lockout. Prior to the elections, a number of derogatory articles were published in the *Irish Independent* and some Unionist papers that criticised Harrison's time in the Corporation and blamed her for the high rates in the ward that were contributing to high rents and crushing industries in the ward.[35] Isaacs, in a letter published in the *Independent,*

[30] O'Neill, 'Sarah Cecilia Harrison: Artist and City Councillor', pp. 71-73.
[31] Meeting on 14 October 1913, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[32] Ibid., Meeting on 7 March 1913.
[33] Ryan, *Winning the Vote for Women*, p. 10. *The Irish Citizen* was first published in May 1912 to promote the suffrage movement. Many of the newspapers had begun to distance themselves from the suffrage movement as they became more militant.
[34] *The Irish Citizen,* 9 January 1915. Harrison's actions in the Corporation are very similar to the reform policies Sinn Féin tried to promote in the party's heyday around 1907-1908.
[35] *Irish Independent,* 9 January 1915. *Dublin Daily Express,* 11 January 1915.

claimed to have 'studied the problems with which the Municipality is confronted… I am convinced that efficiency and economy could be secured by an even lower Municipal rate'.[36] Harrison's campaign was again supported by Alderman McWalter, who praised her work as a Councillor and was heavily critical of the campaign in some of the papers to discredit her.[37] Independent Alderman Laurence O'Neill spoke in favour of Harrison and, like McWalter, was critical of the campaign against her and her opponent Isaacs, who he alleged was nominated and funded by William Martin Murphy.[38] There was no official support from the UIL this time, who distanced themselves from the contest, nor did Lorcan Sherlock renew his support for Harrison. Harrison was defeated in a close contest as she got 298 votes, but Isaacs received 355 votes, which gave the Irish Party's candidate a majority of 59 votes.[39] Harrison's defeat was described in the *Irish Citizen* as a great disappointment by her supporters, with her influence felt by the poor but hopeful she would soon return to the Corporation.[40]

The *Irish Citizen* wrote that 'the defeat of Miss Harrison is extremely regrettable, as it leaves the women of Dublin without any representative on the City Council…All the corrupt influences that she had offended by her plain speaking, by her persistent habit of throwing light into the dark corners of municipal administration, by her resolute opposition to the various bureaucracies and caucuses which regard public life as merely a means to their own advancement, were united, openly and secretly, to secure her removal from the Corporation'.[41] Though Harrison only served one term as a Councillor, her election was significant for the suffrage movement in the city. Her time as a member of the Corporation coincided with what Rosemary Cullen Owens described as the heyday of Irish suffragism.[42] Even after she left the

[36] *Irish Independent,* 14 January 1915.
[37] Ibid., 13 January 1915.
[38] *Freeman's Journal,* 13 January 1915. Another speaker at this meeting was Sinn Féin Poor Law Guardian Jennie Wise Power.
[39] *Irish Independent,* 16 January 1915.
[40] *The Irish Citizen,* 23 January 1915.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Cullen-Owens, *Smashing Times*, p. 78. Cullen-Owens estimates that membership of the suffrage movement grew to about 3,000 during the years 1912-1914 which she argues was the heyday of the movement.

Corporation, Harrison remained involved in Dublin's social and political spheres. In April 1917, Harrison raised the issue of the low wages women workers were receiving working on War Office contracts at Percy Peerless Shirt Factory in Dublin. The chief secretary immediately brought this issue to the director of army clothing at the War Office. The outcome of Harrison's actions was that the firm agreed to pay the higher wage set out by the War Office and to pay all arrears due to their workers.[43] The anti-conscription movement during the war involved women from the Nationalist and suffrage movements. The *Irish Citizen* published letters from readers that outlined their opinions on the issue. One contributor was Harrison, who felt that if Ireland had accepted conscription being imposed, then it 'would have proved the assertion of our opponents that no Irish nation exists'.[44]

There was another woman elected to Dublin Corporation, Martha Jane Williams, who won a by-election in the Trinity ward in May 1915, the last election before the suspension of municipal elections until 1920 due to the war.[45] The vacancy in the Trinity ward arose after the long-serving Alderman Gerald O'Reilly died, and his position was taken by Lorcan O'Toole, who was a sitting Councillor in the ward. A vacancy for a Councillor seat was then created as a result. As was usually the case with by-elections, less coverage was given to the contest in the press, nor was the contest mentioned in the *Irish Citizen*.[46] Irish Party Alderman in the North City ward, James Charles McWalter, wrote an open letter to the *Dublin Evening Telegraph* that advocated the former Councillor Sarah Harrison as a candidate to fill the vacancy. McWalter argued that 'never were problems connected with women and children more urgent than now, on account of the war, and it will be a priceless boon to the Corporation

[43] Fionnuala Walsh, *Irish Women and the Great War,* (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 156-157.
[44] Ibid., pp. 185-186.
[45] Williams lived in Creighton Street in the Trinity Ward at the time of her election and lived until 1948 when she died suddenly as described in the press. Source: 1911 Census; *Irish Independent,* 4 November 1948.
[46] The lack of coverage of the contests in *The Irish Citizen* may indicate that Martha William's was not a member of the IWFL. *The Irish Citizen* does however mention a Miss William's throughout 1915 thanking her for donations.

to have the benefit of her ripe wisdom in the solution of these questions'.[47] Harrison never came forward for election, and it was Williams' name that was announced in the press a few days later as one of the two candidates. Williams was already a Poor Law Guardian for the South Dublin Union before her election to the Corporation. She was first elected as a Poor Law Guardian in the 1911 elections when she finished second in the poll for the Trinity ward.[48] In 1914, she was re-elected as a Poor Law Guardian, topping the poll in the Trinity ward.[49]

In the 1915 by-election, Williams defeated DLP candidate and the first president of the ITGWU, Thomas Foran, in the contest for a seat on Dublin Corporation by 245 votes.[50] Foran received 212 votes, and William got more than double Foran's total with 457 votes.[51] After her election, she was appointed as a representative of the Council to serve on the School Attendance Committees.[52] When the South Dublin Union met a week after Williams' successful election, she received a vote of congratulations from her fellow guardians.[53] Williams' successful election got virtually no coverage in the local papers, just the result and margin of victory. The only paper that gave any form of comment on her victory was The Spark, which Virginia Glandon has described as a Nationalist newspaper that has been attributed to women's sponsorship. It was a republican-separatist journal which circulated in Ireland between February 1915 and April 1916.[54] *The Spark,* along with other similar publications, were printed by the Gaelic Press in Dublin. All publications by the Gaelic Press followed the same Irish republican agenda and advocated against recruitment for the war.[55] In an edition of *The Spark*

[47] *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 3 May 1915.
[48] *Irish Independent,* 30 May 1911.
[49] *Irish Times,* 9 June 1914. Even after topping the poll in the Poor Law Elections in 1914, William's name is not mentioned in *The Irish Citizen.* Instead, the article stated 'we are glad to see that women head the poll in Rathmines West, Rathmines East, and in Trinity ward. Source: *The Irish Citizen,* 13 June 1914.
[50] *Freeman's Journal,* 14 May 1915.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Meeting on 5 June 1915, Dublin City Council Minutes. Williams did not contest the elections in 1920 after the war.
[53] *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 19 May 1915.
[54] Glandon, *Arthur Griffith and the Advanced Nationalist Press, Ireland*, pp. 130-131.
[55] Dónal Ó Drisceoil, 'Keeping disloyalty within bounds? British media control in Ireland, 1914-19' *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 38, No. 149, (2012), p. 55.

published on 23 May 1915, Williams' victory was reported as 'Miss Williams has been elected to succeed Lorcan O'Toole in the Councillorship of above (Trinity) ward. Mr Foran was a weak candidate in many respects. His name has been associated with frequent defeat and also, he is a reputed Socialist. Socialism is not a vote-pulling card in Dublin, and a sure way to keep out of the Municipal Council is to advocate it'.[56] With so little known in regard to Williams, a report in a republican-separatist journal may indicate she was politically aligned to separatists and republicans and not aligned with the Irish Party. However, no more archivally firm ground has yet been found to further our knowledge of Williams beyond what the *Spark* published. In her campaign for the Corporation and the South Dublin Union elections, she was reported in the press as an independent Nationalist candidate.[57]

Increased DLP Representation

After the formation of the Dublin Labour Party (DLP) in April 1911, the first municipal elections the DLP took part in were the elections held in January 1912.[58] Compared to previous Labour campaigns, the emphasis on committed candidates and discipline were essential to the new party. Richard O'Carroll, speaking at a meeting of the DLP in September 1911, emphasised the importance of the party pledge and that candidates had to support party policy if elected. O'Carroll urged those present at the meeting that candidates not only agree to the pledge but sign it before elections. According to O'Carroll, candidates elected years before 'had not been true to their principles'.[59] The following month, the DLP then voted on and unanimously passed O'Carroll's motion that required all candidates to sign the party pledge before elections.[60] The DLP was similar to the Irish Parliamentary Party in requiring members

[56] *The Spark,* 23 May 1915.
[57] *Irish Independent,* 30 May 1911. *Freeman's Journal,* 14 May 1915.
[58] The DLP fielded candidates in the Dublin Poor Law Elections in June 1911 with some success.
[59] Meeting on 4 September 1911, Minute Book of the Labour Representation Committee and Dublin Labour Party (NLI, William O'Brien Papers, Ms. 16,271).
[60] Meeting on 30 October 1911, Minute Book of the Labour Representation Committee and Dublin Labour Party (NLI, William O'Brien Papers, Ms. 16,271).

to sign a party pledge before elections. Like the IPP, the pledge would transform a loose party structure into one which was rigid and had the support of all elected members.[61] In December 1911, the DLP refused a former Irish Party Councillor, John Lawlor, a nomination as a DLP candidate after he refused to sign the party pledge. According to James Larkin, if Lawlor had received the party's support without signing the pledge, he would undermine the whole party.[62]

Weeks before the elections, the pages of *The Irish Worker* were filled with propaganda and support for the DLP and its candidates.[63] It described the Irish Party as an 'agricultural party', rife with 'landlordism', and a party that had a long history of never truly representing the workers and made a false promise with the term 'Nat-Lab'.[64] By using the term 'Nat-Lab', the DLP was targeting Irish Party Councillors such as JP Nannetti, who were members of the Irish Party first and foremost but also had an influence in Labour bodies. 'Nat-Lab' Councillors such as Nannetti allowed the Irish Party to capture labour votes and influence previous Labour movements. The elections allowed the voters to establish a 'pure administration' in the city.[65] If DLP candidates were elected, it would send 'men who are honest in word and deed' into the Corporation, and the DLP promised not to accept jobs for themselves or their families if elected.[66] *The Irish Worker* published a comprehensive municipal programme before the elections. Like Sinn Féin's municipal programme, it was highly progressive and promised reform of certain aspects of the Corporation. While it may be argued that Sinn Féin introduced

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[61] Mulvagh, *The Irish Parliamentary Party at Westminster*, p. 6. F.S.L Lyons also makes reference to the effect the pledge had on the IPP. The vast majority of the IPP was composed of 'silent members' who voted and supported the party as the pledge required them to, thus creating a rigid structure that acted in unity. See Lyons, *The Irish Parliamentary Party*, p. 222.

[62] Meeting on 21 December 1911, Minute Book of the Labour Representation Committee and Dublin Labour Party (NLI, William O'Brien Papers, Ms. 16,271). John Lawlor was a former Irish Party Councillor elected first in 1903 but removed from the Corporation for alleged corruption in his election campaign. He would get elected again in 1905 as an Irish Party Councillor until 1910 when he was defeated. In 1910 however, he was a Sinn Fein candidate. He would contest the January 1914 elections as an 'Independent Labour' candidate. Source: *Irish Times,* 17 January 1910; *Irish Times,* 14 January 1914.

[63] John Newsinger, 'A Lamp to Guide your Feet: Jim Larkin, *The Irish Worker* and the Dublin Working Class' *European History Quarterly,* Vol. 20, No. 1, (1990), pp. 66-69.

[64] *The Irish Worker,* 2 December 1911.

[65] Ibid., 13 January 1912.

[66] Ibid.

some of the language of socialism and socialist ideals to Dublin municipal politics, this was curtailed with the decline of Sinn Féin and Griffith's hostility towards Larkin. It was Larkin and the DLP that pushed the socialist agenda further and into the public domain as Larkin began his class war in the city.[67] The manifesto referred to traditional Labour demands, such as ensuring that Corporation work would be carried out under trade union conditions and fair wages, and trade union clauses were inserted in all tenders. It called for improvements in working-class housing provided by the Corporation and accused many of the sitting Councillors of being 'owners of slum property and are therefore directly interested in keeping the workers in the unsanitary death-traps, for which they pay exorbitant rates'.[68] Another promise the DLP pledged to the voters was to improve the provision of amenities to the public, such as baths, recreation halls, playgrounds, and public libraries. The manifesto called for evening sittings of the Corporation, evening sittings of Corporation committees, and strict enforcement of public health regulations. The programme sought to establish municipal workshops for the unemployed and the municipalisation of public services such as the tramways and the provision of gas.

While there are many similarities between the DLP manifesto published before the 1912 elections and Sinn Féin's manifestos, there are also similarities to draw with the Labour movement emerging all over Britain and Ireland in the pre-war years. Bernard Baker's study of Labour politics in Yorkshire shows how local Labour candidates sought the reform of town councils for the betterment of their municipalities and took an interest in the municipalisation of services such as housing and gas.[69] Similarly, a study of the emergence of the Labour Party in Bradford indicates that Labour representation and popularity grew in the pre-war years due

[67] Murphy, Social Sinn Féin and Hard Labour, pp. 49-50.
[68] *The Irish Worker,* 23 December 1911.
[69] Bernard Barker, 'Anatomy of Reformism: The Social and Political Ideas of the Labour Leadership in Yorkshire' *International Review of Social History,* Vol. 18, No. 1, (1973), pp. 10-11.

to a progressive and reform manifesto the local Labour candidates presented to the electorate.[70] Keith Laybourn has argued that the pre-war years were crucial to the development of the Labour Party in Britain in general. It was during these years that Labour politics solidified and became more appealing to the population, Labour could employ election agents after overcoming financial difficulties to help with organisation.[71] The DLP candidates, before the elections, found themselves under attack in the pages of the *Irish Independent,* which, in the words of Emmet O'Connor, had run a 'scurrilous' campaign against all DLP candidates.[72] The *Independent* claimed any election of DLP candidates or those associated with Larkin would be disastrous for the city's ratepayers, manufacturers and traders. The *Independent* wrote that 'Larkin and his henchmen should not be returned to the Municipal Council. Bad as the Corporation now is, it would have sunk to a lower depth were Larkin to become one of the rival 'bosses' on Cork Hill'.[73]

In January 1912, the DLP fielded the highest number of Labour candidates since the elections in 1899, with seven candidates standing for election in 1912. Four of these seven were elected after a contest, and Richard O'Carroll was returned unopposed in the Mansion House ward. The four victories were significant for the DLP as they took a seat from the Irish Party in each of the wards, beating the incumbent Councillor in each contest.[74] One of the successful DLP candidates was James Larkin, who achieved a resounding victory in the North Dock ward. The victory of the DLP candidates was celebrated in *The Irish Worker*. The election success signified 'a new force, a new hope has been given to the downtrodden'.[75] The fortunes of the DLP candidates in the elections would have been boosted by the strikes throughout 1911. In

[70] J Reynolds and K Laybourn, 'The Emergence of the Independent Labour Party in Bradford' *International Review of Social History,* Vol. 20. No. 3, (1975), p. 344.
[71] Keith Laybourn, 'The Rise of Labour and the Decline of Liberalism: The State of the Debate' *History,* Vol. 80, No. 259, (1995), pp. 212-213.
[72] O'Connor, *Big Jim Larkin*, p. 106. The *Irish Independent* was controlled by William Martin Murphy who feared the worst when an organised Labour Party emerged in Dublin.
[73] *Irish Independent,* 4 January 1912.
[74] Ibid., 17 January 1912.
[75] *The Irish Worker,* 20 January 1912.

fact, the strikes and Labour conflict were a topic for discussion in the Corporation right up to the eve of the elections and were discussed during the last Corporation meeting on 9 January.[76] Another factor that undoubtedly contributed to the DLP's success was the growth of Larkin's Irish Transport and General Workers Union (ITGWU). Founded in 1909, the ITGWU spread rapidly and orchestrated the strikes in 1911. By 1912, the ITGWU was woven into the social fabric of Dublin due to the unionisation of workers and was aligned with the DLP.[77] The result of the polls reported in the *Irish Independent* was a let-down for the ratepayers in Dublin who viewed the election of Larkin and his supporters as dangerous to the stability of the Corporation.[78]

The first meeting of the Corporation after the elections was reported in the press as having generated more curiosity than the average meeting.[79] The public gallery was filled with Labour supporters alongside members of the women's suffrage movement following the election of the first female Councillor, Sarah Harrison, in the South City ward.[80] When the DLP Councillors, led by Larkin, entered City Hall, they were greeted with cheers and applause from the public gallery and those wearing their union badges.[81] When in the Council chamber, the DLP Councillors immediately went on the attack, much as Sinn Féin had done when they had first entered municipal politics.[82] The first point of contention was the salary of the Lord Mayor. It was proposed by Councillor Larkin that the mayoral salary be abolished entirely as the Lord Mayor should be a servant of the citizens of Dublin and not require payment for their time.[83] Larkin argued that paying an elected official a salary to act as Lord Mayor was entirely

[76] Meeting on 9 January 1912. Dublin City Council Minutes.
[77] C. Desmond Greaves, *The Irish Transport and General Workers Union: The formative years, 1909-1913* (Dublin, 1982), p. 25; Dermot Keogh, *The Rise of the Irish Working Class: The Dublin Trade Union Movement and Labour Leadership, 1890-1914* (Belfast, 1982), p. 138.
[78] *Irish Independent,* 16 January 1912.
[79] *Dublin Daily Express,* 23 January 1912.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] The DLP's municipal programme was reformist and differed very little from Sinn Féin's municipal programme published in 1906. Cody, Dowd, and Rigney, *The Parliament of Labour*, p. 89.
[83] Meeting on 22 January 1912, Dublin City Council Minutes.

unnecessary when there was so much poverty in the city and starving children.[84] Larkin also attacked the transparency of Corporation business, particularly in regard to the hiring of relatives of members as Corporation officials.[85] At their first Corporation meeting, the DLP Councillors also sought to improve working conditions for men employed by the Corporation. Councillor Richard O'Carroll proposed that when Corporation committees are looking for employees, contact should be made with various trade unions in the city to supply these skilled workers.[86] Larkin seconded the motion, and Lord Mayor Lorcan Sherlock responded that some Committees, such as the Electric Lighting Committee, were using this practice. He saw no harm in this method being extended to all Committees. The motion was voted on and carried unanimously with the support of all in attendance.[87]

Larkin commented on his first Corporation meeting in *The Irish Worker* in a piece titled 'The Municipal Pantomime'.[88] Larkin questioned the voters of Dublin for electing such incompetent officials, 'the glaring incompetence of three-fourths of the Municipal Council makes me think that the people should be deprived of their votes and incarcerated in a lunatic asylum for the remainder of their days'.[89] Labour now needed to build on their initial success if they were to change or influence how the city was governed, 'the Labour members have a tough job before them and will need considerable reinforcement if they are to purify the Dublin Corporation of the intolerance, ignorance, and corruption with which it is infested'.[90] The terminology used here by Larkin is very similar to that of Arthur Griffith some years earlier when Sinn Féin began to make progress in the Corporation. Just as Sinn Féin emerged as a reformist and progressive party that sought to change and alter how the city was governed, the

[84] Ibid.
[85] *Dublin Daily Express,* 23 January 1912.
[86] Meeting on 22 January 1912, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[87] Ibid.
[88] *The Irish Worker,* 27 January 1912.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.

DLP was filling this void left by Sinn Féin and was promoting a similar reformist strategy. Crucial to Larkin and to the DLP was the growth of his syndicalist ideology in Dublin. Larkin did this through his union, the ITGWU. Through the ITGWU, Larkin pursued his syndicalism and industrial unionism in Ireland. What developed in Ireland during these years was the first of its kind in the country and eventually became known as 'Larkinism'.[91] Two others were important to Larkin during this period and the development of his syndicalist ideologies. First was James Connolly, and the second was William O'Brien, both of whom acted as Larkin's lieutenants during these tumultuous years.

Larkin's Removal from the Corporation

Less than a month after entering the Corporation, Larkin was sued for his campaign and the successful election that resulted from it. Larkin was sued by the Irish Party Councillor he defeated, Christopher Laurence Ryan. The legal challenge brought forward against Larkin was taken by one of Ryan's election agents, Edward William Stewart.[92] The basis for the challenge, as reported by the local papers, was that Larkin should have been barred from contesting municipal elections because he was a convicted felon relating to an incident in the summer of 1910.[93] *The Irish Independent* quickly seized the initiative to paint an image of Larkin as a criminal and the DLP as dishonest to Dublin voters.[94] The Unionist *Dublin Daily Express* took a different view to that of the *Independent* and believed the Irish Party was removing Larkin as he was too difficult to deal with at Corporation meetings, the Irish Party preferring the old-style 'silent' Labour members.[95] When the DLP met after the legal challenge, they also viewed

[91] Emmet O'Connor, 'Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism, and Nationalism in Ireland', in Steven Hirsch and Lucien van der Walt (eds), *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World, 1870-1940: The Praxis of National Liberation, Internationalism, and Social Revolution,* (Boston, 2010), pp. 193-194.
[92] O'Connor, *Big Jim Larkin*, p. 106. Edward William Stewart was a former candidate in municipal elections himself. He contested the municipal elections in 1899 and 1902 for the Irish Socialist Republican Party.
[93] *Freeman's Journal,* 24 February 1912. O'Connor, *Big Jim Larkin*, p. 106.
[94] *The Irish Independent,* 24 February 1912.
[95] *Dublin Daily Express,* 24 January 1912.

it as an attempt by the Irish Party to purge the Corporation of Larkin for his actions and questioning the party.[96]

Larkin would only spend one more month in the Corporation and attend only one more Corporation meeting at the beginning of March. At that meeting, he questioned the Corporation on its efforts to alleviate the high levels of unemployment in the city and, in particular, the poorer wards of the city. Larkin stated that some 14,000 men had applied for work to the Distress Committee and were refused.[97] The Corporation now needed to take a much more proactive role in providing work and called on the Lord Mayor to apply to the parliamentary fund to supply the finances.[98] Larkin also criticised a report from the Improvements Committee regarding the construction of houses in the Trinity ward. He claimed the houses proposed by the Corporation were utterly inadequate. The Improvements Committee suggested that the Corporation construct high-rise flats on vacant land, Larkin argued, which would only contribute to the slum problems of the city and resemble tenement buildings.[99] The original report was adopted against the protests of Larkin.

At the end of March, the courts ruled that Larkin's election was unjust due to his criminal conviction. He was fined £5, removed from the Corporation, and prohibited from entering any more municipal elections for seven years.[100] Larkin blamed the Irish Party for his expulsion from the Corporation, citing their fear of the DLP and what it would mean for their control of the city.[101] Larkin also laid the blame for the campaign at the feet of Dublin's employers, particularly William Martin Murphy, who he claimed had financed the campaign against him.[102] Larkin appealed the decision, but in July, his expulsion from the Corporation

[96] Meeting on 8 March 1912, Minute Book of the Labour Representation Committee and Dublin Labour Party (NLI, William O'Brien Papers, Ms. 16,271).
[97] Meeting on 4 March 1912, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[98] Ibid.
[99] *Irish Times,* 5 March 1912.
[100] O'Connor, *Big Jim Larkin*, p. 107. *Irish Times,* 30 March 1912.
[101] *The Irish Worker,* 30 March 1912.
[102] Ibid.

was confirmed, and his time as a City Councillor was brought to an abrupt end.[103] Though the DLP did survive Larkin's banishment from the Corporation, Emmet Larkin has noted that the DLP would have been better served had he remained. He was succeeded as leader of the DLP by Richard O'Carroll, but, as Emmet Larkin has stated, O'Carroll was 'an able, honest, and energetic man, but not the man Larkin was'.[104] When Larkin was removed from the Corporation, the DLP lost its influential leader in City Hall, and also the public enthusiasm that Larkin brought with him helped the DLP develop. Larkin leaving the Corporation also hindered the development of the DLP as a reform party as the other Labour members did not have the same dynamism or persistence as Larkin. With his successful ousting from the Corporation, the Irish Party had significantly weakened the DLP machine.[105]

The contest to fill Larkin's seat did not take place until October 1912. Before that, the DLP had already made further gains in the Corporation and had two additional members elected. John Dillon mentioned Labour's sudden growth in Dublin Corporation during a speech in Rathmines. He believed it was now time for the Irish Party and the Corporation to take note of these new Labour candidates and new party. Dillon argued that the DLP had shown that the party had a solid base to work from and a municipal programme that appealed to the voters. If the Irish Party in the city ignores this 'Labour menace', they could soon lose control of the City Council, and Labour could eventually take a parliamentary seat in Dublin.[106] FSL Lyons, in his study of Dillon, has outlined how Dillon was always hostile towards Labour and, in particular, James Larkin. Dillon, like most of the Irish Party MPs, were men of property, and in any class war, real or incipient, between them and the men of no property, there was little doubt which side Dillon would take. Dillon had a deep resentment of Larkin, as his Labour Party posed a

[103] *Freeman's Journal,* 16 July 1912.
[104] Larkin, *James Larkin*, p. 93.
[105] Ibid.
[106] *Dublin Daily Express,* 20 February 1912.

political threat, as did the methods adopted by Larkin. In Dillon's view, Larkin's tactics were reckless, and his politics considered none of the risks and consequences associated with them.[107] The British cabinet viewed Larkin through a similar lens to that of Dillon and considered him dangerous to the whole political balance in Ireland and Britain. Larkin was considered by the British cabinet as a 'very dangerous enemy to Home Rule, the government, and the Nationalist Party'.[108]

The DLP added another seat in June 1912 after Peter Paul Macken was elected as an Alderman in the North Dock ward. In October 1912, the DLP contested two more elections. One contest was the vacancy in the North Dock ward that was created after Larkin's expulsion, and the other was a vacancy in New Kilmainham after the retirement of Joseph Gleeson, an Irish Party councillor. These two contests were crucial to the DLP as their Irish Party opponents were portrayed as the old 'Nat-Lab' candidates. Victory in these two contests would give great hope for finally breaking the Nationalists' hold on labour politics in Dublin.[109] William Partridge's biographer, Hugh Geraghty, described the election campaigns as extremely bitter, with tensions on both sides. The UIL used dirty tactics in both wards to try to secure victory. Irish Party Councillor in North Dock, Alfie Byrne, hired bands of AOH members to disrupt DLP meetings. Byrne, a publican, issued free alcohol to people before Labour meetings if they agreed to disrupt the meetings and cause trouble.[110] By this stage, the Irish Party had received a boost after the introduction of the third Home Rule Bill in April 1912.[111] After the announcement of the third Home Rule Bill, a new level of enthusiasm and support for the Irish Party began with demonstrations in Dublin showing support for the party.[112] At no event was

[107] Lyons, *John Dillon*, p. 336.
[108] Lloyd George, memorandum of an interview with John Dillon, 17 November 1913, (UK Parliamentary Archives, Lloyd George papers, LG/C/20/2/4).
[109] Larkin, *James Larkin*, p. 93.
[110] Geraghty, *William Patrick Partridge and his times*, p. 148.
[111] O'Day, *Irish Home Rule, 1867-1921*, p. 247.
[112] James Doherty, *Irish Liberty, British Democracy: The third Home Rule crisis, 1909-14* (Cork, 2019), p. 70.

Home Rule and support for Redmond more triumphantly heralded than Asquith's visit to Dublin in June 1912. Crowds lined the streets to welcome Asquith, and the atmosphere suggested that Home Rule would be the final and enthusiastically received settlement of the Irish people's demand.[113]

The DLP went on the offensive in the pages of *The Irish Worker*, asking the voters if they were 'content with the jobbery and corruption that has been going on and is going on within the Municipal Council, or are they sick of the whole reign of graft and anxious for a little civic purity'.[114] The results of the two contests were extremely underwhelming for the DLP as both candidates were defeated. The *Independent* considered the result a crushing blow for Labour and Larkin, 'In his former stronghold, the North Dock Ward, Mr Larkin has sustained a defeat which he will find it impossible to get over'.[115] Labour accused the Irish Party of election rigging and a malicious campaign in most Dublin newspapers against the Labour candidates.[116] Despite these two extremely disappointing defeats in October, the year 1912 still proved to be fruitful for the DLP. The DLP ended the year with eight representatives in the Corporation and achieved significant victories in some of the contested wards by beating Irish Party Councillors who had virtually remained unchallenged. Larkin's removal from the Corporation, however, must be viewed as a hammer blow to what was an emerging party gaining a foothold in Dublin's politics. In his short time in the Corporation, Larkin proved to be an able and assertive individual in City Hall. His removal took away a great deal of the vigour that the DLP had gathered and left the party without its leader. Larkin nonetheless remained involved in Dublin's municipal politics from the outside and used his paper as a propaganda tool for all Labour candidates over the coming years. The DLP was now very similar to how Sinn Féin operated in that its leader was outside of the Corporation like Griffith

[113] Ibid. pp. 75-76.
[114] Ibid.
[115] *Irish Independent,* 2 October 1912.
[116] *The Irish Worker,* 5 October 1912.

was while Sinn Féin was making progress. In comparison to Griffith, Larkin did get elected to the Corporation but was forcibly removed due to his previous criminal conviction. Griffith, on the other hand, voluntarily remained outside the Corporation and showed no interest in winning a seat. From the perspective of the Irish Party, the two emerging movements that it had to deal with were, for the most part, led by individuals who never sat in City Hall. Both Larkin and Griffith focused on their journalism and attacked the Irish Party in the pages of their respective papers. While this may have been damaging to a certain extent, neither of them being a member of the Corporation made the task of dealing with the DLP and Sinn Féin much more manageable.

The DLP, hoping to build on a successful 1912, nominated seven candidates for the municipal elections in January 1913. All nominations were men of excellent capability and would greatly benefit the sitting DLP Councillors.[117] The elections gave the DLP a chance to move to the next step of the party's development and 'break down the citadel of corruption'.[118] This time, the rallying call to the working-class voters did not have the same effect, and only two of the seven candidates were returned.[119] Like the elections in late 1912, the 1913 contests in January proved again to be underwhelming and only two out of the five DLP candidates were returned. At the end of the elections in January 1913, however, Labour had now surpassed the Unionists as the second-largest party in the Corporation with eleven representatives and had become the leading voice of opposition against the Irish Party. Sinn Fein, at this stage, had reduced to four members. Labour had now surpassed Sinn Féin as the emergent force in Dublin's municipal politics. Seamus Cody argued that the DLP's growth to become the second-largest party in the Corporation reflects a growing class consciousness amongst the Dublin

[117] Meeting on 4 December 1912, Minute Book of the Labour Representation Committee and Dublin Labour Party (NLI, William O'Brien Papers, Ms. 16,271).
[118] *The Irish Worker,* 11 January 1913.
[119] *Freeman's Journal,* 17 January 1913.

working-class voters.[120] As discussed earlier, the DLP emerged with a similar reformist municipal programme to Sinn Féin.

The DLP, like Sinn Féin, presented a municipal manifesto to the voters that promised to reform the Corporation and improve several aspects of its services. There was also a substantial overlap in personnel between the DLP and Sinn Féin. What is also interesting is the pattern of electoral support for the DLP and Sinn Féin. In total, there were twenty wards under the Corporation's jurisdiction. Out of these twenty wards, Sinn Féin had success in nine, and the DLP had success in seven of these wards. All of the wards that returned a DLP candidate, at one stage, had previously elected a Sinn Féin candidate. What is clear to see is that the success of the two emerging parties under consideration is concentrated in a limited section of the city wards, which in turn only gave Sinn Féin and Labour a limited number of voters to appeal to. Peter Murray's study of Dublin's working-class vote before the First World War suggests that both emerging movements in Dublin lacked the organisation and finance to topple the machinery of the Irish Party through the UIL ward branches. Both Sinn Féin and Labour were reformist in that both of their electoral programmes demanded a wide range of social reforms, the observation of trade union rates and conditions by public bodies, the provision of housing, education and recreation facilities by the state, municipalisation of public utilities, rigorous enforcement of public health regulation and so on.[121] Murray argues that Sinn Féin and Labour became occupied with the reform of the Corporation and the corruption of the Irish Party that controlled it. This, in turn, led to a failure to develop a workable local organisation that could challenge the UIL across all the city wards and also a failure by both to understand fully the manipulative electoral system they were operating in truly and that the UIL exploited to their advantage.[122]

[120] Cody, Dowd, and Rigney, *The Parliament of Labour*, p. 90.
[121] Murray, 'Electoral Politics and the Dublin Working Class Before the First World War', p. 15.
[122] Ibid. pp. 21-22.

Lockout and Corporation Response

The Lockout was the consequence of many pre-conditions, but the first phase began on 21 August 1913 when newsboys refused to sell copies of the *Irish Independent* in support of dismissed men who were members of the ITGWU.[123] The following day and just a few days before the start of the Lockout, Archbishop William Walsh received another letter from the secretary and organiser of the Irish Railway Workers Trade Union, John Saturns Kelly.[124] This time, Kelly was warning him of industrial action that would take place in the immediate future and would be directed against William Martin Murphy. Kelly, in the letter, pleaded with Archbishop Walsh not to take the side of Larkin when the conflict unfolded. He defended Murphy as an honest man who employed poor Catholics in the city. Kelly outlined how Murphy had helped him personally by building up his union, only for Larkin to take the majority of his members, leaving him with barely 100 at the time of writing, down from 1,400 just eighteen months before.[125] On 26 August, the trams came to a halt, and the events of the Lockout that people are most familiar with began. Over the following days, other workers across the city joined in support of the tram workers, leading to thousands of men being locked out of their jobs and all the employers being united against the strikers.[126] Events moved rapidly, and the baton charges and violence associated with 'Bloody Sunday', 31 August, captured international press front pages and brought the Lockout to the forefront of Dublin's politics.[127]

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[123] Francis Devine, 'Who dared to wear the Red Hand badge? Reflections on the 1913 Dublin Lockout', in *A capital in conflict*, p. 2.
[124] Kelly was at this stage a member of the Corporation for the New Kilmainham ward, elected in January 1912 in a contest in which he beat a DLP candidate.
[125] Letter from John Saturns Kelly Secretary of the Irish Railway Workers' Trade Union to Archbishop William Walsh, 22 August 1913 (Dublin Diocesan Archives, Archbishop William Walsh Papers, Laity Files, IE/DDA/AB5/Laity/377/3).
[126] Yeates, *Lockout*, pp. 1-10.
[127] Devine, 'Who dared to wear the Red Hand badge? Reflections on the 1913 Dublin Lockout', in *A capital in conflict*, p. 2.

The Corporation met on 1 September, soon after 'Bloody Sunday' and the escalation of the conflict and locked out workmen. Needless to say, the past week's events overshadowed what would have usually been a routine monthly meeting that gave an update for the past month. Lord Mayor Lorcan Sherlock's immediate concern was to address what had happened and to offer his services as a potential mediator between both sides.[128] Sherlock opened the meeting and stated, 'I conceive it to be my duty to make a few observations and to propose a resolution in reference to the terrible scenes which have taken place in the City of Dublin during the past few days. My position is one of enormous responsibility, and it may in the near future, I hope, be exercised on both parties to the present dispute in the line of peacemaker'.[129] Sherlock also denounced the actions of the DMP and RIC and criticised both for the brutality they had displayed in the city on Sunday. Sherlock moved 'that this Council, in view of the fact that over 400 people have been injured in the city during the last two days, and that the injuries in some cases have resulted in loss of life, hereby demands an immediate public inquiry into the general conduct of the police during the period mentioned, and into the question of instructions given by those responsible to the Executive authorities'.[130]

Irish Party Alderman Dr James McWalter suggested an addendum to Sherlock's motion and believed 'that in the opinion of this Corporation, the peace of Dublin would be best served by the withdrawal of the police and military from the streets of Dublin'.[131] Alderman McWalter acknowledged that, while this was a serious statement, he felt it was necessary and justified after the violence the police had shown. McWalter had spent the whole weekend treating victims of the police in his practice, and the removal of the police would restore calm to the city's citizens. McWalter argued that soon, the Corporation would have to pay an extra £6,000 yearly for the police. Paying such a fee meant that the city's representatives were within their

[128] Meeting on 1 September 1913, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.
[131] *Freeman's Journal,* 2 September 1913.

right to ask for their removal, and they had a duty to the 400 injured so that they would get some form of justice.[132] Sherlock, however, wasn't as convinced as McWalter for the removal of the police, and while he acknowledged that the police must be held accountable, he 'did not want to get anything illegal into a motion and upset the whole thing'.[133] Sherlock, while more than willing to denounce and criticise the police for their actions, was hesitant to demand anything as radical as McWalter's suggestion. While Lord Mayor and a representative of the Irish Party, Sherlock may not have supported removing the police from the streets as this may have involved the Irish Party MPs in the situation that was unfolding.

DLP Councillor Thomas O'Hanlon, who was supported by the Irish Party, next spoke. Like McWalter, he had witnessed the violence first-hand. O'Hanlon called on the six Irish Party MPs to support the Corporation and demand the removal of the police to save the lives of citizens. O'Hanlon believed that being a member of a trade union or coming out in support of workers never warranted an intervention of such severity from forces with the primary objective of protecting the citizens.[134] Irish Party Councillor Joseph Coghlan Briscoe supported the original motion put forward by the Lord Mayor and also the addendum of Alderman McWalter. Briscoe observed the violence on O'Connell street in the company of Handel Booth, a Liberal MP. Later that night, he witnessed houses in his Mountjoy ward being illegally entered by police and ransacked.[135] William Richardson, a former Labour Councillor but now turned Nationalist, criticised the weakness of the Executive for allowing events to unfold as they did. Richardson described the protestors' actions as 'terrorism' and believed 'when it came

[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid.
[134] *Irish Times,* 2 September 1913.
[135] Meeting on 1 September 1913, Dublin City Council Minutes. Briscoe while being an Irish Party Councillor also ran the Town Tenants which was affiliated to the Irish Party. The Town Tenants would have got support from workingmen and Briscoe knew of this importance in his response.

to inciting the lowest dregs of the people the authorities were justified in taking action. If they had not, men like himself would be forced to take action'.[136]

DLP Councillor William Partridge responded furiously to Richardson and accused him of undermining the significance of the dispute between the ITGWU and the employers. Irish Party Councillor for the Arran Quay ward, John Dillon Nugent, supported the Lord Mayor's original motion but thought Alderman McWalter's addition to the motion was completely out of order.[137] Fellow Irish Party representative in Arran Quay Alderman William Coffey supported Nugent's argument that the Lord Mayor's original motion went far enough and asked Alderman McWalter if he was not ashamed for suggesting the police be removed from the streets of Dublin.[138] The divergence between Nationalist members regarding what action should be taken allowed the Unionists to have their say. Unionist Councillor for Clontarf West, William Ireland, said that he felt sorry for Sherlock for even proposing an inquiry after the divisions it has just caused amongst parties. Ireland blamed the recent events on Larkin, the ITGWU and the government for not bringing about a settlement between all sides involved. While he conceded the police were heavy-handed in their response, he thought the police had 'done the best they could' and had a 'difficult and delicate duty to perform'.[139] Ireland also defended Murphy and the employers and claimed they had a right to protect their interests and the services they provided for the citizens.[140]

Sinn Féin finally joined the discussion after Councillor Ireland's input. Seán T O'Kelly was appalled by the actions of the DMP. Kelly was particularly shocked at how he saw 'defenceless women and children treated'.[141] Irish Party Councillor in Rotunda William

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[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] *Irish Times,* 2 September 1913.
[139] Ibid.
[140] William Ireland was a wine and spirit merchant from Rathgar. He was involved in the Dublin United Tramways Company which explains his defence of Murphy. He did not seek re-election in the January 1914 contests after the events of the previous year. Instead, he would get elected as a member of Rathmines and Rathgar Urban District Council.
[141] *Freeman's Journal,* 2 September 1913.

Delaney told the Lord Mayor he should seek counsel before making any statement. The events, according to Delaney, had been exaggerated by 'hooligans' who saw an opportunity to cause trouble. Delaney called for these men to be arrested, and only 'respectable' trade unionists allowed to remain.[142] Denis J Cogan, an Irish Party Councillor in Usher's Quay, believed a compromise should be found. Cogan argued that the DMP was sufficient to deal with any disturbances without the need for the RIC. Cogan thought the presence of the DMP should be kept as he had evidence that those connected with the strike had damaged property and had been influenced by 'Dublin's ruffianism'.[143]

DLP Councillors John Bohan, Thomas Lawlor and Richard O'Carroll all spoke in favour of removing the police after they attacked people without cause. Sinn Féin's WT Cosgrave spoke last and said, 'the sanctity of human life in the City of Dublin must be preserved. Whether it was the Lord Lieutenant or the Chief Secretary, no man had a right to take the life God gave. That was the issue and let them all be united as one on that subject'.[144] While Cosgrave condemned the actions of the police, his reaction to the events overall was cautious and moderate. He did not come across as pro-Labour and throw his support behind the strikers.[145] The Corporation then voted on the motion, the Lord Mayor's original motion calling for an inquiry into the police was passed, and Alderman McWalter's addendum was lost. 21 members voted for McWalter's suggestion to remove the police altogether. This included nine Irish Party members, one of which was Lord Mayor Sherlock, six DLP members, four Sinn Féin members, and two independent Nationalists, one of whom was Sarah Harrison. 26 voted against McWalter's amendment, including 20 Irish Party representatives, one of

[142] Ibid. Delaney was a butcher and member of the Dublin Victuallers Association. His response is similar to that of other merchants in the Corporation. Delaney was also a member of the Town Tenants, and maybe more importantly in what response he took, a member of the Dublin Citizens Association.
[143] Meeting on 1 September 1913, Dublin City Council Minutes. Cogan was another man of business, and his profession was a provision merchant.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Laffan, *Judging WT Cosgrave*, p. 37.

which was Alderman William Cotton MP, four Unionist Councillors who were present, and two Independent Unionists.[146]

After this vote, Sinn Féin's Tom Kelly put forward a motion calling for a peace committee to be established to help arbitrate between both sides. Kelly argued that 'it was the duty of the representatives of the citizens to step into the breach and preach peace and not war'.[147] Kelly's motion to form a peace committee was immediately rejected by the DLP members, who protested at a committee being formed to mediate negotiations. The DLP Councillors argued that the job of the Corporation was to restore order to the streets of Dublin, and then negotiations could be left between the employers and the strikers. Kelly's motion was passed without difficulty, the only objection coming from the DLP Councillors, who wanted negotiations with the employers to be left to the trade unions. Kelly's proposition to establish a peace committee is important as it shows that Sinn Féin rejected the chance to support Labour and the locked-out men. The peace committee that Kelly was proposing was to enter into negotiations between both sides and included a number of representatives from the Corporation. By proposing a peace committee, Kelly and Sinn Féin presented something that took negotiations away from the workers and into a committee that the Irish Party would control.

When DLP Councillors voiced their legitimate concerns with no trade union involvement, they received no support from Sinn Féin, as one of the emerging parties had now aligned itself with the Irish Party in direct opposition to Labour. The municipal programme that Sinn Féin presented to the voters before the municipal elections in 1905 and 1907 stated, 'we shall, by our votes, uphold and apply the principles of trade unionism'.[148] After the conflict

[146] Meeting on 1 September 1913, Dublin City Council Minutes. The two Independent Nationalists who voted for McWalter were both former Irish party members as with the two Independent Unionists who voted against were both former members of the Unionist Party.
[147] Ibid.
[148] *United Irishman,* 14 January 1905.

between the employers and workers, Sinn Féin abandoned this commitment to trade union principles. Sinn Féin's approach also shows that the Labour element within the party had clearly left by the time of Lockout and raises questions about how important this was to the early development of Sinn Féin. The last motion passed by the Corporation at the meeting called to request the help of religious leaders in the city: 'that this Municipal Corporation of Dublin respectfully and urgently begs His Grace the most reverend Dr Walsh and His Grace the most reverend Dr Peacocke to invite an immediate conference the Directors of the Dublin United Tramways Company; Councillor Partridge; and four of the employees now on strike of the Dublin United Tramways Company'.[149] For such a monumental conflict, the Corporation felt the need for support from religious leaders to help bring both sides together and to quell the violence that had occurred over the past few days. The involvement of the Churches was also favourable towards the employers as they were anti-Larkin and viewed him with great suspicion. Even some Union leaders, such as Larkin, Partridge, and Daly, believed that the Church would be no help to the workers.[150]

Lockout and Nationalism

Throughout the winter of 1913, Irish Party MPs were accused of losing their voice concerning the Lockout, and very few commented on events or showed any support for the strikers.[151] The Irish Party members of Dublin Corporation fell into this same category and offered little or no opinion on the events that were taking place on their doorstep. The Lockout was not mentioned at Corporation meetings, only anger with the police was again discussed in October.[152] The only Irish Party representative from the Corporation who took an active role in the following months was Lord Mayor Lorcan Sherlock. Throughout the Lockout, Sherlock continuously

[149] Letter from the Town Clerk of Dublin Corporation to Archbishop William Walsh, 2 September 1913 (Dublin Diocesan Archives, Archbishop William Walsh Papers, Laity Files, IE/DDA/AB5/Laity/377/3).
[150] Yeates, *Lockout*, p. 257.
[151] McConnel, 'The Irish Parliamentary Party, industrial relations and the 1913 Dublin Lockout', p. 33.
[152] Meeting on 20 October 1913, Dublin City Council Minutes.

tried to bring both sides together and come to some form of settlement.[153] Soon after the Corporation called for an inquiry into the actions of the police, Sherlock published a letter in all Dublin newspapers. In his letter, Sherlock called for a truce between employers and the workers, 'in the general interests of Dublin, its trade and its commerce, its merchants, its workers, and its peace. I now publicly call upon both the employers and the Trades Council to at once elect their respective representatives to the Conciliation Board, and then immediately consider the present desperate situation'.[154]

Some days later, at a meeting in the Mansion House, Sherlock suggested that a fund be opened for the families of James Nolan and John Byrne, 'who died due to injuries received in the recent riots'. Attendance at this meeting was described as being 'very small', and the only other public representatives were Alderman Joseph Farrell and Councillor Alfie Byrne, both Irish Party members. On 23 September, a special meeting of the Corporation was called to consider a motion related to the Improvements Committee. During this meeting, the Chairman of the Improvements Committee, Councillor Quaid, asked the Lord Mayor to establish a fund to distribute to the wives and children affected by the Lockout.[155] Sherlock was not initially enthusiastic about Quaid's suggestion as he had difficulties raising money for the Nolan and Byrne fund.[156] Two days later, however, a fund was established for families of the workers by Sherlock's wife Marie, who established the Dublin Children's Distress fund.[157] As the Lockout dragged on, Sherlock continued his efforts to act as a mediator and took an active interest in the Industrial Peace Committee.[158] On 27 October, Sherlock chaired a meeting in the Mansion

[153] Carroll, 'Little Lorcan Sherlock, 1912-15', in *Leaders of the City*, p. 137.
[154] *Freeman's Journal,* 4 September 1913.
[155] Meeting on 22 September 1913, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[156] Ibid. This was another poorly attended meeting relating to the Lockout. Only eight members including Sherlock were present.
[157] *Dublin Daily Express,* 25 September 1913; *The Irish Citizen,* 27 September 1913.
[158] The Industrial Peace Committee was established by Tom Kettle at a meeting in the Mansion House on 7 October. The Committee aimed to find a truce between both sides in Dublin's industrial war. The Committee included Oliver St John Gregory, William Orpen, and future 1916 Proclamation signatories, Joseph Plunkett, and Thomas McDonagh. The only employer representative was Edward Lee, a draper chain store owner who was opposed to William Martin Murphy.

House, attended by delegates from the Peace Committee. The meeting Sherlock announced was a 'meeting of representatives of people who did not belong to either side, so that from it a deputation shall convey a message to the official representatives of both sides to bring the present state of things to an end'.[159] By mid-November, no progress had been made, and Sherlock gave an interview to the press expressing his disillusionment and hopelessness with the current deadlock.[160] He bravely continued his efforts without support from his fellow members of the Corporation and proposed another conference between the two sides in mid-December. Sherlock was pleading with both sides to come together and settle their differences on behalf of the city's people 'who are so deeply affected by the present deadlock'.[161]

While Sherlock was trying to end the dispute, he was asking the workers to capitulate and come to an agreement with the employers. Sherlock remained sympathetic to the workers, but as the Lockout progressed, he began to develop bitterness towards Larkin. The feeling was mutual as Larkin had questioned Sherlock's motivations for his involvement, describing Sherlock and his supporters as 'job-seekers and twisters'.[162] Despite Sherlock's mediation efforts, the dispute between employers and workers was never resolved. Sherlock also began to view Larkin as a dangerous Socialist and was critical of Larkin's condemnation of the Catholic Church. From a political perspective, Sherlock viewed Larkin and his supporters as a threat to his political base in the Mountjoy ward and to the ultimate goal of Home Rule, which could be jeopardized by Larkin.[163] While food and money came from trade unionists in England, it was not enough to counteract the support given to the employers who imposed the

[159] *Irish Times,* 28 October 1913. This meeting was attended by Archbishop William Walsh and W.B. Yeats amongst others.
[160] *Dublin Daily Express,* 17 November 1913.
[161] *Irish Times,* 13 December 1913.
[162] *Irish Independent,* 6 January 1914.
[163] Carroll, 'Little Lorcan Sherlock, 1912-15', in *Leaders of the City*, p. 137-138.

Lockout. By February 1914, the last of the workers were demoralised and starved back to work.[164]

The Remnants of Sinn Féin

While the Corporation witnessed an increase in DLP representation and the Lockout gripped the city, Sinn Féin still had a presence in Dublin Corporation, albeit it diminished to a small core and lost many of the rank-and-file members.[165] In the municipal elections that followed the royal visit of the summer of 1911, Sinn Féin made no difference to their municipal representation in the city. In January 1912 municipal elections, Sinn Féin only contested one seat. John T O'Kelly successfully defended his seat in Inns Quay and defeated Michael Cooke, who represented the UIL. WT Cosgrave's seat was also due to be defended, but no candidate came forward to challenge, and Cosgrave was returned unopposed.[166] By now, however, a new force was emerging in Dublin in the form of the DLP. The emergence of an organised Labour party in Dublin ended any faint chance of a revival Sinn Féin could have hoped for. As previously discussed, the municipal elections after 1912 saw an increase in Labour candidates. The Labour candidates now took the votes Sinn Féin once commanded and broke Sinn Féin's grasp it had in many wards with working-class voters.[167] As Owen McGee has suggested, the new wave of Labour candidates that emerged after 1912 won over former Sinn Féin supporters, partly by taking advantage of the social conditions of the time but also by Labour now presenting themselves as the municipal reformers.[168]

Sinn Féin now had no movement left to fight this new threat from the DLP. The only weapon at Griffith's disposal was his newspaper.[169] What was more humiliating for Griffith

[164] Ibid., p. 139.
[165] Laffan, *Judging WT Cosgrave*, p. 38.
[166] *Sinn Féin,* 13 January 1912; *Freeman's Journal,* 16 January 1912.
[167] Yeates, *Lockout*, p. 132.
[168] McGee, *Arthur Griffith*, p. 143.
[169] Ibid.

was the defection of former members of Sinn Féin to Labour and the re-election of these men as DLP Councillors. Richard O'Carroll, William Partridge, and PT Daly were all once Sinn Féin Councillors but, after 1912, were elected on the DLP ticket.[170] The records of the Sinn Féin party for 1912 confirm what was happening at the polls. The movement had lost all vigour, was in a dire state, and had little interest in active participation in municipal elections in Dublin. At a meeting of the party in October 1912, those in attendance questioned the direction Sinn Féin had taken over the last twelve months. Sinn Fein now needed to ensure that a new constructive policy was adopted for the coming year to revive the movement and revive interest from the voters.[171] At this meeting, one of the Honorary Secretaries, Seaghan O'Dubhghaill, questioned Griffith on his decision to fuse all the Dublin branches into one central branch. O'Dubhghaill wanted to reconsider this decision as he believed that 'the fusion of the Dublin branches had resulted in Sinn Féin ideas dying out in districts where before the spirit was strong owing to the existence in these branches'.[172] Griffith, who chaired the meeting, responded by saying that this was a matter to be discussed by the Resident Executive and refused to comment on the suggestion.

In January 1913, no new Sinn Féin candidates contested the municipal elections. The pages of *Sinn Féin* did not refer to the municipal contests, and Griffith did not even comment on the outcome. Griffith, by now, seemed to be occupied by the impending Home Rule Bill.[173] Sinn Féin did, however, win a by-election in the Trinity ward in February 1913 after the election of William Tierney.[174] Tierney, a newsagent from Dublin, was the only candidate for the vacancy created after the retirement of former Irish Party Lord Mayor Michael Doyle and

[170] *Irish Independent,* 17 January 1912; *Irish Independent,* 17 January 1913; *Freeman's Journal,* 17 January 1915.
[171] Minute Book of the Sinn Féin Party, Meeting on 8 October 1912 (IE UCDA P163).
[172] Ibid. Seaghan O'Dubhghaill represented Sinn Féin in Kilmainham. Kilmainham was one of the areas where Sinn Féin enjoyed a good level of support from the electorate before the party's decline.
[173] Maye, *Arthur Griffith,* p. 107.
[174] *Dublin Daily Express,* 26 February 1913.

was elected unopposed. Like the municipal elections held in January, Tierney's campaign got no attention in *Sinn Féin.* Even after his successful election, the victory was only briefly mentioned as 'another Sinn Féin Councillor'.[175] When Tierney was due to defend his seat less than twelve months later, in January 1914, he decided not to stand for election, and Sinn Féin lost this seat as no other candidate was put forward.

Meetings over 1913 seem to confirm Sinn Féin's acceptance that Home Rule would come into law and that a re-evaluation of party policies was needed to prepare for that eventuality.[176] Sinn Féin now appeared to be taking less of an active role in Dublin Corporation elections and Corporation business as the likelihood of Home Rule had rendered the party powerless to influence the electorate. At Sinn Féin's final convention before the war, Griffith told those who were present that the progress of Sinn Féin had now completely stalled and that the focus must now be to educate the electorate regarding the Home Rule Bill.[177] A resolution put forward by Eammon Ceannt and carried unanimously stated that 'the policy of Sinn Féin for the coming years be one of active hostility to the English Government in Ireland, and that the attention of the Executive is directed especially to the fresh attempts at recruiting for the English army and navy now proceeding, and the declaration of loyalty emanating from the leaders of the Irish Parliamentary Party'.[178] The Lockout of 1913 drew little support from Griffith, who was unsympathetic to Larkin and his methods.[179] Larkin's paper, *The Irish Worker,* competed to some extent with Griffith's *Sinn Féin.* Both editors had equally sharp tongues when writing about the other, and during the Lockout, Griffith offered no support for the workers.[180] In a series of articles published in *Sinn Féin,* Griffith argued that his Councillors in City Hall could remedy the ills faced by the city workers if they voted for Sinn Féin. Griffith

[175] *Sinn Féin,* 1 March 1913.
[176] Minute Book of the Sinn Féin Party, Meeting on 23 January 1913 (IE UCDA P163).
[177] Minute Book of the Sinn Féin Party, Meeting on 22 March 1913 (IE UCDA P163).
[178] Ibid.
[179] McGee, *Arthur Griffith*, p. 143.
[180] Kenny, *The Enigma of Arthur Griffith*, p. 127.

wrote that the current Labour activists in Dublin were 'no worthy descendants of the old Dublin trade unionists'.[181] In his biography of WT Cosgrave, Michael Laffan has argued that Griffith and Sinn Féin may have missed an opportunity to regain public support during the Lockout due to Griffith's attitude. While the Irish Party was dismayed by the social conflict and took little or no action in response, Sinn Féin was divided and unable to capitalise on its opponents' attitude.[182] While Sinn Féin Councillors such as Cosgrave and Tom Kelly joined in the condemnation of the brutality shown by the police on 'Bloody Sunday' the party itself took no official stance and was considered hostile in their attitude to the workers.[183] Sinn Féin was once on the side of trade unions and pledged to support the principles of trade unionism. When an opportunity to do this presented itself in 1913, Griffith and Sinn Féin declined.

Conclusion

The Lockout gripped Dublin for the winter of 1913. It was and remains the most significant industrial conflict in Irish history. The Lockout, however, offers an interesting insight into the response of political parties to the conflict through the prism of local government initiated by the 1898 Act. The Irish Party at a national level fell silent, and their attitude towards the Lockout, FSL Lyons has argued, remains 'a dark blot on their record'.[184] The Irish Party members gave little or no support to the workers throughout the majority of the conflict. Aldermen and Councillors who were elected to represent affected wards in the city offered no help or support. Aside from the lengthy debate and condemnation of the police, the Lockout was never a topic on the agenda at Corporation meetings. Like their counterparts at Westminster, the Dublin Corporation members fell silent. Unionists like the Irish Party offered

[181] McGee, *Arthur Griffith*, p. 144.
[182] Laffan, *Judging WT Cosgrave*, p. 37.
[183] Carden, *The Alderman*, pp. 85-86.
[184] FSL. Lyons, 'Decline and Fall of the Nationalist Party', in Owen Dudley Edwards and Fergus Pyle (eds.) *1916: the Easter Rising,* (London, 1968), p. 57; McConnel, *The Irish Parliamentary Party and the Third Home Rule Crisis*, p. 181.

no support to the workers, and in the debates regarding the conduct of the police, Unionists were in favour of the employers.

Regarding the two emerging movements that developed in Dublin's local government, the Lockout offered them the chance to voice their opinions and concerns regarding an industrial dispute. The DLP Councillors defended the workers and wanted to secure the best outcome possible, attempting to leave negotiations with the workers and employers. Sinn Féin, on the other hand, aligned with the Irish Party in its response to the Lockout. Alderman Tom Kelly advocated the establishment of the Industrial Peace Committee. This took negotiations away from the workers directly. All Sinn Féin members present voted in favour of Kelly's proposal and abandoned the Labour Councillors. At this juncture, Sinn Féin's decision to align with the Irish Party questions how much of an emerging force Griffith's movement was when the party was withered down to its core. The Labour principles Sinn Féin once had were gone.

The growth of the DLP was also discussed in the chapter, and like Sinn Féin, the DLP emerged with a reformist urban agenda that it brought to the electorate. The DLP overtook Sinn Féin as the main challenge to the Irish Party, but the removal of Larkin from the Corporation clearly weakened the movement and hampered its progress.[185] The Irish Party's response to the threat posed by the DLP and Larkin is unique, at least in terms of Dublin's politics. The other emerging Labour movement, the LEA, was assimilated or 'vampirized' by the Irish Party. The LEA was viewed as being moderate and an organisation that the Irish Party could easily accommodate in the broader Nationalist movement. The DLP was not dealt with in this manner and was attacked immediately by the Irish Party. Larkin was immediately removed from the Corporation to significantly weaken the DLP, and the Irish Party, through the UIL and AOH, developed an efficient ward management system to prevent further DLP gains. Whereas the LEA could be easily absorbed by the Irish Party 'vampire', the DLP was so at odds and radical

[185] Larkin, *James Larkin*, p. 93.

with traditional and moderate Labour it was met with force and assimilation was not even considered. Sinn Féin maintained a presence as the Labour tide swept them away as the main threat to the Irish Party. However, Sinn Féin now showed little interest in elections in Dublin and had begun to take a different direction away from municipal contests.[186] Sarah Harrison was elected as the city's first female Councillor. Her election was a high point for the suffrage movement in Dublin and happened during the 'heyday' of the suffrage movement generally.[187]

[186] Minute Book of the Sinn Féin Party, Meeting on 22 March 1913 (IE UCDA P163).
[187] Cullen-Owens, *Smashing Times*, p. 78.

Ch. 7 - Dublin Corporation in Wartime, 1914-1917

Introduction

The following chapter discusses Dublin Corporation through the years of the First World War and what effect this had on the Corporation. One seismic event that took place during these years was the 1916 Rising. The Rising has been well documented and analysed in numerous studies, and the chapter does not aim to reinvent the wheel of this analysis. Instead, the chapter begins with an analysis of the political parties before the Rising. The Irish Party controlled Dublin Corporation throughout this period, but by 1914, the party was threatened by other Nationalist organisations. The UIL had reigned supreme from the early 1900s and faced no threat from other Nationalists, but now the AOH ran candidates in elections, and a large number of independent Nationalists began to challenge the UIL for seats. This split in the Irish Party and competition between Nationalists for seats will be explored in the chapter. In the years immediately before the war, Labour emerged and developed in Dublin to become the second-largest party in the Corporation. The 1914 municipal elections are one of the most scrutinised aspects of the history of the DLP, as these elections took place in the fifth month of the Lockout. Labour's performance in 1914 will be analysed to see if the party could take advantage of the social conditions of the time and make further gains in the Corporation. Sinn Féin, by this point, had moved away from active participation in municipal elections and had less than a handful of Councillors remaining. Sinn Féin, however, remained active as a propaganda movement in the city, and this aspect of the party's history and the opposition of Sinn Féin to the war and recruitment will be discussed. Another section of the chapter will focus on Dublin Corporation's response to the war, how the war affected Dublin and the role of the Corporation. The war provided challenges to the Corporation in terms of food and fuel prices and managing supplies to meet the demands of citizens. The war also drew responses from the Corporation's

members regarding Irish involvement, recruitment, and support. These responses and debates that took place in City Hall will be analysed to see what stance each party took regarding the war and if the parties were united or divided in their opinions. The chapter will discuss how the Corporation coped with the effects of the war and how it sought to alleviate the grievances that the people of Dublin had to endure during these years. The final section of the chapter briefly discusses politics in Dublin after the Rising. The municipal contests in Britain and Ireland were suspended in the summer of 1915 due to the war, but vacancies still arose in the Corporation that had to be filled. When these vacancies were filled, politics in the Corporation were beginning to shift and realign. The election of Laurence O'Neill as Lord Mayor in 1917 signified this change as the UIL lost its grip on the position.

Dublin's Political Parties before the Rising

When the January 1914 municipal elections took place, the ongoing events of the Lockout still gripped the city and affected the everyday life of many Dubliners. Therefore, the main competition at the polls was perceived to be between the DLP candidates and the Irish Party. Padraig Yeates has suggested that the Nationalists entered the 1914 contests in many people's minds as a party of big business and a party of landlords.[1] Due to the public opinion created by the labour disputes and housing inquiry, now was the chance for Labour to make progress and significantly increase their number of representatives. As *The Irish Worker* argued, an increase in Labour members of the Corporation would 'work wonders for the workers of the city… and would address issues of concern such as housing, slum landlords, and the ugly anti-conspiracy of labour'.[2] Even the Unionist *Irish Times* admitted that the findings of the 1913 Housing Inquiry and ongoing labour disputes had changed the dynamics of the elections. The *Irish Times* wrote, 'So long as the housing conditions of Dublin remain what they are, municipal

[1] Yeates, *Lockout*, p. 502.
[2] *The Irish Worker,* 14 January 1914.

reformers should regard the ownership of slum property as a disqualification for membership of the City Council'.[3] Allowing for increased support for the DLP and displeasure amongst the public with the Irish Party, the Nationalists ran only one candidate in each ward they contested against a DLP candidate so as not to split the vote among their supporters. Ten Labour candidates affiliated with the DLP and endorsed by the Dublin Trades Council ran in the elections and were dubbed 'Larkinites' in the newspapers that supported the Irish Party.[4] The 'Larkinites' were regularly criticised in the pages of Irish Party papers for their actions of picketing the houses of Nationalist candidates and were portrayed as being anti-Catholic.[5]

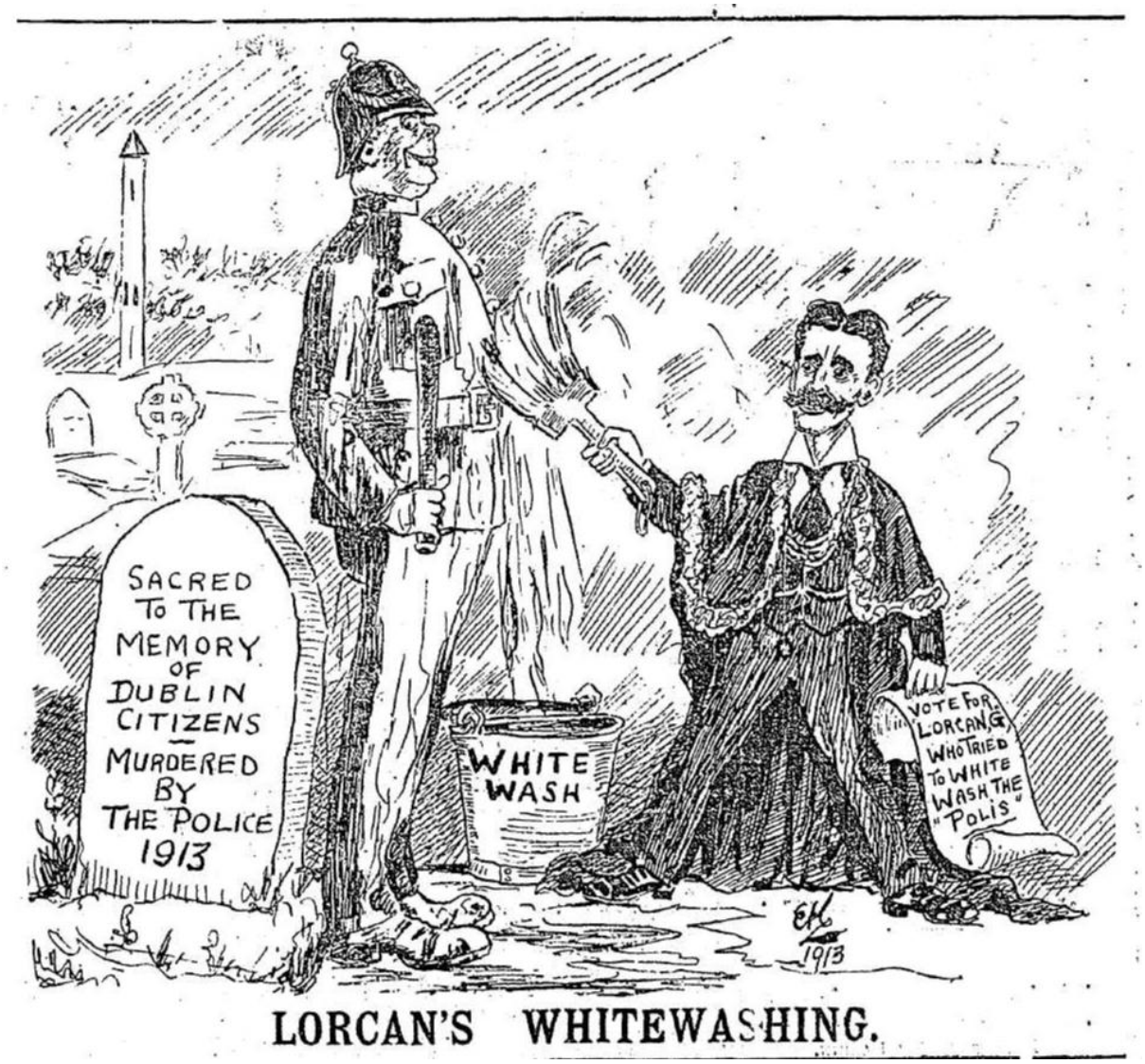
Larkin, who was still banned from contesting elections, issued a rallying call for support for his candidates during an election meeting in the North Dock and called on the electors to vote against the politicians to 'whose machinations they owed much, if not all, the misery, poverty, and squalor which were to be encountered at present in the capital of Ireland'.[6] The DLP candidates had the support of the Irish Citizen Army (ICA) during their pre-election campaigns, who acted as stewards to prevent the disruption of proceedings. The ICA was formed during the Lockout to protect the workers from the police. Initially founded as a self-defence organisation for the workers, the ICA was completely transformed in 1914 and started to function like an armed and organised force.[7] The Irish Party used the AOH to a similar effect, with the AOH regularly trying to disrupt Labour meetings, and further signified the growing strength of the Hibernians in Dublin along with the introduction of the 'strong arm' politics to the city. Larkin was scathing at the increased presence of the AOH and criticised the organisation for its 'hatred and venom' and 'whose influence upon the electors of the city is criminal'.[8] The 1914 elections, however, turned out to be a huge disappointment for Larkin

[3] *Irish Times,* 31 December 1913.
[4] *The Irish Worker,* 11 January 1914; *Freeman's Journal,* 14 January 1914.
[5] *Irish Independent,* 12 January 1914; *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 13 January 1914.
[6] *Irish Times,* 7 January 1914.
[7] Nevin, *James Connolly,* pp. 551-554.
[8] *The Irish Worker,* 3 January 1914; Ibid., 10 January 1914.

and the DLP. Out of the ten candidates that were put forward for election, only one was successful. The victorious DLP candidate was Henry Donnelly, Chairman of the Coachmakers Union, who was elected in the Labour stronghold of New Kilmainham and joined William Partridge as another DLP representative in that ward. The other nine DLP candidates all failed to topple their Irish Party opponents, including Lorcan Sherlock who defeated the DLP's James Campbell by a wide margin of 956 votes.[9] Sherlock had come in for constant criticism from the DLP prior to the election, due to his actions during the Lockout, as depicted in Figure 4 on the next page from the *Irish Worker*.

[9] *Dublin Daily Express,* 16 January 1914.

Figure 4: Lorcan the 'Whitewasher'



Source: *Irish Worker,* 14 January 1914.

Sherlock rebuffed any claims made against him by Larkin, who he considered 'a Socialist dictator' and someone who knew little about the history and culture of Dublin.[10] The voters of Dublin clearly agreed with Sherlock, as the results showed the lack of support the DLP candidates received when, given the social and economic climate, one would have expected success for Labour. Commenting on the election results, Larkin wrote, 'The noise and turmoil has ceased for a time. Labour's ranks have been broken, and we have been

[10] *Evening Herald,* 12 January 1914.

compelled to withdraw to our base. If the election had been fought in November last, instead of holding our own, losing one seat and gaining one, we would have had the satisfaction of chronicling not less than eight victories'.[11] This major setback the DLP suffered in January 1914 must be considered a factor in the locked out workers going back to work shortly after. The rejection of DLP candidates by the Dublin electorate during the Lockout must have been demoralising for the workers and strike leaders. In terms of the leadership of the DLP, it was obviously discouraging, as outlined by the Larkin quote above. However, Larkin, during a pre-election meeting in North Dock, appeared to have already accepted defeat in the Lockout. During this meeting, he thanked the support received from the English unions for helping the locked-out workers for so long. He then talked about the Dublin workers that 'they might be defeated in this battle but, while he hoped they would not, he need only remind them that this was the commencement of the labour war, and if they went down in this fight, they would take time for a 'refresher', and would commence the war anew'.[12] Larkin, in these words, appears to be expecting defeat in the conflict with the employers, and the defeat of his candidates in the elections may have been the final blow to any hopes he had of victory.

While disappointed with the result of the elections, the DLP candidates received a combined 10,377 votes against the 13,777 that their Irish Party opponents received.[13] In interpreting these results, Emmet Larkin has emphasised that the total number of votes received by the DLP represents significant progress and support for 'Larkinism' even if only one seat had been won.[14] On the other hand, Arthur Mitchell argued that the results of these contests represent a failure on the part of the DLP to capture the voters' support. While the DLP received a large number of votes, ultimately, the candidates were rejected by the majority of voters, and 'Dubliners accepted the image of Larkin, Connolly and the other leaders as anti-clerical

[11] *The Irish Worker,* 17 January 1914.
[12] *Irish Times,* 7 January 1914.
[13] *The Irish Worker,* 24 January 1914.
[14] Larkin, *James Larkin*, p. 149.

socialist revolutionaries, the picture painted by the Nationalist politicians, the press and the Church'.[15] Yeates also considers the 1914 elections as a failure on the part of Dublin's Labour Party. During the height of the Lockout, Labour would not have had a better chance to capitalise on the public anger directed towards the Nationalists, and a strong result for Labour would have represented solidarity when the workers needed it the most. Discussions on the elections had begun in November 1913, and the DLP aimed to field a candidate in every ward. However, only about half that number of candidates were put forward, and the complete list was not ratified until 13 January, three days before the voters went to the polls.[16]

Another point to consider is the background of the Labour candidates who stood for election in January 1914. While all these men were in solidarity with the workers and were undoubtedly associated with labour in Dublin, they were not at the forefront of the dispute. The Labour movement leaders, William O'Brien and James Connolly, did not contest the 1914 elections. Meanwhile, Larkin was banned from entering any form of election. With the benefit of hindsight, this decision was a severe miscalculation by the DLP, as their involvement may have been enough to win the narrow contests.[17] PT Daly was the only notable figure in the trade union movement who contested the elections. Another obstacle the DLP candidates had to overcome was the significant clerical support that the Irish Party candidates received. Just after the elections, Lorcan Sherlock wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, William Walsh, thanking him for his and the Catholic Church's support in the contests. Sherlock thanked Walsh for the support 'during the last week that has been in no small way responsible for arousing generally throughout the City, a feeling of grim resolve'.[18] Sherlock also stated in his letter that

[15] Mitchell, *Labour in Irish Politics*, pp. 53-54.
[16] Yeates, *Lockout*, p. 500.
[17] James Larkin was obviously one of the other leaders of the Labour movement but as was mentioned in a previous chapter he was banned from municipal elections for five years after being removed from the Corporation after his election in January 1912 for having a criminal conviction.
[18] Letter from Lorcan Sherlock to Archbishop William Walsh, 16 January 1914 (Dublin Diocesan Archives, Archbishop William Walsh Papers, Laity Files, IE/DDA/AB5/Laity/378/1).

the Catholic Church were crucial in defeating the DLP candidates and striking 'a deadly blow against the insidious enemy of socialism, and have made it abundantly clear that there is no room for such views in Ireland's capital, once the people thoroughly understand what is the intention of its supporters'.[19]

While the Dublin Corporation elections in January 1914 witnessed intense competition between the UIL and the DLP for seats, these contests also saw the UIL come under attack from other Nationalists. The UIL faced a DLP opponent in ten contests. In twelve other separate contests, another Nationalist candidate challenged the UIL for the seat. Competition between Nationalists for seats had not been seen in Dublin since the early 1900s when there were divisions over the issues of loyalty to the British Monarch and loyal addresses.[20] By 1914, however, the political resilience of the UIL was wearing thin. While the Irish Party could claim to have done much to transform life in rural Ireland, the same could not be said about Dublin. The 1913 Lockout and 1914 housing enquiry exposed the inability of the UIL to deal with urban issues. Another factor to consider was the role of the UIL as a powerful electioneering organisation for the Irish Party. The UIL always had the greatest number of members and active branches around the time of a general election. When there was no general election on the horizon, a lot of these branches simply became dormant because they had no function.[21]

The leader of the Irish Party, John Redmond, emphasised unity above everything else in the pursuit of Home Rule. This pushed the party away from issues such as a woman's right to vote or trade union affairs. These attitudes put the UIL in danger of losing touch with the younger generation in Dublin at a time when the city was undergoing social upheaval.[22] While the Irish Party avoided pursuing secondary causes to preserve unity and the quest for Home Rule, this worked in rural Ireland, but in Dublin, the strategy was counter-productive and

[19] Ibid.
[20] These contests are discussed in Ch. 4.
[21] Bolger, United Irish League and Branch Level, p. 52.
[22] Yeates, *A City in Wartime*, p. 22.

increased dissatisfaction with the Party. The greatest threat to the dominance of the UIL in Dublin by 1914 was not the DLP or Sinn Féin but other Nationalists. In fact, the UIL faced a serious threat from within the ranks of the Irish Party organisation in the form of the AOH, the Party's other grassroots organisation. The AOH had originated as a Catholic electoral machine in Belfast but now had a significant presence all over Ireland. In his study of provincial Ireland, Michael Wheatley shows how the AOH had begun to overtake the UIL and was very much in the ascendancy.[23] AC Hepburn's study of Joseph Devlin also outlines how the AOH surpassed the UIL. Hepburn argues that, after 1910, the UIL began to reduce to the bare minimum of skeletal branches in some areas. The AOH quickly assumed the position the UIL once had and began to dominate the Nationalist machine.[24]

Before the elections, the *Irish Times* claimed, 'there will be a fierce struggle for the political possession of the Corporation between the United Irish League and the Ancient Order of Hibernians; the bitterest local jealousness exists between these organisations'.[25] The *Irish Independent* painted a similar picture of squabbles between Nationalists dominating the elections, 'it is unfortunate that most of the contests that have to be fought are between cliques, each of which is struggling to secure a measure of control for its own purpose, irrespective of the general interests of the city. These cliques fight, respectively, under the banners of the United Irish League and the Ancient Order of Hibernians'.[26] In Glasnevin, the competition between the UIL and the AOH split the Nationalist vote, and this allowed the Unionists to take the Alderman seat after William Thomas Dinnage won a three-way contest.[27] This victory in Glasnevin was part of a successful municipal election campaign for the Unionists, who recorded two other victories in wards that were once independent northern townships. In

[23] Wheatley, *Nationalism and Irish Party*, pp. 48-49.
[24] Hepburn, *Catholic Belfast and Nationalist Ireland in the Era of Joe Devlin*, p. 93.
[25] *Irish Times,* 3 January 1914.
[26] *Irish Independent,* 7 January 1914.
[27] *Irish Times,* 16 January 1914.

Clontarf West, the Unionists won an Alderman and a Councillor seat after the victories of William McCarthy and William Coulter. These two victories were achieved after defeating the sitting Irish Party members, and even though Dublin Unionism was a weakened force, there was still enough support in northern wards to maintain a presence.

In ten other wards, the Irish Party faced a contest from other Nationalist candidates who were not aligned with Redmond's party. These independent Nationalist candidates achieved some notable victories, including two in the Arran Quay ward, which the Irish Party had always controlled, and a ward over which John D Nugent exercised considerable influence. The bitter struggle between Nationalists in 1914 had never been witnessed in elections for Dublin Corporation. The Irish Party easily commanded the Nationalist vote in the city, bar the rise of Sinn Féin, which it had successfully contained after 1910. The increase in independent Nationalists in the Corporation weakened the control Redmond's Party once had, but the Irish Party still enjoyed an overwhelming majority even after the 1914 contests. The increase in the number of Nationalists not aligned with the Irish Party is significant as it outlined that the Irish Party's grip on the Dublin electorate was beginning to weaken. During a pre-election UIL meeting in the Arran Quay ward, John D Nugent called for unity with the prospect of Home Rule so close, but this was not enough in some wards where the UIL candidates were voted out in favour of others. The hold the UIL once had on the electorate was now beginning to decay, much like the Irish Party's appeal in a city experiencing social and political change. During the First World War, the Irish Party's hegemony would be tested, and members' loyalty to Redmond would be questioned as the war altered political and social life in Dublin.

While the Irish Party began to face increased competition from other Nationalists, Sinn Féin was on its knees as an electoral force and as a party. By now, Griffith's organisation has withered down to one branch in Dublin and had only a handful of Councillors. Regarding elections and competing for seats in the Corporation, no new Sinn Féin candidates contested

any municipal elections in either 1914 or 1915. In January 1915, three of the four remaining Sinn Féin members' seats were due for election based on the rotation policy of the Corporation. However, the three Sinn Féin members were all returned unopposed, with Tom Kelly, WT Cosgrave, and Seán T O'Kelly facing no competitor for their seats. From a high of thirteen Sinn Féin Councillors, the Party concluded the municipal elections before they were suspended with just four. The four who remained had diverse backgrounds and summed up the Party as it was, a loose coalition of those opposed to the Irish Parliamentary Party.

In January 1915, Irish Party Alderman John Clancy was elected Lord Mayor of Dublin for the coming year.[28] Alderman Clancy would pass away before he could assume the role, and by February, a new Lord Mayor was required. The Irish Party always reserved the position for themselves. On 2 February, Laurence O'Neill summoned a meeting in City Hall to select candidates for the position before the Corporation officially met on Friday, 5 February.[29] During this meeting, Sinn Féin's Alderman Tom Kelly emerged as the leading candidate for the position, ahead of the Irish Party nominee James Michael Gallagher. The press reported that Kelly had received the support of several Irish Party Councillors who were intent on voting against their party in the contest.[30] The potential of a Sinn Féin Lord Mayor at such a critical time for the Irish Party worried former Lord Mayor Lorcan Sherlock, who wrote to Redmond that evening to inform him of the news. Sherlock was worried about Kelly as Lord Mayor and what views he might express in the position as the Irish Party 'were going to pass through a very critical year'.[31] Sherlock believed it would be 'somewhat inconvenient to have Alderman Kelly, Lord Mayor, while the War is going on; having regard to his peculiar views, differing so widely as they do'.[32] Sherlock blamed this situation on the Irish Party Councillor for Inns

[28] Meeting on 23 January 1915, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[29] *Freeman's Journal,* 3 February 1915. 60 out of 80 Corporation members attended this meeting.
[30] *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 3 February 1915.
[31] Letter from Lorcan Sherlock to John Redmond, 3 February 1915 (TCD, John Dillon Papers, Ms. 6748/545).
[32] Ibid.

Quay, William O'Hara. O'Hara was President of the Dublin Vintners Association and was getting its members to vote against the Irish Party. Sherlock concluded the letter requesting that Redmond or Joseph Devlin speak to O'Hara, who was at the House of Commons.[33] Two days later, Redmond conveyed the message to John Dillon and expressed his concern at Kelly's potential appointment as Lord Mayor. Redmond wrote to Dillon, 'I take it for granted that you are taking whatever steps are possible with reference to the election of Lord Mayor. It certainly would be a scandal, or rather a grim joke, if Tom Kelly were elected. I cannot understand the meaning of this move at all or how any supporter of ours could vote for him'.[34]

Before the Corporation met to select the Lord Mayor, the Irish Party's newspaper, the *Freeman's Journal,* published an article urging the Irish Party members not to vote for Kelly. The report acknowledged Kelly's time as a member of the Corporation and praised much of his work. If elected Lord Mayor, however, it would be harmful to the party as Kelly 'represents the smallest section of all sections of Irish opinion, and 1915 is a year when that section, never influential in Irish affairs, is at its lowest in the estimation of the people of Dublin and of Ireland. His election could not fail to provoke misunderstanding both at home and abroad, and whatever his own attitude, it is inevitable that less scrupulous members of his little party would use it in Ireland and out of it to misrepresent the undoubted feelings of the citizens of Dublin'.[35] The Corporation then met on 5 February to select a Lord Mayor for the coming year. James Michael Gallagher was proposed by the Irish Party to take the position for the year. WT Cosgrave then proposed an amendment that Alderman Kelly take the role instead.[36] Kelly claimed that 'the candidate for the Chair should be judged on his merits as a man, and not how his political feelings might go'.[37] When the Corporation voted on Kelly's candidature, it was

[33] Ibid. Sherlock indicates in this letter than O'Hara is doing this to put pressure on the Irish party and protect the interest of the drinks trade. O'Hara was in Westminster at that time to protect the interests of the vintners.
[34] Letter from John Redmond to John Dillon, 5 February 1915 (TCD, John Dillon Papers, Ms. 6748/545).
[35] *Freeman's Journal,* 4 February 1915.
[36] Meeting on 5 February 1915. Dublin City Council Minutes.
[37] *Irish Independent,* 6 February 1915.

defeated by 25 votes for and 40 against. Twelve Irish Party Councillors voted for Kelly over their party's nominee, Gallagher, supporting Sinn Féin, Labour, and one Unionist.[38] The amendment was declared lost, and Gallagher was elected as Lord Mayor for the year. The result was celebrated in the *Freeman,* which stated 'that this is not the time in which the Lord Mayoralty of Dublin should be held by a Sinn Féiner'.[39] Another newspaper supporting the Irish Party, the *National Volunteer,* equally celebrated the outcome. If Kelly had been elected as Lord Mayor, it would have been a 'dangerous effect against the Nationalist movement and the Home Rule cause'.[40] After the election, the President of the Vintners Association wrote to Redmond and distanced himself and his organisation from the whole affair. O'Hara acknowledged that he did suggest Alderman Kelly for the position but disassociated himself from Kelly when he would not give his assurances that he would use the position in harmony with the Irish Party.[41]

The First World War and Dublin Corporation

When the outbreak of war occurred in early August 1914, Dublin and the Corporation barely reacted as most were still concerned with the events of Bachelor's Walk just a few days prior.[42] Following the Howth gun-running, when 900 rifles were landed by the Irish Volunteers, a group of British troops were jeered by a crowd and, in retaliation, fired into the crowd and killed four civilians.[43] Throughout August, there was little or no mention of the war in the minutes of Corporation meetings, no opinion from the Councillors on what was happening or

[38] The Irish Party members who voted to support Kelly were Aldermen Patrick William Corrigan, John Joseph Farrell, James Charles McWalter, Alfie Byrne, Gerald O'Reilly, and James J Kelly (Eye-Opener); Councillors Thomas O'Brien, Michael Cole, John Scully, James Vaughan, John Michael Cogan, and John Groome. It is also interesting that John D Nugent was the only AOH member present to vote against Kelly. All other AOH members: Farrell, McWalter, O'Reilly, James J Kelly, Cole, Vaughan, and Cogan supported Kelly for the position.
[39] *Freeman's Journal,* 6 February 1915.
[40] *The National Volunteer,* 13 February 1915.
[41] Letter from William O'Hara to John Redmond, 10 February 1915 (NLI, John Redmond Papers, Ms. 15,261/2).
[42] Yeates, *A City in Wartime*, p. 26.
[43] Dickson, *The Making of a Capital City,* p. 443.

even a scant reference. At a Corporation meeting on 10 August 1914, the first since the outbreak of war, the main topic of concern was the price of food and how the war would affect this. Lord Mayor Lorcan Sherlock, seconded by Councillor Sarah Harrison, proposed 'That the Council hereby appoints the following Committee to consider the question of adjusting the prices of food during the war now in progress'.[44] The Committee formed to examine the rising food costs included the Lord Mayor, Sinn Féin's Alderman Tom Kelly, independent Alderman Laurence O'Neill, and Unionist Alderman William Thomas Dinnage. They were joined on the Committee by Councillor Sarah Harrison, Labour Councillor William Partridge, the Irish Party Councillors James Gallagher, Hugh Doyle and John Scully, and Andrew Beattie of the DCA.[45]

The rest of the meeting was spent by the members of the Council expressing their horror at the Bachelor's Walk killings. Lord Mayor Sherlock stated, 'That the Municipal Council of the City of Dublin expresses its horror at the savage crime of Sunday, the 26th of July, and its profound sympathy with the relatives of those who were killed; and also with the injured'.[46] The Lord Mayor also called for the immediate dismissal of those responsible for the killings and for support for a fund established to help the relatives of those killed. The Lord Mayor believed 'that in order to secure the future immunity of our unarmed citizens from such outrages, it is necessary to have more responsible persons in charge of the British armed forces in this City; and the Council, therefore, requests the dismissal of the permanent officials of Dublin Castle who were responsible, either by direct action or negligence, for the calling out of the military'.[47] Another motion relating to the Bachelor's Walk killings that appeared on the Motion Paper but was dropped was from Alderman McWalter, which called on the soldiers

[44] Meeting on 10 August 1914. Dublin City Council Minutes.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.

responsible for being held accountable on behalf of the citizens of Dublin and charged with murder.[48]

In August, Irish Party leader John Redmond gave a passionate speech in the House of Commons supporting the British war effort.[49] This speech, however, received no response from Dublin Corporation. There was no outright support for Redmond's plea or outright opposition. As the months dragged on, the war featured sparsely at Corporation meetings, but the erosion of life in the city due to the war was important. As Richard Grayson has shown, Dublin mobilised massive support in the early months of the war, and the city backed Redmond's plea. A meeting at the Mansion House outlined his precarious position. At the meeting held on 25 September 1914, joined by the Lord Mayor and British Prime Minister Herbert Asquith, Redmond was protected by 400 Redmondite Volunteers in fear of suffragettes and militant labour disrupting the meeting.[50] At a national level, 93% of the Volunteers backed Redmond, and only 7% sided with Eoin MacNeil, but not as many joined Redmond in Dublin. 72% joined Redmond's National Volunteers, while 28% remained with MacNeil's Irish Volunteers.[51] During a meeting of the Corporation in November 1914, the Irish Party members present outlined their support for Redmond and the direction he was taking the Party and Ireland. Councillor James Devlin, seconded by the long-serving Joseph Delahunt, moved 'that this Municipal Council of Dublin representing the citizens of the Capital of Ireland, expresses, in union with the Irish race the whole world over, its unbound satisfaction at the placing on the Statue Book of the Charter of Ireland's Freedom; and it places on record its appreciation of the

[48] Ibid.
[49] Meleady, *John Redmond*, pp. 297-298.
[50] Grayson, *Dublin's Great Wars*, pp. 23-25.
[51] Ibid., p. 25.

tactics of the Irish Party, so ably led by Mr John E Redmond, MP, which have resulted in the successful conclusion of Ireland's struggle for liberty'.[52]

The motion was put forward, and an amendment was suggested by Sinn Féin's Alderman Tom Kelly and Councillor WT Cosgrave. The Sinn Féin representatives wanted the motion to be suspended until the terms of the subsequent Home Rule Bill were known and greater consideration could be given to such a statement. When the Corporation members present voted on the amendment, only seven voted to suspend the original statement. Those who voted with Alderman Kelly and Councillor Cosgrave were the Labour Councillors William Partridge, Michael Brohoon, Thomas Lawlor, William Chase, and Unionist William Coulter.[53] All the Irish Party members at the meeting voted against the amendment in favour of the original motion. They received the support of all other Nationalists present except Sinn Féin. Even the independent Nationalists who competed against the Irish Party candidates in the January elections supported the Party and Redmond.[54] However, as Joseph V O'Brien has noted, in Dublin, 'the forces of Irish political disaffection began to gather in and radiate from Dublin to the extent that the capital became sharply distinguished from the rest of Ireland for the sustained vigour with which the idea of British rule in Ireland came under attack'.[55] Dissent within the Corporation by the Irish Party was rarely seen, and Corporation debates throughout the war were usually focused on local issues and how the war was influencing life within the city. Discussions of national issues were rare, but as the war dragged on, the Irish Party members of the Corporation began to divide and openly criticise their own party.

Those in City Hall did not mention the split within the Volunteer movement. However, the majority of members of the Corporation favoured the Irish Volunteers over the National

[52] Meeting on 2 November 1914, Dublin City Council Minutes. Councillor Devlin was referring to the successful passing of the Home Rule Act by the British Parliament, though its implementation was suspended until after the war.
[53] The remaining Unionist members present did not vote on the amendment or motion.
[54] Meeting on 2 November 1914, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[55] O'Brien, *Dear Dirty Dublin*, p. 241.

Volunteers. In August 1914, the Corporation granted the use of the member's room to the provisional Committee of the Irish Volunteers for a meeting. The motion granting access to the member's room was proposed by Lord Mayor Sherlock and supported by the Unionists, seconded by Alderman Dinnage.[56] During the summer of 1915, the Corporation showed its support for members of the Irish Volunteers who were imprisoned by British forces. During a Corporation meeting in August 1915, Aldermen Alfie Byrne and Laurence O'Neill voiced their support for imprisoned Volunteers. Alderman Byrne, supported by Alderman O'Neill, stated 'that this Council, representing every shade of opinion in Dublin, hereby enters an emphatic protest against the unjust treatment of our fellow countrymen (the Irish Volunteers) who have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment without satisfactory reasons being given; that we demand their immediate release, and desire to draw the attention of the Parliamentary representatives to the unequal administration of the law as regards public utterances and writing in Ireland and in England, further that we demand the same privileges to be extended to Irishmen as has been given to Lord Northcliffe and the English Press presently opposed to the British Government'.[57] The motion received the support of every member of the Corporation present, bar one, the Labour maverick John Saturns Kelly, who voted against the motion.

Another topic rarely discussed in Corporation debates was recruitment to the British army. The Irish Party at a local level seemed intent on pursuing other issues rather than promoting recruitment to the British armed forces. Dublin saw the formation of one of the few civilian organisations that were formed to encourage recruitment, the Dublin Recruiting Committee, chaired by Lord Meath.[58] The greatest enthusiasm for recruitment came from the more prosperous parts of the city or the suburbs. The majority of early recruits were middle-

[56] Meeting on 10 August 1914, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[57] Meeting on 20 August 1914, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[58] Timothy Bowman, William Butler, and Michael Wheatley, *The Disparity of Sacrifice: Irish Recruitment to the British Armed Forces, 1914-1918,* (Liverpool, 2020), pp. 48-56.

class Protestants.[59] While the Corporation did not promote recruitment to the British army, the members of the Corporation agreed on half pay for any Corporation employee who served during the war. During the monthly meeting in October 1914, Alderman McWalter proposed that 'all workmen in the employment of the Corporation of Dublin who have been called on to serve in the British Army during the present war be paid half wages (to be handed over to their families) during their absence subject to the consent of the Local Government Board'.[60] When the amendment was voted on, it passed by only four votes, with 22 voting for the amendment and 18 voting against. Unionists all voted in favour of the motion, while the usual opposition of Sinn Féin and Labour voted against it. The Irish Party was split on the motion, with long-serving Councillors James Derwin and John Michael Cogan of the AOH voting against the Party. During the final sitting of 1914, Councillor John D Nugent suggested including the navy in the original motion, and a similar division occurred when the motion was voted on. 22 members again supported Nugent, and 12 voted against the motion. Sinn Féin and Labour voted against the motion along with Irish Party Alderman Alfie Byrne.[61] In August 1915, the scheme of providing half pay for employees who joined the war was suspended for men considered 'well provided for'.[62] Labour Councillor John Saturns Kelly, who was employed by the War Office as a recruiting officer and protested against the withdrawal of pay from an employee of the paving Committee who, in Kelly's words, 'had joined the army in response to the call to arms (of all our young men) by Mr John E Redmond MP, to save Ireland, and the Empire, from the pre-meditated German and Prussian murderers'.[63] Kelly's motion, however, was not even afforded the chance to be discussed and was ruled immediately out of order.

[59] Bowman, Butler, and Wheatley, *The Disparity of Sacrifice*, p. 56.
[60] Meeting on 5 October 1914. Dublin City Council Minutes.
[61] Meeting on 14 December 1914. Dublin City Council Minutes. Alderman Alfie Byrne was joined by four other Irish Party Councillors in voting against Nugent and the party. These were James Derwin, Patrick Lennon, Patrick Joseph Duffy, and Patrick Vincent Mahon. Mahon was a printer by trade and printed the *National Volunteer* newspaper.
[62] Meeting on 23 August 1915. Dublin City Council Minutes.
[63] Ibid.

Anti-war sentiment in Dublin, however, did not subside, and in late 1914, a number of seditious publications were suppressed under the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA). The newspapers that were brought under the control of the government included the IRB publication *Irish Freedom,* Larkin and Connolly's *Irish Worker,* and Griffith's *Sinn Féin.* These papers resurfaced in other guises such as *The Worker, Nationality, Scissors and Paste,* and so on. In due course, they also fell victim to DORA and were seized by the authorities, but the suppression of this seditious literature was revealing of an undercurrent anti-war and anti-British feeling in Dublin and undermined any position the Irish Party still felt that they had amongst the citizens. When these newspapers were suppressed, anti-recruiting leaflets were distributed throughout Dublin, which further increased anti-British feelings and backlash against recruiting.[64] Likewise, the threat of conscription never subsided, and this remained an emotive and polarising issue in Dublin. While there was a lack of enthusiasm for recruitment in Dublin, the threat of conscription brought matters to a head. During a Corporation meeting held on 6 September 1915, a letter from a national committee formed to oppose conscription was read. The Honorary Secretary of the Committee was Sinn Féin's Tom Kelly. The letter arose from a conference that was held on 20 July 1915. The conference was attended by representatives from the principal Nationalist, Industrial and Labour bodies. Messages of support came from the Catholic Clergy, mayors of provincial towns, and the GAA, amongst others. Kelly's letter, which was read to the Corporation, concluded with the words, 'There is no use in shutting our eyes to the danger, or drawing other conclusions – we are faced with the attempt to exterminate the remnant of our young and vigorous manhood, and we must resist it'.[65]

[64] CSORP/1915/2246: DMP report on anti-recruiting leaflets in circulation in the Dublin area, October 1915.
[65] Letter from National Committee against conscription, Secretary Alderman Thomas Kelly. Meeting on 6 September 1915. Dublin City Council Minutes.

Sinn Féin also put forward a motion in the summer of 1915 that granted the use of the Council Chamber to any group that would oppose conscription. The leading figure in this was Tom Kelly, who proposed that 'the use of the Council Chamber be granted for holding therein of a meeting of representative citizens to consider the question of threatened conscription'.[66] Kelly's proposition caused a split when voted upon by members but passed by 35 votes for and 24 votes against. Sinn Féin had the support of Labour and independents like Martha Williams. Like with many of the war motions, some of the Irish Party members were now aligning with those who were once firmly seated in the opposite corner. What is also interesting regarding Kelly's proposition is that the two Irish Party MPs voted differently. Alderman William Cotton supported Kelly, while John D Nugent voted against Kelly's motion. In March 1915, it was proposed by independent Nationalist Alderman David Quaid to remove the freedom of the city awarded to German Linguist and Irish language scholar Professor Kuno Meyer in 1911. The anti-German feeling was high due to the war, but Sinn Féin's WT Cosgrave opposed the motion vociferously.[67] Cosgrave argued that 'perhaps the most pernicious influence which has affected this country is the denationalising of the Irish race by the absorption of the soul of the nation…The proposal now before the Council is to remove the name of this eminent Celtic Scholar from the roll of Honorary Freemen; to negative a life of work of Celtic erudition. No Continental upheaval can affect the everlasting gratitude owed to German Celtic Scholars'.[68] Even though Cosgrave's proposal received support, it was defeated by 22 votes in support but 30 votes against it.

The most pressing issue for ordinary Dubliners, however, was the detrimental effect the war had on the cost of living. Dublin was already a poverty-stricken city, so any rise in prices would cripple many of the ordinary citizens. As a result of the war, food prices rose rapidly,

[66] Meeting on 5 July 1915. Dublin City Council Minutes.
[67] Jordan, 'William Thomas Cosgrave', in *Dublin City Council and the 1916 Rising*, p. 90.
[68] Meeting on 15 March 1915. Dublin City Council Minutes.

and when the Corporation met for the first time after the outbreak of the war, food prices were at the top of the agenda. During this meeting, it was agreed to set up a cross-party committee that would try to deal with the rapidly rising price of basic foodstuffs. Councillor William O'Hara, Chairman of the Public Health Committee, outlined the potential damage a food shortage caused by the war could cause in the city.[69]Another motion was proposed at this meeting that called on Redmond to secure legislation that would allow 'municipalities to deal directly with wholesale merchants and farmers with regard to such necessities as food and fuel, as retail merchants state they are unable to deal profitably without charging the public prohibitive prices'.[70] The desired legislation was never passed, and the committee had to seek voluntary support from the wholesale and retail provision trade. The day after the Corporation established the committee, a special meeting was convened between the members of the committee and representatives from the various food suppliers in the city. At the meeting, it was agreed that the Corporation co-opt representatives from these organisations onto the committee to try and establish a coordinated approach to the spiralling costs people now had to face.[71]

In October 1914, Councillor Sarah Harrison proposed that the Food Prices Committee undertake actions to regulate prices in the city and to act against traders who exceeded the agreed fixed prices that had been set by the Corporation Committee. The Corporation's ability to control food prices was very limited, and in March 1915, Councillor Patrick Shortall called on the government to do more to help with rising costs and to regulate food prices. [72] The Food Prices Committee received a boost in 1916 when PT Daly was released from prison and rejuvenated the fledgling committee. Daly set about regulating milk production in the city to great effect. Under the Food, Drugs and Margarine Acts, only one trader had ever been

[69] Meeting on 10 August 1914, Dublin City Council Minutes. Dublin Corporation Reports 1914, Vol II, p. 219.
[70] Meeting on 10 August 1914, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[71] *Dublin Daily Express,* 12 August 1914.
[72] Meeting on 8 February 1915, Dublin City Council Minutes.

prosecuted, and that was in 1906. By the end of 1917, Daly had increased the number of inspections to 200, from 163 in 1916, and a trader had been sentenced to a month's imprisonment, and two others spent two months imprisoned.[73] The regulation of the production of milk was important as so much of the city relied on it, and Daly's efforts were one of the successes of the Food Committee in what otherwise was an extremely challenging period.

The Corporation did, however, publish recommended maximum prices for staple foodstuffs such as butter, eggs, cheese, etc. Food prices would prove extremely difficult to control, much to the hardship of the people in Dublin. Basic items such as bread, meat, and potatoes increased by 70%, 190%, and 250%, respectively. Needless to say, this did not help the cause of the Irish Party nor increase any apathy towards the war.[74] The British government in 1916, under DORA, attempted to regulate the manufacture of bread and flour while trying to regulate the price of milk.[75] Another effort made by the Corporation to combat the rising cost of living was the enforcement of the Education (Provision of Meals) Ireland Act, 1914. The British government only provided five shillings a week to each national school in Dublin for the scheme, and by 1917, the scheme was operating with the support of the Women's National Health Association, the United Irishwomen, the Irish Women Workers Union as well as the Dublin Trades Council and the social services committee of the Dublin Presbytery. The demand for school meals increased so much during the war that by 1916, even after increased funding, the committee was only able to provide meals for five months of the year.[76] A report by the British government later in 1916 examined the exponential rise in food prices and did

[73] Yeates, *A City in Wartime,* p. 186.
[74] Yeates, *A City in Wartime,* p. 30.
[75] *Manufacture of flour and bread, and the price of milk. Orders of the Board of Trade under the Defence of the Realm (Consolidation) Regulations, 1914, relating to the manufacture of flour and bread, and the price of milk.* Cd. 8400, XXIV.529, Vol. 25, (1916), p. 529.
[76] Walsh, *Irish Women and the Great War,* p. 79.

little to ease any concerns when one of the main findings was that prices would continue to rise and that 'the majority of classes will continue to suffer distress'.[77]

It was not just the price of food that would be hit by the war, but another crucial necessity in early twentieth-century Dublin: coal. Between the outbreak of the war in August 1914 and February 1915, the price of a ton of coal increased from 22s to 40s. The Corporation, like many in the city, had to bear the brunt of the rising price of coal. The Corporation's coal bill in 1915 was £22,000. Twelve months later, this had skyrocketed to £53,700.[78] A report during the middle of the war outlined the dramatic increase in coal prices all over Britain. With stock levels not being replenished as quickly as pre-war years, prices were only going to increase further.[79] The supply of electricity also became an ever increasing burden for the Corporation throughout the war. The Electricity Supply Committee reported in mid-1915 that the city had acquired an additional 830 customers since the war began, but the use of electricity had declined by 26,000 units.[80] This decline in the consumption of electricity was due to shortages and rising prices. As the war progressed, the Corporation would have to source electrical materials from Britain as opposed to Germany, at three times the cost, which put further strain on the Corporation's finances. Other financial pressure mounted on the Corporation in relation to buying construction materials such as cement, tar, wood, and asphalt. Employees were now getting paid 10% more in wages, along with allowances for employees fighting in the war. Overall, the outbreak of the First World War presented the Corporation with many challenges. As a result of these effects of the War, the levels of distress suffered by the people of Dublin increased to levels that had not been seen in years.

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[77] *Departmental Committee On Prices. Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to investigate the principal causes which have led to the increase of prices of commodities since the beginning of the war. Interim report on meat, milk, and bacon.* Cd. 8358, XIV.731, Vol. 14, (1916), p. 7.
[78] Dublin Corporation Reports, 1915, Vol. 1, pp. 351-2. Cited in Yeates, *A City in Wartime,* p. 65.
[79] *Departmental Committee on Retail Coal Prices. Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to inquire into the causes of the present rise in the retail price of coal sold for domestic use. Minutes of evidence with appendix.* Cd. 7923, XXIX.13, Vol. 29, (1916).
[80] Dublin Corporation Reports, 1915, Vol. 2, pp. 115-118. Cited in Yeates, *A City in Wartime,* p. 66.

After the Rising

The details of the 1916 Rising have been outlined in numerous other studies, and it is not the aim or necessity for the events to be re-told here, but rather the effect of the Rising on the Corporation merits analysis. The first full meeting of the Corporation after the Rising took place on 5 June 1916. The first item on the agenda was a series of votes of sympathy for deceased members and their relatives. Irish Party Councillors John Higgins and Patrick Shortall proposed a vote of sympathy for a former member of the Corporation, Richard O'Carroll, once of Sinn Féin and Labour, who was killed in the fighting. A vote of condolence was also extended to the Irish Party MP for Wexford, Sir Thomas Esmonde, who lost his son in the war. A vote of condolence was then extended by all members of the Corporation 'to relatives of the citizens who had lost their lives during the rebellion'.[81] The Corporation did not criticise the Rising or discuss what caused it. Instead, the effect that the events in April had on the city was discussed. The Lord Mayor criticised the lack of response from the authorities in regard to the damage caused to the city. The value of the premises destroyed totalled £33,000, and this, in turn, meant that the Corporation would miss out on £16,000 in municipal revenue.[82] An embargo was announced on any further recruitment by the Corporation, and they pleaded for more financial assistance from the government after the destruction had 'blown down the centre and most beautiful part of their city'.[83] In regard to the rebuilding of the city in the aftermath of the Rising, the Lord Mayor believed it 'was the duty of the Government to restore it'.[84]

The next order of business was brought forward by Irish Party Councillor Joseph Coghlan Briscoe who moved a motion requesting for the release of Tom Kelly from prison. Briscoe was deputising as chairman of the Housing Committee in Kelly's 'regretted absence'

[81] Meeting on 5 June 1916, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[82] Daithí Ó Corráin, 'They blew up the best portion of our city…it is their duty to replace it: compensation and reconstruction in the aftermath of the 1916 Rising' *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 39, No. 154, (2014), p. 288.
[83] Meeting on 5 June 1916, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[84] *Dublin Daily Express,* 6 June 1916.

and called for the release of Kelly, who was an 'invaluable member' of the Corporation. Two other members of the Corporation were also interned, Sinn Féin's WT Cosgrave and Labour's William Partridge, there were no calls for their release by anyone present. Housing was the main 'ordinary' business discussed during the meeting, and Alderman Alfie Byrne proposed a motion deferred prior to the Rising that all extra revenue raised from Dublin as a result of increased land valuations, income tax and duty on the licensed trade be used for slum clearance. There were 2,288 dwellings in the city that were 'fast approaching the borderline for being unfit for habitation', in addition to 1,518 dwellings already in that category that were in need of being replaced. Byrne then proposed a second motion that was more controversial. Byrne proposed that the old age pension be increased to 7s 6d, mainly due to the higher cost of living and inflation as a result of the war and also to decrease the age of qualification from 70 to 65.[85] This proposal received opposition from some present, including the Lord Mayor, the Unionist members and some of the members who were big ratepayers in the city. A final motion from Byrne called for a weekly war bonus of 3s to all officers of the Corporation who were earning less than £100 a week.

After the Rising, a change began to happen in the political climate and alliances in the Corporation. On 19 June 1916, the Corporation met to discuss two vacancies that had arisen after the death of John Thornton, an Irish Party Councillor, and Richard O'Carroll. Previously, there was a tradition of co-opting nominees of the party of the deceased in accordance with the outcome of the last election. In the case of Thornton seats, Sinn Féin and, indeed, Labour supported the UIL nominee, Michael Maher. This was challenged by Unionist Alderman William Dinnage, who argued that Maher did not even live in the ward he would represent, Glasnevin. Dinnage's protests were rebuffed, and his own candidate, James Hubbard Clarke,

[85] Meeting on 5 June 1916, Dublin City Council Minutes. *Dublin Daily Express,* 6 June 1916.

was castigated as a director of a British company.[86] Maher got 31 votes, and Hubbard Clarke received only 10.[87] To fill O'Carroll's seat, the Irish Party and Sinn Féin both supported the Labour nominee. JE Taylor was proposed by the Unionists, described as a 'businessman' and 'rate-payer', and none of the other parties cast a vote in his favour.[88] This episode would have made the small number of Unionists feel very isolated and cast away from the other parties in the Corporation. Dublin Unionism and representation in the Corporation had been a dying force, but now they had no support bar independents like Andrew Beattie, who himself was a former Unionist member of the Corporation and a Nationalist like James Moran, who owned a hotel and property in Clontarf which had a large Unionist electorate. Elections were now suspended, and if the Irish Party, Sinn Féin, and Labour were now in coherence on how to fill vacancies that arose, the Unionist representation could easily be eroded further.

By the end of 1916, Dublin Corporation was more or less functioning as it had done prior to the Rising. Members were once again debating matters of local interest, vying for positions of influence on committees and disagreeing over who should fill vacancies. However, there were now some emerging trends that were proving irreversible, with members aligning with each other on issues such as declining support for the continued war effort and increasing antagonism towards the British authorities. Growing animosity towards British authorities was a combination of factors, all set in the aftermath of the Rising, which included the deaths of civilians, delays in the payment of compensation to owners who had property destroyed and the treatment of rebel prisoners. There were Councillors in both categories and inevitably, those who sat in City Hall knew someone who would have lost their life during the events. A combination of these factors fuelled the anti-British feeling amongst the members of the Corporation and aligned those who would have previously not seen eye to eye on many issues.

[86] Meeting on 20 June 1916. Dublin City Council Minutes.
[87] Ibid.
[88] *Irish Independent,* 21 June 1916.

The war got very little attention in the Corporation, and there was almost a total lack of engagement with what was happening on the western front, which, by late 1916, seemed further away than ever.[89]

After the Rising military recruitment in Dublin virtually dried up. Only 4,292 joined the British army in Dublin throughout 1916, which was stark in contrast to the 9,612 who joined throughout 1915. Even for the last five months of 1915, 7,283 joined. The recruitment figures for 1916 lagged far behind both years.[90] Hostility towards the British military grew in Dublin after the Rising, with people appearing in court regularly for assaults and attacks on British soldiers. Aid sent to members of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers who were prisoners was coming almost exclusively from members of the Unionist establishment in the city. The members of the Corporation were more concerned with how men were treated interned in Fron Goch prison in Wales rather than those captured fighting abroad. Irish Party Alderman and MP Alfie Byrne was one of the most vocal critics of the British government's treatment of rebel prisoners. Byrne called on an American delegation who were to visit prisoner of war camps in Germany to add Irish rebel prisoners in Britain to their itinerary. Byrne also proposed that separation women in Dublin were to be paid the same cost of living allowance as their counterparts in London. When the Corporation voted on Byrne's proposal, it passed without any opposition. Unionists were appalled by Byrne's concern for the Irish prisoners in Britain, but by now, the Unionists had no support, and their discontent fell on deaf ears.

Antagonism towards the British authorities in the Corporation was highlighted further in January 1917 when the members of the Corporation co-opted the three interned members of the Corporation to fill the vacancies caused by their involuntary absence. PT Daly was released from prison before Christmas in 1916, but John T O'Kelly, WT Cosgrave, and William

[89] Yeates, *A City in Wartime,* pp. 144-145.
[90] Yeates, *A City in Wartime,* p. 145; Bowman, Butler, and Wheatley, *The Disparity of Sacrifice,* p. 228.

Partridge were still interned.[91] The Corporation passed a motion calling for the release of Cosgrave, who one member of the Corporation jokingly stated, 'would anyone seriously suggest for a moment that Willie Cosgrave was a criminal?'.[92] Undeterred by the British government, the Corporation decided to co-opt the three men imprisoned on to the Corporation. More significant in January 1917 was the election of Laurence O'Neill as Lord Mayor. O'Neill always described himself as an independent and was sympathetic towards Sinn Féin and Labour during his time in the Corporation. O'Neill was elected Lord Mayor unopposed after the UIL's Patrick Shortall withdrew his nomination. O'Neill's election as Lord Mayor was significant as it signified the end of the Irish Party's control of the position. Ever since the Corporation was reformed in 1899 the Irish Party had held this position for themselves and notable members such as Tim Harrington, JP Nannetti, and Lorcan Sherlock. The election of O'Neill as Lord Mayor broke this tradition, and the *Irish Independent* described his election as an 'event which had no parallel for some years'.[93] O'Neill's election is also interesting in that he was an individual who was classed as a Nationalist but had a broad appeal to most of the different factions within the Corporation.[94] O'Neill, after his election as Lord Mayor, thanked the members of the Corporation for their support and joked his political allegiances were 'pro-German, Larkinite, socialist, red-hot Redmondite, Sinn Féiner, and, above all, a hardened old crank'.[95]

In early 1917, a parliamentary vacancy arose in North Roscommon after the death of Irish Party MP JJ Kelly. This vacancy was the first major political test of public opinion since the Rising, and George Noble Plunkett, father of 1916 leader Joseph Plunkett, was the Sinn Féin nominee. The Irish Party nominee was TJ Devine, and a former Irish Party MP, Jasper

[91] Meeting on 8 January 1916, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[92] *Irish Independent,* 9 January 1917.
[93] *Irish Independent,* 24 January 1917.
[94] Morrissey, *Laurence O'Neill,* p. 61.
[95] Meeting on 23 January 1917, Dublin City Council Minutes.

Tully, a former associate of the Irish Party, ran as an independent Nationalist. Plunkett topped the poll with 3,022 votes to Devine's 1,708 and Tully's 687.[96] The press reported the result as a hammer blow to the UIL machine and outlined the shifting sentiments that were now dominating Irish politics. The *Irish Independent* reported that the election result signified that the Irish Party was 'in the melting pot' and a 'knockout blow for Mr Redmond's party'.[97] The Corporation was in full session when the Roscommon result was announced, and the members greeted the result with 'wild excitement and much cheering and waving of hats by councillors and the crowd in the gallery'.[98] Alderman JJ Kelly pinned a celebratory note on the curtains over the Lord Mayor's chair, and Alderman Corrigan, another former UIL stalwart, proposed that the meeting should be adjourned. The incoming Lord Mayor, Laurence O'Neill, seconded Corrigan's motion, but it was defeated by 39 votes to 24 after the remaining loyal UIL faction and Unionists voted together.[99] The reaction in the Corporation was mirrored on the streets, and by now, it was becoming clear that the Irish party and the UIL were no longer the force they once were. The sentiment was changing, and alignments were now forming against the Irish Party, which once dominated the Corporation and, indeed, national politics.

Conclusion

The First World War had a wide-reaching impact on every part of society and a destabilising effect on politics at a national and local level. For Dublin Corporation, the war presented a range of challenges that the authority had not faced before. Dublin was a city that was already struggling, and the war presented new obstacles, such as the rise in inflation and the dramatic rise in fuel prices. The Corporation tried to deal with these issues as best as it could and established committees tasked to alleviate the pressures caused by the war. This, however, was

[96] Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1801-1922,* p. 371.
[97] *Irish Independent,* 8 February 1917; *Irish Independent,* 10 February 1917.
[98] *Dublin Daily Express,* 10 February 1917.
[99] Meeting on 9 February 1917, Dublin City Council Minutes.

always going to be extremely challenging, and the period was characterised by spiralling price increases. The war also witnessed an increase in anti-British feelings in Dublin. This was associated with the anti-recruitment campaign, which was focused around the city and received support across the political spectrum. In terms of the politics of Dublin Corporation, the Irish Party before the war was the dominating faction, though the party began to splinter as the war dragged on. Issues began to emerge over what direction the party was taking, and some began to question Redmond's policies after Home Rule was suspended. After the 1916 Rising, the stranglehold the Irish Party had on the Corporation began to weaken significantly, and politics began to realign with what emerged after April 1916. The election of Laurence O'Neill as Lord Mayor in 1917 was a watershed moment in the history of Dublin Corporation as it signified the end of the Irish Party's control of the Corporation. Two years before O'Neill's election, Redmond expressed great fears about the potential election of Sinn Féin's Tom Kelly as Lord Mayor and did all in his power to prevent it from happening. Redmond believed that Kelly's election would have been disastrous for Nationalist Ireland. Two years after this, the UIL's control was broken, and the election of Laurence O'Neill as Lord Mayor highlighted that the Irish Party was a declining force that was no longer aligned with what emerged after the 1916 Rising.

Ch. 8 – A New Corporation, 1918-1920

Introduction

This chapter explores the final years of the Corporation from the end of the First World War up to the 1920 municipal elections when Sinn Féin became the largest party in the Corporation, and the dominance of the Irish Party was well and truly over. During the last year of the war, the Corporation was still under the control of the Irish Party, which had 58 out of 80 seats and was still facing challenges such as combating the increased cost of living and rising prices of food and fuel. It was in December 1918 that the British general election took place, and this witnessed the obliteration of the Irish Party nationally. The 1918 election in this context will be discussed, and how the Sinn Féin candidates romped to victory in many of the electoral divisions in the city. The 1918 general election must be examined as municipal elections were suspended in the summer of 1915, and these were the first elections in Dublin since the Rising. After the summer of 1915, any vacancies in the Corporation were filled by co-opting someone into the Corporation, and the annual elections that took place every January no longer took place. Therefore, the 1918 general election is of extreme importance as it was the first test of public opinion in Dublin for nearly three years. Two years later, in January 1920, municipal elections resumed, and the Corporation fell under the control of Sinn Féin, though the result was not as dominant as many had expected. The 1920 contests and the themes that emerged in elections held under proportional representation will be discussed. The final section of the chapter then briefly discusses the Corporation that met after the 1920 contests and how Sinn Féin and their supporters quickly erased any references to the old elite of the Irish Party by taking control of the various committees and important positions on the Corporation.

Dublin After the Rising

As the last year of the war dawned in Ireland, the dominant thought in the minds of most of the citizens of Dublin was not the ramifications of the Rising and the new political climate it created but the shortage of food. Exports from Britain to Ireland were virtually uncontrolled, but Dublin was subjected to the same controls on imports as any British city. These shortages helped ensure that prices rose much faster than wages. Such was the shortage of food and scarcity of supplies, communal kitchens were now a normal function of life. The situation was not helped by the fact that many merchant ships were being diverted from civilian use to help with the war effort. There were genuine concerns that there may have been a worldwide food shortage in 1918 and 1919.[1] Another factor that never left the minds of Dubliners was the fear of conscription. In 1917 only 3,089 from Dublin joined the British army. Only 5,023 would travel to Britain to work, despite strong incentives and assisted passage from the Prince of Wales Fund. 1918 was when the conscription scare was at its height, and only 3,370 from Dublin would travel to Britain for work, while the number for that year who joined the British army rose slightly to 3,990.[2] Irish Party MP for the Harbour Division, Alderman Alfie Byrne, proposed to the Corporation that any attempt by the British government to introduce conscription would 'be resisted violently in every town and village… and the establishment of a battle front in Ireland that would not be to the advantage of the Allies'.[3] The victory in stopping conscription from being imposed on Ireland was perhaps the most complete victory ever achieved by Nationalist Ireland, and it was done without ever coming into physical conflict. The battle against conscription also saw the alignment of two new emerging forces, Sinn Féin and William O'Brien's wing of the Labour movement.

[1] Borgonovo, *The Dynamics of War and Revolution,* p. 171.
[2] Keith Jeffrey, *Ireland and the Great War,* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 6.
[3] Morrissey, *Laurence O'Neill,* p. 107.

Dublin was the focal point of the anti-conscription campaign, and all of the funding and associated business was sent back to the Mansion House, where the meetings were held in the Drawing Room.[4] Alfie Byrne and the former Lord Mayor Lorcan Sherlock worked with the incumbent Lord Mayor Laurence O'Neill to form a national committee. This committee readily received support from Sinn Féin and O'Brien's Labour.[5] Proceedings in City Hall were not as cordial, and Byrne's proposal to convene a conference to oppose conscription and the language he used alarmed some members of the Corporation. Most present were reassured by Lorcan Sherlock's addendum that the Lord Mayor should invite the Irish Volunteers and Sinn Féin leaders Éamon de Valera and Arthur Griffith to the conference with the aim to 'arrange a united Irish opposition to conscription'.[6] Sherlock also proposed that the new leader of the Irish Party, John Dillon and his second in command, Joseph Devlin, be invited along with representatives from the ITUC. The only opposition against the motion came from an Independent Nationalist, Alderman David Quad, once of the Irish Party. Quad was an Alderman for the Drumcondra ward, which had many Protestant ratepayers.[7] Quaid argued that a campaign to resist conscription would get Ireland 'the contempt of all nations of the world'.[8]

When the motion was voted on, there were only three men who opposed it: Alderman Quaid and two Unionists present, Alderman William Thomas Dinnage from Glasnevin and Councillor William Coulter from Clontarf West. The other thirty-nine members in attendance all voted to support the push against conscription.[9] Protest meetings were held all over Dublin to oppose conscription, and even though all parties were combined, the greatest opposition to

[4] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Mary O'Sullivan, WS 465, pp. 8-9.
[5] Thomas J Morrissey, *William O'Brien, 1881-1968: Socialist, Republican, Dáil Deputy, Editor and Trade Union Leader* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 146-147.
[6] Dublin City Council Minutes, Meeting on 8 April 1918.
[7] Padraig Yeates, 'Have you in Ireland all gone mad – The 1918 general strike against conscription' *Saothar,* Vol. 48, (2018), p. 49.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.; *Irish Times,* 9 April 1918.

conscription came from Sinn Féin, supported by the Volunteers.[10] The conference to oppose conscription was held in the Mansion House on 18 April 1918, two days after the enactment of the new Military Service Act, which extended conscription to every male in Ireland between the ages of eighteen and fifty. The Mansion House Conference has been described as the convening of a 'National Cabinet'. In reality, it was an interesting gathering of the old guard who would soon depart and the new guard who would step into the void. There was also a big interest from the public in the convention, with the *Irish Independent* reporting that 'young and old, rich and poor, with…a considerable sprinkling of the Unionist element' outside to witness the events.[11]

Aside from the conscription threat, the inflation as a result of the war continued right up to 1918. A result of these issues was a series of strikes and industrial action in August 1918, the most significant form of labour unrest since the Lockout five years previous. Workers came out on strike from a range of sectors, including builders, yard men in shipping companies, bakers, butchers, painters, hotel workers, and even agricultural labourers in Dublin. All of these individuals had one common cause for coming out on strike, and that was they all wanted a pay increase to alleviate the high cost of living. The strikes lasted for nearly a whole month and affected the city so much that restoration works on the GPO after the damage caused by the Rising came to a halt. The mediator in all of these disputes was the Lord Mayor, Laurence O'Neill.[12] O'Neill negotiated a settlement between the striking builders and their employers and likewise for the hotel workers. Such was the increase in wages for trades. Dublin Corporation approved a pay raise for labourers later in 1918. Essentially, the Corporation had

[10] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Michael Noyk, WS 707, p. 23.
[11] *Irish Times,* 19 April 1918; *Dublin Daily Express,* 19 April 1918.
[12] Yeates, *A City in Wartime,* p. 249.

no choice on this matter as the Lord Mayor had secured rises from employers for most workers in the city.[13]

Following the armistice, a general election was called by British Prime Minister Llyod George on 14 December 1918. This election was the final nail in the coffin that ended the Irish Party's grip on national politics. Such was the doubt behind Irish Party candidates they chose not to contest 25 seats in Munster. Since the summer of 1918, discontent with the Irish Party had become more evident, and it was clear that the party was beginning to collapse and the party was now appearing to be divided within itself.[14] While Labour prepared for an election, the party decided against running any candidates, and the battle was firmly between the Irish Party and Sinn Féin.[15] In Dublin, however, every constituency would be contested by the Irish Party. The sitting Irish Party MPs who decided to contest their seats were William Field, PJ Brady, JJ Clancy, Alfie Byrne, and John D Nugent. The number of constituencies in the city had increased as a result of the 1918 Representation of the People Act, which extended the franchise to all men over the age of 21, whether they owned property or not, and to all women over the age of 30 who resided in the constituency whilst occupying land or premises with a relatable value of £5, or whose husband did.[16] Women could also stand for election in the 1918 general election after The Parliament (Qualifications of Women) Act 1918 gave women over the age of 21 the right to stand for election as an MP.[17] Constance Markievicz was the sole female candidate in Dublin, with talk of more standing that did not materialise.[18] Markievicz's opponent was the long-serving Irish Party stalwart William Field, whose time in politics dated back to the days of Parnell and had been a leading figure in the Town Tenants League.[19]

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[13] Morrissey, *Laurence O'Neill,* pp. 153-154.
[14] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Right Rev. Monsignor M. Curran, WS 687, p. 294.
[15] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Thomas Johnson, WS 1,755, p. 30.
[16] 7 & 8 Geo. 5. C. 64.
[17] 8 & 9 Geo. 5. C. 47.
[18] Yeates, *A City in Wartime,* pp. 287-289.
[19] McNamara, 'A Tenants' League or a Shopkeepers League', p. 139.

Sinn Féin was expected to perform extremely well in the general election, and the party's campaign got off to a quick start, with Sinn Féin distributing election pamphlets from September onwards for the coming election. These pamphlets outlined the current policies and ideas of the Sinn Féin Party and its history, along with the decay of the Irish Party.[20] A rally in support of Sinn Féin candidates was held in the Liberties and was presided over by WT Cosgrave. The meeting was attended by a large crowd who voiced their lack of support for Sinn Féin and lack of support for the Irish Party.[21] The Irish Party nomination for that district was John Saturns Kelly. Kelly was a maverick 'Labour' member of the Corporation who was best known for his support of the employers during the Lockout, his support for the Irish Party, and his attacks on Larkin and Connolly. Kelly's nomination by the Irish Party really showed the dire state the once conquering party was now in and was now facing declining support from all angles. The Irish Volunteers immediately showed loyalty to Sinn Féin, and this was supplemented by the ICA, who canvassed on behalf of Sinn Féin. On the eve of the election, the DMP estimated that there were twenty-three Sinn Féin branches active in Dublin with an estimated membership of 4,640.[22]

Sinn Féin Councillor John T O'Kelly contested the College Green division against Joseph Coughlan Briscoe, who was one of the longest-serving members of the Corporation, first elected in 1900 for the Irish Party. Briscoe, in later years, had begun to show antipathy towards the Irish Party and, in the 1918 election, stood as an independent Nationalist with the backing of the Town Tenants League, for which he was general secretary. Another emblem of the old guard was John D Nugent, general secretary of the AOH. Prior to the war, he was arguably the Irish Party's most influential figure in Dublin, serving as a Councillor in Arran Quay and elected MP in a 1915 by-election. Nugent's opponent was Michael Staines, a member

[20] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Right Rev. Monsignor M. Curran, WS 687, p. 296.
[21] *Irish Independent,* 6 December 1918.
[22] NAI, CAB 24/70. Cited in Yeates, *A City in Wartime,* p. 289.

of the IRB and Irish Volunteers who played a part in the Rising and had been growing in influence in Sinn Féin in Dublin after the Rising.[23] In Clontarf, the Irish Party candidate was Councillor Patrick Shortall. He had a history of being anti-labour and was hoping for support from Unionists in the area in the absence of their own candidate. His opponent was Richard Mulcahy, who had strong links to Ireland's new Nationalism and by 1918 was IRA Chief of Staff.[24] In Dublin Harbour, another Irish Party stalwart, Alfie Byrne, defended his seat against Sinn Féin's Philip Shanahan.

Unionists contested five seats, one of which was in Rathmines, where the pillar of the Unionist Party in Dublin, Maurice Dockrell, stood against Sinn Féin's Patrick J Little and an Irish Party candidate, George Moonan. Such was the influence and stature of Dockrell amongst south Dublin Unionists, Sinn Féin's Little admitted it would be a tough task to get elected even though 'our people worked with great devotion'.[25] The Unionist candidate in St Stephen's Green was Henry Hanna, who faced the incumbent PJ Brady of the Irish Party but also Sinn Féin's Tom Kelly, who had been a member of the Corporation since 1899 and one of Sinn Féin's first Councillors. The Pembroke division also saw a three-way contest where Desmond Fitzgerald was the Sinn Féin candidate, John Good was a Unionist candidate, and the Irish Party candidate was Charles O'Neill. In the Pembroke division, it was feared that the Irish Party and Unionists might form an electoral alliance to defeat Sinn Féin's Fitzgerald.[26] In North County Dublin, the Sinn Féin candidate was Frank Lawless, who was in prison at the time of the election and challenged the Irish Party's JJ Clancy. South County Dublin was another three-way contest between Sinn Féin's George Gavan Duffy, the Unionist candidate Sir Thomas William Robinson, and Thomas Clarke of the Irish Party. There were two seats for contention

[23] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statement, Michael Staines, WS 944, p. 3
[24] See: Ronan Fanning, 'Mulcahy, Richard', in *DIB,* DOI: https://doi.org/10.3318/dib.006029.v2.
[25] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statement, Patrick J Little, WS 1769, p. 31
[26] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Laurence Nugent, WS 907, p. 152.

in Dublin University after Edward Carson opted to run in Belfast. The candidates were two Unionists, Arthur Samuels and William Jellett, independent Unionist Robert Henry Woods, and Stephen Gwynn, who was an independent Nationalist.

As was predicted, Sinn Féin triumphed by a comfortable margin in most of their constituencies. Michael Staines defeated JD Nugent by 7,553 votes to 3,996 in the St Michael's division. Joseph McGrath won Sinn Féin's most crushing defeat of an Irish Party candidate in St James's Division, where he got 8,256 votes to John Saturns Kelly's 1,389 votes. In College Green, John T O'Kelly won by 9,662 votes to the 2,853 votes won by Joseph Coghlan Briscoe. In Clontarf, Patrick Shortall polled well with 3,228 votes, but Sinn Féin's Richard Mulcahy won 5,974. In North County Dublin, Sinn Féin's Frank Lawless won by 9,138 votes over the Irish Party veteran JJ Clancy's 4,428 votes. In St Patrick's, Constance Markievicz defeated another Irish Party veteran, William Field, by 7,835 votes to 3,752 votes. In the Harbour division, Alfie Byrne performed the best out of the Irish Party candidates with 5,368 votes, but it was not enough to see off the Sinn Féin challenge from Phil Shanahan, who won with 7,707 votes. In St Stephen's Green, Tom Kelly, as expected, topped the poll with 8,461 votes, ahead of the Irish Party's PJ Brady's 2,902 votes and the Unionist Henry Hanna, who only managed 2,775 votes. In Pembroke Sinn Féin's Desmond Fitzgerald was returned by a 'substantial majority' and won by 6,113 votes to 4,137 for John Good and 2,630 for Charles O'Neill.[27] Sinn Féin won again in South County Dublin with 5,133 votes for George Gavan Duffy ahead of Sir Thomas Robinson with 4,354 votes and 2,630 for Charles O'Neill. In Rathmines, the Unionists were victorious, where Maurice Dockrell won 7,400 votes more than the combined total of PJ Little's 5,566 votes and George Moonan's 1,780 votes.[28]

[27] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Jeremiah J (Diarmuid) O'Leary, WS 1108, p. 23.
[28] Brian M Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1801-1922,* pp. 388-389.

The general election was a resounding victory for Sinn Féin and showed how support was changing after they achieved a comprehensive victory over their Irish Party opponents. It would not be until January 1920 before the municipal elections would consolidate Sinn Féin's grip on the city, strengthened by support from the Labour wing. The 1918 general election nonetheless served as formal notice to the old Home Rule regime that still controlled City Hall and that change was on the way. Nationally, Sinn Féin won 73 seats to 6 for the Irish Party as the party, now led by John Dillon, was completely obliterated, with Dillon himself admitting it was a 'landslide' defeat.[29] The result of the election and the crushing victory achieved over the Irish Party was a sign that 'the country gave its mandate for an Irish Republic'.[30] A month later, on 21 January, the thirty-two Sinn Féin MPs still at liberty met in the Round Room of the Mansion House under the chairmanship of the Lord Mayor Laurence O'Neill. Following the party's abstention policy, the Sinn Féin deputies refused to attend Westminster, and those who were at liberty met in Dublin to establish the Government of the Irish Republic.[31] At this meeting, they agreed to convene Dáil Eireann, the first national assembly in almost 120 years and invited all the elected representatives of the Irish people to attend. The first meeting of the Dáil was historic, and the meeting took place without any incidents. Other meetings after this usually took place later and very often at night.[32] The first meeting was conducted entirely in Irish and was witnessed by an estimated hundred journalists. The assembly ratified the Proclamation of the Republic and declared itself to be the Parliament of the Irish Republic, Dáil Eireann.[33] Soon after, the first Dáil drafted its plans for Ireland, and the Irish Party regime was a distant memory with no relics of the party finding a place in the new establishment.[34]

[29] Lyons, *John Dillon,* p. 453.
[30] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Right Rev. Monsignor M. Curran, WS 687, p. 328.
[31] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Robert Brennan, WS 779 Part 3, p. 543.
[32] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Mary O'Sullivan, WS 465, p. 9.
[33] Dickson, *Dublin,* p. 459.
[34] Arthur Mitchell, *Revolutionary Government in Ireland* (London, 1995), p. 12.

The 1920 Dublin Corporation Elections

The municipal elections were suspended in the summer of 1915 due to the outbreak of the First World War. After that, any new vacancies that arose were filled by co-opting someone into the Corporation. On 15 January 1920, local elections resumed and were held in Dublin, the surrounding townships, and every other Irish municipality.[35] The local elections in 1920 were also the first to under proportional representation, and the old system of first past the post was abandoned. The Local Government (Ireland) Act 1919 provided for the introduction of proportional representation to the local electoral system in order to protect the interests of ratepayers. Proportional representation was also favourable to the Unionists, and the dual system of annual or triennial local elections, which had been introduced in 1899, was abolished. Going forward, every local authority elected all of its members on the same day on a triennial basis.[36] The press reported on this new voting system, and the *Irish Independent* urged every voter to 'to mark his ballot paper as fully as possible'.[37] The introduction of proportional representation was welcomed by Unionists in the South as they feared they would be undermined by the old system and given no chance of success. The buoyant Sinn Féin also welcomed the new system as they had long campaigned for its introduction and were confident that it would confirm the party's new dominance.[38] After resounding success in the 1918 general election, Sinn Féin aimed to have a majority on all urban bodies in Ireland.[39] The British Government, on the other hand, introduced proportional representation to the local elections in Ireland on the back of the Sinn Féin landslide in the 1918 general election. The government believed that the introduction of a new voting system would reveal less than the monolithic

[35] The southern townships of Rathmines, Pembroke, Blackrock, and Kingstown remained independent until 1930 so they were not under the jurisdiction of the Corporation in the 1920 elections.
[36] Potter, *The Municipal Revolution in Ireland:* pp. 246-247. The council was still compromised of Aldermen and Councillors, each now just served the same amount of time.
[37] *Irish Independent,* 7 January 1920.
[38] Yeates, *A City in Turmoil,* p. 63.
[39] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Laurence Nugent, WS 907, p. 181.

support Sinn Féin achieved in the general election and that smaller parties would perform well.[40] All parties worked in tandem with the Local Government Board to ensure that the necessary training was provided and undertaken by candidates and electoral agents. Local authority officials were introduced to the process, and the electorate was educated on how the new system would operate and how it differed from the old one. In Dublin, the Corporation was still composed of 80 seats, as before the war, but the boundaries of the Wards were altered and were now called Electoral Areas. No. 1 Electoral Area (Arran Quay Ward); No. 2 Electoral Area (Clontarf East Ward, Clontarf West Ward, Drumcondra Ward and Glasnevin Ward); No. 3 Electoral Area (Fitzwilliam Ward, Mansion House Ward, Royal Exchange Ward and South City Ward); No. 4 Electoral Area (Inns Quay Ward and Rotunda Ward); No. 5 Electoral Area (Merchant's Quay Ward); No. 6 Electoral Area (Mountjoy Ward); No. 7 Electoral Area (New Kilmainham Ward and Usher's Quay Ward); No. 8 Electoral Area (North City Ward and North Dock Ward); No. 9 Electoral Area (Wood Quay Ward); No. 10 Electoral Area (Trinity Ward and South Dock Ward).[41]

The new electoral system and the intrigue surrounding it did little for the Irish Party. They were the party that had benefitted so much from the old system. The Irish Party had dominated Dublin Corporation since the reform in 1899 and even as far back as the 1880s. However, the Irish Party were obliterated in the 1918 general election, and even the most faithful party advocates must have feared the worst as the local elections in 1920 approached. Sinn Féin and Labour, on the other hand, expected to romp to victory in Dublin and poll well in the townships where social reform and republicanism had become popular and were

[40] Joseph EA Connell Jr, 'Local Elections Bring Proportional Representation to Ireland' *History Ireland,* Vol. 28, (2020), p. 70.
[41] *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 17 January 1920; *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 19 January 1920. There was numerous press reports of gerrymandering in Northern areas, particularly related to Derry Corporation. There was no such accusations in relation to the new Dublin wards. See Appendix 1 for a map of the 1920 Dublin Corporation LEAs.

beginning to penetrate through the old-style conservative Nationalism and Unionism. Sinn Féin's preparation for the contests began early, and anyone who was available was transferred to the elections department. In Dublin, the police reported that Sinn Féin was putting great effort into the contests to draw attention to its candidates.[42] A tactic that was used by Sinn Féin before the elections was to organise ad hoc meetings in support of their candidates. These meetings often took place in random places across the city and in front of unsuspecting audiences with a speech from a candidate who would leave the scene quickly to avoid the police.[43] Sinn Féin, however, spent most of their energies canvassing and distributing pre-election material and propaganda. Sinn Féin's pre-election programme promised efficient and honest municipal administration, public appointments in local authorities based on merit and transparency in appointments, open and competitive examinations for all clerical posts, improvements in the provision of public housing and health, and a policy of spending rates within Ireland on goods produced under trade union conditions.[44]

The 1920 elections also witnessed the participation of a Municipal Reform Association (MRA), which had been created to field candidates in some of the more affluent wards in the city. The MRA compromised a mix of Irish Party Nationalists and Unionists, with six candidates from each side.[45] In fact, the MRA was quite similar to the Dublin Citizens Association in that it sought to protect the rights of the ratepayers and business interests in the city. The MRA claimed it would represent 'the manufacturing and commercial classes and householders'.[46] One of the leading members of the MRA was a former leader of the DCA, Andrew Beattie. Beattie was a successful businessman who was once a Unionist member of the Corporation but, in recent years, ran as an independent with strong support from the

[42] Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland,* p. 325.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Municipal Elections 1920: Sinn Féin Manifesto.
[45] *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 6 January 1920.
[46] *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 12 January 1920.

industrial and commercial leaders in the city. Another member of the MRA was James Hubbard Clark, a wealthy businessman who had previous failed attempts to secure a seat in City Hall. Some of the Nationalists who were members of the MRA were James Gallagher, Dr James Charles McWalter, and James Moran. These three men were former members of the Irish Party. Gallagher was Lord Mayor in 1915 and owned a tobacco manufacturing company. During his time in the Corporation, Gallagher was described as 'very pro-British' and had refused prominent Sinn Féiners the use of the Mansion House just before the Rising.[47] McWalter had been an ever-present Irish Party member since 1899 and owned a large medical practice. Moran was a hotelier from Clontarf, where he was dependent on the goodwill of the Unionists for votes. The MRA appealed to middle-class voters across the political divide, and this secured the party a stable voter base in what was otherwise a rapidly changing political landscape and allegiances. The MRA vowed not 'to take sides' and insisted its members' concerns were at the forefront of the party.[48] The establishment of the MRA and its composition of both Nationalist and Unionist members was like an amalgamation of what remained of some of the previous establishment, now trying to survive as Sinn Féin's power grew. As a result of the establishment of the MRA, the Unionists in Dublin were weakened by members leaving to join the MRA and losing potential votes to the new party.[49] Such was the depletion of the Unionists they decided to contest only one ward in the city. This ward was Electoral Area 2, which compromised the old wards of Clontarf East and West, Glasnevin, and Drumcondra, which had been the party's heartland before elections were suspended in 1915. There were a significant number of Unionist candidates in the townships, but Unionist representation in the Corporation was finished, much like everywhere else in the South.

[47] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, Mary O'Sullivan, WS 465, p.5.
[48] *Freeman's Journal,* 12 January 1920.
[49] *Irish Independent,* 1 January 1920.

When the nominations for the elections closed, there were 163 candidates. 70 of these candidates were in some way connected to the old Irish Party elite and mostly contested these elections as independent Nationalists. Sinn Féin fielded 61 candidates, including old stalwarts like Tom Kelly and women such as Kathleen Clarke, there were 17 Labour candidates, the MRA fielded a respectable number of 12 candidates, 2 Unionist candidates went forward for election, and there was 1 Socialist candidate named Walter Carpenter who had unsuccessfully contested the municipal contests in January 1914 as a Socialist.[50] It was perceived that Sinn Féin and Labour would enter the contests on a collaborative front, but this was not the case as Labour was split into two groups. There were ten official Labour candidates and seven 'unofficial' Labour candidates who quickly adopted the name Republican Labour.[51] There had been internal bickering and fighting in Labour since Larkin's departure to America in 1914, but the immediate cause of the split prior to the 1920 elections was the nomination of a man named Tom Lawlor in December 1919 by the Trades Council election committee. Lawlor had a long association with Labour but was the bitter enemy of William O'Brien and was aligned with PT Daly's faction, which was opposed to O'Brien. The real power struggle, however, was between the two heavyweights of the Labour movement, O'Brien and Daly. O'Brien removed Daly from his position as secretary of the Irish Trade Unions Congress and Labour Party and then as head of the insurance section of the ITGWU. Daly had been accused of misappropriation of funds and had a history of financial irregularities as he was expelled by the IRB in 1908 for the theft of £300.[52]

Relations between both Labour factions had soured in the aftermath of the Rising, and O'Brien had accused Daly of being a British spy, with Daly publicly berated by O'Brien as a coward. Daly, on the other hand, taunted O'Brien for having a club foot and described him as

[50] *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 6 January 1920.
[51] Cody, O'Dowd and Rigney, *The Parliament of Labour,* pp. 126-133.
[52] Morrissey, *William O'Brien,* pp. 170-177.

'a cripple and like to play on his deformity'.[53] A split in the ITGWU was averted during a meeting in the Mansion House in the summer of 1919, but the differences between O'Brien and Daly could not be settled. Both became embroiled in a legal battle over O'Brien's accusations of Daly, and this divided the Dublin Labour movement further. When Lawlor was nominated to contest the municipal contests, O'Brien and his supporters, including the President of the ITGWU, Thomas Foran, walked out of the meeting and decided to run their own candidates. What was clear before the 1920 contests was that Labour was a deeply divided movement in Dublin and showed no signs of capitalising on the opportunities that were now presented to it under a new electoral system and a severely depleted Irish Party.[54]

Most of the main public focus was on Sinn Féin, as one would have expected after its sweep of the Irish Party seats in the 1918 general election. The municipal election campaign began for Sinn Féin on 6 January, a day after the nominations had closed. President of the IRB, Seán McGarry, campaigned on behalf of the Sinn Féin candidates and promised that Sinn Féin 'will use their best efforts to make municipal politics as clean and as straight as they have made national politics. The people who came forward as Independent candidates said politics must be kept out of municipal affairs, but these very people made politics the bedrock of municipal affairs, and now the parties to which they belonged are dead'.[55] Women were also prominent speakers during pre-election Sinn Féin meetings, such as Constance Markievicz, Jennie Wyse Power, and Hanna Sheehy Skeffington. Sinn Féin's candidates were subject, however, to harassment by the authorities. In one case, the veteran Fenian, Fred Allan, was arrested during an election meeting and sentenced to three months of imprisonment. Alfie Byrne, who lost his parliamentary seat in the 1918 general election, was staging a political comeback. Byrne, like many of his former Irish Party colleagues, was running as an independent Nationalist. Twenty-

[53] Ibid.
[54] Conor McCabe, 'The Irish Labour Party and the 1920 Local Election' *Saothar,* Vol. 35, (2010), p. 13.
[55] *Irish Independent,* 12 January 1920.

five former members of the old Corporation did not seek re-election. One of the notable individuals who did not stand for re-election was John Dillon Nugent. Nugent was elected as an Irish Party Councillor for the Arran Quay ward in 1912 and elected as an MP in 1915. He was the national secretary for the AOH and was one of the leading Irish Party figures in the Corporation when elections were suspended.[56] The only outgoing female councillor, Martha Williams, withdrew her nomination.[57]

The most striking observation from the ballot sheets was the near disappearance of the Unionist candidates. The Unionists ever only had a small number of elected representatives and relied heavily on the old Clontarf East and West wards for safe seats that always guaranteed a presence in City Hall. Since 1914, their handful of councillors had been declining further when the other parties blocked their nominations. Some sitting Councillors, such as William Coulter, turned down the opportunity to run again, and many joined the MRA. The two Unionists who decided to defend their seats were William McCarthy and William Dinnage, both in Electoral Area 2 and facing twenty other candidates. The Unionist party in Dublin was in disarray and felt left behind by the Ulster Unionists. In this absence of a structure, many traditional supports flocked to the MRA for representation. The MRA picked up the mantle left by the Unionist Party and promoted similar initiatives, such as defending the interests of the business community. The most pressing issue in the elections was not of national concern but local, and that was the continued shortage of coal. Given the political climate of the time and the rapidly changing landscape both at a national and local level, it could be argued the most pressing issue had little to do with politics.[58]

[56] Nugent was elected as a Nationalist candidate to the first Northen Ireland parliament for Armagh in 1921. For more information see: Marie Coleman, 'Nugent, John Dillon, in *DIB,* DOI: https://doi.org/10.3318/dib.006252.v2.
[57] *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 6 January 1920.
[58] *Irish Times,* 13 January 1920; *Irish Independent,* 11 January 1920.

Polling day in Dublin was rather sedate compared to other parts of the country, with few violent scenes reported by the police. This was a stark contrast to Cork, where ex-servicemen and Sinn Féin supporters clashed. There were soldiers on guard at the polling stations in Dublin, but there were no scenes of concern. The *Irish Times* concluded that Sinn Féin's electoral machine had surpassed all of its rivals and ran a superior election campaign. Sinn Féin's election material included 'quite elaborate documents, giving biographical details of the party's candidates – a wise inspiration, seeing that most of the candidates are hitherto virtually unknown to the Dublin police'.[59] Sinn Féin, during the elections, continued to portray itself as a national movement rather than a political party. The local Sinn Féin coalition included a lot of different individuals and covered many different issues, from improvements in city governance to women's rights. In many of the working-class districts, Sinn Féin campaigned strongly on social issues such as housing, better education facilities and making health services more accessible. Sinn Féin's electoral programme, like in previous years, was very similar to Labour's.[60]

Due to the huge participation in the elections, the counting of votes took two days. The ballot papers for the first five areas were counted on Friday, and the remaining five were counted on Saturday. The police had the responsibility of safeguarding the ballot boxes, and Sinn Féin were fearful they would be tampered with and not reveal the full picture of their predicted success. Some concerns about the use of proportional representation were true when there were 1,372 spoiled votes out of 62,503 cast in the city.[61] As might have been expected, there were a number of differences between how Dublin city voted and the rest of the country. Turnout in the city was 63%, which is compared with a provincial high-water mark of 78% in

[59] Padraig Yeates, *A City in Turmoil: Dublin, 1919-1921* (Dublin, 2012), *p.* 70.
[60] The Sinn Féin election manifesto in 1905 and 1907 was similar to the DLP manifesto for 1913. The 1920 Sinn Féin election manifesto contained similar language.
[61] *Irish Times,* 19 January 1920.

Connacht and a national average of 72%. Sinn Féin revealed itself as an overwhelmingly Dublin based party, where it secured 45% of first preference votes and 42 out of 80 seats in the capital. This compared with just 27% of first preference votes and 31% of the seats nationally. Labour secured only 12% of first preference votes in Dublin but benefited from the new system, and Sinn Féin transfers and got 14 representatives elected. There was a large disparity in the number of votes Unionists got in Dublin when compared nationally. In Dublin, the Unionists got a minuscule 1.12% of first preference votes to win just one seat. Nationally, the Unionists polled 27% of the vote. The Unionists only secured 20% of the seats nationally as their power base was now firmly concentrated in Ulster.[62]

In Dublin, the Unionists had focused all their energy on Electoral Area 2 in favour of contesting any other areas. In reality, the official Unionist party was too depleted to contest any other areas and could not find any candidates. Most of the Unionists in the city were now re-branding themselves through the MRA. J Hubbard Clark was a former unsuccessful Unionist nominee and ran in the 1920 elections for the MRA. Clark won the second highest vote in Electoral Area 2, more than double the combined votes of the official Unionist candidates. It was clear that the MRA was 'quote-unquote' the new Unionist party in Dublin. In terms of the number of votes, the MRA was the third largest faction in the city, after Sinn Féin and Labour. It secured 12% of the vote but only won 11 seats, compared with 14 for Labour and 42 for Sinn Féin. The independent Nationalist candidates performed surprisingly well in Dublin, as they did throughout the country, considering their former party was annihilated in the 1918 general election. They won a larger share of the vote than Labour or the independents who ran in the city. That share was identical to their colleagues nationally: 14%. This was not reflected in the seats, and more than half of the 9,132 votes received by former members of the Irish Party went to two men. The first was Alfie Byrne, who got 3,670 votes. He was a former MP, and many

[62] Yeates, A *City in Turmoil,* pp. 76-77.

were surprised that he had lost his Westminster seat to Sinn Féin in 1918.[63] The second was Lorcan Sherlock, who got 1,797 votes. He was a long-serving Councillor and acted as Lord Mayor for three years in a row.[64] The former Irish Party men ended up with nine seats overall. Independent candidates got only 12% of the vote in Dublin, or four seats. One of these was the Lord Mayor, Laurence O'Neill, who got half of the votes that went to Independents. Another successful Independent candidate was Lorcan O'Toole, who had associated with Sinn Féin previously but had always acted independently and was never formally a member of Griffith's party. The scale of the success of the MRA in Dublin was unique, but it is worth noting that between them, the MRA and Independent polled 15,165 first preference or 24%. This only translated into a combined total of 15 seats in the Corporation, and this outlined that political beliefs and allegiances were in flux.[65] Outside of the Sinn Féin and Labour axis, there were no agreements between other parties on transfers. Regardless, the strong showing by the MRA showed that there was a large underlying urban middle-class bloc in Dublin that was conservative in outlook.[66]

A New Corporation

The main winner of the 1920 elections in Dublin was Sinn Féin, with 42 seats out of 80.[67] Nationally, Sinn Féin won 550 seats, Labour won 394 seats, Unionists won 355 seats, Nationalists won 238 seats, Independents won 161 seats, and representatives of the various Municipal Reform Associations won 108 seats.[68] Sinn Féin's immediate working strength in Dublin was only 38 because Kathleen Clarke was elected in two areas, two successful candidates were in prison, and Seán T O'Kelly was in Paris. However, it was expected that the

[63] *Irish Independent,* 19 January 1920.
[64] *Irish Independent,* 19 January 1920.
[65] *Irish Independent,* 20 January 1920.
[66] Yeates, *A City in Turmoil,* p. 78
[67] See Appendix 3 for a full breakdown of the 1920 Dublin Corporation elections.
[68] *Irish Times, 2*1 January 1920.

Labour Councillors, particularly Republican Labour, would work closely with Sinn Féin and provide a comfortable working majority for implementing a common programme. In general, the results of the election followed the changing fortunes of the political parties and the continuing importance of personalities. The MRA did well in the more prosperous areas, such as the old Unionist heartland around Clontarf and the prosperous former Fitzwilliam and Exchange wards that were now Electoral Area 2 and Electoral Area 3. Even in those areas, its candidates had to settle for second place behind Sinn Féin. In Area 2, it was the surge in Sinn Féin support that put Seán McGarry, president of the IRB, at the top of the poll.[69] It was difficult to know if Dr McWalter's defection from the Irish Party to the MRA helped or hindered him. A former Alderman with a history of a progressive attitude on many social issues, McWalter barely scraped home with the last seat in Electoral Area 8.[70] It seems that he lost much of his old Nationalist base while failing to attract a huge amount of support from the small Unionist electorate in his constituency. In contrast, his former Irish Party colleague, James Gallagher, romped home as an MRA candidate in the predominantly middle-class Electoral Area 3, along with his MRA compatriot Andrew Beattie. The person who topped the poll in this constituency was Sinn Féin's Tom Kelly, owing much to his years of service and popular personality. Kelly won 3,438 first preference votes, the second highest personal tally in the city.[71]

Another example of the power of personality was Alfie Byrne. He lost his seat in the 1918 general election to Sinn Féin, but his resolute adherence and total dedication to opportunist politics enabled him to top the poll in Electoral Area 8, where McWalter struggled.[72] Another popular candidate was the Lord Mayor, Laurence O'Neill, who stood as an Independent. Sinn Féin topped the poll in most of the areas but with more modest totals:

[69] Ibid., 17 January 1920.
[70] *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 19 January 1920.
[71] *Irish Independent,* 17 January 1920.
[72] Ibid., 19 January 1920.

Michael Staines got 1,675 votes in Electoral Area 1, Seán McGarry got 1,058 votes in Area 2, and Joe McDonagh secured 1,037 votes in Area 5.[73] However, some Sinn Féin candidates polled very poorly. One of them was Seán O'Mahony MP, who only got 136 first preference votes in Electoral Area 4, the Lord Mayor's stronghold.[74] He scraped in on the twelfth count with another Sinn Féin candidate, Jennie Wyse Power. A factor that helped some Sinn Féin candidates get elected was that the party packed each LEA with candidates. Seven Sinn Féin candidates ran for nine seats in Area 1; eight contested eight seats in Area 2; six contested nine seats in Area 3; eight pursued ten seats in Area 4; in Area 5 there were six candidates for seven seats; in Area 6 there were seven candidates for seven seats; in Area 7 there were six in the contest for nine seats; in Area 8 there were eight candidates for eight seats; in Area 9 Sinn Féin ran four candidates for six seats; and in Area 10 there were six seeking seven seats.[75]

The strength and popularity of the Sinn Féin brand ensured that preferences were kept within the party, and this helped its candidates to secure election. This was particularly beneficial to women candidates, with the exception of Kathleen Clarke, who topped the poll in Electoral Area 9 with 1,374 votes and came second to Lorcan Sherlock in Area 6 with 937 votes.[76] Other female Sinn Féin candidates were dependent on transfers. One such example was Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, who got only 340 first preference votes but was eventually elected with 1,551 votes on the second count after most of the other Sinn Féin candidates and Independents were eliminated. Jennie Wyse Power was another beneficiary from transfers as she secured only 121 first preference votes in Area 4 but benefitted from transfers to be elected on the ninth count.[77] The final successful female Sinn Féin candidate was Mrs Seán McGarry in Area 5. She began with a low first preference count, but transfers from eliminated candidates,

[73] *Dublin Evening Telegraph,* 17 January 1920; Ibid. 19 January 1920.
[74] *Irish Times,* 17 January 1920.
[75] *Freeman's Journal,* 15 January 1920.
[76] *Irish Times,* 19 January 1920.
[77] Ibid., 17 January 1920.

including Sarah Harrison, put her ahead of two male Sinn Féin candidates to take one of the last seats on the fifteenth count.[78] Sinn Féin did have one more female representative on the Corporation after Anne Elizabeth Ashton was co-opted to fill the vacancy won by Kathleen Clarke in Area 6. There were five other unsuccessful female Sinn Féin candidates. The MRA ran two unsuccessful female candidates, and Labour ran one female candidate.[79] For all of Ireland, there were forty-three women elected in 1920, 28 of these 43 were members of Sinn Féin.[80]

After Sinn Féin's success, the party was now in a position to consolidate its grip on the city and purge the Corporation of the old Irish Party regime. The old regime knew the writing was on the wall, and the Corporation had been very inactive during the last months of 1919, with some meetings not even achieving a quorum. The last important decision made by the Corporation, while still technically controlled by the Irish Party, was the approval of a loan of £160,000 to complete the reservoir at Roundwood, Co. Wicklow. Work had initially begun on this project back in 1908, but shortages due to the war and inflation had brought the project to a halt.[81] The first meeting of the Corporation after the 1920 elections was held on Friday 30 January. The public gallery was packed, and crowds thronged Cork Hill to witness the arrival of the new members of the Corporation, with a tricolour hoisted outside. There were 72 members present at the first meeting. This included 16 Aldermen and 56 Councillors. The missing representatives were the imprisoned Sinn Féin members, including Tom Kelly. All parties called for the release of Kelly, and there were even talks of electing him as Lord Mayor. For the time being, Laurence O'Neill, who had served as Lord Mayor since 1917, presided over the meeting. O'Neill had always been an ally of Sinn Féin, but his decision to always

[78] Ibid., 19 January 1920.
[79] *Freeman's Journal,* 15 January 1920.
[80] Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland,* p. 327,
[81] Meeting on 12 January 1920, Dublin City Council Minutes. *Irish Examiner,* 13 January 1920.

remain as an Independent Nationalist and not formally align to any side meant that he was approved by all present.

O'Neill's experience was needed during the first meeting when a series of clashes took place between the leader of the Republican Labour group, William O'Brien, and the Town Clerk, Henry Campbell. Campbell was heavily associated with the old Nationalist establishment. He had been private secretary to Parnell and had been elected as a Parnellite MP until he took up the role of Town Clerk in 1893. The clash began when Campbell notified the Lord Mayor that Sinn Féin's Jennie Wyse Power had 'not subscribed the declaration for Electoral Area Four and therefore a vacancy arose'.[82] What she had done was sign her name in Irish instead of English and offered to add her signature in English after receiving a notice of disqualification, only to be told by the Town Clerk that it made no difference and she was too late. The Town Clerk had also warned her about her participation in the meeting and that if she chose to speak, she would risk a fine of £50. O'Brien intervened at this point and proposed a motion that was seconded by Sinn Féin Councillor Lawrence Raul, 'That this Corporation if of the opinion that Mrs Wyse Power had been duly and properly elected a Councillor for the Number Four Electoral Area: and, that we hereby direct the Town Clerk to add her name to the List of Members'.[83] This motion passed, but the Town Clerk refused to carry out the resolution 'on the advice given by counsel'.[84] O'Brien, this time seconded by Sinn Féin's Councillor William Paul, proposed that the Town Clerk be suspended for his actions. The Lord Mayor quickly ruled this motion out of order and the situation calmed down, but the seating of Jennie Wyse Power remained unresolved.

[82] Meeting on 30 January 1920, Dublin City Council Minutes. *Irish Examiner,* 31 January 1920.
[83] Meeting on 30 January 1920, Dublin City Council Minutes. *Irish Independent,* 31 January 1920.
[84] Ibid.

O'Brien next proposed that before the Council proceeded to any of its main business that those present should direct the Corporation's officers to remove 'the emblems of feudal authority known as the Sword and Mace, which are only relics of barbarism…originating in the desire of tyrannical monarchs to parade their power before the eyes of a subject of people'.[85] O'Neill congratulated O'Brien for getting his motion in as soon as the new Corporation had met and that it 'was very nicely worded' but ruled it out of order. Disorderly scenes followed after O'Brien refused to withdraw his motion until WT Cosgrave spoke in support of Lord Mayor O'Neill. Cosgrave told O'Brien that he opposed the presence of those objects as much as anyone and what they stood for, but O'Brien would have to put in a motion like everyone else. The offending objects remained for another month before being removed. The Corporation then reached the first and most important item on the agenda: the election of the Lord Mayor. O'Neill made a speech in defence of the position and argued that its imperial power had gone. During O'Neill's time as Lord Mayor 'soldiers of the King broke my windows, hammered my hall door with trench tools and clamoured for my blood; my official residence was raided by military and police, my family and myself openly insulted at the whim of some under-strapper who pulls the wires in Dublin Castle. But outside of all this the Lord Mayor of Dublin is in an independent position if he maintains it; he signs no pledge, he takes no oath, he owes no allegiance to any power or authority except the people who returned him, and to the members who elected him to the position. Consequently, it is a position the most fastidious might occupy without his conscience being annoyed, without his morals being corrupted or his principles being interfered with in any way. There to fill such a position we are called together today, and it is my privilege to propose the name of Alderman Thomas Kelly'.[86]

[85] Meeting on 30 January 1920, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[86] Ibid.

O'Neill said that he had worked closely with Kelly over the past two years, particularly on the Anti-Conscription Committee, and that he had 'never met a man who was so imbued with the spirit of doing what was straight, of doing what was right'.[87] WT Cosgrave seconded O'Neill's motion and called on the members present who might share differing views or ideologies from Kelly to put the principle of 'liberty of the subject' first.[88] There was no fear of anyone even considering running against the imprisoned Sinn Féin Alderman. The only question was whether it would be a unanimous decision to elect Kelly as Lord Mayor. O'Brien pledged the support of this section of Labour and vowed to give full support to Kelly. The next person who spoke was Dr McWalter, the former long-serving Irish Party Alderman who was now an elected representative of the MRA. When McWalter spoke, the resentment of the former Irish Party member in him broke through as he mocked O'Brien as 'the representative in embryo of workers republic' that would 'crumble to pieces' if it ever came to fruition.[89] However, McWalter stated he would vote for Kelly as 'if a man be an honest man and a good corporator, I think the fact that he is a Sinn Féiner should not deprive him of the honour of being Lord Mayor of Dublin'.[90] None of McWalter's MRA colleagues or the sole Unionist present, William McCarthy, opposed Kelly, and he was elected unanimously as Lord Mayor.

The next proposal was not agreed upon so universally as WT Cosgrave proposed that the Corporation no longer acknowledge the right of the Lord Lieutenant to appoint a High Sheriff. There were protests from some of the older members of the previous assembly that if this privilege was removed, then it might never be restored. These concerns had no impact on the new members as there were 58 votes in favour of Cosgrave's proposal and 14 votes against it. The analysis of this vote is important as it revealed who made up the core of the group that

[87] *Irish Examiner,* 31 January 1920.
[88] Meeting on 30 January 1920, Dublin City Council Minutes.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.

would try to oppose Sinn Féin's domination of the Corporation. The members who voted against Cosgrave were William McCarthy (the sole Unionist); J Hubbard Clark, Andrew Beattie, John Russell Stritch, Richard Henry White and Michael James Maxwell (all MRA members from a Unionist background); James Moran, James Gallagher and Dr McWalter (all MRA members who defected from the Irish Party); John Keogh, Micheal Moran and James Gately, William Patrick Delaney, and Myles Keogh (all former members of the Irish Party).

This opposition would combine again on the next item on the agenda and an important piece of business for the Corporation, which was the allocation of places on the various committees. A list of who should fill the positions had already been drafted by the Town Clerk, and Dr McWalter and Andrew Beattie called for this list to be accepted without discussion. This was opposed by Sinn Féin's WT Cosgrave and Seán McGarry, who instead insisted that the nominations go before the whole Corporation as they always did. Sinn Féin, now with the numerical advantage, was not going to allow the Town Clerk to give control of the committees to the old regime. 48 votes were cast in support of Sinn Féin, with 20 voting against them. The increase in votes against Sinn Féin came from Labour members who were not aligned with O'Brien's faction, such as Thomas Lawlor, John Farren, and Daniel Magee. These men were once long-standing opponents of the Irish Party but shared the concern of former Irish Party members and the MRA that they might be excluded from important committees if Sinn Féin had a free run at them. Other members of Labour who were opposed to O'Brien, such as PT Daly, voted with Sinn Féin and Republican Labour. This small episode even revealed Daly's supporters were not as united as he initially thought.[91]

The first committee that was fought over was the important and influential Housing Committee. The new Lord Mayor Tom Kelly had been chairman of this committee since 1913.

[91] *Freeman's Journal,* 31 January 1920.

This was also by far the largest committee, with two representatives from each electoral area, rather than one like the other committees. The solitary Unionist, William McCarthy, decided not to contest a place and allow Sinn Féin two representatives from his Electoral Area. McCarthy, for his act of kindness, was rewarded with a place on the Electricity Supply and Markets Committees. There were no such compromises between the two opposing Labour factions. In Electoral Area 3, the Republican Labour nominee was Joseph Farrell, who defeated Daly's nominee, John Farren, who had the support of the MRA. In fact, if a contest took place for a position on the Housing Committee, it was the Sinn Féin and Republican Labour nominees who prevailed over their opposition. In the end, Sinn Féin took nine seats, PT Daly's Labour took four seats, Republican Labour took three seats, while Independent Nationalists and the MRA secured two seats each on the Housing Committee.[92]

Another important committee was the Estates and Finance Committee, on which Sinn Féin took six of the ten seats, and Republican Labour took two seats, giving control of the committee to the new members. The final two places on the Estates and Finance Committee were filled by one member of the MRA and an Independent. By the time the voting took place for the Electricity Supply Committee, Dr McWalter, who was emerging as the leader of the MRA, withdrew his list of selections in favour of Sinn Féin's nominees. This was made up of five Sinn Féin members, and one each from the other parties. The message Sinn Féin were trying to send was clear in that all parties would receive a share of committee places, but control of the committees was now with Sinn Féin. The same method was applied to the corporation nominations to public bodies, such as the Dublin Port and Docks Board and the voluntary hospitals. One exception was in the nomination to the board of the Charitable Infirmary when PT Daly defeated the Sinn Féin absentee Seán T O'Kelly. One public body Sinn Féin sought no involvement in was the Dublin War Pensions Board. Nevertheless, Sinn Féin blocked former

[92] Meeting on 30 January 1920, Dublin City Council Minutes.

Irish Party Lord Mayor James Gallagher from securing a place. This board eventually compromised three Republican Labour, three MRA, two Independent Nationalists, the only Unionist, and one of PT Daly's Labour faction.[93]

Despite his unanimous endorsement by all of his colleagues, coupled with their outrage over his internment in England, Tom Kelly was never able to take his position as Lord Mayor. At the time of his election, he was incarcerated at Wormwood Scrubbs Prison. Nonetheless, the Archbishop of Dublin even telegraphed him to congratulate him on his appointment.[94] He returned to Ireland in April but was in poor health and in no fit state to be politically active. He would not enter politics again for many years, and his inability to take his position as Lord Mayor was the only missing piece to what was a transformed Corporation.[95] Laurence O'Neill remained Lord Mayor until 1924, when the Corporation was dissolved under the Local Government (Temporary Provisions) Act 1923. What was clear, however, was that this Corporation in 1920 had undergone significant transformation when the elections were resumed. When they were suspended in 1915, no one could have predicted it would re-convene in this form.

Conclusion

The defeat of the Irish Party candidates in the 1918 general election outlined how the party, once led by John Redmond, was no longer the dominating force that it had been. In Dublin, Sinn Féin polled extremely well and destroyed the Irish Party candidates in the contests between both parties. The Irish Party held on to the Corporation for another two years, and municipal elections resumed after the introduction of The Local Government (Ireland) Act 1919 and the introduction of proportional representation to the local electoral system. A number

[93] Ibid.
[94] Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements, WS 687, Right Rev. Monsignor M. Curran. P. 425.
[95] Carden, *The Alderman,* p. 176.

of interesting and noteworthy trends emerged from the 1920 contests. One was the success of some former members of the Irish Party, who polled extremely well and maintained their places in the Corporation. This was evident in the re-elections of Alfie Byrne and Lorcan Sherlock, who both performed well. While their former party was gone, the voters of Dublin still had enough loyalty towards former Irish Party Councillors to re-elect them in the wave of support for Sinn Féin. Equally interesting and significant is the emergence of the MRA as a blend of Unionists and Nationalists. The MRA is significant as the party's appeal across the political divide ensured the survival of some of the old establishments and offered them a chance to reinvent themselves in a new form. The MRA was like the old establishment, combining to give itself a chance to survive in the new political landscape. This chance offered by the MRA was more evident in what remained of Unionism in the city. While the MRA welcomed both Unionists and Nationalists, the party was more Unionist overall. The 1920 elections saw the disappearance of Unionist candidates, and the Unionist party was non-existent. The vast majority of Unionists who were still politically active found a new home in the MRA and re-branded themselves to try and maintain a presence in City Hall. What was evident in the 1920 results was that the old establishment of the Irish Party and Unionists found a way to survive, even if their former parties were severely depleted. This was done by standing as Independent Nationalists or by both sides re-branding as MRA candidates.

While the establishment found a way to survive in the 1920 elections, it was undoubtedly the emergent forces that were the winners overall. Despite a power struggle between William O'Brien and PT Daly, Labour performed well in the 1920 elections and took its place as the second largest party in the Corporation. Kathleen Clarke topped the poll and was elected as an Alderman, the first female in the history of the Corporation to do this. Overall, six members of the Corporation in 1920 were female, and prior to 1920, there had only ever been two female Councillors. The key trend overall to take from the 1920 elections in Dublin,

however, is the strength of Sinn Féin and how, in twenty years, the party had gone from a group of disgruntled Nationalists protesting against royal visits to becoming the dominant force in the Corporation. From a low point of a handful of Councillors in 1916, the party now had complete control of the Corporation and the support from the public to show it. When the Corporation met for the first time after the 1920 contests, Sinn Féin took control of the committees for the party and from being on the outside looking in, the party was now in the centre of Dublin's municipal sphere with every other party dependent on the goodwill of Sinn Féin. The only thing that prevented a complete domination of the Corporation was the failure to select a Sinn Féin Lord Mayor.

Conclusion

Throughout the years 1899 – 1920, Dublin Corporation and its political sphere were a constant battleground between the establishment and the emergent forces. The establishment was made up of the Irish Party and Unionists, and the emerging forces were Sinn Féin and Labour. The analysis of the Corporation began after the passing of the Local Government (Ireland) Act 1898, which revolutionised local government in Ireland due to the expansion of the franchise. The first elections held under the new system were the January 1899 elections, and the composition of the Corporation then was 45 representatives from the Irish Party (75%), 8 from Labour (13%), 7 from the Unionist party (12%). In 1900, the boundaries of the Corporation were extended, and the number of representatives increased from 60 to 80 members after the 1901 municipal elections. Taking the Corporation that sat after the 1901 elections as a snapshot, it was made up of 58 members of the Irish Party (73%), 16 Unionists (20%), 5 Labour (6%), and 1 Independent (1%). What is clear to see from these figures is that the Corporation began as a body that was completely dominated by the Irish Party. Even in 1915, when the municipal elections were suspended due to the war, the Corporation was made up of 57 members of the Irish Party (71%), 8 Labour (10%), 6 Independent Nationalists (7%), 4 Sinn Féin (5%), 4 Unionists (5%), and 1 Independent (1%). Elections did not resume until January 1920, after the First World War, after the 1918 general election, and also after the events of the 1916 Rising, which completely changed the political landscape forever. The Corporation that emerged after these seismic years was different to anything previously witnessed. The Corporation elected in 1920 had 42 members from Sinn Féin (53%), 14 from Labour (18%), 11 from the Municipal Reform Association (14%), 9 Nationalists who were once members of the Irish Party (11%), 3 Independents (3%), and 1 Unionist (1%). It is clear to see that the Corporation in 1920 was under the control of the emergent forces who had now swept away the establishment. The

central research question for the thesis was: How did the established and emergent groups develop, grow, and interact with each other in Dublin's municipal politics, 1899-1920?

Establishment

The Irish Party

Throughout the period under consideration, the Irish Party was, without doubt, the establishment that controlled the Corporation and the city's elections, commanding the most votes and loyalty from the electors. Having initially been an emerging force itself in the 1870s and 1880s, the Irish Party took control of the Corporation in the 1880s and asserted its dominance over City Hall. After the Local Government Ireland Act (1898) and its revolutionary effect on the municipal franchise, the Irish Party successfully adapted to this new franchise and had an iron grip on the Corporation throughout this period. Two emerging forces developed to try and challenge the Irish Party for control of the Corporation. Each proved to be unsuccessful, and in reality, neither was a credible threat to the Irish Party's control. As this thesis has shown, the unity of the Irish Party began to falter, and this was evident in the 1914 municipal elections when a number of Independent Nationalist candidates challenged the party for seats. Some of these men were former members of the party who now viewed themselves as no longer compatible with Redmond's party.

The outbreak of the First World War in August 1914 must be considered a pivot point in the history of the Irish Party in Dublin Corporation. In September 1914, the British government introduced the Suspensory Act that outlined 'no steps shall be taken to put the Government of Ireland Act into operation ... until the expiration of twelve months ... or if the present war has not ended, until such later date ... as may be fixed'.[1] This piece of legislation ensured that the long awaited introduction of Home Rule would be postponed until after the

[1] Suspensory Act 1914, 4 & 5 Geo.

conclusion of the war. No date for this could be set, and now the dream of Home Rule seemed as far away as ever. On the surface, however, unity still seemed apparent during a Corporation meeting in November 1914, when all Irish Party members pledged their support to Redmond and the direction he was taking the party. Even the Independent Nationalist candidates who opposed the UIL in the January elections supported Redmond and the party. The Nationalists proclaimed, 'that this Municipal Council of Dublin representing the citizens of the Capital of Ireland, expresses, in union with the Irish race the whole world over, its unbound satisfaction at the placing on the Statue Book of the Charter of Ireland's Freedom; and it places on record its appreciation of the tactics of the Irish Party, so ably led by Mr John E Redmond, MP, which have resulted in the successful conclusion of Ireland's struggle for liberty'.[2] As the war dragged on and Home Rule seemed further away, dissent from Irish Party members in the Corporation grew significantly.

In the summer of 1915, a UIL member, John Ryan, proposed the first anti-war motion that questioned the direction and policies of the Irish Party and called on the immediate implementation of Home Rule. This motion shocked some of Redmond's most loyal supporters in the Corporation, such as Lorcan Sherlock and John Nugent, who quickly defended their leader and the Irish Party. Ten Irish Party members of the Corporation voted against the party. They supported the motion calling on the immediate implementation of Home Rule and sided with Sinn Féin and Labour, the two emerging factions the Irish Party had successfully defeated. Redmond, obviously concerned with this show of dissent, wrote to the Corporation in the aftermath and called for unity during such a crucial time, and actions such as those could end the Home Rule dream. By then, however, loyalty to Redmond and his party was beginning to wane from the Nationalists in the Corporation. The last anti-Irish Party amendment proposed before the Rising in April 1916 was proposed by the last Irish Party MP elected in Dublin, Alfie

[2] Meeting on 2 November 1914, Dublin City Council Minutes.

Byrne. Byrne criticised the levels of taxation placed on Ireland and the Irish Party for allowing this to happen. The UIL proposed an amendment that reaffirmed support for their party, but this was only passed by five votes, with Irish Party members siding with Sinn Féin and Labour again. Just before the events of 1916, the Nationalists in the Corporation were finding more in common with Sinn Féin and Labour than with their own party.

Then, the events of April 1916 happened, the after-effects of which completely transformed politics in Ireland and, indeed, Dublin Corporation. What support the Irish Party had begun to drift away from the party, and public opinion began to side with Sinn Féin and Labour. This was also evident in the Corporation itself. When vacancies arose, and no election could take place to fill them, Irish Party Councillors began to support the candidates from Sinn Féin and Labour. What happened in Dublin Corporation post-1916 was that politics began to realign with Sinn Féin and Labour, who emerged from 1916 as the new forces. The Irish Party were decimated in the 1918 general election by Sinn Féin but kept control of Dublin Corporation for another two years. After municipal elections resumed in January 1920, Sinn Féin's strength in Dublin was confirmed, and the Irish Party was cast aside.

Unionists

The other established movement discussed in the thesis is the Unionists, who were once the established and controlling party until the Irish Party overtook them in the 1880s. The Irish Party's control of the Corporation, which began in the 1880s, accelerated the departure of Unionists to the independent southern townships. These townships, which remained independent from the Corporation, were Unionist controlled and gave the Unionists the opportunity to flee the Nationalist controlled city.[3] There did, however, remain unionists who competed in the Corporation's elections. Unionism in Dublin Corporation throughout the

[3] See: Wallace, 'Politics in Dublin City and Suburbs'.

period covered in this thesis was always in decline. After 1905, the Unionists that were active in Dublin Corporation retreated to the former Unionist township of Clontarf, which allowed them to maintain a consistent number of representatives at City Hall and not come under threat from either Sinn Féin or Labour and the Irish Party. Between 1908 and 1911, the Unionists held all eight seats between the Clontarf East and the Clontarf West wards. During the Home Rule crisis, Unionist representation and participation in municipal elections severely declined, and by 1916, the number of unionist members of the Corporation had fallen to only 4 out of the 80 members.

One aspect of Dublin Unionism that this thesis has revealed is how Unionist candidates and members of the Unionist Party began to reinvent themselves as members of organisations that sought to protect the interests of the business and commercial class in the city. This first took place in the form of the Dublin Citizens Association, which rose to prominence after 1910, particularly around the time of the Lockout. In the 1920 municipal elections, it was the Municipal Reform Association that many Unionists aligned themselves with as opposed to a Unionist party. Both the Citizens Association and Reform Association were made up of both Unionists and Nationalists, but overall, they were more Unionist in outlook. In the absence of a stable voter base and trying to survive in firstly a Nationalist Corporation dominated by the Irish Party and then the tide of Sinn Féin and Labour support, Unionists found a place in these organisations. Becoming members of the Citizens Association and the Reform Associations allowed the former Unionist party members to appeal to a wider voter base that cut across party boundaries and offered them a chance of political survival.

Emerging Forces

As shown throughout the thesis, local government was a spawning ground for new movements to form and establish themselves as parties to attempt to challenge the Irish Party for control of the Corporation. The two emerging movements that this thesis has discussed, Sinn Féin and Labour, both faced the task of trying to establish a foothold in a system that was dominated by the Irish Party's machine and wards that were successfully managed by the Nationalist organisations.

Sinn Féin

Sinn Féin's history began with royal visits in 1900 and 1903. The Irish Party in the Corporation showed different opinions as to how the city's representatives should respond to these visits. This tentative and incoherent approach by the Irish Party allowed groups of loosely connected advanced Nationalists to come together to protest the planned visits. The visits also provided the ammunition for Arthur Griffith to denounce the Irish Party in his newspaper, the *United Irishman*. Around these visits, the advanced Nationalists found a source of unity. First, they formed Cumann na nGaedheal in 1900, a loose grouping of individuals broadly aligned based on their opposition to the Irish Party. Cumann na nGaedheal remained outside municipal politics as Griffith continued his attacks on the Irish Party and the Corporation from the sidelines in the press. In 1903, the National Council was formed, marking a significant step in the history of Sinn Féin. The National Council, in comparison to Labour, had two factors that helped the movement grow and unite its members. Firstly, it had a doctrine, *The Resurrection of Hungary,* which was published in the summer of 1904, and it had Griffith's newspaper, *The United Irishman,* which allowed him to reach and influence potential supporters and new members.[4] The National Council was the first group to achieve success, and an advanced

[4] *The Resurrection of Hungary* was published in series of articles in the *United Irishman* throughout the summer of 1904.

Nationalist supporter, PT Daly, was elected to the Corporation. The National Council's supporters grew, and the movement started to operate like a party, with a chairman and a manifesto published before the electorate in 1905. Soon, the National Council would become Sinn Féin, which was the first alternative Nationalist party to challenge the Irish Party. Sinn Féin experienced rapid growth and by 1909 had 13 members (16%) elected to the Corporation. While Sinn Féin experienced this rapid growth, it operated like a municipal reform party that sought to change how the city was governed. Sinn Féin emerged with a reformist municipal programme that it put before the electorate, and in the Council chamber, the Sinn Féin members sought various measures to reform certain aspects of the Corporation. Like other reform parties, Sinn Féin sought alliances to try and push these reforms through and formed a partnership with the Unionist Party for a two-year period. This alliance was not enough, and Sinn Féin's reformist ideals did not win support from the Irish Party members.

However, 1909 was a crucial year in the early history of Sinn Féin as it marked the rapid decline of the movement. At the end of 1909, Griffith and Sinn Féin received a proposal from William O'Brien's AFIL to join forces and send candidates to Westminster in the 1910 January general election. Griffith and his supporters within Sinn Féin seriously considered this offer. However, the IRB faction in the party and separatist sections of Sinn Féin were totally against any potential participation in parliamentary elections. The result was the fracturing of Sinn Féin, with the separatists abandoning the movement and their brief new departure into Griffith's Nationalism. All that was left to represent Sinn Féin were Griffith's followers, which left Griffith with a weaker organisation overall but an organisation that gave him more control and an autocratic position. Sinn Féin then reverted to its Cumann na nGaedheal origins and from a progressive and reformist political party to a propaganda movement. The transformation back to a propaganda movement signalled the beginning of a disengagement of Sinn Féin's participation in municipal politics, and by 1916, only four Sinn Féiners sat at City Hall.

After the Rising, allegiances began to shift, and Sinn Féin's popularity and support began to soar. It may be argued that the Sinn Féin that emerged from the ashes of the Rising in Dublin was completely different to its predecessor. Sinn Féin pre-1916 in Dublin was stale and stagnant, led by Griffith, who had lost all interest in participation in elections. After 1916, Sinn Féin in Dublin was revitalised, and the movement had a new sense of vigour and direction. Support in the Corporation was coming from members of the Irish Party who now saw themselves as having more in common with Sinn Féin than their own party. Such was the growing support for Sinn Féin. The party was able to co-opt interned members on to the Corporation in 1917. The party swept the board in the 1918 general election, and in the 1920 municipal elections, the party confirmed its dominance in Dublin. The Corporation that sat at City Hall in January 1920 was very much a Sinn Féin one, and the party showed this by taking control of the various committees and important positions. Tom Kelly was nominated for Lord Mayor but never took the position due to ill health. If Tom Kelly had become Lord Mayor, it would have signified the change in the Corporation's politics. Kelly originally began as a member of the Irish Party and then joined Sinn Féin. Much like Sinn Féin, Kelly had served his time in the wings of the Corporation and had persevered through many of the party's lowest ebbs. If he had been able to assume the position of Lord Mayor, it would have been a fitting end to the journey Sinn Féin took to become the dominating force in Dublin.

Labour

Labour was the other emerging faction that this thesis has analysed. There are two periods in the history of the Labour movement in Dublin. The first period was from 1899-1911. The official Labour organisation during this time was the Labour Electoral Association. After the widening of the franchise due to the 1898 Act, the LEA was established before the 1899 elections to contest these elections as a Labour movement that was separate from any other organisation. However, the LEA was never really an independent party, and representatives

from the Irish Party, such as William Field MP, attended its inaugural meeting. The LEA did not last long and was dissolved in 1900, having failed to develop any form of independence and being heavily infiltrated by the Irish Party. LEA members who were elected in the 1899 elections quickly left behind their links to labour and joined Irish Party affiliated organisations. The short lifespan of the LEA offers insight into the concept first put forward by Paul Bew and elaborated upon by Michael Wheatley of the Irish Party, who acted like a 'vampire' that drained the life of any new potential threats. As this thesis has shown, the Irish Party in Dublin saw this new threat from the LEA, who performed well in the first reformed elections in 1899. It was immediately neutralised and assimilated into the Irish Party's broader organisation. The Labour movement up until 1911 was characterised by disunity and lack of a party, and, in reality, it was just an affiliate of the Irish Party with no independence. The 'Labour' representatives who were elected were all members of Nationalist controlled organisation and played a role in the Irish Party controlling city wards and winning the labour vote.

This situation that labour experienced changed in 1911 when James Larkin revolutionised the labour movement in Dublin. The first step in this revolution was the foundation of the Dublin Labour Party in 1911. The DLP was in stark contrast to its predecessor, the LEA, and represented the first time a structured Labour Party was formed in Dublin Corporation. The DLP was the first time that a rigid party discipline was instilled in the Labour movement. The DLP required all members seeking election to the Corporation to sign a party pledge. Before the DLP, Labour representatives would join Nationalist organisations, but this was not the case now as members were pledged bound, and the DLP demanded loyalty from its members. The DLP was the first time Larkin's syndicalism, which was trialled in Liverpool, Belfast, and Cork, was brought to Dublin, and this new form of Labour politics challenged the Irish Party for the labour vote in the city. Larkin's syndicalist methods challenged the traditional and moderate trade unionism that had characterised the city

previously. Now, the Irish Party faced a challenge that was not in some way aligned with the Nationalist cause and operated outside of any organisation that the Nationalists influenced. Much like Sinn Féin, the DLP experienced rapid growth in the Corporation. In 1913, the party had its highest number of representatives, with 11 (14%) out of the 80 members elected to City Hall. The DLP failed to build on these figures, and the 1914 municipal elections, which were held at the height of the Lockout, proved to be a disaster. The DLP failed to organise and made no gains, bringing an end to their progress. The Irish Party's response to the emergence of the DLP represents a unique case, at least in Dublin Corporation terms, for how the Irish Party dealt with the threat from the DLP. The previous threat from the LEA was dealt with by 'vampirizing' the movement and assimilating its members into the broader spectrum of the Irish Party organisations. This approach was even considered in 1907 to deal with the growing Sinn Féin party. The DLP, in contrast to the LEA and Sinn Féin, was attacked head-on by the Irish Party in an aggressive and forceful manner. Larkin was removed from the Corporation. The DLP came under attack in a wide range of Irish Party aligned newspapers, and the Catholic Church condemned the 'Larkinites'. Whereas other emerging forces could be seen as an opportunity for Irish Party expansion and increasing the appeal the party had, the DLP and Larkin were so at odds with the Irish Party that assimilation was never considered, and it could not be vampirised.

Much like Sinn Féin, Labour received a boost in popularity and support after the Rising. Many Irish Party Councillors began to support the Labour members who were still in the Corporation. The party decided against participating in the 1918 general election and gave Sinn Féin a clear run to destroy the Irish Party. Labour did contest the 1920 municipal elections but was divided. One faction was being led by PT Daly and had the support of the trades council. The other faction was led by William O'Brien and called themselves Republican Labour. The Labour candidates performed well in the 1920 elections and emerged as the second largest

party behind Sinn Féin. Like Sinn Féin, Labour had spent many years waiting for their opportunity to rise to prominence. However, with Labour again being divided in 1920, like it had been for much of the period under consideration, it feels like the movement never fully capitalised on their opportunity due to the divisions.

Future Research

Overall, this thesis has contributed significantly to the historiography of twentieth century Ireland from a number of different angles. This thesis has enhanced our understating of municipal and urban history and has examined municipal Dublin Politics in depth from the passing of the 1898 Act all the way through war and revolution to what emerged after the 1920 elections. The thesis has provided an in-depth analysis of the political parties that were active in the Corporation and has contributed to the history of each party by tracing their development from the perspective of their locally elected representatives. Dublin Corporation would only survive another four years until 1924, when the Corporation was controversially dissolved under the Local Government (Temporary Provisions) Act 1923. After this, the locally elected representatives who waited so long for control of the Corporation no longer had any authority, and instead, three Commissioners were appointed to oversee the municipal government and administration of the city. This arrangement remained in place until 1930, when the Local Government (Dublin) Act 1930 was passed, which restored municipal democracy for Dublin. The aim of future research is to trace these themes, divisions and conflicts that have been revealed in this thesis and how they manifested themselves in Dublin as the Irish Free State was trying to define itself. The questions that must be asked are if the same methods and tactics of running a political establishment at the municipal level were replicated in the 1930s by the new regime and if there were continuities in both the personnel of corporation politics and the networks that influenced them from the outside. What must also be traced in future research is

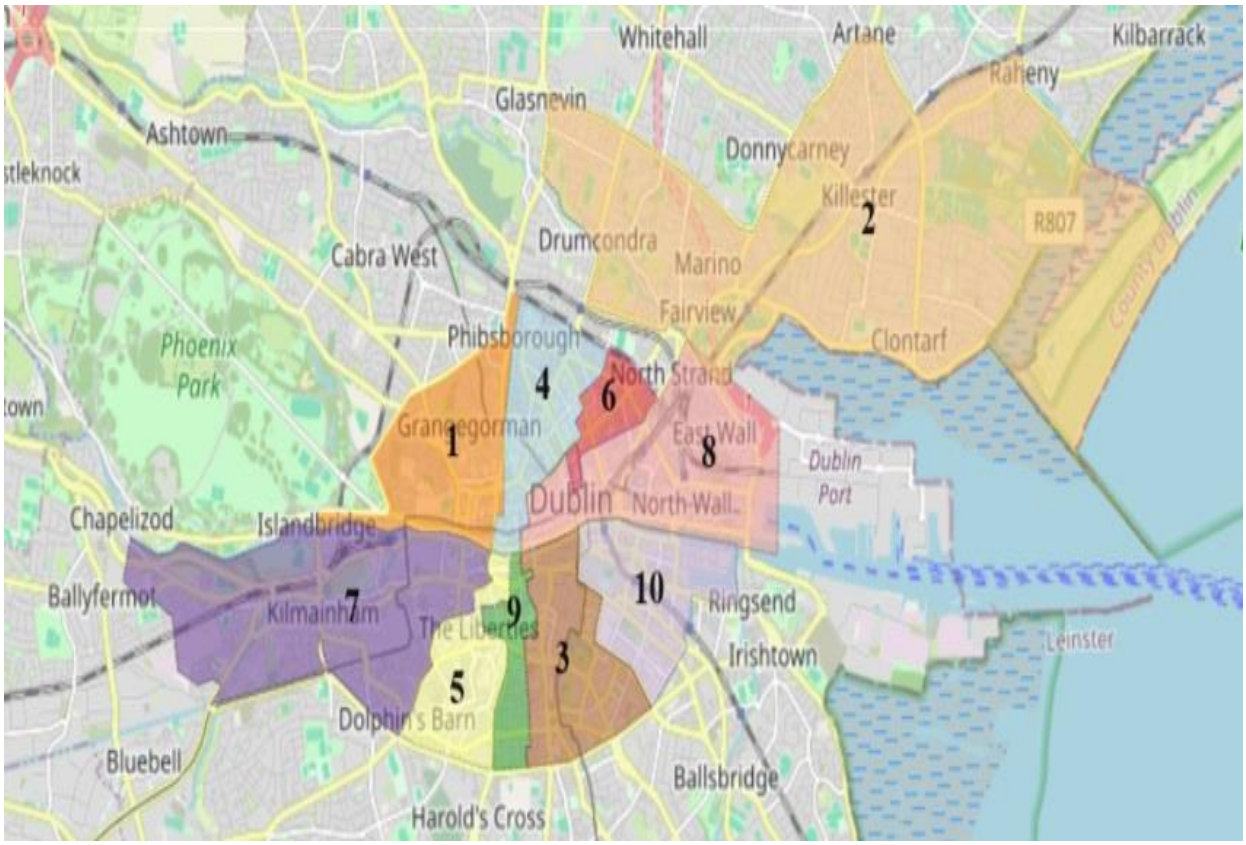
how the key parties and players who were in control fare in another new political landscape with the emergence of more new parties and movements.

Appendix 1: Dublin Corporation Elections, January 1920

New Electoral Areas in 1920 Corporation Elections

Electoral Area	Former Wards
No. 1	Arran Quay
No. 2	Clontarf East, Clontarf West, Drumcondra & Glasnevin
No. 3	Fitzwilliam, Mansion House, Royal Exchange & South City
No. 4	Inns Quay & Rotunda
No. 5	Merchant's Quay
No. 6	Mountjoy
No. 7	New Kilmainham & Usher's Quay
No. 8	North City & North Dock
No. 9	Wood Quay
No. 10	Trinity & South Dock

Map of Dublin Corporation LEAs in January 1920



Source: www.dublinhistoricmaps.ie

1 = Electoral Area No. 1	6 = Electoral Area No. 6
2 = Electoral Area No. 2	7 = Electoral Area No. 7
3 = Electoral Area No. 3	8 = Electoral Area No. 8
4 = Electoral Area No. 4	9 = Electoral Area No. 9
5 = Electoral Area No. 5	10 = Electoral Area No. 10

Dublin Corporation January 1920 Results[1]

Results by party

Party	Seats
Sinn Féin	42
Labour	14
Municipal Reform Association	11
Independent Nationalist	9
Independent	3
Unionist	1

Electoral Area No. 1

Candidate	Party
Elected	
Michael Staines (A)	Sinn Féin
Thomas O'Reilly	Labour
Thomas Farren	Labour
William Paul	Sinn Féin
Annie Ashton	Sinn Féin
Patrick McIntyre	Sinn Féin
Francis Nolan	Sinn Féin
John Keogh	Independent Nationalist
Dermot Logue	Labour
Not Elected	
Thomas Rooney	Independent Nationalist
Eugene McGeogh	Municipal Reform
Thomas Kavanagh	Independent Nationalist
Michael McHugh	Sinn Féin
John Derrington	Sinn Féin

[1] All results and information are taken from: *The Irish Independent,* 17 and 19 January 1920. *Irish Times,* 17 and 19 January 1920.

Electoral Area No. 2

Candidate	Party
Elected	
Seán McGarry (A)	Sinn Féin
James Hubbard Clark	Municipal Reform
William McCarthy	Unionist
James Moran	Municipal Reform
Michael Moran	Municipal Reform
Thomas Loughlin	Sinn Féin
Robert Rooney	Sinn Féin
Seán Mac Caoilte	Sinn Féin
Not Elected	
David Quaid	Independent
John Patrick MacAvin	Independent Nationalist
John Foley	Municipal Reform
Catherine Gifford Wilson	Sinn Féin
Mary McKean	Sinn Féin
Michael Maher	Independent Nationalist
William Thomas Dinnage	Unionist
Seán O'Shea	Sinn Féin
James Brady	Independent
Daniel Daly	Independent Nationalist
Christopher Monks	Independent Nationalist
Patrick Ring	Independent
John Manning	Labour

Electoral Area No. 3

Elected	
Thomas Kelly (A)	Sinn Féin
Andrew Beattie	Municipal Reform
James Gallagher	Municipal Reform
Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington	Sinn Féin
Joseph Clark	Sinn Féin
Lawrence Raul	Sinn Féin
Thomas Adkins	Sinn Féin
John Russell Stritch	Municipal Reform
Owen Hynes	Labour
Not Elected	
William Corrigan	Independent
John Higgins	Independent Nationalist
Walter Carpenter	Socialist
Michael Joseph White	Sinn Féin
Christopher Robert Perkins	Independent
Patrick Joseph Giles	Independent

Electoral Area No. 4

Elected	
Laurence O'Neill (A)	Independent
John T O'Kelly	Sinn Féin
James Brennan	Sinn Féin
John Lawlor	Labour
Michael Flannagan	Sinn Féin
William Patrick Delaney	Independent Nationalist
Joseph Farrell	Labour
Michael Dowling	Sinn Féin
Seán O'Mahony	Sinn Féin
Jennie Wyse Power	Sinn Féin
Not Elected	
James Grierson	Municipal Reform
Patrick Joseph Duffy	Independent Nationalist
Kathleen O'Doherty	Sinn Féin
William O'Hara	Independent Nationalist
Anne Egan	Municipal Reform
Joseph Larkin	Sinn Féin

Electoral Area No. 5

Elected	
Joseph MacDonagh (A)	Sinn Féin
John Bohan	Labour
William O'Connor	Independent Nationalist
Joseph Patrick Mooney	Sinn Féin
Patrick Gordon	Sinn Féin
Richard Henry White	Municipal Reform
Margaret McGarry	Sinn Féin
Not Elected	
Thomas Herbert	Labour
Arnold Lowe	Sinn Féin
Henry Neil-Watson	Independent
Sarah Harrison	Independent
James Vaughan	Independent Nationalist
Patrick Walsh	Sinn Féin
Edward Brooks	Independent Nationalist
John Reed	Independent

Electoral Area No. 6

Elected	
Lorcan Sherlock (A)	Independent Nationalist
Kathleen Clarke	Sinn Féin
Patrick Vincent Mahon	Sinn Féin
James Malinn	Sinn Féin
Joseph Coughlan Briscoe	Independent Nationalist
John Byrne	Sinn Féin
William Chase	Independent
Not Elected	
Joseph Toomey	Sinn Féin
Michael Slater	Sinn Féin
Mary Weldrick	Municipal Reform
Lillie O'Shea-Leamy	Sinn Féin

Electoral Area No. 7

Elected	
William Thomas Cosgrave (A)	Sinn Féin
Bernard Franci Shields	Municipal Reform
Peter John Doyle	Sinn Féin
Daniel Magee	Labour
Joseph McGrath	Sinn Féin
Patrick Medlar	Independent Nationalist
Andre Fitzpatrick	Sinn Féin
John Doran	Sinn Féin
John O'Connor	Labour
Not Elected	
John Saturns Kelly	Independent Nationalist
Laurence Keegan	Labour
John Groome	Independent Nationalist
Christopher Donaghy	Independent Nationalist
Michael Lynch	Sinn Féin
Mary Kelly	Labour

Electoral Area No. 8

Elected	
Alfie Byrne (A)	Independent Nationalist
Francis Cahill	Sinn Féin
PT Daly	Labour
James Gately	Independent Nationalist
Patrick McDonnell	Sinn Féin
James Lawless	Sinn Féin
Michael Brohoon	Labour
James McWalter	Municipal Reform
Not Elected	
Joseph Stanley	Sinn Féin
Thomas Lambert	Municipal Reform
James Mallon	Sinn Féin
Mary Walker	Sinn Féin
Thomas Leahy	Sinn Féin
John O'Doherty	Independent Nationalist
Robert Graham	Labour
Thomas O'Reilly	Labour
James Fox	Independent Nationalist
James Higgins	Independent Nationalist
Michael Mullen	Labour
Thomas Healy	Independent

Electoral Area No. 9

Elected	
Kathleen Clarke (A)	Sinn Féin
Thomas Lawlor	Labour
Thomas Kennedy	Labour
Micheal Byrne	Independent Nationalist
John Joseph Murphy	Sinn Féin
John Grace	Sinn Féin
Not Elected	
William McCabe	Independent Nationalist
Patrick McGuirk	Sinn Féin
Michael Scully	Labour
Michael Keavy	Labour
Michael Joseph Creagh	Independent Nationalist

Electoral Area No. 10

Elected	
Cathal Ó Murchadha (A)	Sinn Féin
William O'Brien	Labour
Thomas Cassidy	Sinn Féin
Lorcan O'Toole	Independent
Myles Keogh	Independent Nationalist
George Lyons	Sinn Féin
Michael James Maxwell-Lemon	Municipal Reform
Not Elected	
Thomas O'Bernie	Independent Nationalist
John Irwin	Municipal Reform
John Farrell	Sinn Féin
Patrick Power	Sinn Féin
Jeremiah O'Looney	Independent Nationalist
Frederick Rainford	Municipal Reform
William Murray	Sinn Féin

Appendix 2: Dublin Corporation Members, 1899-1916

Year first elected	Surname	Forename	Ward(s) Represented	Year of Birth	Address	Place of Birth	Profession	Religion (census)	Party Affiliation	Membership of other organisations	Other Public Office Held
1899	Cummins	James	Arran Quay/Glasnevin	1861	79 Prussia Street, Arran Quay	Kildare	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Richmond Lunatic Asylum Committee/Houseowners Protection Association	Justice of the Peace
1899	Jones	Richard	Arran Quay	1856	Rathdown House Phibsborough	Dublin	Merchant	Church of Ireland	Irish Party	Gaelic League/Richmond Lunatic Asylum Committee/Dublin Chamber of Commerce	
1899	Keogh	John	Arran Quay	1851	19 Stoneybatter, Arran Quay	Kildare	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party (Independent Nationalist from 1914)	Houseowners Protection Association	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1899	Coffey	William	Arran Quay	1852	10 Arran Quay, Arran Quay	Dublin	Butcher	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Dublin Victuallers Association	
1899	Ireland	William	Fitzwilliam/Clontarf West	1846	48 Lower Baggot Street, South Dock	Wicklow	Wine Merchant	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	Justice of the Peace
1899	Joynt	Thomas Anthony	Fitzwilliam	1851	179 Dartmouth Square, Rathmines & Rathgar	Wicklow	Wine Merchant	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1899	Pile	Thomas Devereux	Fitzwilliam	1856	196 Kenilworth Square, Rathmines	Dublin	Merchant	Methodist	Irish Party		
1899	Corrigan	Patrick William	Fitzwilliam	1852	5 Camden Street Lower, Fitzwilliam	Dublin	Undertaker	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League	
1899	Lenehan	Thomas	Inns Quay	1845	16 St Peters Road, Arran Quay	Dublin	Ironmonger	Roman Catholic	Labour	Dublin United Trades Council/Richmond Lunatic Asylum Committee	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)

1899	Downes	Joseph	Inns Quay	1849	40 Eccles Street, Inns Quay	Meath	Baker	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League/Richmond Lunatic Asylum Committee	
1899	Richardson	Effingham	Inns Quay	1858	7 Melrose Avenue, Clontarf	Dublin	Printer	Roman Catholic	Labour	Gaelic League/Dublin United Trades Council/Richmond Lunatic Asylum Committee	
1899	O'Neill	Thomas J	Inns Quay	1862	61 Dorset Street Lower, Inns Quay	Dublin	Grocer and Spirit Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1899	Dowd	Patrick	Mansion House	1860	17 Clarence Street North, Mountjoy	Meath	Bricklayer	Roman Catholic	Labour	United Irish League/Dublin United Trades Council/Dublin Bricklayers Association	
1899	Tallon	Daniel	Mansion House	1836	137 Leinster Road, Rathmines	Wicklow	Wine and Spirit Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Licensed Grocers and Vintners Association	
1899	Kelly	Thomas	Mansion House	1868	23 Longwood Avenue, Wood Quay	Dublin	Bookkeeper and Book Dealer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party (Sinn Féin from 1906)	York Street Workingmen's Club	
1899	Little	Philip	Mansion House	1836	24 Cuffe Street, Mansion House	Cavan	Grocer and Spirit Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Licensed Grocers and Vintners Association	
1899	Hendrick	John	Merchants Quay	1867	47 High Street, Merchants Quay	Dublin	Undertaker	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1899	Cox	John Patrick	Merchants Quay	1844	7 Hamilton Street, Merchants Quay	Meath	Builders Foreman	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Dublin Bricklayers Association/Town Tenants	
1899	McGovern	Michael	Merchants Quay	1852	74 Thomas Street, Merchants Quay	Westmeath	Grocer and Vintner	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		

1899	Hutchinson	Joseph	Merchants Quay	1852	55 Hollybank Road, Glasnevin	Queens County (Laois)	Secretary of Dublin Friendly Society	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Irish National Foresters/Town Tenants/Irish Volunteers	
1899	Farrell	John Joseph	Mountjoy	1872	45 Clonliffe Road, Mountjoy	Wicklow	Insurance Accountant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Workmen's Temperance Club/Town Tenants	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1899	Clarke	Joseph	Mountjoy	1865	75 North Strand Road, Mountjoy	Dublin	Carpenter	Roman Catholic	Labour	Dublin United Trades Council/Dublin Carpenters Society	
1899	Leahy	William Joseph	Mountjoy	1856	25 Blackhall Street, Arran Quay	Dublin	Cooper	Roman Catholic	Labour	United Irish League/Gaelic League/Dublin Court of Conscience/Dublin Coopers Society	
1899	Kennedy	John	Mountjoy	1832	6 Margaret Place, Mountjoy	Dublin	Cattle Salesmaster	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1899	Hennessy	James	North City	1851	352 Palmerston Road, Rathmines	Tipperary	Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Licensed Grocers and Vintners Association	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1899	White	Patrick	North City	1860	22 Henry Street		Tailor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League	
1899	Long	John	North City	1846	57 Moore Street, North City	Wexford	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1899	Canty	Michael	North City	1857	6 Bachelors Walk, North City	Cork	Corporation Labourer	Roman Catholic	Labour	United Irish League/Dublin United Trades Council/Corporation Workmen's Union	
1899	Fleming	Edward	North Dock	1865	14 St Mary's Road, North Dock	Dublin	Painter	Roman Catholic	Labour		

1899	Harrington	Timothy Charles	North Dock	1852	19 Dawson Street, Mansion House	Cork	Journalist and Lawyer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)/Dublin Port and Docks Board
1899	Holohan	Edward	North Dock	1838	9 North Wall, North Dock	Armagh	Shipping Agent	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Dublin Port and Docks Board
1899	Bergin	Daniel L	North Dock	1860	38 Burrow, Howth	Kings County (Offaly)	Licensed Vintner	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Licensed Grocers and Vintners Association	Dublin Port and Docks Board
1899	Doyle	William	Rotunda	1854	40 Belvedere Road, Rotunda	Wicklow	Builder	Roman Catholic	Labour	Ancient Order of Hibernians/Town Tenants/Richmond Lunatic Asylum Committee/Irish National Foresters	
1899	Nannetti	Joseph Patrick	Rotunda	1875	10 Mountjoy Place, Mountjoy	Dublin	Printer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/IRB/GAA/Ancient Order of Hibernians	Justice of the Peace/Dublin Port and Docks Board
1899	Kennedy	Hugh Boyle	Rotunda	1845	8 Great Denmark Street, Rotunda	Donegal	Surgeon	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1899	O'Hara	Peter	Rotunda	1849	103 Dorset Street Upper, Inns Quay	Kildare	Publican and Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Licensed Grocers and Vintners Association	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1899	Russell	William	Royal Exchange	1856	55 King Street, Royal Exchange	Dublin	Hairdresser	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1899	Murray	Michael	Royal Exchange/South City	1853	3 Prince Edward Terrace, Blackrock	Cavan	Umbrella Manufacturer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		

1899	Beattie	Andrew	Royal Exchange/South City	1852	46 Fitzwilliam Square, Mansion House	Down	Magistrate	Presbyterian	Unionist (Independent from 1911, Home Rule from 1914)	City of Dublin Unionist Association/Dublin Citizens Association	Justice of the Peace
1899	Brady	James	Royal Exchange/Clontarf East	1847	21 Hollybrook Road, Clontarf West	Dublin	Solicitor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party (Sinn Féin from 1910)	Town Tenants	
1899	Sexton	Robert	South City	1814	70 Harcourt Street, Fitzwilliam	England, Suffolk	Merchant	Church of England	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	Justice of the Peace/Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1899	Healy	George	South City/Clontarf East	1829	27 Hollybrook Road, Clontarf West	Limerick	Master Printer	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	Justice of the Peace
1899	Macnie	George	South City	1835	1 Clontarf East, Clontarf East	Scotland	Master Printer	Presbyterian	Unionist		Justice of the Peace/Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)/Dublin Port and Docks Board
1899	Brown	Henry	South City	1818	3 Fownes Place, South City	Dublin	Chartered Accountant	Methodist	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	Justice of the Peace
1899	Cotton	William Francis	South Dock	1841	Hollywood, Roebuck, Dundrum	Dublin	Managing Director Alliance Gas	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League	Justice of the Peace
1899	Burke	Daniel	South Dock	1846	50 Lower Baggot Street, South Dock	Tipperary	Grocer and Publican	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Licensed Traders Association	
1899	Clancy	John	South Dock/Clontarf East	1846	3 Conquer Hill, Clontarf East	Sligo	Agent	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League/IRB	

1899	O'Meara	John James	South Dock	1865	45 Mount Street Lower, South Dock	Dublin	Solicitor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1899	Meade	Joseph Michael	Trinity	1839	Aylesbury Road, Pembroke	Dublin	Building Contractor and Landlord	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Justice of the Peace
1899	Doyle	Laurence	Trinity	1847	37 Great Brunswick Street, Trinity	Wexford	Grocer and Vintner	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Irish National Foresters	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1899	O'Reilly	Gerald	Trinity	1842	17 Stillorgan Park, Stillorgan	Carlow	Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Ancient Order of Hibernians/Gaelic League/Richmond Lunatic Asylum Committee	
1899	Meagher	Philip	Trinity	1852	1 Townsend Street, Trinity	Tipperary	Tea and Spirit Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1899	Flanagan	Michael	Usher's Quay	1838	Portmahon House, South Circular Road	Dublin	Farmer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Richmond Lunatic Asylum Committee	Justice of the Peace
1899	Redmond	William	Usher's Quay	1861		England, Liverpool	Soldier	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1899	Gorevan	Bernard	Usher's Quay	1846	101 Jame's Street, Usher's Quay	Sligo	Draper	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1899	Gibbons	John	Usher's Quay	1851		Dublin	Baker	Roman Catholic	Labour	Dublin United Trades Council/Dublin Baker's Union	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1899	Davin	John	Wood Quay	1861	198 Terenure, Rathfarnham	Queens County (Laois)	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Licensed Grocers and Vintners Protection Association	
1899	McCall	Patrick Joseph	Wood Quay	1861	25 Patrick Street, Wood Quay	Dublin	Grocer and Spirit Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1899	Kernan	Michael	Wood Quay		67 Harcourt Street		Mineral Water Manufacturer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		

1899	Dodd	Reuben Joseph	Wood Quay	1850	90 South Circular Road Portobello, Wood Quay	Dublin	Legal Accountant and Insurance Agent	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1899	McKenna	Francis	Wood Quay	1860	35 Upper Clanbrassil Street, Wood Quay	Longford	Grocer and Spirit Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League	
1900	Monks	Patrick	Arran Quay	1857	38 King Street, Arran Quay	Dublin	Grocer and Vintner	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1900	Irwin	John	North City	1858	33 Rutland Square, Rotunda	Dublin	Paper Manufacturer	Presbyterian	Irish Party	Gaelic League/Dublin Citizens Association	Justice of the Peace
1900	Coughlan Briscoe	Joseph Niall Maw	Mountjoy	1871	10 Summerhill, Mountjoy	Dublin	Councillor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Town Tenants/Temperance Movement	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1900	Lyons	James	Trinity	1860	3 Luke Street, Trinity	Louth	Pawn Broker	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1900	Crimmins	William C	Usher's Quay	1864	25 Jame's Street, Usher's Quay	Limerick	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Town Tenants	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1900	Lawless	George	Usher's Quay	1868	126 James's Street, Usher's Quay	Dublin	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1901	Crozier	James	Glasnevin/Clontarf East	1838	26 Montpelier Hill, Arran Quay	Scotland	Veterinary Surgeon	Church of Ireland	Unionist	Richmond Lunatic Asylum Committee	Justice of the Peace/Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)

1901	O'Reilly	Robert	South City	1834	8 Parliament Street, Merchants Quay	Dublin	Tailor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1901	Vaughan	James	Merchants Quay	1870	7 Dean Street, Merchants Quay	Clare	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League/Ancient Order of Hibernians/Town Tenants	
1901	Altman	Albert L	Usher's Quay	1853	3 Tyreconnell Road, Kilmainham	Poland	Salt Merchant	Jewish	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League/Workmen's Temperance Club	
1901	Noble	Andrew	Clontarf West	1859	1 Thorlough Terrace, Clontarf West	Cork	Master Builder	Brethren	Unionist	Gaelic League/City of Dublin Unionist Association	
1901	McCarthy	Joseph Francis	Glasnevin	1854	26 Charlevill Road, Glasnevin	Cork	Justice of the peace	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League	Justice of the Peace
1901	McCabe	Peter Joseph	North City	1848	Richmond, Dundrum	Kilkenny	Master Victualler	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Dublin Victuallers Association	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1901	McAuley	Thomas	Rotunda	1852	39 Lower Dorset Street, Rotunda	Antrim	Publican and Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1901	Gibson	Henry	Clontarf East	1843	20 Castle Avenue, Clontarf East	Dublin	Magistrate	Church of Ireland	Unionist		Justice of the Peace/Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1901	Booker	George	Clontarf East	1861	21 Castle Avenue, Clontarf East	Dublin	Insurance Manager	Church of Ireland	Unionist		
1901	Tickell	George	Clontarf East	1874	9 Seafield Avenue, Clontarf East	Dublin	Medical Student	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	Justice of the Peace

1901	Judge	Michael J	Clontarf East	1847	1 Howth Road, Clontarf East	Tipperary	Provision Agent	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League/Richmond Lunatic Asylum Committee/Ancient Order of Hibernians/Irish Volunteers	Justice of the Peace
1901	Graham	William	Clontarf West	1842	Strand House, Clontarf East	Armagh	Property Owner and Timber Merchant	Church of Ireland	Unionist		Justice of the Peace/Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1901	Lyon	Abraham	Clontarf West	1853	10 Howth Road, Clontarf West	Dublin	Insurance Agent	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League	
1901	Woodhams	William James	Clontarf West	1845	3 Albany Terrace, Clontarf West	Scotland	Iron Merchant	Presbyterian	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	
1901	Derwin	James	Drumcondra	1851	114 Drumcondra Road, West Side, Drumcondra	Longford	Builder	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League/Richmond Lunatic Asylum Committee	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1901	Murray	Patrick	Drumcondra		Verbena House, St Francis' Road, Drumcondra				Irish Party	Richmond Lunatic Asylum Committee	
1901	Vance	Francis	Drumcondra/Clontarf West	1848	137 Lower Drumcondra Road, Drumcondra	Derry	Insurance Manager	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1901	Lawler	Thomas Joseph	Drumcondra	1866	46 Lower Drumcondra Road, Drumcondra	Dublin	Victualler	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League/Dublin Victuallers Association	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)

1901	Dinnage	William Thomas	Glasnevin	1856	8 Eglinton Terrace, Glasnevin	England, Sussex	Builder	Church of Ireland	Unionist	Gaelic League	Justice of the Peace/Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1901	Begg	Garrett	Glasnevin	1827	Beggsboro, Cabra, Glasnevin	Dublin	Market Gardner	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1901	Fitzpatrick	Michael	Inns Quay	1851	17 Leo Street, Inns Quay	Dublin	Builder	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League	
1901	McCann	James	New Kilmainham	1864	4 Tyrconnell Road, East Side, New Kilmainham	Dublin	Wine and Spirit Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Justice of the Peace/Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1901	Cooney	John	New Kilmainham	1867	4 Inchicore Road, North Side, New Kilmainham	Kildare	Grocer and Publican	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League/Licensed Grocers and Vintners Association	
1901	Kelly	Charles	New Kilmainham	1849	4 St Mary's Villas, New Kilmainham	Leitrim	Builder	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Dublin Ratepayers Association	
1901	Cronin	Jeremiah	New Kilmainham	1834	5 Westland Villas, New Kilmainham	Kerry	Retired Railway Engineer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Dublin Ratepayers Association	
1901	Byrne	Thomas	North Dock	1851	1 Donnycarney, Clontarf West	Dublin	Agent and Carrier	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League	
1901	Fitzgerald	Thomas Joseph	South Dock	1862	173 Great Brunswick Street, Trinity	Dublin	Decorator	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1901	Moore	George Tighe	Trinity	1870	2 Conquer Hill Cottages, Clontarf East	Meath	Architect	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League	

1902	Delahunt	Joseph	Royal Exchange	1854	92 Lower Camden Street, Fitzwilliam	Wicklow	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Richmond Lunatic Asylum Committee	
1902	O'Reilly	Thomas	Trinity/Inns Quay	1869	146 Dorset Street Upper, Inns Quay	Clare	Wine and Spirit Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Ancient Order of Hibernians	
1902	Keys	John	Fitzwilliam	1855	26 South Circular Road Portobello, Wood Quay	Donegal	Physician and Surgeon	Church of Ireland	Unionist	Gaelic League/Houseowners Protection Association	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1902	Reigh	William Esmonde	New Kilmainham/Clontarf East	1861	71 Harcourt Street, Fitzwilliam	Dublin	Commercial Agent	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1902	Gaynor	Arthur	Arran Quay	1841	14 Stoneybatter, Arran Quay	Westmeath	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Licensed Grocers and Vintners Association	
1902	Dunne	Thomas	Arran Quay	1843	20 Rathdown Terrace, North Circular Road, Arran Quay	Tipperary	Victualler	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Dublin Victuallers Association	
1902	Mullaly	Michael	North Dock		91 Church Street		Carpenter		Labour	Dublin United Trades Council	
1902	Smyth	Edward Weber	Royal Exchange	1842	73 St Stephens Green, Fitzwilliam	Dublin	Wine Merchant	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association/Houseowners Protection Association	Justice of the Peace
1903	Daly	Daniel	Drumcondra/Glasnevin	1851	31 Botanic Avenue, Glasnevin	Kilkenny	Building Contractor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League/National Registration Association	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1903	Crowe	Moses	Glasnevin	1861	1 Carlingford Terrace, Glasnevin	Wexford	Spirit Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)

1903	O'Loughlin	Thomas F	Inns Quay	1870	28 Lower Dorset Street, Rotunda	Sligo	Grocer and Wine Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Licensed Grocers and Vintners Association	
1903	Lord	Michael Joseph	New Kilmainham	1864	18 James's Street, Usher Quay	Dublin	Mechanical Engineer	Roman Catholic	Labour (Sinn Féin from 1906)	Dublin United Trades Council	
1903	Ryan	Pierce	North Dock	1866	51 Talbot Street, North Dock	Tipperary	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1903	Lawlor	John	Rotunda	1861	9 Fontenoy Street, Inns Quay	United States	Hackney Cab Proprietor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party (Sinn Féin from 1910, Labour from 1914)		Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1903	Daly	Patrick Thomas	Rotunda/North Dock	1870	18 Innisfallen Parade, Inns Quay	Dublin	Printer and Compositor	Roman Catholic	Labour (Sinn Féin from 1906, Labour from 1914)	IRB/Gaelic League/ITGWU/Dublin United Trades Council	
1903	Cahill	James	Royal Exchange	1851	64 Aungier Street, Royal Exchange	Dublin	Tinplate Worker Master	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1903	Monk	Edward Patrick	South City	1856	9 Cavendish Row, Rotunda	Dublin	Wine Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Justice of the Peace
1903	Fanagan	William	Wood Quay	1845	54 Aungier Street, Mansion House	Dublin	Undertaker	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Town Tenants	
1904	Kennedy	Thomas	Fitzwilliam	1843	5 Leeson Street Lower, Fitzwilliam	Dublin	Grocer and Spirit Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1904	Grimes	Christopher	North City	1853	55 Great Britain Street, North City	Dublin	Butcher	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League/Dublin Victuallers Association/Houseowners Protection Association/Town Tenants	

1904	Camac	Joseph P	South Dock	1865	14 Grand Canal Street, South Dock	Dublin	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League	
1904	Parkinson	John	Mountjoy	1869	1 Summerhill, Mountjoy	Tipperary	Grocer and Vintner	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Houseowners Protection Association/Town Tenants	
1904	Carolan	John	Arran Quay	1845	77 North King Street, Arran Quay	Dublin	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	Justice of the Peace/Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1904	McCarthy	William	Clontarf West	1858	4 Marino Crescent, Clontarf West	Dublin	Pharmaceutical Chemist	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	
1904	Dawson	Andrew	Drumcondra	1837	35 Hollybank Road, Drumcondra	Scotland	Retired Booksellers Agent	Church of Scotland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	
1904	Cole	Walter Leonard	Inns Quay	1867	4 Drishogue, Belvedere Villas, Drumcondra	England, Liverpool	Fruit Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party (Sinn Féin from 1906)	Gaelic League/Celtic Literary Society	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1904	Madden	Anthony	Inns Quay	1866	6 St Mary's Abbey, Inns Quay	Dublin	Clerk	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League	
1904	Rippingale	William	Mansion House	1868	327 Terenure, Rathfarnham	Kerry	Hotel Proprietor	Methodist	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association/Dublin Conservative Workingmen's Association	
1904	Partridge	William	New Kilmainham	1874	3 Patriotic Terrace, Usher's Quay	Sligo	Engine Fitter	Roman Catholic	Labour (Sinn Féin from 1906, Labour from 1912)	Gaelic League/IRB/ITGWU/Irish Citizen Army	
1904	Cogan	John Michael	Royal Exchange	1865	34 Leinster Road, Rathmines	Wicklow	Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League/Ancient Order of Hibernians	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)

1904	Johnston	William	Usher's Quay	1865	23 Rialto Buildings, Usher's Quay	Leitrim	General Labourer	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1905	Hatch	Joseph	Fitzwilliam	1853	6 Lesson Street Lower, Fitzwilliam	Dublin	Dairy Proprietor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League/Cowkeepers and Dairymen's Association	
1905	Doyle	Joseph		1854	2 Fairview Strand East, Clontarf West	Dublin	Victualler	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1905	McWalter	James Charles	North City	1868	19 Earl Street North, Mountjoy	Dublin	Physician	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League/Ancient Order of Hibernians/Town Tenants	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1905	Higginbotham	Frederick William	Clontarf East	1875	6 Sea Road, St John's Terrace, Clontarf East	Meath	Civil Engineer	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	
1905	Keegan	Francis	Glasnevin	1857	2 Carlingford Terrace, Glasnevin	Dublin	Builders Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1905	Kavanagh	William	Usher's Quay		54 and 55 James's Street		Provision Merchant		Irish Party		
1905	Scully	John	Usher's Quay/Merchants Quay	1867	23 Dolphins Barn, Merchants Quay	Kings County (Offaly)	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1905	Lennon	Patrick	Fitzwilliam	1861	56 Lower Camden Street, Fitzwilliam	Wicklow	Victualler	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1905	Clear	Thomas	Mansion House	1878	42 Mount Street, South Dock	Dublin	Hackney Car Driver	Roman Catholic	Irish Party (Sinn Féin from 1906)		

1905	Dowling	Charles	Merchants Quay	1849	28 Winteravern Street, Merchants Quay	Kildare	Grocer and Wine Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Licensed Grocers and Vintners Association	
1905	Reynolds	John	Mansion House	1868	3 Redmond's Hill, Mansion House	Dublin	Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party (Sinn Féin from 1906)		
1905	Ryan	Jeremiah Joseph	Mansion House	1873	32 Wexford Street, Mansion House	Tipperary	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party (Sinn Féin from 1906)		
1905	Sherlock	Lorcan	Mountjoy	1873	78 Summerhill, Mountjoy	Dublin	Tobacconist	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Irish Volunteers	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1905	O'Carroll	Patrick	New Kilmainham	1863	Blacklion Cottages, New Kilmainham	Dublin	Clerk	Roman Catholic	Irish Party (Sinn Féin from 1906)	Gaelic League	
1905	O'Reilly	John	North City	1863	55 Great Britain Street, North City	Dublin	Victualler	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Irish National Foresters/Dublin Victuallers Association	
1905	Doyle	John	Royal Exchange	1862	11 Duke Street, Royal Exchange	Wicklow	Dairy Proprietor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Cowkeepers and Dairymens Association	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1905	Cahill	Thomas	South City	1865	14 Trinity Street, South City	Tipperary	Grocer and Vintner	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1905	Doyle	Michael	Trinity	1861	12 Townsend Street, Trinity	Wicklow	Provision Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League	
1906	James	Charles Agustus	North City	1851	36 Strand Road, Pembroke	Wales, Newport	Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League/Town Tenants	Justice of the Peace/Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)

1906	Kavanagh	John	North Dock	1861	1 Beaver Street, North Dock	Queens County (Laois)	Farrier	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1906	Rooney	Thomas	Arran Quay	1860	5 Infirmary Road, Arran Quay	Dublin	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Richmond Lunatic Asylum Committee	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1906	Cahill	Michael	Clontarf West	1859	29 Hollybrook Road, Clontarf West	Cork	Gentleman and Out Fitter	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1906	O'Kelly	John T	Inns Quay	1882	7 Fitzroy Avenue, Drumcondra	Dublin	Newspaper Manager	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin	IRB/Gaelic League	
1906	O'Lehane	Michael	New Kilmainham	1873	2 Edenvillas, Tyrconnell Road, Inchicore	Cork	Draper and Trade Union Organiser	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin	Gaelic League/Dublin United Trades Council	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1906	Rooney	Patrick Joseph	New Kilmainham		Shelmartin, Emmet Road, New Kilmainham		Shipping Agent		Irish Party	United Irish League/Dublin Citizens Association	
1906	O'Reilly	Patrick	North Dock	1846	8 Lower Buckingham Street, North Dock	Dublin	Clerk	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1906	Meade	Edward	Trinity	1842	1 Great Denmark Street	Dublin	Gentleman	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1906	Byrne	James	Wood Quay	1883	12 Cross Kevin Street, Wood Quay	Queens County (Laois)	Cowkeeper and Dairyman	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin	Gaelic League	

1907	Monks	Christopher	Glasnevin	1866	25 De Courcy Square, Glasnevin	Dublin	Dairy Proprietor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League/Irish National Foresters/Ancient Order of Hibernians	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1907	Sheehan	Timothy Joseph	Wood Quay	1875	43 Patrick Street, Wood Quay	Dublin	Electrical Engineer	Roman Catholic	Labour (Sinn Féin from 1907, Independent Nationalist from 1914)	IRB/Gaelic League	
1907	Cole	Michael	Mansion House	1871	11 Cuffe Street, Mansion House	Longford	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League/Ancient Order of Hibernians	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1907	Doyle	Denis M	Drumcondra		12 Lower Drumcondra Road, Drumcondra		Gentleman		Sinn Féin		Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1907	O'Carroll	Richard	Mansion House	1876	49 Cuffe Street, Mansion House	Dublin	Bricklayer	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin (Labour from 1909)	Dublin United Trades Council/Incorporated Brick and Stone layers Union/ITGWU	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1907	Moloney	John	North City	1873	10 Norfolk Market	Dublin	Tailor	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1907	Bewley	Ernest	South City	1861	Danum, Zion Road, Rathgar	Wicklow	Tea and Coffee Merchant	Society of Friends (Quaker)	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	
1907	Comerford	Patrick	Trinity	1848	5 Lombard Street, Trinity	Dublin	Accountant	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin		
1907	Altman	Mendel	Usher's Quay	1861	17 Queen Street, Arran Quay	Dublin	Salt Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League/Ancient Order of Hibernians	
1907	Bradley	Robert	Trinity	1856	4 Hamilton Row, Trinity	Dublin	Engine Fitter	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Ancient Order of Hibernians/Nationalist Registration Association	Justice of the Peace

1908	Quaid	David A	Drumcondra	1872	1 Convent Avenue, Drumcondra	Dublin	Solicitor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party (Independent Nationalist from 1914)	Gaelic League/Town Tenants/Dublin Citizens Association	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1908	Healy	Denis	Usher's Quay	1875	40 Usher's Quay, Usher's Quay	Kerry	Collar and Harness Maker	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin	Gaelic League	
1908	Birney	George	Clontarf East	1877	Tudor House, Clontarf East	Dublin	Solicitor	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	
1908	Murray	Charles Joseph	Drumcondra	1880	St Alphonsus Road, Drumcondra	Dublin	Solicitor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/National Registration Association	
1908	Gallagher	James Michael	Fitzwilliam	1859	19 Charlotte Street, Fitzwilliam	Leitrim	Tobacconist	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1908	Begg	Gerald	Inns Quay	1857	Fortostman, Crumlin	Dublin	Auctioneer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Richmond Lunatic Asylum Committee	Justice of the Peace
1908	McCarthy	Daniel	Merchants Quay	1881	4 Raleigh Place, Merchants Quay	Dublin	Commercial Traveller	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin	Irish Volunteers/GAA	
1908	Gleeson	Joseph	New Kilmainham	1858	Frankfort Lodge, Inchicore, New Kilmainham	Tipperary	Solicitor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1908	Union	Robert J	North City	1879	56 Moore Street, North City	Dublin	Victualler	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Dublin Victuallers Association	
1908	Gregan	Paul	North Dock	1842	37 Marlborough Street, North Dock	Wicklow	Retired School Teacher	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin	Gaelic League/Celtic Literary Society	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1908	Alexander	Dickson	South Dock	1855	Woodlawn, Dundrum	Scotland	Florist and Seed Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League	

1909	Ryan	Christopher Laurence	North Dock	1870	56 Amiens Street, North Dock	Dublin	Hairdresser	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League/Richmond Lunatic Asylum Committee	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1909	Scott	Thomas Robertson	Clontarf West	1845	19 Heathfield Road, Terenure	Scotland	Furniture Manufacturer and Trader	Church of Scotland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association/Richmond Lunatic Asylum Committee	
1909	Maher	Michael	Glasnevin	1865	10 Botanic Avenue, Glasnevin	Galway	Dairyman	Roman Catholic	Irish Party (Independent Nationalist from 1913)	United Irish League/Gaelic League	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1909	McCartan	Patrick	Rotunda	1878	19 Belvedere Road, Rotunda	Tyrone	Medical Doctor	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin	IRB/Gaelic League	
1909	McKee	James J	Royal Exchange	1871	25 Dawson Street, Royal Exchange	Armagh	Licensed Vintner	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1909	Cosgrave	William Thomas	Usher's Quay	1880	174 James's Street, Usher's Quay	Dublin	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin	Gaelic League	
1909	Brady	Owen	Wood Quay		1 Patrick Street		Merchant		Irish Party	United Irish League	
1909	Delaney	James Paul	Trinity	1867	3 Duke Row, Summerhill, Mountjoy	Dublin	Carpenter and Organiser	Roman Catholic	Labour	Dublin United Trades Council	
1910	Mahon	Patrick Vincent	Mountjoy	1871	44 Portland Row, Mountjoy	Dublin	Printer	Roman Catholic	Temperance (Irish Party from 1910)	United Irish League/Temperance Movement/Ancient Order of Hibernians/IRB	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1910	Fox	James Joseph	North City	1859	18 St Joseph's Villas, North City	Dublin	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1910	O'Beirne	Thomas M	South Dock	1875	73 Mount Street Lower, South Dock	Roscommon	Hotel Proprietor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	Dublin Port and Dock Board

1910	Farrelly	John Peter	North Dock	1869	3 Vernon Avenue, Clontarf East	Cavan	Grocer and Wine Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party (Independent Nationalist from 1914)	United Irish League	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1910	O'Neill	Laurence	Rotunda	1864	Smithfield, Arran Quay	Dublin	Corn Merchant	Roman Catholic	Independent Nationalist		
1910	Shortall	Patrick	Rotunda	1872	47 Hardwick Street, Rotunda	Dublin	Builder	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Dublin Citizens Association/Town Tenants	
1910	O'Neill	James Joseph	South City	1874	29 Essex Street, South City	Wicklow	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1910	O'Toole	Lorcan	Trinity	1882	3 Lombard Street, Trinity	Wicklow	Commission Agent	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin	Gaelic League	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1910	Swaine	Michael J	Wood Quay	1878	68 South Circular Road, Merchants Quay	Dublin	Commission Agent	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1910	Dwyer	Patrick Joseph	Wood Quay	1881	55 High Street, Merchants Quay	Wicklow	Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1911	Kelly	James J	Fitzwilliam	1871	35 Camden Street Upper, Fitzwilliam	Dublin	Tobacconist	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Ancient Order of Hibernians	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1911	O'Brien	Thomas	Mansion House	1863	52 Bishop Street, Mansion House	West Indies	Hackney Car Driver	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1911	O'Connor	William	Merchants Quay	1862	35 New Street, Wood Quay	Wexford	Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Licensed Grocers and Vintners Association	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)

1911	Murray	John	New Kilmainham		Inchicore House		Barrister		Irish Party	United Irish League	
1911	Byrne	Alfred	North Dock	1882	37 Talbot Street, North Dock	Dublin	Publican	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1911	Cogan	Denis J	Usher's Quay	1859	115 Thomas Street, Usher's Quay	Wicklow	Provision Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1911	O'Reilly	Peter	Wood Quay	1873	101 Bride Street, Wood Quay	Cavan	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Irish Volunteers	Justice of the Peace
1912	Macken	Peter Paul	North Dock	1879	13 Nassau Place, Royal Exchange	Dublin	House Painter	Roman Catholic	Labour	Gaelic League/Dublin United Trades Council/ITGWU/IRB/Irish Volunteers	
1912	Richardson	William	North Dock	1872	4 Foster Place, Mountjoy	Limerick	Packer	Roman Catholic	Labour (Irish Party from 1912)	United Irish League	
1912	Crawford	Samuel Hellyer	Clontarf West	1880	64 St Lawrence Road, Clontarf West	Dublin	Solicitor	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association/Richmond Lunatic Asylum Committee	
1912	Maguire	Joseph	Clontarf West	1851	11 Haddon Road, Clontarf East	Down	Barrister	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/National Registration Association/Town Tenants	
1912	Thornton	John	Glasnevin	1858	26 Finglas Road, Glasnevin	Dublin	Retired Civil Servant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Dublin Citizens Association	Justice of the Peace/Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1912	Bohan	John	Merchants Quay	1871	10 Basin Street, Usher's Quay	Dublin	General Labourer	Roman Catholic	Labour	ITGWU	
1912	Kelly	John Saturnus	New Kilmainham	1857	43 Lombard Street, Wood Quay	Dublin	Railway Labourer	Roman Catholic	Labour	United Irish League/Irish Railway Workers Trade Union	

1912	O'Hanlon	Thomas	New Kilmainham	1877	191 Emmet Road, New Kilmainham	Louth	Coachmaker	Roman Catholic	Irish Party (Labour from 1913)	United Irish League/ITGWU	
1912	Larkin	James	North Dock	1874	23 Auburn Street	England, Liverpool	Trade Union Organiser	Roman Catholic	Labour	ITGWU	
1912	Harrison	Sarah Cecilia	South City	1863	13 Harcourt Street, Manion House	Down	Portrait Painter	Church of Ireland	Independent Nationalist	Irish Women's Franchise League	
1912	Hopkins	William	Trinity	1873	20 Temple Cottages, Trinity	Dublin	Chemical Plumber	Roman Catholic	Labour	ITGWU	
1912	Farren	Thomas	Usher's Quay	1879	3 Brown Street, Usher's Quay	Dublin	Stone Cutter	Roman Catholic	Labour	ITGWU/Stonecutters Union of Ireland/Dublin United Trades Council	
1912	Lawlor	Thomas	Wood Quay	1887	22 H Block Bride Street, Wood Quay	Dublin	Tailor	Roman Catholic	Labour	Dublin Tailors Society	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1912	Duffy	Patrick Joseph	Rotunda	1866	5 Frederick Street, Rotunda	Dublin	Painting Contractor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1913	Doyle	Hugh		1857	Curnalough House, Crumlin Road, Usher's Quay	Dublin	Victualler	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Dublin Victuallers Association	Justice of the Peace
1913	Bradshaw	Thomas Picton R	Clontarf West	1864	43 Greenlanes, Clontarf East	Fermanagh	Estate Agent	Church of Ireland	Unionist (Independent from 1908)		
1913	Brohoon	Michael	North Dock	1871	56 Seville Place Cottages, North Dock	Dublin	Dock Labourer	Roman Catholic	Labour	ITGWU	
1913	Delaney	William Paul	Inns Quay	1865	94 Dorset Street Upper, Inns Quay	Dublin	Victualler	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Dublin Citizens Association/Dublin Victuallers Association/Town Tenants	

1913	Nugent	John Dillon	Arran Quay	1869	90 Prussia Street, Arran Quay	Armagh	Assurance Agent	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Ancient Order of Hibernians	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1913	Gately	James	North City	1868	35 Little Denmark Street, North City	Roscommon	Furniture Dealer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1913	Tierney	William	Trinity	1873	9 Lombard Street, Trinity	Dublin	Newsagent	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin		
1914	O'Hara	William J	Inns Quay	1871	19 Chancery Street, Inns Quay	Limerick	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League/Licensed Grocers and Vintners Association/National Volunteers	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1914	Donaghy	Christopher	Usher's Quay	1865	18 Old Kilmainham, Usher's Quay	Westmeath	Spirit Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League	
1914	Chase	William	Trinity	1883	19 North Portland Street	Dublin	Plumber	Roman Catholic	Labour	Dublin United Trades Council/ITGWU	
1914	Donnelly	Henry	New Kilmainham	1877	34 Ring Street, New Kilmainham	Dublin	Metalworker	Roman Catholic	Labour	Dublin United Trades Council/ITGWU/Town Tenants	
1914	Dollar	William James	Clontarf West	1868	15 Charlemont Terrace, Clontarf West	Derry	Shipping Merchant	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	Justice of the Peace/Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1914	Ryan	John	Clontarf East	1873	Tudor Lodge, Vernon Avenue, Clontarf	Dublin	Plastering Contractor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League	
1914	Kelly	Michael Joseph	Arran Quay	1877	46 Smithfield, Arran Quay	Dublin	Building Contractor	Roman Catholic	Independent Nationalist		

1914	Coulter	William James Martin	Clontarf West		12 Vernon Parade, Clontarf				Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	
1914	Moran	Michael James	Clontarf West	1874	19 Church Street, Malahide	Leitrim	Draper	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1914	Dillon	John	Drumcondra	1874	17 Drumcondra Park, Drumcondra	Dublin	Master Builder and Contractor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Ancient Order of Hibernians	
1914	Higgins	James	North Dock	1873	3 St Patrick's Terrace, Mountjoy	Sligo	Shopkeeper	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1914	McGuinness	Charles J	Rotunda	1885	38 Gardiner Street, Upper, Rotunda	Dublin	Electrical Engineer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1914	Devlin	James	Royal Exchange	1872	10 Warren Street, Fitzwilliam	Dublin	Commercial Clerk	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1914	Corry	John Joseph	South City	1857	1 Fownes Street, South City	Cavan	Wine Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1914	Chase	William	Trinity	1880	115 Parnell Street	Dublin	Labourer	Roman Catholic	Labour	ITGWU	
1914	Groome	John	Usher's Quay	1873	138 James's Street, Usher's Quay	Dublin	Spirit Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1914	Meehan	Patrick	Clontarf East		43 Dollymount Strand				Irish Party		Justice of the Peace/Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1915	O'Doherty	John	North City		63 Parnell Street		Victualler		Irish Party	United Irish League/Dublin Victuallers Association	

1915	Foley	John	Clontarf West	1883	14 Foyle Road, Clontarf West	Dublin	Civil Engineer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1915	Moran	James	Clontarf West/Clontarf East	1856	3 Hollybrook Park, Clontarf West	Wicklow	Hotel Proprietor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Justice of the Peace
1915	MacAvin	John Patrick	Drumcondra	1882	26 St Columba's Road, Drumcondra	Westmeath	Commercial Traveller	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Dublin Citizens Association	
1915	Brooks	Edward	Merchants Quay	1859	7 Pimlico, Merchants Quay	Louth	Boiler Worker	Roman Catholic	Labour	Boilermakers and Shipbuilders Trades Union	
1915	Isaacs	Joseph	South City	1869	54 Grosvenor Road, Rathmines	Scotland	Merchant	Jewish	Irish Party	Dublin Citizens Association	
1915	Power	Patrick	Trinity	1874	62 Brunswick Street, Trinity	Tipperary	Carpenter	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1915	Williams	Martha Jane	Trinity	1865	8 Creighton Street, Trinity	Dublin	Spinster	Roman Catholic	Independent		

Appendix 3: Unsuccessful Candidates in Dublin Municipal Elections, 1899-1916

Year of first contest	Surname	Forename	Ward(s) Contested	Year of Birth	Address	Place of Birth	Profession	Religion (census)	Party Affiliation	Membership of other organisations	Other Public Office Held
1899	Mulligan	Laurence	Arran Quay	1840	51 Manor Street, Arran Quay	Wicklow	Grocer and Wine Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Justice of the Peace
1899	Leahy	George	Arran Quay	1861	23 Blackhall Place, Arran Quay	Dublin	Plasterer	Roman Catholic	Labour	United Irish League/Dublin United Trades Council	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1899	Redmond	Philip	Fitzwilliam	1839	10 South Richmond Street, Fitzwilliam	Wexford	Tobacconist	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1899	Cashen	William	Fitzwilliam	1861	41 Camden Street Lower, Fitzwilliam	Dublin	Painter	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1899	Brooks	James	Fitzwilliam	1859	17 Old Camden Street, Fitzwilliam	Tipperary	Painter	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Catholic Young Men's Association	
1899	Doyle	Michael	Inns Quay/Drumcondra/ North City	1861	25 Sherrard Avenue, Rotunda	Dublin	Bricklayer	Roman Catholic	Labour	Brick & Stone layers Trade Union	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1899	O'Rourke	Laurence	Inns Quay	1840	72 Dorset Street Upper, Inns Quay	Carlow	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1899	Hopkins	James	Inns Quay	1842	109 Dorset Street Lower, Inns Quay	Dublin	Boot Maker	Presbyterian	Irish Party		
1899	Hanmore	Michael J	Inns Quay	1863	3 Prine of Wales Terrace, Bray	Galway	Solicitor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1899	Nuzum	Loftus	Inns Quay	1866	119 Prospect Terrace, Sandymount, Pembroke	Dublin	Coal Merchant	Methodist	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association/	Justice of the Peace

1899	Cochrane	Henry	Mansion House	1841	45 Kildare Street, Royal Exchange	Cavan	Merchant	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)/Justice of the Peace
1899	Mitchell	Robert	Mansion House	1846	3 Aylesbury Road, Pembroke	Dublin	Merchant	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	Justice of the Peace
1899	Bonham	Augustine	Mansion House	1846	478 Upper Rathmines	Dublin	Builder	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1899	Simmons	John	Merchants Quay	1846	53 Synge Street, Fitzwilliam	Carlow	Carpenter	Roman Catholic	Labour	Dublin United Trades Council	
1899	Goodfellow	John Stewart	Merchants Quay	1856	39 Morehampton Road, Pembroke	Dublin	Contractor	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)/Justice of the Peace
1899	Sherlock	Thomas	Mountjoy	1840	14 Richmond Street North, Mountjoy	Dublin	Journalist	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Dublin Court of Conscience/Irish Cattle Traders Association	
1899	Buckley	William	Mountjoy	1852	46 Mountjoy Square South, Mountjoy	Limerick	Solicitor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1899	Donaldson	Frank	Mountjoy/Glasnevin/Trinity/South City	1850	26 Great Charles Street, Mountjoy	Armagh	Agent and Manager	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association/ Dublin Grand Orange Lodge	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1899	Fanning	Thomas	Mountjoy	1867	38 Summerhill, Mountjoy	Dublin	Shopkeeper	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1899	Rowan	Michael	North City	1853	51 Capel Street, North City	Kings County (Offaly)	Seed Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		

1899	Stewart	Edward William	North Dock/North City	1875	6 St Bridget's Avenue, North Dock	Dublin	Clerk	Church of Ireland	Irish Socialist Republican Party	Shop Assistants Union	
1899	Branagan	James	Rotunda	1872	83 Lower Dorset Street, Rotunda	United States	General Labourer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1899	Bonass	Joseph	Rotunda	1858	6 Albany Terrace, Clontarf West	Dublin	Auctioneer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1899	Rigg	Thomas G	Rotunda	1846	37 Upper Gardiner Street, Rotunda	Scotland	Journalist	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1899	Moore	John Gibson	Royal Exchange	1839	112 Merrion Road, Pembroke	Cavan	Drapery Merchant	Presbyterian	Irish Party		Justice of the Peace
1899	Thornton	Alfred George	Royal Exchange/Fitzwilliam	1858	195 Terenure, Rathfarnham	Dublin	Painting Contractor	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1899	Thompson	George	Royal Exchange	1838	13 Fitzwilliam Place, Fitzwilliam	Dublin	Wine Merchant	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association/ Irish Tariff Reform Association	Justice of the Peace/Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1899	McEntagart	John George	Royal Exchange	1852	835 Orwell Road, Rathmines	India	Merchant	Church of Ireland	Unionist		Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1899	Goggins	Joseph John	South City/Glasnevin	1842	34 Cabragh, Castlenock	Dublin	Manufacturing Stationer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1899	Read	Thomas	South City	1837	17 Goldsmith Street, Inns Quay	Dublin	Public Record Searcher	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1899	Davis	Robert	South City		1 Marlborough Terrace, Bray		Merchant and Magistrate		Irish Party		Justice of the Peace

1899	Walker	John A	South City	1828	Seafort Lodge, Blackrock	Donegal			Irish Party		Justice of the Peace
1899	Latimer	John	South Dock	1836	3 Harcourt Place, Trinity	Cavan	RIC Pensioner	Presbyterian	Unionist		Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1899	Blane	Alex	Trinity	1855	3 Burgh Quay, Trinity	Armagh	Tailor	Roman Catholic	Labour	Irish Industrial League	
1899	Byrne	John	Trinity	1821	13 Conyngham Road, Arran Quay	Dublin	Landowner	Church of Ireland	Irish Party		Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1899	Noonan	John	Usher's Quay	1853	4 Grand Canal Bank, Usher's Quay	Tipperary	Assurance Agent	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1899	Walsh	Ambrose	Usher's Quay/New Kilmainham	1865	11 Meath Street, Usher's Quay	Dublin	Painting Contractor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1899	Beardwood	William Haughton	Usher's Quay/Trinity/Usher's Quay/Wood Quay	1842	4 Baywater Terrace, Kingstown	Dublin	Architect	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Houseowners Protection Association	
1900	Conway	James	Trinity	1841	31 Westland Row, Trinity	Tipperary	Wine Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1899	Jackson	Laurence	Wood Quay/Royal Exchange	1863	170 James's Street, Usher's Quay	Westmeath	Tailor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1900	Donaghy	John	Fitzwilliam	1856	22 Turvey Avenue, New Kilmainham	Westmeath	Commercial Trader	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1900	McGuinness	Bernard	Inns Quay		1 Berkeley Road				Temperance		Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1900	Bermingham	James	Mansion House	1853	26 Cuffe Street, Mansion House	Dublin	Master Plumber	Roman Catholic	Labour	United Irish League/IRB/Workmen's Club York Street	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)

1900	Fanning	Michael	Mountjoy	1866	19 Leinster Place, Trinity	Tipperary	Grocer and Publican	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Licensed Grocers and Vintners Association	
1900	McDonnell	John	North City	1865	23 Chancery Street, Inns Quay	Dublin	Basket Maker	Roman Catholic	Temperance	Temperance Movement	Justice of the Peace/Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1900	Lyng	Murtagh	North Dock	1871	9 Arklow Street, Arran Quay	Kildare	Commercial Clerk	Agnostic	Irish Socialist Republican Party		
1900	Moran	Michael	Rotunda	1853	40 Dorset Street, Rotunda	Roscommon	Builder	Roman Catholic	Temperance	Temperance Movement	
1900	McKevitt	William Arthur	Royal Exchange	1847	15 St Joseph's Road, Arran Quay	Dublin	Carpenter	Roman Catholic	Labour	United Irish League/Dublin United Trades Council	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1900	Oman	George	South City	1874	Fownes Street, South City	Dublin	Jeweller	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1901	McDowell	John	Arran Quay	1870	11 Charlevill Road, Glasnevin	Belfast	Solicitor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League	
1901	Kennedy	John	Clontarf East	1848	Castlewood House, Castlewood Road, Clontarf East	Tipperary	Property Owner	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League	
1901	Hillyard	William Hugh	Clontarf West	1865	36 St Lawrences Road, Clontarf East	Dublin	House and Land Agent	Church of Ireland	Unionist		
1901	Jameson	John Eustace	Clontarf West	1853	122 Roebuck, Dundrum	Dublin	Distiller and MP	Church of England	Irish Party	Gaelic League	

1901	McGrath	William	Drumcondra	1867	210 Clonliffe Road, Drumcondra	Down	Barrister	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League/Dublin Ratepayers Association	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1901	McDonogh	Michael	Drumcondra	1835	68 Drumcondra Road, West Side, Drumcondra	Clare	Retired Civil Servant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Justice of the Peace/Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1901	McArdle	Patrick	Drumcondra	1871	18 Carlingford Road, Drumcondra	Dublin	Sorting Clerk	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1901	O'Grady	John F	Drumcondra	1858	22 Drumcondra Road, West Side, Drumcondra	Dublin	Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League	
1901	Leonard	Charles	Drumcondra	1873	218 Clonliffe Road, Drumcondra	Dublin	Civil Engineer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1901	Higgins	Michael Joseph	Drumcondra	1858	140 Drumcondra Road, West Side, Drumcondra	Dublin	Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1901	McCarthy	Michael	Fitzwilliam	1850	36 Parkgate Street, Arran Quay	Queens County (Laois)	Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1901	Dennany	Thomas H	Glasnevin	1848	42 Prospect Avenue, Glasnevin	Louth	Monumental Builder and Stone Mason	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League	
1901	Armstrong	James	Glasnevin	1852	124 Phibsboro Road, Arran Quay	Dublin	House Agent	Church of Ireland	Unionist	Houseowners Protection Association	

1901	McGrath	William	Merchant's Quay	1860	47 Thomas Street, Merchants Quay	Tipperary	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1901	Flood	Michael	New Kilmainham	1860	Stone House, Inchicore, New Kilmainham	Dublin	Farmer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1901	Byrne	John	New Kilmainham	1869	3 Grattan Crescent, East Side, New Kilmainham	Dublin	Coachmaker	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1901	Reilly	John	New Kilmainham	1853	1 Emmet Road, North Side, New Kilmainham	Cavan	Butcher	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Dublin Ratepayers Association	
1901	Murray	John	New Kilmainham		37 Kilmainham Lane, New Kilmainham		Grocer		Irish Party		
1901	McLoughlin	William	North City	1870	85 St Ignatius Road, Inns Quay	Dublin	Tailor	Roman Catholic	Irish Socialist Republican Party	Gaelic League	
1901	Derwin	John	North Dock		37 Amiens Street		Barrister		Irish Party	Gaelic League	
1901	Kavanagh	Michael	Royal Exchange	1841	25 Anne Street, Royal Exchange	Dublin	Boot Maker	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Gaelic League	
1901	Byrne	Michael	South City	1863	5 Raymond Street, Merchants Quay	Kings County (Offaly)	Commercial Clerk	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1901	Reilly	James	South City	1843	7 Belgrave Park, Rathmines	Dublin	Merchant Tailor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		

1901	Best	Richard	Trinity	1869	23 Trinity College, Trinity	Armagh	Barrister	Church of Ireland	Unionist		
1901	Nolan	William	Trinity		4 Burgh Quay				Irish Party		
1902	Hardman	George	Clontarf East	1868	2 Foyle Terrace, Clontarf West	England	Commercial Traveller	Presbyterian	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	
1902	McDonagh	Michael	Drumcondra		68 Drumcondra Road, Drumcondra				Irish Party		Justice of the Peace
1902	Wyse Power	John	Inns Quay	1859	21 Henry Street, North City	Waterford	Journalist	Roman Catholic	Independent Nationalist	IRB/Gaelic League	
1902	Fitzgerald	Thomas D	Mansion House	1866	40 Harold's Cross Road, Rathmines	Tipperary	Journalist	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1902	Allen	James	North City	1870	7 Eglinton Terrace, Glasnevin	Dublin	Auctioneer and Property Owner	Church of Ireland	Irish Party	Houseowners Protection Association	
1902	Murphy	Michael James	North Dock						Irish Party		
1902	O'Reilly	Thomas J	South City	1851	3 Ardilaun Villas, Clontarf East	Roscommon	Accountant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1902	O'Neill	John	South City	1846	11 Great Ship Street, Wood Quay	Wexford	Army Pensioner	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1902	Connolly	James	Wood Quay	1868	54 Pimlico, Merchants Quay	Scotland, Edinburgh	Labourer	Roman Catholic	Irish Socialist Republican Party	Dublin United Trades Council	
1903	Ryan	Rudolph	Clontarf West	1849	8 Marino Crescent, Clontarf West	Dublin	Traveller	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)

1903	Stritch	John Russell	Drumcondra/Rotunda	1871	17 North George's Street, Rotunda	Mayo	Solicitor	Church of Ireland	Unionist	Dublin Liberal Unionist Association	
1903	Lawler	Thomas Alfred	Inns Quay	1853	36 Bolton Street, Inns Quay	Dublin	Victualler	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1903	Baird	John	Mansion House	1871	8 Mercer Street, Mansion House	Dublin	Coal Dealer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	York Street Workingmen's Club	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1903	Lyng	Thomas J	North City/Royal Exchange/North City	1873	9 Arklow Street, Arran Quay	Kilkenny	Shop Assistant	Agnostic	Irish Socialist Republican Party (Socialist Party of Ireland from 1905)		
1903	Kelly	James	Rotunda/Usher's Quay	1866	36 Reuben Avenue, Usher's Quay	Wexford	Publican	Roman Catholic	Irish Party (Home Rule from 1914)	United Irish League	
1903	Molloy	George	Rotunda	1863	45 Dorset Street Upper, Rotunda	Wexford	Dairy Proprietor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1903	West	William	South City	1848	3 Sydney Parade Avenue, Pembroke	Fermanagh	Merchant Tailor	Church of Ireland	Unionist	Dublin Liberal Unionist Association	Justice of the Peace/Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1903	Bermingham	Joseph	South City	1858	99 Cork Street, Merchants Quay	Dublin	House Decorator	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1903	Kelly	Hugh	Usher's Quay	1869	143 James's Street, Usher's Quay	Sligo	Grocer and Vintner	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Licensed Grocers and Vintners Association	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1903	Timmons	Joseph	Usher's Quay				Bootmaker		Labour		

1904	Gore	John	Clontarf East	1860	7 Haddon Road, Clontarf East	Louth	Solicitor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1904	Harte	Owen	Clontarf East	1865	14 Brunswick Street, Arran Quay	Dublin	Labourer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1904	McElroy	James	Drumcondra	1857	8 St Mel's Terrace, Drumcondra	Tyrone	Carpenter	Roman Catholic	Labour	Gaelic League	
1904	Molloy	Isaac	Fitzwilliam/South City/Fitzwilliam	1847	2 Marlborough Road	Dublin	Solicitor	Church of Ireland	Unionist		
1904	Kavanagh	Maurice	Inns Quay	1871	32 Lower Dorset Street, Rotunda	Meath	Relieving Officer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1904	O'Neill	Charles Paul	New Kilmainham	1867	38 Sandymount Avenue, Pembroke	Dublin	Solicitor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1904	Reidy	Joseph M	North City	1852	19 Capel Street, North City	Dublin	Cutter and Electrical Plater	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1904	Brophy	John	Royal Exchange	1872	15 South Anne Street, Royal Exchange	Westmeath	Plumber	Roman Catholic	Labour	Gaelic League	
1904	Mahon	John Lincon	South City/Trinity	1866	69 South Circular Road, Usher's Quay	Scotland	Commercial Traveller	Church of Scotland	Unionist	Dublin Liberal Unionist Association	
1904	Swords	William J	South City	1858	20 Anglesea Street	Dublin	Contractor	Roman Catholic	Labour	Gaelic League	
1904	Skelly	John	South Dock				Builder		Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League	
1904	Harford	Thomas Edward	Usher's Quay				Solicitor		Irish Party	Gaelic League	

1905	Nicoll	Thomas	Drumcondra	1874	10 Dargle Road, Drumcondra	Scotland	Shipping and Carting Agent	Methodist	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	
1905	Ewing	Charles Henry	Drumcondra	1873	Alpha House, Drumcondra Road, Drumcondra	Dublin	Commercial Gentleman	Church of Ireland	Independent Nationalist	Gaelic League/Cumann na nGaedheal	
1905	Cahill	Arthur John	Inns Quay	1873	82 Dorset Street Lower, Inns Quay	Dublin	Pharmaceutical Chemist	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1905	Gallagher	Michael	Mansion House	1869	10 Wexford Street, Mansion House	Sligo	Wine Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Town Tenants	
1905	Nairn	John Gilbert	Mansion House	1864	462 Tritonville Road, Pembroke	Scotland	Master Painter	Church of Ireland	Unionist		
1905	Gaffney	James	Mountjoy	1882	6 Summer Place, Summerhill, Mountjoy	Dublin	Carpenter	Roman Catholic	Labour	Cumann na nGaedheal	
1905	Coe	Joseph	New Kilmainham	1865	Ardmore House, Emmet Road, New Kilmainham	Dublin	Butcher	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1905	Brady	John	New Kilmainham	1841	9 Thomas Street, Usher's Quay	Dublin	Gentleman	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1905	Fagan	Patrick	New Kilmainham	1851	4 Pigtown Lane, Chapelizod, New Kilmainham	Kildare	General Labourer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1905	Hutchinson	Andrew	New Kilmainham		16 Irwin Street, Usher's Quay		Plasterer		Irish Party		

1905	Smartt	Joseph	New Kilmainham	1873	22 Hendrick Street, Arran Quay	Kildare	House Painter	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1905	Gaynor	James	New Kilmainham	1853	19 Liffey Street, New Kilmainham	Dublin	Carpenter	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1905	Carroll	John	New Kilmainham		Hanbury Lane		Builders Labourer		Irish Party		
1905	Gaynor	Edward	New Kilmainham	1878	32 Liffey Street, New Kilmainham	Kings County (Offaly)	Railway Worker	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1905	Carroll	Patrick	New Kilmainham	1883	22 Canal Bank, New Kilmainham	Dublin	Railway Worker	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1905	Fitzpatrick	John	New Kilmainham	1844	35 James's Street, Usher's Quay	Dublin	Greengrocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1905	Bradley	Thomas	New Kilmainham		1 Willington View, Crumlin Road		Gardener		Irish Party		
1905	Kirwan	Michael	North City	1861	44 Great Britain Street, North City	Dublin	Hairdresser	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1905	Arnall	John	Royal Exchange	1870	15 Grantham Street, Fitzwilliam	England, Surrey	Photographer	Agnostic	Socialist Party of Ireland	Gaelic League	
1905	Walker	John	South City	1860	25 Eustace Street, South City	Tyrone	Solicitor	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	
1905	Corrigan	Thomas	Usher's Quay	1868	5 Cuffe Street	Fermanagh	Labourer	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1905	Kelly	Henry	Usher's Quay		16 Irwin Street		Labourer		Labour		
1905	Murray	Thomas	Usher's Quay	1868	7 Rialto Buildings, Usher's Quay	Waterford	Blacksmith	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		

1906	Judge	William Francis	Arran Quay	1861	19 Queen Street, Arran Quay	Longford	Photographer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1906	Rooney	Edward	Arran Quay	1862	54 Arran Street, Arran Quay	Galway	Dealer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1906	Caldbeck	William	Glasnevin	1836	4 Ellsmere Terrace, Glasnevin	Queens County (Laois)	Railway Master	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	
1906	Carroll	Michael James	Mansion House	1875	22 Camden Row, Mansion House	Dublin	House Painter	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1906	Barry	Thomas	North City	1845	21 Philipsburgh Avenue, Clontarf West	Queens County (Laois)	Boot Maker	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1906	Crowley	John	North City	1842	48 Howth Road, Clontarf West	Cork	Solicitor	Roman Catholic	Independent		
1906	Heagney	Thomas	North Dock	1862	88 Seville Place, North Dock	Kings County (Offaly)	Wine Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1906	Farrell	Joseph	Royal Exchange	1869	42 William Street, Royal Exchange	Westmeath	Provision Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1906	Walsh	Edward	Trinity	1868	8 Townsend Street, Trinity	Dublin	Labourer	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1906	Garland	Richard	Trinity	1860	10 Luke Street, Trinity	Dublin	Chimney Sweeper	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1906	Doyle	Denis	Wood Quay	1846	60 Upper Clanbrassil Street, Wood Quay	Wicklow	Retired Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1907	O'Keefe	James	Drumcondra	1870	25 Drumcondra Road, Drumcondra	Cork	Master Cooper	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		

1907	Farren	John	Inns Quay/Royal Exchange/Inns Quay	1869	23 Usher's Quay, Dublin	Dublin	Tinsmith	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin (Labour from 1912)	Gaelic League/Dublin United Trades Council/ /ITGWU	
1907	Mulligan	William Francis	North Dock	1866	12 Barrow Street, South Dock	Dublin	Flour Mill Foreman	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin	Gaelic League	
1907	Mullen	Robert	Royal Exchange/Drumcondra		50 Synge Street		Publisher and Advertisement Contractor		Independent		
1907	Cavey	James	South City	1854	25 Essex Street, South City	Wicklow	Dairyman	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1907	Murray	William John	South Dock	1877	9 Albert Place, South Dock	Dublin	Commercial Traveller	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin	Gaelic League	
1907	Clarke	William	Trinity	1865	18 Donzille Street, Trinity	Dublin	Clerk	Roman Catholic	Independent		
1907	Ennis	John	Usher's Quay	1859	150 James's Street, Usher's Quay	Dublin	Corn Merchant	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1907	Cole	Francis	Wood Quay/Trinity	1873	87 Bride Street, Wood Quay	Longford	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1908	Clarke	Thomas	Arran Quay/Inns Quay	1856	30 Queen's Street, Arran Quay	Dublin	Commercial Traveller	Roman Catholic	Independent		
1908	O'Reilly	Thomas Jefferson	Clontarf East	1848	2 Belview Terrace, Clontarf East	Roscommon	Printer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Justice of the Peace
1908	MacGuire	Fredrick	Drumcondra	1860	6 St Joseph's Avenue, Drumcondra	Dublin	Legal Assistant	Roman Catholic	Independent		
1908	O'Reilly	Peter	Inns Quay		70 Lower Dorset Street		Dairyman		Labour		

1908	Nolan	Christopher	Inns Quay	1874	5 Mary Street, Inns Quay	Dublin	Boot Manufacturer	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin	Gaelic League	
1908	Malinn	James	Mountjoy		107 Summerhill, Mountjoy		Purveyor		Sinn Féin		
1908	Doyle	Joseph	New Kilmainham		10 Liffey Street, North Dock		Insurance Agent		Sinn Féin	Gaelic League	
1908	Whelan	James	North City	1876	17 Ormond Quay, North City	Dublin	Tobacconist	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin	Gaelic League	
1908	McDonagh	Peter	North City	1882	56 Amiens Street, North Dock	Dublin	Hairdresser	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1908	O'Flanagan	Michael	Rotunda	1881	15 Bayview Avenue, North Dock	Tyrone	Compositor	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin	Gaelic League	
1909	Stafford	Matthew	Drumcondra	1854	23 Lower Drumcondra Road, Drumcondra	Dublin	Business Manager	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin	Gaelic League/Cumann na nGaedheal	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1909	Dodd	James	Inns Quay	1849	1 Mountjoy Street, Inns Quay	Sligo	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Gaelic League	Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1909	Raymond	John J	Mansion House	1877	18 Mercer Street, Mansion House	Dublin	Labourer	Roman Catholic	Labour	Gaelic League	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1909	McGrath	George	Merchants Quay	1878	13 Rutland Terrace, Merchants Quay	Dublin	Accountant	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin	Gaelic League	
1909	Powell	William	North Dock	1868	47 Amiens Street, North Dock	Tipperary	Spirit Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)

1909	Gilligan	Thomas	Rotunda	1868	27 Hill Street, Rotunda	Cavan	Grocer and Spirit Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1909	Lynn	Joseph	Royall Exchange	1873	2 Coppingers Row, Royal Exchange	Dublin	Warehouse Assistant	Roman Catholic	Labour	Gaelic League	
1909	Topping	Hugh Robert	South City/Clontarf East	1878	29 Melrose Avenue, Clontarf West	Dublin	Secretary	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	
1909	Duffy	Thomas	Usher's Quay	1847	43 Thomas Street, Usher's Quay	Dublin	Draper	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	Justice of the Peace/Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1910	McGowan	James	Drumcondra		3 Blessington Cottages, Botanic Avenue				Irish Party		
1910	Mooney	Joseph Patrick	Merchants Quay	1874	62 Meath Street, Merchants Quay	Wicklow	Tea and Spirit Merchant	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin		
1910	Mooney	Patrick	Merchants Quay	1852	33 New Row South, Merchants Quay	Dublin	General Labourer	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1910	Keogh	Patrick	Mountjoy	1881	8 Charleville Mall, Mountjoy	Dublin	Clerk	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin		
1910	Sheridan	Thomas	South Dock						Irish Party		
1909	Kean	Patrick Joseph	Trinity	1859	11 Belvedere Road, Rotunda	Dublin	Proprietor of Manufacturing Company	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1910	Lambert	Richard	Trinity	1869	20 Shaw Street, Trinity	Dublin	Engineer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1910	Doyle	John	Usher's Quay	1880	9 Kennedy's Villas, Usher's Quay	Dublin	Mechanic	Roman Catholic	Sinn Féin		

1910	Callaghan	Patrick	Usher's Quay	1873	17 Clanbrassil Street Lower, Wood Quay	Dublin	Labourer	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1911	Collis	Richard	Glasnevin	1869	24 Gracepark Road, Drumcondra	Kings County (Offaly)	Chemist	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1911	Lawlor	Patrick Joseph	Inns Quay	1857	6 St Benedict's Gardens, Inns Quay	Wexford	Retired Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1911	Kenny	Thomas	Inns Quay	1870	1 Bolton Street, Rotunda	Galway	Publican	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1911	Carroll	Michael John	Mansion House	1883	129 Coombe, Merchants Quay	Dublin	House Painter	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1911	O'Rourke	Michael	New Kilmainham	1863	10 St James's Terrace, New Kilmainham	Leitrim	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1911	Bacon	Arthur	New Kilmainham	1882	73 Emmet Road, New Kilmainham	Dublin	Range Setter	Roman Catholic	Independent Nationalist		
1911	Bond	Samuel	New Kilmainham	1874	109 Emmet Road, New Kilmainham	Dublin	Boot Maker	Roman Catholic	Independent Nationalist		
1911	Harrison	Louis Frederick	Royal Exchange	1866	29 Great Brunswick Street, Trinity	Dublin	Sculptor	Church of Ireland	Unionist		
1911	Galwey	Arthur Edward	South City	1867	9 Annesley Park, Rathmines	Dublin	Bookbinder	Church of Ireland	Unionist	City of Dublin Unionist Association	
1911	Ryan	John	South City	1871	29 Upper Abbey Street, North City	Dublin	Fruit Dealer	Roman Catholic	Independent	Dublin Citizens Association	

1911	McManus	John	Trinity	1879	11 Heytesbury Street, Wood Quay	Dublin	Photo Engraver	Roman Catholic	Socialist Party of Ireland	Irish National Foresters	
1912	Kelly	John Stephen	New Kilmainham	1851	3 Camac Cottages, Usher's Quay	Dublin	General Labourer	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1912	Walsh	John	North City	1839	23 George's Place, Rotunda	Wexford	Labourer	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1912	Kavanagh	John	North Dock	1861	43 Foley Street, North Dock	Dublin	Farrier	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League/Dublin Citizens Association/Gaelic League/Town Tenants	
1912	McNamara	Charles	South City	1856	12 Donore Road, Merchants Quay	England	Plumber	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1912	Foran	Thomas	South Dock/Trinity	1883	17 Queen's Square, South Dock	Dublin	General Labourer	Roman Catholic	Labour	ITGWU	Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)
1912	Foran	Michael	South Dock	1879	5 Camden Street, Upper West Side, Fitzwilliam	Dublin	Cycle Fitter	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1913	Mullen	Michael	Inns Quay	1871	5 Gardiner Street, Lower, Mountjoy	Dublin	General Labourer	Roman Catholic	Labour	ITGWU	
1913	Breslin	Andrew	Merchants Quay		33 Emerald Square, Dolphins Barn		Carpenter		Labour	Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners	

1913	Eager	Robert	New Kilmainham	1869	10 Chapelizod Road, New Kilmainham	Louth	Accountant	Congregational	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1913	Byrne	Joseph	South Dock	1885	41 Poolbeg Street, Trinity	Dublin	Coal Porter	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1913	McGrane	Patrick	North City		129 Parnell Street		Building Contractor		Irish Party		
1913	Irwin	Thomas	Wood Quay	1875	19 E Block, Bride Street, Wood Quay	Dublin	Plasterer	Roman Catholic	Labour	Dublin Operative Plasterers Union	
1914	Mc Dermott	Robert J	Clontarf West	1849	14 Fairview Avenue, Clontarf West	Wicklow	Insurance Agent	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1914	Phillips	Reginald Stratford	Clontarf West	1875	84 Palmerstown Road, Rathmines	Dublin	Corn Merchant	Church of Ireland	Unionist		
1914	Clarke	James Hubbard	Drumcondra		Iona Park		Painter and Decorator		Unionist		
1914	Carpenter	Walter	Fitzwilliam	1871	110 Foley Street	England, Kent	Secretary of Socialist Party of Ireland	Agnostic	Socialist Party of Ireland	ITGWU	
1914	Curley	Thomas Patrick	Glasnevin	1880	189 De Courey Square, Glasnevin	Queen's County (Laois)	Secretary of AOH Insurance Society	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	Ancient Order of Hibernians/Irish Volunteers	
1914	Kearns	George	Inns Quay	1875	66 Chancery Street, Inns Quay	Dublin	Merchant	Roman Catholic	Independent Nationalist		
1914	Farrell	Joseph	Inns Quay		45 Upper Wellington Street		Labourer		Labour	ITGWU	
1914	Murphy	Arthur	Mountjoy	1879	35 Rutland Street, Mountjoy	Louth	Tailor	Roman Catholic	Labour		

1914	Campbell	James Joseph	Mountjoy	1864	51 Great George's Street North, Mountjoy	Tyrone	Clerk	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1914	McIntyre	Patrick	New Kilmainham	1879	21 Fownes Street, South City	Wexford	Journalist	Roman Catholic	Independent		
1914	Harte	Edward	North City	1840	11 Anglesey Market, Moore Street, North City	Dublin	Labourer	Roman Catholic	Labour	Dublin United Trades Council	
1914	McPartlin	Thomas	North Dock	1880	13 St Joseph's Place, North Dock	Sligo	Carpenter	Roman Catholic	Labour	Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners	
1914	Lawlor	Joseph	Rotunda	1877	14 Dorset Street, Upper, Rotunda	Dublin	Plumber	Roman Catholic	Independent Nationalist		
1914	Coyle	Patrick M	Rotunda	1866	25 Hardwicke Street	Monoghan	Dairyman	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1914	McGuinness	James	Rotunda	1879	27 Dorset Street, Lower, Rotunda	Dublin	Draper	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1914	O'Brien	John Christopher	Rotunda	1879	37 Dorset Street, Lower, Rotunda	Tipperary	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Poor Law Guardian (North Dublin Union)
1914	Keogh	Myles	South Dock	1874	4 Mount Street, Lower, South Dock	Dublin	Medical Doctor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party	United Irish League	
1915	McKeever	John Carberry	Drumcondra	1872	241 Richmond Road, Drumcondra	Dublin	Fruit Merchant	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		

1915	Lally	Charles	North Dock	1892	14 Russell Place, Rotunda	Meath	Clerk	Roman Catholic	Independent		
1915	Doyle	Thomas	Rotunda	1889	45 Dominick Street, Lower, Rotunda	Carlow	Porter	Roman Catholic	Labour		
1915	Lawler	Patrick	Rotunda		6 St Benedicts Gardens		Clothier		Independent		
1915	Reddy	Charles Joseph	Trinity	1869	Mount Gabriel, Kingstown	Dublin	Solicitor	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		
1915	Colgan	Joseph	Trinity	1880	186 Townsend Street, Trinity	Dublin	Draper	Roman Catholic	Irish Party		Poor Law Guardian (South Dublin Union)

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