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P. J. Meghen and South Tipperary County Council (1934-1942)

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Recent years in Ireland have witnessed a remarkable increase in the writing and studying of local history. This development has manifested itself in a number of ways, all of which help to provide us with a better understanding of our own local communities and those which existed in the past. Moreover, in analysing local history one becomes more aware of local achievements which, according to one historian "may emerge as our greatest claim to fame".¹ One of these achievements has been the successful application over the past century of the 1898 Local Government Act, which still forms the basis of local administration in Ireland today. Yet histories of the development of Irish local government are very scarce.

This may be because local government has not featured prominently in the more well known events in modern Irish history. Yet the reform of local administration was one of the most significant achievements of the Cumann na nGaedheal governments in the years just after the Civil War. The following decade saw further reforms and witnessed a major role played by local authorities in the conflict between the Fianna Fáil government and the Blueshirt movement. The Emergency years were a period when the responsibilities of local authorities were increased in such matters as the provision of fire services, the production of turf and the organisation of parish councils. During the late 1940s and into the following decade an increased emphasis was placed on the provision of housing and health services. These were administered almost entirely at local authority level.

The 1950s and 1960s heralded a new era in Irish economic development based on the thinking of T.K. Whitaker, then Secretary of the Department of Finance. This approach placed a greater emphasis on local government, particularly in relation to transport policy, sanitary services and physical planning. They provide key insights into the history of local communities. One historian wrote that "for the majority of Irish citizens who lived in the countryside and small towns, local government and the police were the institutions of state that impinged most closely on their lives".²

One person who was deeply involved in many of these developments over a period of fifty years was Patrick Joseph (P.J.) Meghen, who served as Commissioner in place of the elected members of South Tipperary County Council from 1934 to 1942. In this article certain aspects of Meghen's career in the county during these years, his relationship with the wider community and his impact on local government in the county will be examined. The removal from office of members of local councils and their replacement by government-appointed commissioners was not uncommon in the first two decades of the state's existence. Most of these bodies were dissolved for reasons relating to financial inefficiency and general mal-administration.

This was not the case, however, with regard to the removal from office of South Tipperary's County Councillors and the transfer of their duties to Meghen in February 1934. Certainly, the

^{*} This article was adapted from a thesis for a MA degree in the University of Limerick. – Editor.



Council's finances were in a precarious position at the time, and it was likely that for this reason alone a Commissioner might eventually have been appointed in its place. In South Fipperary, however, a very serious and sometimes violent political confrontation existed between the Blueshirt movement and supporters of Fianna Fáil, which had been elected to government in February 1932.

In relation to its impact on local administration the most significant aspect of this conflict was the failure on the part of a number of farmers to pay rates to county councils. In some instances this was due to the impact of the Anglo-Irish economic war, particularly on Irish agricultural exports. In other cases, however, many large farmers deliberately withheld payment of their rates in protest at the government's stance during the economic war. These farmers tended to engage in this action because of their membership of or support for the Blueshirts, who were to the forefront in this anti-government campaign. Indeed, the rates arrears were highest in counties where the Blueshirt movement was at its strongest.

On a national basis the effect of this "no-rates campaign" was that at the end of the 1933/1934 financial year over 36% of the entire rates due was outstanding. The position was at its worse in South Tipperary where only 45% of the rate warrant was actually paid,³ As a result, the Council's performance of its duties was subjected to an enquiry which was held on 7 February, 1934.⁴ This showed evidence of an organised attempt to prevent the collection of rates on the part of members of the County Council.⁵

Indeed, the majority of Councillors, including the Chairman P. L. Ryan, supported the antirates activity; their refusal to strike a rate in respect of the 1934/1935 financial year led to the holding of the enquiry, which also found that it was generally the wealthiest farmers who were in arrears with their rates. After considering the findings of the enquiry the Minister for Local Government and Public Health, Seán T. O'Kelly, dissolved the County Council and appointed Meghen in its place on 20 February, 1934.

Arriving at his offices in Clonmel two days later, Meghen gave an indication of his determination to proceed with an attempt to return the rates collection to normal when he stated that "for some time past there has been a no-rates campaign, and if this is allowed to continue, the whole fabric of local government would be undermined. I believe that the money for the rates is in the county and I propose to push for its collection, and if the ordinary machinery of the law does not prove sufficiently effective, I shall ask the Minister to seek from the Dáil such further powers as may be necessary".

TABLE 1
Arrears on rates due to South Tipperary County Council, 1933 to 1939

%
55
34
28
28
22
15

Sources: (*) Annual Reports, Department of Local Government and Public Health, 1934-1935, p. 205; 1935-1936, p. 197; 1936-1937, p. 173. (+) Tipperary Star, 16 Nov. 1940.



He went on to say that, once the seriousness of the situation was realised, "no responsible persons will continue to support the campaign", which, if allowed to continue would lead to all local services being suspended. However, it seemed that some in the county welcomed his appointment and there was no obvious opposition to his arrival when he formally took up office. With regard to improving the rates collection figures Meghen's efforts were immediately successful as the previous Table indicates.

As well as ensuring that the Council's revenue was sufficient, Meghen was also forced to impose economies in a number of areas. The most significant, and in terms of his relationship with the wider community, the most controversial of these economies occurred in relation to home assistance. This form of social welfare had its origins in legislation passed soon after the foundation of the state which created county health districts to be administered by boards of health and public assistance.

These boards which consisted of ten members of each county council were in effect sub-committees of those councils. They were responsible for a range of services including housing, water supplies, sewerage schemes, medical services and the administration of public assistance to the very poor. Previously this last function was associated in the public mind with the workhouse system. But soon after the formation of the state the workhouses were closed and converted into homes for the elderly and the infirm.

Hospitals were also provided for care of the sick, while the able-bodied poor were relieved as far as possible in their own homes. It was this latter form of welfare that came to be known as home assistance. F. S. L. Lyons has commented that, despite its flaws in relieving poverty, "it could be claimed that the state was making a determined effort to break away from the Victorian concept which for so long had seemed to assume that poverty was prima facie evidence of some delinquency or deficiency in the pauper".

In South Tipperary the amounts expended on home assistance were the source of some concern. At the enquiry that led to the Council's dissolution P. L. Ryan, chairman of the Council, claimed that this expenditure was the cause of its financial difficulties. This opinion was shared by the *Tipperary Star*, which wrote that it was one of the factors that led to the holding of the enquiry.

Another newspaper reported that "in the south riding of Tipperary, about a year ago, relief was being granted on a most generous scale, and some rural workers are stated to have abandoned their employment because they could get more money 'on the rates'. When the board of health realised the serious position into which their finances were getting owing to the heavy drain of the home assistance payments they began to cut down the relief, but the men who had left their work found that they could not get their jobs back and demanded the continuance of the monetary grants to them. Nevertheless, three cuts in the relief scale were made, but still the overdraft grew; for no money was being received from the rates to go to the credit side of the board's account in the bank.¹²

Even Meghen, after almost a year in office, concluded that the county had "developed the home assistance habit". Nonetheless, his efforts to reduce the amounts spent on this service were successful and he was soon able to report that "home assistance was scrutinised regularly [and when] the auditor completed his audit of the accounts to 31st March, 1935 . . . it was gratifying to find him of the opinion that the expenditure on home assistance had returned to normal". 19

However, Meghen's attempts in relation to this issue were not always welcomed by the local community. In August 1934, for example, a deputation on behalf of retired miners from The Commons met Meghen and discussed with him the hardship endured by "aged miners who



were unable to do any work except mining, which was not now available, and who were not in receipt in some cases of either home assistance or unemployment assistance". Meghen, however, could only reply that "there was a general cut in home assistance for the very good reason that they had not got the money to pay it and they had to make drastic economies". ¹⁵

Apart from his efforts at addressing the Council's finances, Meghen was responsible for overseeing programmes that were aimed at improving the social conditions of the residents of the county. In this capacity he was merely implementing government plans to solve major social problems, which throughout the 1930s were quite considerable but which the Fianna Fáil government was determined to tackle. In this regard, local authorities were to play a pivotal role in such areas as hospital construction, public housing schemes, unemployment relief works and the provision of social welfare. In South Tipperary, for example, the three years between 1934 and 1937 witnessed the building of the county hospital at Cashel and a district hospital at Clonmel and improvements to the district hospitals at Tipperary and Clogheen were carried out. In

A major housing programme was also under way in the county. In the year ending 31 March, 1937, 389 houses were completed and work was in progress on a further 331. The Fianna Fáil government's policies during the 1930s also included a more progressive welfare system that provided unemployment benefits from 1933 and pensions for widows and orphans from 1935. Meghen acknowledged that these measures eased the financial pressure on the County Council in relation to the payment of home assistance. ¹⁹

Enter Fr. John Hayes

In Meghen's relationship with the wider community two developments were to occur during his time in South Tipperary which were to have lasting effects on the remainder of his career as a public figure. These apparently unconnected, but with regard to Meghen's career, closely linked events were the founding of Muintir na Tíre by Fr. John Hayes in 1937 and the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

He first met Hayes in 1934 when the latter was a curate in Tipperary town and Meghen had just commenced work with South Tipperary County Council.²⁰ At the time Hayes was involved in community-based projects that culminated in his decision in 1937 to establish Muintir na Tíre – an organisation founded on the ideals of self-help and local development in Catholic parishes. Influenced in the main by Catholic social principles, its intention was to make rural Catholic parishes more self-reliant by organising a network of guilds which were representative of all classes and groups in a locality. Each guild elected a parish council to oversee its activities.²¹

Meghen and Hayes soon began to work together in their respective capacities. For example, Meghen as Commissioner nominated Hayes on to the county Tipperary Vocational Education Committee, of which he eventually became Chairman. When Hayes was appointed on to the Commission on Vocational Organisation, Meghen worked closely with him and drew his attention to the provisions of the 1941 Local Government Act. ²² This legislation contained provisions for the formation of approved local councils. Such bodies could be formed if a county council gave formal recognition to local community-based organisations established to promote the social and economic interests of local areas. Councils could assist such groups in various ways and they could also devolve functions to them.²³

This experiment had its origins in the Fianna Fáil government's response to the outbreak of World War II in 1939, as a result of which in 1940 it set about promoting the establishment of



parish councils throughout the state. Also that year, the Minister for Supplies, Sean Lemass, announced the appointment of Regional and County Commissioners, with contingent powers and responsibilities for the duration of the Emergency. Meghen was appointed to the latter position for the entire county of Tipperary.

This was a shadow post, to become active if the war spread to Ireland and normal government was interrupted. The County Commissioners in such circumstances would co-ordinate the supply of food, fuel and public health services, the continuity of welfare payments, the maintenance of order with the co-operation of the Garda Siochána and the relief of distress.²⁴ It was also envisaged and, indeed, encouraged by Lemass and the government that, in order to assist the County Commissioners, parish councils would be formed on a non-statutory basis.²⁵ These new bodies would be responsible for such matters as monitoring food and fuel supplies, conservation of water supplies, assisting in crop harvesting and promoting awareness of the Emergency at local level.²⁶



P. J. Meghen. – Photo courtesy Limerick Co. Council.

With this in mind, Meghen consulted Fr. Hayes and they worked out a method for using Muintir na Tíre guilds for the purpose of organising parish councils at Catholic parish level, wherever these guilds existed in Tipperary. The number of these parish councils established in the county was impressive. The Department of Local Government and Public Health noted on 13 August, 1940, that in North Tipperary such councils were formed in all but two parishes, and in South Tipperary, fifteen already existed and the remainder were in the process of being organised.

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While these figures may seem impressive, it should be noted that the existence of Muintir na Tire was a factor that helped in the formation of parish councils in Tipperary. Indeed, on 29 March, 1941 the same Department commented that the "parish guilds of Muintir na Tire appear on the whole to have a more practical outlook than the ordinary parish council". However, the general attitude towards such bodies even prior to the outbreak of war was quite enthusiastic.

Although the concept of local government at parish level never developed in Ireland, interest in the idea was common in the 1920s and 1930s. During the Dáil debates on the Local Government Bill in 1924 the possibility of parish councils was suggested as a means of filling the vacuum left by the abolition of rural district councils. In the 1930s, Fr. Richard Devane, a Jesuit, actively promoted the creation of parish councils as a new tier of local government. Much attention was paid to his views by a number of influential figures, including Éamon de Valera, who was favourably disposed to the idea.

While Fr. Hayes also advocated a role for parish councils, his views were different from those of Devane. Hayes saw the role of such bodies as being limited to voluntary activities. Devane was more ambitious and proposed that they be given responsibility for a range of services including preserving the peace, determining eligibility for unemployment assistance, providing an employment exchange, administering school meals, town planning, the division of landholdings and the provision of security for loans taken out by farmers. By 1939 it seemed that there was significant interest in the formation of such a unit of local administration.

Soon after the outbreak of World War II a number of parish councils operating on a voluntary basis were in existence and quite active. In Tipperary, for example, their activities



included turf production, distribution of seeds and fertilisers and the holding of lectures on agricultural production.³³ Meghen's role as County Commissioner involved his close cooperation with and active promotion of these parish councils.

Referring to their lack of statutory authority, he told a meeting of North Tipperary County Council, in August, 1940, that "when a man offers to save your life or to do you a good turn, you do not ask for his statutory authority to do so and it will be time enough for the pessimists to croak when experience has shown what defects lie in the parish council". At this meeting he stressed the importance of parish councils in relation to the provision of essential commodities and he also referred to their usefulness in terms of liaising with the Local Defence Force, the Local Security Force and the Red Cross.³⁴

The following month he asked the parish councils in the county to supply him with details of water supplies in their respective areas. How seriously he took such a request and, indeed, his position as County Commissioner is evident from a speech he made in November 1940:

"I want the public to remember that the County Commissioner has been appointed by the Minister for Supplies to discover the problems of the county in this matter of supplies and to report to him on the requirements and position of the county. Any person who refuses or neglects a request from me for information regarding stocks must be considered as one who is not prepared to co-operate with his fellow countrymen in preparing for an emergency. I wish to state plainly that note is being kept of such persons and they should realise that their own position in an emergency is being endangered by such action . . . In an emergency the County Commissioner will have full powers to compel obedience to his instructions".

A relaxed approach

However, he did display a willingness to consider some requests put to him by residents of the county. In April 1941, for example, a delegation from Ardfinnan asked Meghen if, as a result of the scarcity of tea in the country, the regulations regarding the consumption of unpasteurised milk could be relaxed. Meghen agreed and recommended it to the government, for which he was praised by the *Tipperary Star*.³⁷

Three months later he met a deputation from Powerstown parish council, who argued that local farmers would need some of their product to feed their cattle. Meghen replied that though "the government could not allow anything valuable for human food to be used as animal food" he would organise a conference to discuss the matter. His willingness to discuss matters of local concern and his accessibility were to have a significant bearing on how he was perceived by the people of Tipperary, particularly in the south of the county. This became very evident in the first six months or so of 1942.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s there was much debate and discussion in Irish administrative and political circles with regard to the most efficient, and at the same time the most democratic, way in which to manage local authorities. With the appointment of a number of commissioners during those years and the success with which they carried out their duties, many of the arguments seemed to favour the introduction of a system that would involve the appointment of a powerful local official working side by side with a democratically-elected council to ensure both efficiency and democracy. These two elements were incorporated in the County Management Act of 1940. A more specific provision of this legislation was that certain counties would be paired and that one manager would be assigned to both. Preference would also be given in making these appointments to existing county secretaries.



Two such administrative counties that would be paired were North and South Tipperary, and the new Manager for both was the County Secretary of the former, John P. Flynn. This led to demands from various individuals and organisations throughout the south of the county to have the law amended in order that South Tipperary would have its own manager and that Meghen would be given the position. In December 1941, for example, Cashel U.D.C. supported such a proposal.

As one of its councillors, M. J. Davern, argued in favour of Meghen:

"I fail to see why there should not be a separate and distinct county for South Tipperary . . . I am not speaking as a critic of the government. I am one of their chief supporters in this county. I tell them tonight they will be doing a very unpopular thing, something that will merit very severe criticism from even some of their most ardent supporters, if they do not appoint as County Manager a gentleman who has looked after their affairs so well, and whom the people love so well. I would like to warn the government that if they do not respond to the wishes of the people in this matter, they will be doing something very unpopular, and something that will bring down upon them a shoal of criticism such as they have never experienced before". 40

Tipperary U.D.C. also supported calls for Meghen's appointment. One of its members, Councillor Cahill of the Labour Party, agreed with the proposal although at national level his party was opposed to the concept of county management. In the Dáil debates on the subject that party's criticism was more outspoken than that of Fine Gael which, during its years in government (as Cumann na nGaedheal) up to 1932, was largely responsible for paving the way towards county management.⁴¹ Tipperary deputes and senators also supported calls for Meghen's retention.⁴²

However, it was not only politicians who made these demands. Muintir na Tíre guilds, including those in Solohead, Boherlahan, Hollyford and Tipperary town, also passed resolutions along the same lines. ⁴³ It was not surprising that Muintir na Tíre would have taken this view as Meghen was working very closely with the organisation and particularly with its parish guilds at that stage. Indeed, his efforts in this regard were commended by Fr. Hayes who said in 1941 that "during the years we have got the greatest co-operation and sympathy from" Meghen. ⁴⁴ The *Tipperary Star* also joined in calls for Meghen's retention:

"Mr. Meghen had been sent down by the Department of Local Government and we must assume that they, understanding the gravity of the situation, sent one of their best men. The result of his coming is now a part of local history. Inside two years matters were almost back to normal. Those in touch with affairs knew how grave things were and what an impasse there might have been through wrong handling. Mr. Meghen proved himself competent and tactful and in the course of a few years had things again running smoothly . . . Clearly, there is a strong, an unanswerable case for his retention and an amendment to the act to allow his eligibility seems but ordinary justice". 45

These efforts, however, were not to succeed. Following the local elections of August 1942, which saw the return of an elected County Council in South Tipperary, Meghen was appointed County Manager in Limerick. On his departure to Limerick, the other leading newspaper in the area, the *Nationalist* wrote that the people of South Tipperary would "cherish happy memories not merely of Mr. Meghen's exceptional kindness but of his many other outstanding qualities as well: his unfailing courtesy; his complete lack of class-consciousness or any thing that even vaguely savoured of it; his grandly broad outlook on matters of public concern, and, of course, his spending ability as an administrator.⁴⁶

The editor went on to praise Meghen's achievements in restoring order to the Council soon after his arrival in the county in 1934. These sentiments and those of others who called for



Meghen's retention in the county demonstrate how the community in which he worked perceived him, his role and the performance of his duties. They also suggested that a form of local administration that might have been prone to hostility and resentment on the part of the local population could become extremely popular.

This popularity reveals an interesting insight into the nature of local politics in Ireland before 1942. It seems ironic that, in a new state in which parliamentary democracy took root from a very early stage and in which party politics was to play a very dominant role in terms of brokerage and clientelism within local communities, a system of local government such as that represented by Commissioners could be so widely accepted.

Meghen's years as County Commissioner and, in particular, his involvement with the organisation of parish councils indicated the benefits of involving local communities in the country's administrative structures. Meghen was to become a leading advocate of devolving functions to such bodies and was to remain so for the remainder of his career. Such an attitude, of course, largely, explains the perception of him among the wider community in Tipperary and it is no coincidence that Fr. Hayes and Muintir na Tíre were anxious that Meghen would remain in Tipperary after 1942.

FOOTNOTES

- 1. R. D. Edwards, "An Agenda for Irish History, 1978-2018", in *Interpreting Irish History: The Debate on Historical Revisionism*, 1938-1994, ed. Ciaran Brady (Dublin, 1994), p. 67.
- 2. Mary E. Daly, The buffer state: the historical roots of the Department of the Environment (Dublin, 1997), p. 515.
- 3. Maurice Manning, The Blueshirts (Dublin, 1988), p. 109.
- 4. Annual Report, Department of Local Government and Public Health, 1933-1934, p. 13.
- 5. *Irish Press*, 9 Feb. 1934, cited in Maurice Manning, *The Blueshirts* (Dublin, 1988), p. 263. A number of rate collectors told the enquiry that they found it extremely difficult to collect the rates due to the Council. One stated: "there is no doubt there is a certain organisation which I believe to a certain extent is responsible for the non-payment of the rates. I have gone to several people and they told me that they have an organisation and that they cannot go back of it, and that they cannot pay rates until they get permission to do so". I am grateful to Mr. Brendan Long, Clonmel, former editor of *The Nationalist*, for this and other information relating to the enquiry.
- 6. Tipperary Star, 10 Feb. 1934.
- 7. Irish Times, 26 Feb. 1934.
- Ibid.
- 9. F. S. L. Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine* (London, 1973), p. 483.
- 10. *Tipperary Star*, 10 Feb. 1934.
- 11. Ibid., 24 Feb. 1934.
- 12. Irish Times, 26 Feb. 1934.
- 13. Tipperary Star, 22 Dec. 1934.
- 14. Annual Report, Department of Local Government and Public Health, 1935-1936, p. 198.
- 15. The Nationalist, 22 Aug. 1934. While Commissioner in South Tipperary, Meghen held regular sittings which he and the Council's officials attended and at which the functions of the Council were dealt with. These sittings were also attended by the press and were open to members of the public, including local deputations which often attended to address Meghen on matters of local concern. I am grateful to Brendan Long for this information.
- 16. Mary E. Daly, The buffer state: the historical roots of the Department of the Environment (Dublin, 1997), pp 154-199.
- 17. Annual Reports, Department of Local Government and Public Health, 1934-1935, p. 206; 1935-1936, p. 198; 1936-1937, p. 174.



- 18. Annual Report, Department of Local Government and Public Health, 1936-1937, p. 174.
- 19. Annual Report, Department of Local Government and Public Health, 1935-1936, p. 198.
- 20. P. J. Meghen, "We gathered round" in Rural Ireland (1957), p. 26.
- 21. Very little historical research has been carried out on Muintir na Tíre. However, for further details on the organisation, see Stephen Rynne, *Father John Hayes: founder of Muintir na Tíre the people of the land* (Dublin, 1960); Eoin Devereux, 'Community development problems in practice: the Muintir na Tíre experience, 1931-1958' in *Administration*, xxxis, no. 4 (Winter, 1991), pp 359= 363; Eoin Devereux, 'Muintir versus Macra: the Parish Plan for Agriculture, 1947-1957' in *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1998), pp 89-94; Eoin Devereux, *The theory and practice of community development*, M.A. thesis, University College Galway, 1988; Eoin Devereux, 'Class, community and conflict', in *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1995), pp 94-102; Eoin Devereux, 'Potatoes, turf and fireside chats: Muintir na Tíre and the emergency in Limerick' in *Old Limerick Journal* (Winter, 1989), pp 47-49.
- 22. The Commission on Vocational Organisation was established by the Fianna Fáil government in 1939 in response to demands that a vocationalist organisation of society be examined. The Commission, which consisted of 25 people from a range of backgrounds, under the chairmanship of Dr. Michael Browne, Bishop of Galway, reported in November, 1943. For details on this commission see J. J. Lee, *Ireland*, 1912-1985: politics and society (Cambridge, 1992), pp 271-286; J. J. Lee "Aspects of corporatist thought in Ireland: the Commission on Vocational Organisation, 1939-1943", in Cosgrove and McCartney (eds.) *Studies in Irish history presented to R. Dudley Edwards* (Dublin, 1979), pp 324-346. For an account of Fr. Hayes's membership of the Commission and Meghen's work with him in relation to it, see Stephen Rynne, *Father John Hayes: founder of Muintir na Tíre the people of the land* (Dublin, 1960), pp 160-161.
- 23. Desmond Roche, Local government in Ireland (Dublin, 1982), p. 82.
- 24. Dónal A. Murphy, *The two Tipperarys* (Nenagh, 1994), p. 210. For a personal recollection of his duties as Regional Commissioner during these years, see Leon Ó Broin, *Just like yesterday* (Dublin, 1985), pp 137-140. Ó Broin was appointed to this position in respect of counties Galway and Mayo. See also address by Seán Lemass, Minister for Supplies, on the appointment of emergency commissioners, Radió Éireann, 19 July 1940. This address is included in Joseph Boland et al (eds.) *City and county management*, 1929-1990: a retrospective (Dublin, 1991), pp 185-188.
- 25. Circular letter 80/40 from the Department of Local Government and Public Health to the secretary of each county council, 28 Aug. 1940. This letter outlined the types of activity in which parish councils should involve themselves. It also included details in relation to the Local Security Force, Air Raid Patrol and the Red Cross. See also address by Seán Lemass, Minister for Supplies, on the appointment of emergency commissioners, Radió Éireann, 19 July 1940. This address is included in Joseph Boland et al (eds.) City and county management, 1919-1990: a retrospective (Dublin, 1991), pp 185-188. See also Annual Report, Department of Local Government and Public Health, 1940-1941, pp 17-18.
- Circular letter 80/40 from the Department of Local Government and Public Health to the secretary of each county council, 28 Aug. 1940.
- 27. See footnote 20.
- 28. S10519 A/1, National Archives, Department of the Taoiseach files.
- 29. S10519 A/2, National Archives, Department of the Taoiseach files.
- 30. Desmond Roche, Local government in Ireland (Dublin, 1982), p. 81.
- 31. Mary E. Daly, *The buffer state: the historical roots of the Department of the Environment* (Dublin, 1997) pp 305-307; Richard S. Devane, *A guide for parish councils in Ireland* (Dublin, n.d.). See also Devane's articles on the subject in *Irish Independent*, 30 Oct. 1939; 31 Oct. 1939; 1 Nov. 1939; 2 Nov. 1939; 14 Nov. 1939.
- 32. Mary E. Daly, *The buffer state: the historical roots of the Department of the Environment* (Dublin, 1997), p. 306.
- 33. S10519 A/2, National Archives, Department of the Taoiseach files.
- 34. *Tipperary Star*, 24 Aug. 1940.



- 35. lbid., 7 Sept. 1940.
- 36. Ibid., 16 Nov. 1940.
- 37. Ibid., 26 Apr. 1941.
- 38. Ibid., 26 Jul. 1941.
- 39. For information on the background to the introduction of the county management system see Mary E. Daly, *The buffer state: the historical roots of the Department of the Environment* (Dublin, 1997), pp 300-305; Basil Chubb, *The government and politics of Ireland* (London, 1974), pp 282-285; F. S. L. Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine* (London, 1973), pp 483-484; Desmond Roche, *Local government in Ireland* (Dublin, 1982), pp 100-107; Neil Collins, *Local government managers at work* (Dublin, 1987), pp 14-35; Eunan O'Halpin, "The origins of city and county management", in Joseph Boland et al (eds.) *City and county management*, 1929-1990: a retrospective (Dublin, 1991), pp 1-20.
- 40. Tipperary Star, 20 Dec. 1941.
- Mary E. Daly, The buffer state: the historical roots of the Department of the Environment (Dublin, 1997), p. 304.
- 42. *Tipperary Star*, 17 Jan. 1942.
- 43. Ibid., 10 Jan. 1941; 17 Jan. 1942; 28 Jan. 1942.
- 44. Ibid., 7 June 1941.
- 45. Ibid., 10 Jan. 1942. This call was repeated in the edition of 18 Apr. 1942.
- 46. Nationalist, 29 Aug. 1942.

