

FINE GAEL ARCHIVES

**PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND
CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDA**

P39/PR



**UCD Archives
School of History and Archives**

archives @ucd.ie
www.ucd.ie/archives
T + 353 1 716 7555
F + 353 1 716 1146

© 1993 University College Dublin. All rights reserved

Introduction	vi
---------------------	-----------

P39/PR CONTENT AND STRUCTURE:

A. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1945

I. Campaign Organisation	1
II. Publicity	
a. Biography of the candidate	1
b. Press coverage	1
c. Publicity literature	1
d. Advertising	2
III. Results	2

B. BYE-ELECTIONS, 1952–58

I. Campaign Organisation	2
II. Publicity	
a. Election address	2
b. Publicity literature	2
c. Press advertising	3
d. Posters	3
III. Policy	3
IV. General Correspondence	4

C. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION/P.R. REFERENDUM, 1959

I. Policy	
a. Press statements and circulars	4
b. Biography of the candidate	5
II. Campaign Organisation	6
III. Meetings and Rallies	
a. Constituency meetings	7
b. Public meetings	8
c. Final rally	8
IV. Publicity	
a. Memoranda and directives	9
b. Advertising	9
c. Election address	9
d. Posters	10
e. Publicity literature	10

	f. Press cuttings and correspondence	11
V.	Polling day	
	a. Transport	12
	b. Arrangements for the count	12
VI.	Results	13
VII.	Review	13
 D. PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION REFERENDUM, 1959		
I.	Policy	
	a. Press and policy statements	14
	b. Policy correspondence	14
II.	Publicity	
	a. Referendum literature	15
	b. Press coverage	15
 E. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1966		
I.	Policy	
	a. Press and policy statements	16
	b. Speeches	16
II.	Campaign Organisation	
	a. Fundraising	17
	b. Directors, agents, and volunteers	17
III.	Meetings and Rallies	
	a. Constituency Conventions	18
	b. Public meetings	18
	c. Final rally	18
IV.	Publicity	
	a. Advertising	19
	b. Opinion polls	19
	c. Election address	19
	d. Posters	19
	e. Publicity literature	20
	f. Press releases and correspondence	21
	g. Press cuttings	21
V.	Polling Day	
	a. Voting queries	22
	b. Transport	22
VI.	Results	22

F. PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION REFERENDUM, 1968

I.	Policy	
a.	Policy statements	23
b.	Radio and television broadcasts	23
c.	Speeches	23
d.	Legislative texts	23
e.	Correspondence	24
II.	Campaign Organisation	
a.	Fundraising	24
b.	Directors, agents, and volunteers	24
III.	Meetings and Rallies	
a.	Constituency conventions	25
b.	Public meetings	25
c.	Final rally	25
IV.	Publicity	
a.	Advertising	25
b.	Posters	25
c.	Election literature	26
d.	Press cuttings	27
V.	Polling Day	
a.	Arrangements for the count	27
b.	Transport	27
VI.	Results	27
G.	CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDA, 1972	28
H.	PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1973	28

Introduction

The presidential election and constitutional referenda records which are the subject of this descriptive list, are a sub-group of the Fine Gael Party archives, deposited in UCDAD in 1978 when the Party headquarters transferred to new premises in Dublin. Records relating to general election campaigns [**P39/GE**] and to relations with constituency organisations [**P39/C**] constitute other sub-groups, described in separate lists.

With the exception of Party minutes [**P39/MIN**], all record groups within the collection begin in the early 1950s; earlier material apparently having been destroyed in a fire sometime in the 1940s. Within the present sub-group, some items from the 1945 presidential campaign survive and are included here.

The list describes material from three presidential elections: 1945, 1959 and 1966; the 1952 election being uncontested. One item from the 1973 election is included. There is additionally material from three referenda campaigns: the 1959 and 1968 referenda on proportional representation, and the 1972 referendum on accession to the European Union, the voting age, and the recognition of specified religions. Only one item from the last campaign is included here.

The material in this group gives an excellent insight into the organisation and running of presidential election and referenda campaigns. Most of the material is produced by the Publicity Department of Fine Gael under the control and supervision of the general secretary. The material originating from the period 1959–68 is comprehensive and covers policy, publicity, results, and review material. The material from 1945 is less comprehensive but no less interesting or informative.

The Publicity Department commissioned three different advertising agencies over this period: O'Keefe's Advertising, Padbury, and ARKS. The collection includes samples of publicity literature produced for each campaign, including election addresses and other promotional material.

The collection includes a large amount of printed matter on the subject of proportional representation as an electoral system; and a series of correspondence between the Party and the Proportional representation Society, London, from the 1959 referendum campaign. This material merits special attention, standing out from the more routine material in the collection.

The character and development of each campaign is readily perceptible from the correspondence, policy documents and publicity material in the collection.

Arrangement

The arrangement of the material follows the chronology of the campaigns. In the case of the 1959 presidential election and proportional referendum campaign, it was difficult to segregate papers relating to one or the other, as much of the organisational material related to both campaigns. However a large body of material was found which related solely to the issue of the referendum at policy and publicity level and this has been organised into a section separate from the election campaign.

Another body of material , relating to bye-elections, 1952–58, was found with the presidential election material and was most likely being used for reference and information during the 1959 campaign. It has been retained with this material.

Most campaign material adheres to the following arrangement: policy, campaign organisation, meetings and rallies, publicity, polling day, results, and review.

Access

It should be noted that permission in writing from the Fine Gael Party is required before access to any of their archives may be granted. Details of the procedure are available from UCDAD.

*Frances Lyons
June 1993*

A. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1945

I. Campaign organisation

- 1 May 1945 Typed draft and printed copy of an 'Appeal for Funds' from the Seán MacEoin Election Committee, to Fine Gael Party members.
2 items

II. Publicity

a. Biography of the Candidate

- 2 30 April 1945 Copy of a biographical sketch of Seán MacEoin issued to the press on behalf of the candidate.
2pp

b. Press coverage

- 3 June–July 1945 News cuttings relating to the presidential election campaign. Includes copies of *Forum* magazine with articles on the candidates (June 1945) and analysis of the election result (July 1945). Cutting from the *Sunday Independent* (10 June 1945) and a supplement profiling MacEoin.
4 items

- 4 April–June 1945 Typed summary list of reports carried in the *Irish Independent* on the progress of the campaign.
6pp

c. Publicity literature

- 5 June 1945 Reprint in leaflet form of a letter from Senator James G. Douglas to the editors of leading Irish newspapers, on the subject of the office of President and the reasons he will cast his first preference vote for MacEoin.
4pp

- 6 May 1945 Reprint of an article on MacEoin by Seamus Ó Catháin from *The Standard*
1 item

d. Advertising

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------|---|---------|
| 7 | February–April 1946 | Letter from M.J. O'Neill, Solicitor, to Liam Burke, General Secretary, Fine Gael, requesting payment of Fine Gael's account with O'Keeffe's Advertising Service. Includes an invoice and a previous letter from O'Keeffe's. | 3 items |
|---|---------------------|---|---------|

III. Results

- | | | | |
|---|-----------|--|---------|
| 8 | June 1945 | List of the number of first preference votes cast in each constituency for the three candidates, Seán T. O'Kelly, Seán MacEoin, and Dr Patrick MacCartan; and figures for the total valid poll, the quota and non-transferrable votes. | 3 items |
|---|-----------|--|---------|

B. BYE-ELECTION MATERIAL, 1952–58

I. Campaign Organisation

- | | | | |
|---|---------|--|---------|
| 9 | 1952–54 | Printed 'Appeal for Funds' for the East Limerick and Waterford bye-election campaigns, and for party funds in the aftermath of the general election, 1954. | 3 items |
|---|---------|--|---------|

II. Publicity

a. Election Address

- | | | | |
|----|-----------|--|---------|
| 10 | Not dated | Typed draft election address from Michael Sheehan, candidate in the Cork City constituency [bye-election/general election?]. Includes a biography of the candidate. [Sheehan had been an Independent TD for the constituency but had joined Fine Gael and lost his seat in the 1951 general election]. | 2 items |
|----|-----------|--|---------|

b. Publicity Material

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|--|---------|
| 11 | November 1953–January 1954 | Correspondence between Stephen Barrett, candidate in the Cork City bye-election, and Col P.F. Dineen, General Secretary, Fine Gael, concerning publicity material for the campaign, and constituency expenses. | 4 items |
|----|----------------------------|--|---------|

- 12 December 1953 Election ballad lyrics for use in the Cork City bye-election campaign, sent to Fine Gael Headquarters from the constituency office. 9 items
- 13 15 January 1954 Typed extract from a speech by Tom O'Higgins TD, to a Fine Gael meeting in the City Hall, Cork, on the economic policy of the Fianna Fáil government. 2pp
- 14 March 1954–March 1957 Publicity material, including specimen ballot papers and handbills, for the candidates in the Cork City bye-election: Stephen Barrett [Fine Gael]; Seamus FitzGerald [Fianna Fáil]; Seán Casey [Labour]. Promotional material for the West Limerick bye-election. Handbill profiling Fine Gael candidates in the general election campaign, 1957; and Victor Carton, Fine Gael candidate in the Dublin North Central bye-election, November 1957. 13 items

c. Press Advertising

- 15 March 1954 Newspaper advertisements taken from the *Cork Examiner* for all candidates in the Cork City bye-election. 6 items

d. Posters

- 16 8 April 1954 Copy letter from Col P.J. Dineen, to J.J. Kelly, Fine Gael Committee Rooms, Cork, concerning the schedule and location of election posters in the Cork area. 3pp

III. Policy

- 17 14 November 1957 'Points for Canvassers' for the Dublin North Central bye-election. 1p

- 18 June 1958 'Points for Speakers' for the Dublin South Central bye-election, with a biography of the candidate, John Hegarty. 6pp
- 19 12 July 1956 List of comparative figures showing the number of persons registered as unemployed on 9 July 1955, 30 June, and 7 July 1956. 2pp
- 20 18 April 1956 Letter from the Honorary General Secretary, Institute of Professional Civil Servants, to Col P. Dineen, requesting information on the Fine Gael policy on 'equal pay for equal work, irrespective of sex'. Annotated: 'Senator Hayes says leave till after the election'. 1p

IV. General Correspondence

- 21 19 July 1954 Copy letter from Alice Martin, Secretary, Fine Gael Publicity Department, to Mary J. Hogan, University College Dublin Library, concerning the loan of a screen block of Arthur Griffith arriving at Earlsfort Terrace for a meeting of the Dáil, for use in an exhibition. 1p

C. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND PR REFERENDUM, 1959

I. Policy

a. Press statements and circulars

- 22 1958 Copy of a statement by the Fine Gael Standing Committee announcing the selection of Seán MacEoin as the Party's presidential candidate. 1p
- 23 1958 Copy of a statement issued by Fine Gael in response to criticism of the Party for choosing to contest the election. 1p

- 24 9 April 1959 Profile of the Fine Gael Party and its objectives, probably distributed among the members of the Parliamentary Party, identifying the ‘independent spirit and the individualistic outlook so peculiar to the Irish race’ as frequently hampering ‘the pursuit of our objectives in a co-operative and harmonious manner’. 3pp

b. Biography of the Candidate

- 25 6 March 1959 List of biographical points for use by Party members introducing Seán MacEoin at constituency conventions and public meetings. 2pp
- 26 March–April 1959 Copy letter from Col Dineen to the editors of the *Clare Champion* and *Comhar* enclosing biographical details about the candidate. 7 items
- 27 [May] 1959 2 versions of ‘Points for Speakers’ issued by Fine Gael Headquarters for use at public meetings. One version is in the form of a biography of the candidate; the other a list of reasons why Seán MacEoin should be elected. 3 items
- 28 1959 Typed drafts of an article ‘Seán MacEoin, soldier and statesman’ by ‘An old comrade’ [JTS PP] for submission to national newspapers during the election campaign. 11pp
- 29 1959 Copy for electioneering purposes, of the ‘Plea and statement made by Seán MacEoin, Comdt, Irish Republican Army, on the occasion of his court martial by enemy officers in the City Hall, Dublin’ on 11 June 1921. 2pp
- 30 April 1959 Biographical sketch of Seán MacEoin and an account of his bravery during the War of Independence. 2 items

31	April 1959	Brief statement of Fine Gael's reasons for proposing MacEoin as a presidential candidate. Extract from a speech by Richard Mulcahy to the Terenure branch of Fine Gael, supporting MacEoin's candidature. 2 items
32	February 1959	Typed extract from <i>Lia Fáil</i> listing reasons to vote for MacEoin. 1p

II. Campaign Organisation

33	April–May 1959	Copy of 'Directive No. 2' issued by Col Dineen to constituency executives detailing preparatory work for the election campaign, including the appointment of Directors of Elections and Election Agents. Subsequent circular requesting constituency executives to notify Dineen of the names of those appointed. 2pp
34	April–May 1959	3 incomplete lists of Directors of Elections for each constituency. 9pp
35	April–May 1959	Incomplete list of Directors of Elections with a note of the date of appointment. List of constituencies which have not appointed Directors. 6pp
36	16 May 1959	Copy letters from Col Dineen to two Dublin City Directors of Elections, requesting information on the progress of the campaign as their constituency was not represented at a special meeting of Dublin directors held the previous evening. Copy letter from Dineen to Dublin TDs following the same meeting, concerning fundraising in each constituency. 3 items

- 37 May 1959 Correspondence between T. Finbarr O'Reilly, Principal Election Agent for General MacEoin, and Col Dineen, concerning procedures for the appointment of local election agents. A list of returning officers is included. 8 items
- 38 May 1959 Lists of constituency election Agents. 4 items
- 39 11 December 1958 Drafts and circular from Col Dineen to constituency secretaries concerning the conduct of a referendum; including extracts from the Referendum Act 1942 on the method of voting and the appointment of personation agents. 5pp
- 40 May–June 1959 Copy of a circular from Col Dineen to constituency directors of elections and local election agents concerning prevention of personation and other issues. Copy letters to personation agents. Circular from Richard Ryan, Dublin South-West Election Agent, to Party members in the constituency, seeking volunteers to act as personation agents as he expects an attempt at wide scale personation. 11 items
- 41 [May] 1959 Copy of an application form for volunteer campaign workers. 1p

III. Meetings and Rallies

a. Constituency meetings

- 42 January–April 1959 Copies of branch and constituency circulars, notifying members of the date and location of campaign meetings. Correspondence between Col Dineen, constituency executives and front bench politicians concerning the dates of conventions and other campaign organisation matters. List of Dublin City constituency executive members, Dublin constituency election rooms, and dates of Central Branch meetings. Copy of a memorandum listing decisions taken by Central Branch concerning public meetings (6 March 1959). 47pp

b. Public meetings

- 43 18 February 1959 Briefing document concerning referendum and presidential election campaign organisation; and arrangements for holding public meetings. List of committee members appointed to arrange a schedule of public meetings. Report on the progress of the campaign. 3 items
- 44 February–June 1959 Correspondence between Col Dineen, constituency executives, and front bench politicians concerning a schedule of public meetings. 219pp
- 45 March–June 1959 Schedule of public meetings for Dublin and Kildare constituencies. Schedule of Seán MacEoin's tour. Copies of circulars from Col Dineen notifying members of public meetings. Table of meetings drawn up by headquarters staff. 42pp
- 46 April–June 1959 Wall chart of schedule of public meetings, giving date and speaker. 90x75cms

c. Final rally

- 47 February 1957–June 1959 Correspondence between Col Dineen, An Garda Siochana, Dublin Corporation, Fine Gael front bench politicians, and constituency executives, concerning arrangements for the final rally at the GPO on 15 June 1959. Includes list of invitees, and related publicity material. 47pp
- 48 Not dated Three OS maps of Wicklow. The area around Woodenbridge is outlined in green marker on the map of South Wicklow. 70x52cms

IV. Publicity

a. Memoranda and directives

- 49 December 1958–May 1959 Memoranda and policy directives for the referendum and presidential election campaigns. Includes specifications for publicity literature; report on a Dublin constituency meeting (1 April 1959) and a special meeting held at Leinster House on the publicity programme for the campaign (23 March 1959). Memoranda concerning publicity (20 March, 15 December 1958). List of Fine Gael Standing Committee members. 22pp

b. Advertising

- 50 February–June 1959 Correspondence between Padbury Advertising and Alice Martin, Secretary, Fine Gael Publicity Department, concerning details of advertising schedules in national and provincial press. Attached are estimates and proofs for advertisements. Correspondence between Col Dineen and the editors of provincial papers concerning rates and bookings. 70pp

c. Election address

- 51 6 May 1959 Copy of a circular from Col Dineen to local election agents concerning specifications for the production of the Presidential Election Address. 2 items
- 52 26 May 1959 Letter from F. Collins, Secretary, Department of Posts and Telegraphs, to T. Finbarr O'Reilly, concerning the ineligibility for free postage of General MacEoin's election address, referring as it does to the referendum issue. 5pp
- 53 17 April 1959 Copy of the Department of Posts and Telegraphs regulations for free postage for presidential election literature, issued by Seán Ormonde, Minister for Posts and Telegraphs. 13pp

- 54 May 1959 Copy of a Dáil motion, proposed by John A. Costello and Richard Mulcahy, condemning the action of the Government in refusing free postage facilities for Seán MacEoin's election address. Copy of a statement issued by Richard Mulcahy. 2pp

d. Posters

- 55 February–June 1959 Printwork specifications, quotations, and distribution lists for election posters. Schedule for poster advertising. Copy of a statement issued to the *Sunday Independent* concerning a directive from General Richard Mulcahy to Fine Gael election workers that public or private property should not be defaced by election posters or slogans. 20 items

e. Publicity literature

- 56 May 1959 Election publicity literature including handbills, specimen ballot paper. Election address, car sticker and badges. 10 items

- 57 May 1959 Election publicity literature from other candidates. Includes specimen ballot paper and newspaper supplement profiling Eamon de Valera, issued by Fianna Fail. Handbill issued by the National Students' Council of Ireland, urging voters to 'renounce de Valera and all his works and pomps' and to 'end Fianna Fáil co-operation with Stormont and their perpetuation of the partition of Our Nation'. 4 items

- 58 January–June 1959 Lists detailing the distribution of election publicity literature to constituency executives. Copy letters from Col Dineen to the provincial press and constituency executives. Related correspondence. 67pp

f. Press cuttings and correspondence

- 59 March 1959 Correspondence between J.M. Martin, Cabra Road, Dublin, Col Dineen, and Seán MacEoin, concerning articles drafted by Martin and recommended for publication during the presidential election campaign. Drafts of the articles are included. The articles focus on MacEoin's bravery during the War of Independence, including his refusal in custody of a general anaesthetic, before an operation to remove a bullet, for fear of being interrogated while semi-conscious.
21pp
- 60 May–September 1959 Correspondence between Alice Martin, and the provincial and specialist press concerning requests for stereos of General MacEoin for publicity literature production.
7 items
- 61 Not dated Press photograph of Seán MacEoin, Minister for Defence, with two Gardai [following a passing-out parade in the Phoenix Park].
1 item
- 62 May 1954, February 1956 Cuttings from the *Kerryman* and from the *Sunday Despatch* containing articles on MacEoin, the first autobiographical.
2 items
- 63 April–June 1959 Proofs for presidential and referendum advertisements prepared by Padbury Advertising and submitted to the Fine Gael Publicity Department for comment and approval before placement in the *Sunday Independent* and *Irish Independent*.
4 items
- 64 15 May 1959 Front page of the *Evening Echo* with a photograph of General MacEoin handing in his nomination papers; and related article.
1 item

65	10 June 1959	Cutting from the <i>Cork Evening Echo</i> carrying an advertisement for Eamon de Valera and a yes vote in the referendum. 1 item
66	May–June 1959	Copies of press advertisements urging a no vote in the referendum, issued by Fine Gael and placed in daily national, evening, and Sunday newspapers, and specialist journals including the <i>Church of Ireland Gazette</i> . 10 items
67	May–June 1959	Copies of press advertisements for General MacEoin's election as president and the retention of proportional representation as the basis of election, issued by Fine Gael and placed in national, regional, daily, evening and Sunday newspapers; and specialist journals such as <i>The Irish Farmer's Journal</i> and the <i>Gaelic Weekly</i> . 13 items

V. Polling Day

a. Transport

68	June 1959	Copy letters from Party headquarters to transport volunteers notifying them of their duties on polling day. Correspondence between Party headquarters and voters requesting transport. Handwritten notes listing those needing transport. Correspondence between Fine Gael and their insurance brokers concerning the provision of motor insurance and workmen's compensation cover for polling day. 60 items
----	-----------	--

b. Arrangements for the count

69	June 1959	Letter of notification from M. Lawlor, Presidential Returning Officer, to Col Dineen, of the time, date and location of the presidential election count. Copy letter from Dineen to T. Finbarr O'Reilly, listing Party members to be issued with cards to gain admittance to the count. 2 items
----	-----------	--

VI. Results

- 70 20 June 1959 List, by constituency, of the number of votes cast in favour and against the proposition to abolish proportional representation as the basis of election. 2pp
- 71 19 June 1959 Typed copy of statements issued by MacEoin and Richard Mulcahy in response to the election results. 3pp
- 72 19, 20 June 1959 Press cuttings analysing the results of the election and referendum, taken from national, evening and Sunday newspapers. 13pp
- 73 June–August 1959 Detailed reports on the election campaign and voting patterns, sent from constituency executives to Fine Gael headquarters from Cavan, Sligo, Roscommon, Sligo-Leitrim, and North and South Mayo. 26pp

VII. Review

- 74 July 1959 Draft letter of thanks for help and assistance received during the campaign, to be used by Party headquarters and Party deputies. 1p
- 75 24 September 1959 Draft report with notes reviewing the referendum and election campaign, prepared by [Col Dineen] for a National Council meeting. Memorandum to Dineen on the production of the election address. 4 items
- 76 [23 June] 1959 Typed notes ‘for use in drafting Dáil speech against the motion’, probably prepared by John A. Costello opposing the election of Seán Lemass as Taoiseach in succession to de Valera. 2pp

D. PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION REFERENDUM, 1959

I. Policy

a. Press and policy statements

- 77 September 1958–June 1959 Copy of a 'Reply to Fianna Fáil arguments against proportional representation', issued in response to a speech by Frank Aiken (16 November 1958). Copy of typed notes on Aiken's speech. Copies of statements issued by Fine Gael on the subject of proportional representation. Copy of the *Fine Gael Bulletin* (October 1958) with a leading article on 'de Valera's plan for permanent dictatorship'. Typed extract from Richard Mulcahy's speech at Clonmel (15 November 1958) entitled 'PR – Fine Gael fights for a principle'.
21pp

- 78 1911–59 Collected facts, notes, and extracts from speeches and books relating to proportional representation. Includes extracts from speeches by de Valera (1937–51) and a typed copy of Sinn Féin 'notes' on PR (1911).
41pp

b. Policy correspondence

- 79 1951–59 Correspondence concerning the case for the retention of PR. Includes correspondence with Frank Gordon NT, Ennis, County Clare, concerning proposals for the production of a leaflet for distribution to voters. Note from Seán MacBride enclosing copies of two speeches he had given (October, November 1958). Copy of material supplied to Gerard Sweetman to prepare an article for the *Leinster Leader*.
54pp

- 80 1954–62 Correspondence, mainly between Alice Martin, Fine Gael Publicity Department, and the Proportional Representation Society, 86 Eccleston Square, London, concerning various approaches to be adopted in response to arguments against PR. Includes copies of letters from the Society to various Irish newspapers and unpublished research material.
112pp

- 81 1959–68 Copies of the Proportional Representation Society quarterly newsletter *Representation*, with reports of Society business and analyses of international electoral systems.
145pp

II. Publicity

a. Referendum literature

- 82 March–June 1959 Publicity literature including specimen ballot papers and car stickers, produced during the referendum campaign by Fine Gael, Fianna Fáil, Clann na Poblachta, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, and the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau. Correspondence between Col Dineen, Padbury Advertising, and the printers concerning the production of information leaflets.
 35 items
- 83 1959–64 Leaflets, handbills, pamphlets and booklets, mainly produced by the Proportional Representation Society, analysing voting systems. Includes a pamphlet produced by the Tuairim Research Group 'PR – for or against?' (April 1959); article by Brian Inglis from *The Guardian* produced in leaflet form; and copies of the *Fine Gael Digest* with articles on proportional representation. 46 items

b. Press coverage

- 84 April 1959 Cuttings from the *Irish Times* of a series of articles by Proinsias MacAonghusa on 'PR in Ireland'. 8pp
- 85 May 1951–June 1959 Cuttings from Irish newspapers and journals including *Trinity News*, and the *Church of Ireland Gazette* carrying articles on or letters to the editors about PR. 7 items

E. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1966

I. Policy

a. Press and policy statements

- 86 February–March 1966 Drafts and copies of press statements issued by Fine Gael during the election campaign. Includes a statement announcing the candidature of Tom O'Higgins TD (2 February 1966); the reaction of Fine Gael to the decision by RTÉ not to give news coverage to the election; and voters' response to a television appearance by O'Higgins (20 May 1966). 16 items
- 87 19–21 April 1966 Copies of 'Points for Guidance' issued by Fine Gael for speakers during the campaign. Correspondence concerning requests for copies. 6 items
- 88 February–May 1966 Policy documents and directives issued by Fine Gael headquarters to deputies, senators, county councillors, directors of elections, and constituency secretaries, concerning the organisation of the campaign. 20 items
- 89 1965–66 Drafts and copies of circulars notifying Party members of arrangements for the 43rd and 44th Ard Fheis. 3 items

b. Speeches

- 90 February–May 1966 Typescript drafts, copies and extracts from election speeches delivered by the candidate Tom O'Higgins, and prominent Party members and spokespersons. The dominant theme of the speeches portrays the presidential candidate as representative of the future of Ireland.
‘The Government of this country is now in the hands of a group of men who have grown stale and tired in office; who show all the signs of having lost the will and the energy to govern ... vote now for progress. Vote for the present and the future’ (Liam Cosgrave speaking at the final rally, GPO Dublin, 31 May 1966). 142pp

II. Campaign Organisation

a. Fundraising

- 91 February–June 1966 Correspondence, circulars and leaflets relating to fundraising events for the election campaign. Includes an ‘Appeal for Funds’ issued by the Campaign Fund Committee, and details of ‘Operation Coffee’, a series of coffee mornings organised by the wives of Fine Gael TDs and senators, based on a similar operation organised during the presidential election campaign of John F. Kennedy. Other fundraisers included a poker tournament organised by Mrs Vera Cosgrave. 70pp

b. Directors, agents, volunteers

- 92 May 1966 Directives, correspondence and draft lists, relating to the appointment of constituency directors of elections and election agents. Directives are issued by Senator Gerard Sweetman, National Director of Elections. 90 items
- 93 April–May 1966 Correspondence between Col Dineen and election agents concerning the supply of forms for the appointment of personation agents. 24pp
- 94 April–May 1966 Correspondence with volunteers prepared to work on the Fine Gael presidential election campaign, including copy of the form to be completed by volunteer election workers. 23 items
- 95 GHOST NUMBER

III. Meetings and Rallies

a. Constituency conventions

- 96 March–May 1966 Copies of constituency circulars detailing date, time and location of constituency meetings, conventions and rallies. 40 items

b. Public meetings

- 97 April–May 1966 Copy of a press statement announcing a 'Whistle Stop Tour' by Tom O'Higgins, with drafts and final version of the itinerary. Drafts of a similar itinerary for Liam Cosgrave is included. 16 items

- 98 April 1966 Copy letters from Emer O'Kelly, Press and Information Officer, Fine Gael, arranging accommodation for the candidate on his nation-wide tour. 20 items

- 99 February–May 1966 Correspondence between Party headquarters, Tom O'Higgins, and constituency executives, concerning arrangements for attendance by the candidate at public and constituency meetings. Copy of minutes of a meeting of the Organisation Committee held at Leinster House (9 February 1966). 127pp

- 100 April–May 1966 Copies of circulars from Party headquarters giving notice of public meetings to be addressed by O'Higgins or Liam Cosgrave. Notes on changes to dates and venues. 90 items

c. Final rally

- 101 February–May 1966 Correspondence between Party members, headquarters, rally organisers, Dublin Corporation, An Garda Siochana, and managers of pipe bands, concerning arrangements for the final rally held at the GPO, O'Connell Street, Dublin, on 30 May 1966. Includes a list of invitees and copy letters notifying speakers of the agenda for the meeting. 36 items

IV. Publicity

a. Advertising

- 102 1959–66 Correspondence between Padbury Advertising and Fine Gael headquarters concerning production, specification, and cost of publicity literature. Lists of costs for the 1959 presidential election campaign are included with adjustments for application to the 1966 campaign. 30 items
- 103 March–May 1966 Correspondence with James McGuire, Photographer, South Anne Street, Dublin. He encloses a photograph of his son in a toy car with a 'O'Higgins for President' car sticker attached; and suggests its use for promotional purposes. Correspondence between Fine Gael headquarters and the *Irish Times* concerning the use of one of their photographs. 6 items

b. Opinion polls

- 104 February–May 1966 Letter from Stephen Barrett TD, Cork, to Party headquarters, enclosing details of an opinion poll carried out by the Cork City Branch. Results of an opinion poll carried out by Vincent Browne and Seán Barrett, Fine Gael Students' Branch, commissioned by the *Irish Times*, but unpublished. 9 items

c. Election address

- 105 April 1966 Drafts and final version of Tom O'Higgins 'Presidential Address'; Irish language version; certificate issued to directors of elections to accompany each posting of the address. 11 items

d. Posters

- 106 February–September 1966 Estimate and confirmation of poster production and display, from David Allen & Sons to Col Dineen. Detailed list of location of posters. Report to Col Dineen of a 'sighting of a Post Office van ... carrying a poster for a candidate in the presidential election'. Correspondence with the Secretary General, Posts and Telegraphs, concerning the allegation. Copy letter from Richie Ryan TD, to Charles Haughey, Minister for Agriculture, concerning the alleged 'mutilation' of Fine Gael posters by the supporters of the Fianna Fáil candidate; and copy of a press statement by Ryan on the subject (17 May 1966). Other correspondence concerns the printing

of posters in Irish for Gaeltacht areas; request from the ESB that their property should not be defaced by posters; and a copy of a directive from Col Dineen to directors of elections urging speedy removal of posters (3 June 1966). 35 items

e. Publicity literature

- 107 March–May 1966 Correspondence between Party headquarters and constituencies concerning the collection and distribution of publicity literature. 40 items
- 108 April–May 1966 Requests and suggestions for publicity literature including election ballad lyrics received by Col Dineen. 35 items
- 109 May 1966 Election publicity material including badges, car stickers and handbills, issued by Fine Gael. Proofs of press advertisements supplied by Padbury Advertising. 15 items
- 110 May 1966 Election publicity material including handbill and leaflets, issued by Fianna Fáil. 3 items
- 111 May 1966 Handwritten notes from Richie Ryan to Liam Cosgrove, commenting adversely on the quality of publicity material. Ryan points out that the badge promoting O'Higgins uses script from the 'reign of Charles II ... and you hope to elect a 1966 President with it?' He has the 'utmost misgivings about continuing as Director for Dublin, as I have to meet the well justified criticism of active supporters about publicity matter. I am personally sorry I paid £100 to the Central Fund to subsidise the production of such muck. I intended paying in more, but not for this tripe. Is there no limit to the utter incapacity of those responsible?' (7 May 1966). 5 items

f. Press releases and correspondence

- 112 September 1965—May 1966 Copies of press releases issued by Fine Gael Publicity Department to national and provincial press. Correspondence between Emer O'Kelly, Press and Information Officer, and journalists, including copy letter from Ms O'Kelly to Kevin McCourt, Director General, RTÉ, protesting 'at the manner in which the recent Presidential Election was covered by our only radio and television network. To exclude the Election Campaign entirely from news bulletins ... is an affront not merely to the candidates concerned, but to every person in Ireland.' 117 items

g. Press cuttings

- 113 May—June 1966 Cuttings from the *Irish Times*, *Irish Independent*, *Irish Press*, *Cork Examiner*, with articles on polling day turnout and election results. Includes a special election notice placed by Fianna Fáil in the *Cork Examiner*, to the effect that 'a searching enquiry was made by the Fianna Fáil organisation into the posting of election literature on the monument to Michael Collins at Béal na Blath. The enquiry proved that that this was not the work of members of the Fianna Fáil organisation ... We can only conclude that this was done by people anxious to discredit the Fianna Fáil organisation' (1 June 1966); and report in the *Irish Times* of an allegation by Seán O'Shea, Fianna Fáil Director of Elections in Mid-Cork, 'that shots had been fired into the home of a prominent Fianna Fáil supporter in the area ... slogans painted on the house were "We want no more Secret Service" and "Up O'Higgins and Sinn Féin"' (2 June 1966).
- 114 April—June 1966 Press advertisements and notices placed by Fine Gael in the provincial press notifying Party members of public and committee meetings and acknowledging help received during the campaign. 70 items
- 115 February—May 1966 Cuttings from provincial newspapers carrying reports on the Fine Gael election campaign, including Tom O'Higgins whistle stop tour. 157pp
- 116 March—May 1966 National press advertisements appealing for funds for the O'Higgins election campaign; publicising the candidate; and advertising the final rally (30 May 1966). Includes advertisements from *Woman's Way* and *Business and Finance*. 17 items

117 7–27 May 1966 Provincial press advertisements
for O'Higgins candidature.
54 items

V. Polling Day

a. Voting queries

b. Transport

119 March—June 1966 Correspondence between Col Dineen, transport volunteers, and voters requesting transport to polling stations; and material concerning arrangements for insurance cover. 65 items

VI. Results

121 3 June 1966 Copy of a circular issued by Col
Dineen to Directors of Elections,
congratulating them on the success in the vote.
'We narrowed the gap so drastically as to astonish many of our own
supporters and confound the opposition.' 1p

122 July 1966 Copy of a report by Col Dineen on
the publicity aspect of the
campaign, highlighting innovative features such as the television
presentation 3pp

123 June 1966 Comparative list of figures for votes cast in the 1959 and 1966 presidential elections. Copy of a parliamentary question put down by Liam Cosgrave, requesting the number of voters in each constituency, with copy of the reply. 6 items

124	May—June 1966	Letter from Mr L. O'Connell to Col Dineen, reporting on the campaign in North Kerry. Detailed reports on voting in Longford Westmeath and East Galway. 6 items
-----	---------------	---

F. REFERENDUM ON PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION, 1968

I. Policy

a. Policy statements

125	1968	Copies of policy documents prepared by Party headquarters for the information of Fine Gael deputies and senators. Includes 'Points for help of Deputies and Senators' prepared by the Fine Gael Research Group explaining 'how the proportional representation system works and how Fianna Fáil wish to change it'. 3 items
126	October 1968	List of deputies to receive a copy of a briefing document on the referendum campaign, with a note of the number of the copy received by each deputy. 1 item

b. Radio and television broadcasts

127	September 1968	Correspondence between Commandant Sanfey, General Secretary, Fine Gael, Mark Clinton TD, and Richie Ryan TD, concerning arrangements for the rehearsal of campaign radio and television broadcasts. 10 items
-----	----------------	---

c. Speeches

128	September 1968	Copies of texts and extracts from speeches given by Tom O'Higgins, John A. Costello, Richie Ryan TD, and Liam Cosgrove TD, to Fine Gael conventions in Dublin and Nenagh, and to a Tuairim meeting in Limerick. All speeches deal with the proposed changes to the electoral system. 5 items
-----	----------------	---

d. Legislative texts

129		Copy of the Electoral (Amendment) Bill, 1968. 14pp
-----	--	---

- 130 Printed extracts from Electoral
Acts, 1923 to 1963.
6pp

e. Policy correspondence

- 131 May–October 1968 Correspondence between Comdt
Sanfey and voters concerning
requests and proposals for publicity literature. Most of the requests
are from voters who do not understand the issues involved in the
referendum and are seeking explanatory documents. Includes a
letter from May Hayes, Hon. Sec. Of the Proportional
Representation Society of Ireland (5 September 1968) suggesting
co-operation between the Party and the Society in the referendum
campaign. 22 items

II. Campaign Organisation

a. Fundraising

- 132 August–October 1968 Copies of circulars appealing for
campaign funds. Correspondence
between Party headquarters and those asked to donate to the fund.
Two of those approached argue that they feel 'the system of
proportional representation is cumbersome to operate' and that 'a
viable alternative must be found' (18 September, 1 October 1968).
Letter from Eoin Ó Máille saying he would like to contribute but
cannot as he is denied work in his own country (26 September
1968). 50 items

b. Directors, agents and volunteers

- 133 September 1968 Draft lists of directors of elections
for each constituency.
Correspondence concerning their appointment. 11 items
- 134 September–October 1968 Drafts and final copy of the form
for appointment of personation
agents. Copy of instructions for Fine Gael personation agents and
special instructions concerning illiterate voters. Samples of forms
used in the 1959 referendum are included. 36 items

III. Meetings and Rallies

a. Constituency conventions

- 135 August–October 1968 Copies of circulars giving
Notification of arrangements for
constituency conventions. Schedule of conventions prepared By
Senator Sweetman (3 September 1968). 65 items

b. Public meetings

- 136 August–October 1968 Correspondence between
constituency executives and Party
headquarters concerning all aspects of arrangements for
constituency conventions and public meetings. 40 items

c. Final rally

- 137 September–November 1968 Correspondence between Party
headquarters, rally organisers,
Dublin Corporation, An Garda Sochana, and Scafform Ltd,
concerning arrangements for the final rally held at the GPO,
Dublin, 15 October 1968. Includes the agenda for the rally and
notes on the final rally of the 1959 presidential election and
referendum campaign. 22 items

IV. Publicity

a. Advertising

- 138 August–October 1968 Correspondence mostly between
Arks Advertising, Comdt Sanfey,
Senator Sweetman, and Liam Cosgrave TD, concerning the
advertising programme for the campaign including the design and
printing of publicity literature and the placement of press
advertisements. Includes proofs and schedule for national and
provincial press advertising. 60 items

- 139 May–October 1968 Press advertisements from all
national, daily, evening and
Sunday newspapers and from some journals. 20 items

b. Posters

- 140 September–November 1968 Letters from the ESB and from
Dublin Corporation to Comdt,
Sanfey, requesting the removal of election posters from their
property. List of locations of posters. 10 items

c. Election literature

- 141 October 1968 Publicity material including handbills, specimen ballot paper, badges, car stickers, posters, and pamphlets, produced by Fine Gael during the referendum campaign. 9 items
- 142 October 1968 Copy of *Phase One* magazine with a leading article on maintaining democracy in Ireland.
- 143 October 1968 Publicity material including handbills, pamphlet, and a referendum broadsheet produced by Fianna Fáil. Handbills issued by the Labour Party and by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions on the referendum issue. Copy of a newspaper advertisement from the *Leinster Leader* placed by Fianna Fáil. 11 items
- 144 September–October 1968 Lists recording distribution of publicity material among constituencies and deputies. 11 items
- 145 GHOST NUMBER
- 146 September–November 1968 Correspondence concerning the distribution of election publicity material. Correspondence with deputies concerning payment for material received. 82 items
- 147 July–October 1968 Written requests, mostly from schoolchildren, for referendum publicity material. 28 items
- 148 1 September 1968 Printed copy of the text of a lecture by Dr Ferdinand A. Hermens, Director, Research Institute of Political Science, University of Cologne, entitled 'Proportional representation and electoral reform', given at a conference in Trinity College Dublin, chaired by Professor Basil Chubb. 1 item

d. Press cuttings

- | | | |
|-----|----------------|--|
| 149 | 15 May 1968 | Cutting from the <i>Irish Times</i> reporting the 46 th Ard Fheis, with the heading 'Youth dominates Fine Gael Ard Fheis', by Arthur Noonan, political correspondent. |
| 150 | October 1968 | Cuttings from the <i>Irish Press</i> and <i>Cork Examiner</i> , relating to the referendum campaign, borrowed by Richie Ryan and returned to Party headquarters.
3 items |
| 151 | 2 October 1968 | Cutting from the <i>Evening Press</i> with an article 'Neo-Nazi soon in parliament'. |

V. Polling Day

a. Arrangements for the count

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------|--|
| 152 | September–October 1968 | Directive and copy circulars relating to attendance at the count, points for the guidance of checkers of votes, and list of types of ballot paper to be considered either valid or spoilt.
13 items |
|-----|------------------------|--|

b. Transport

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|---|
| 153 | October–November 1968 | Handwritten notes recording details of those requesting transport to polling stations. Copy of an appeal for transport volunteers, and circular detailing arrangements for insurance cover.
38 items |
|-----|-----------------------|---|

VI. Results

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------|--|
| 154 | April–October 1968 | List of referendum results by constituency with comparative figures for voting in the 1959 referendum.
5 items |
| 155 | 18 October 1968 | Press cuttings from the <i>Irish Times</i> , <i>Irish Independent</i> , <i>Irish Press</i> , and <i>Cork Examiner</i> reporting the results of the referendum and public reaction.
43pp |

- 156 October 1968 Copies of letters of thanks issued to constituency campaign organisers and volunteers. Letters of congratulation received at Fine Gael headquarters. 16 items

G. CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDA, 1972

- 157 1972 Handbill in the form of 'A message from Liam Cosgrave TD' concerning the issues involved in the three constitutional referenda. 1 item

H. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1973

- 158 9 May 1973 Form letter appealing for
 donations to the Tom O'Higgins
 presidential election fund.
 1p