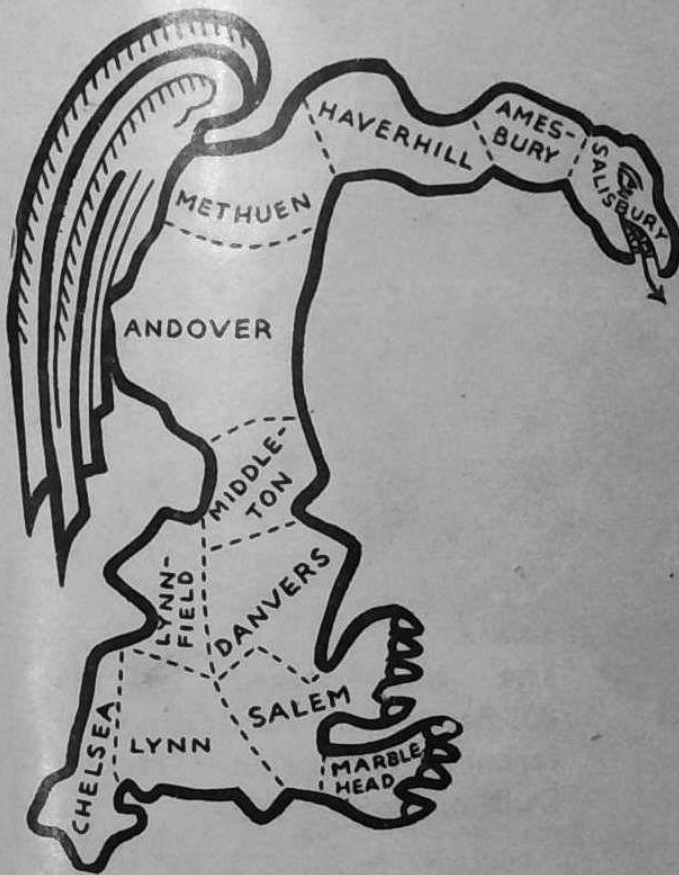


# ONE

VOTE  
EQUALS

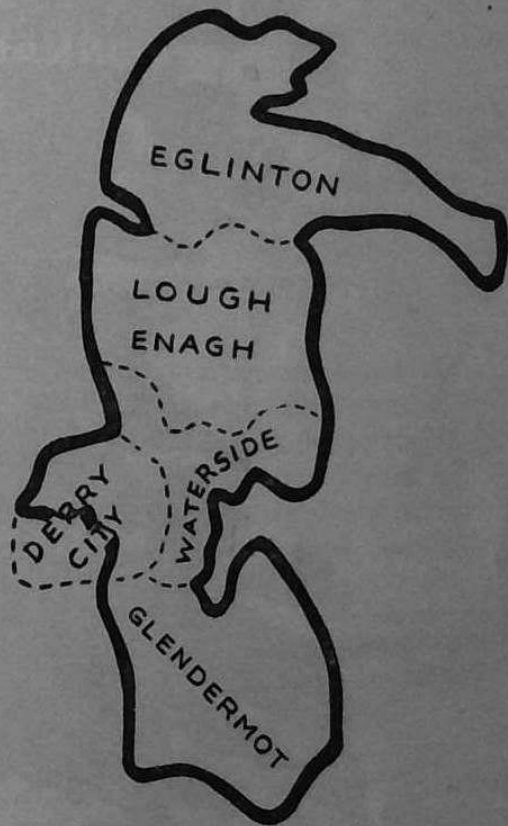
# TWO

A STUDY IN THE  
PRACTICE & PURPOSE  
OF BOUNDARY  
MANIPULATION



ONE MONSTER—

The classical example of Boundary manipulation for which the name Gerrymander was coined. The electoral areas in Essex County, Massachusetts, U.S.A., were re-arranged when Governor Gerry was in office, giving an outline to which the artist, Gilbert Stuart, finding it in the office of Benjamin Russel, the Boston editor, added wings, beak and claws, and said it was like a salamander "Better say a Gerrymander," growled Russel; and a new word entered the world's dictionaries.



—AND ANOTHER

A modern example of boundary manipulation in the partitioned area of North-East Ireland. In order to Gerrymander the Nationalist majority in Derry out of representing that city in Parliament, a new City Division was designed by the Belfast Government. Part of the city is omitted altogether, and rural areas up to eight miles away have been brought in to outvote the Nationalists in the city proper.

# IRELAND'S RIGHT TO UNITY

There is a majority of 80 per cent. in the whole of Ireland for unity. A minority opposition to national freedom was made the excuse by Britain, who organised and sustained it, for the partition of Ireland in 1920. That opposition comes mainly from an area, marked orange on the map, which is roughly within a 30 miles radius of Belfast. The area is just over one-third of the partitioned territory and is only one-sixteenth of Ireland. Outside it, there is a continuous block from the extreme south to the extreme north with a majority for unity. Within the partitioned area itself there is a majority in almost two-thirds of the territory for re-union with the rest of Ireland.



The case stated by the  
All-Party Anti-Partition Con-  
ference, Mansion House,  
Dublin, Ireland

In the pamphlet, the cover of which is reproduced above, Ireland's case against Partition is stated. It is shown that

- The essence of democracy lies in the right of a people freely to determine how they are to be governed.
- The unit for this self-determination is the nation.
- Ireland through a nationhood never questioned in almost 2,000 years has that right.
- Partition is the denial of the right to self-determination.
- It is a refusal to accept the majority will of a people in choosing the government they themselves desire.
- No group, party, or political organisation in Ireland sought for or desired Partition.
- It was imposed by the British Government against the passionate protest of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people.
- First established by force, it is now maintained by British support and by flagrant manipulation with British consent of electoral boundaries within the area.
- The perpetual interference in Ireland's internal affairs by an outside power sets an example destructive of the rule of law among the nations.
- Partition gravely injures both parts of Ireland; it injures Britain too, for as long as it lasts Britain cannot sustain her claim to stand for democracy in Western Europe.



# ONE VOTE EQUALS TWO

## How Democracy is Defeated

**T**HERE is a general belief that elections are democratic wherever there is a secret ballot and adult suffrage, and where candidates may be nominated under conditions which apply equally to all parties.

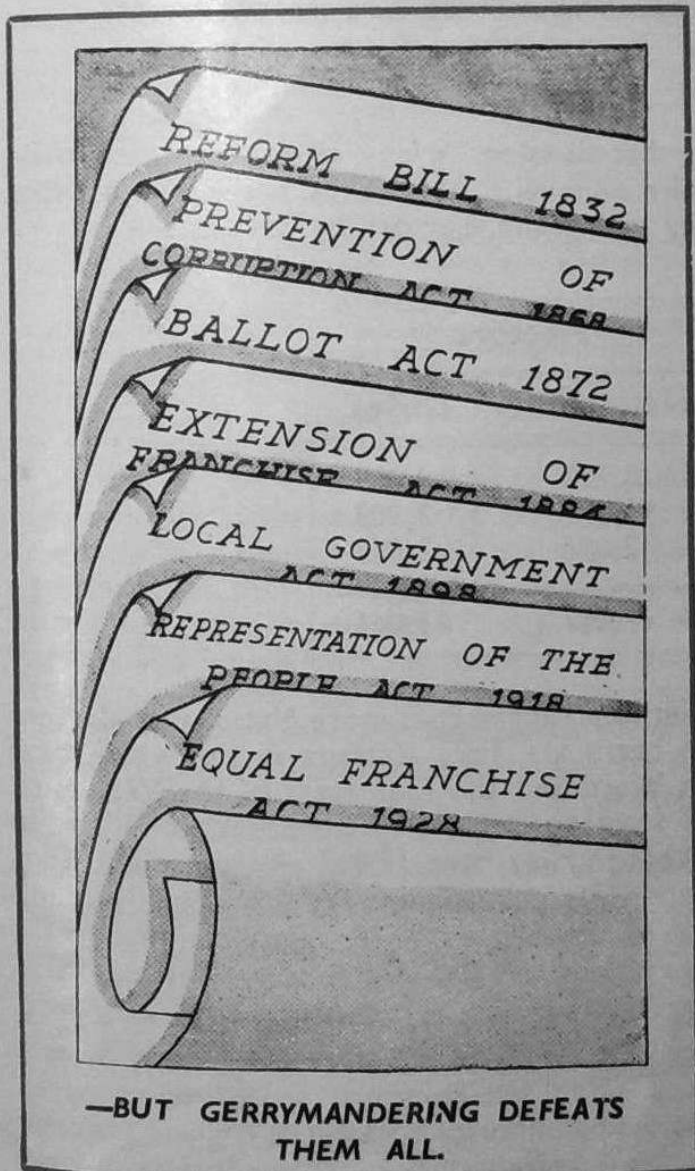
This pamphlet will show that all these three conditions can be preserved and, nevertheless, the essence of democracy be destroyed. For it is fundamental to every real democratic electoral system that each vote has the same value as every other vote.

If by an arrangement of electoral boundaries the vote of the supporter of one party is made only half the value of the vote of his neighbour who has different political views, then the democratic process has clearly been defeated. What is seen is merely a facade hiding a return to the days of privileged voters.

It is not difficult to arrange this subtle defeat of democracy. It requires but two things: that those who are in control should be entirely partial to one political group, and that they should know the political sympathies of the voters in particular areas. Electoral districts can then be set up whose boundaries are so drawn that a majority can win only a minority of the seats.

### SYMPATHIES KNOWN

In almost every country there are certain areas where the political views of the people are known to be traditionally in favour of one party—Liberal or Tory, Republican or Democratic, Socialist or Conservative. In the part of Ireland with which this



pamphlet deals the fundamental divisions are Nationalist and Tory. As in other countries the areas occupied by one party are easily distinguishable from those occupied by their opponents.

Thus, it is known to everybody in Ireland that the majority in Derry City, South Armagh, South Down, and in the counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh are Nationalist, and that the majority in most of Antrim, in North Down, in Derry County and in Belfast City are Tory. Those who live in these actual localities can get a still more detailed picture. They can estimate in each particular town and street the strength of the two parties.

**A line drawn around one set of townlands or streets will encircle the main strength of the Nationalists where they are in a considerable majority and leave the rest of the district to be divided up into safe Tory constituencies.**

## ousting the majority

Derry City provides an example. In Derry there are 29,000 Nationalists and 18,000 Tories. It would seem from these figures to be beyond the wit of man to give Derry a Tory City Council. Not at all. The city, with the approval and active assistance of the regime, is divided into three unequal wards as follows :—

<b>North Ward :</b>	<b>14,500</b>	<b>inhabitants who elect</b>	<b>8 representatives,</b>
<b>South Ward :</b>	<b>21,250</b>	„ „ „	<b>8 „</b>
<b>Waterside Ward :</b>	<b>11,250</b>	„ „ „	<b>4 „</b>

On the surface there is nothing unusual in that division. Many cities, owing to their configuration, have to have wards numerically unequal. But let us break down those figures showing their political significance by giving the electors by parties :—

	Electors	
	Nationalists	Tories
North Ward ...	3,296	4,905
South Ward ...	11,067	2,305
Waterside ...	2,654	3,851
<b>TOTALS ...</b>	<b>17,017</b>	<b>11,061</b>

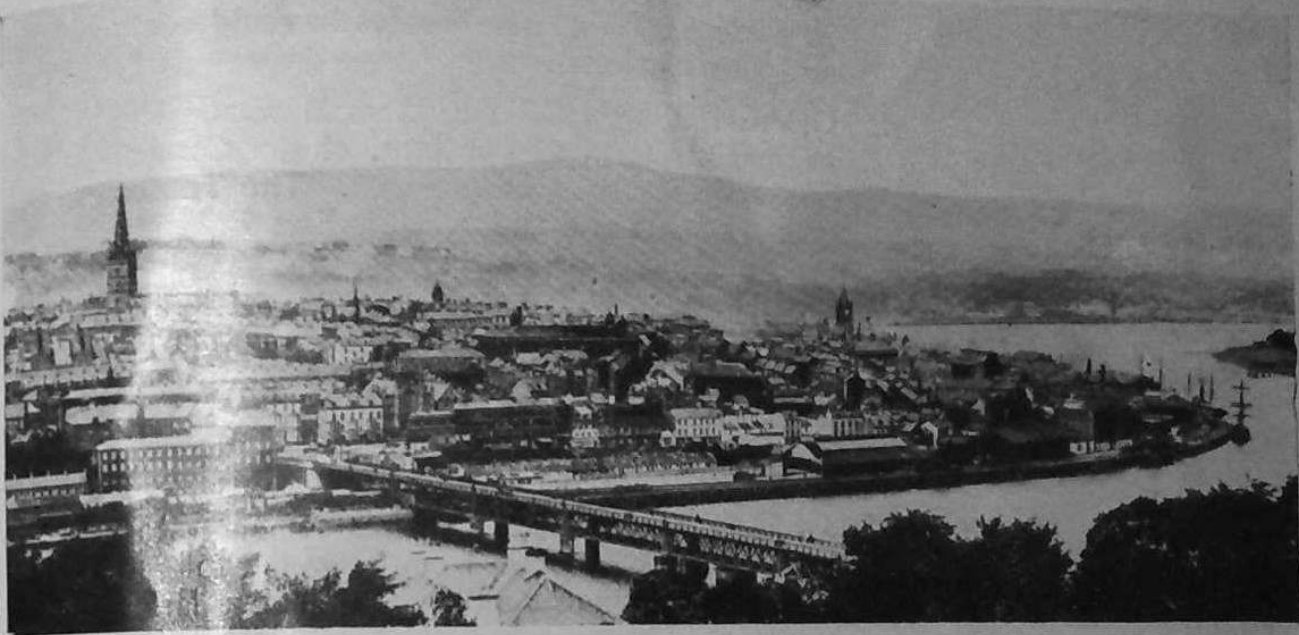
It will be seen at once that the wards have been so arranged that more Nationalist electors have been crowded in the South Ward than there are Tory electors in the whole city. The Tories win the eight seats of the North Ward and the four seats of the Waterside Ward, and thus for 11,061 electors have 12 seats on the Derry Corporation, while the Nationalists win but one ward, the South, although they have 17,017 electors. The Tory minority are thereby given control of the Derry City government.

## A WELL DESIGNED SYSTEM

Though this arrangement of the wards of Derry City is remarkable, it is, as will be shown, not exceptional. In every democracy there are cases where a minority wins a particular election. For example, it happens often where there are three-cornered contests. The case of Derry is not one of these. The minority vote there is given majority power by an arrangement of electoral districts. In straight two-party contests a well-designed system enables the Tories to win more seats than the Nationalists, and though secret voting and adult suffrage remain, the Nationalists have been deprived of their democratic right. Mere boundary alteration has made the minority the majority.



## DERRY'S UNIQUE DISTINCTION



Derry City has the distinction of being the most gerrymandered borough in the Six Counties. Its electoral boundaries have been manipulated no fewer than four times to prevent the Nationalist majority in the city from getting control of the city government. The narrow franchise of those days kept the city safe for the Tories until 1891. The census taken that year showed the Nationalist population growing so rapidly that it might soon capture two of the three wards into which the city had been divided. The first gerrymander was carried out in 1896 to avert this. The three wards were increased to five and the Tory minority were by a nice use of boundaries given control of three of the five. Each of the five returned the same number of members. But the Nationalist population continued to grow and it looked by 1919 as if they would capture a third ward and therefore return 24 Councillors against 16. So the ward boundaries were redrawn and the wards were reduced from five to four and now the numbers returned by the wards were to be different. The two wards in which the Nationalist majority in the city was concentrated were given 19 representatives. The two wards containing the bulk of the Tory minority were given 21. Thus for the second time Tory control was preserved. Unfortunately for the Tory party the British Government in the very next year applied Proportional Representation to Irish local elections. The result was that in 1920 the Nationalist majority in the city, for the first time ever, secured its right—a majority of the seats on the Derry Corporation. This triumph of democracy did not last long. In December, 1922, on the eve of the next municipal elections the Belfast Ministry for Home Affairs ordered another rearrangement of the electoral boundaries. The four wards were increased to five and so manipulated that once more the Nationalist majority in the city could elect only a minority on the City Council.

In 1936 came the fourth gerrymander. The Nationalist population had continued to grow and it looked as if three of the five wards might be won by them. But before elections could be held the electoral wards were changed for the fourth time. The five wards were abolished. Three new wards specially designed on this occasion by the City Grand Master of the Orange Order were substituted and the membership of the Corporation was reduced by half, i.e., to twenty. This fourth Gerrymander was so successful that it gave the Tory minority in the city twelve seats and the Nationalist majority eight. To-day we may be on the eve of the fifth gerrymander for the Nationalist majority in the city has once more increased.

Not all the electoral areas in the partitioned part of Ireland require the same kind of gerrymandering to give the Tories control. Obviously where the Tories are in fact the majority, the boundaries need no more than a little change, so that the Nationalists shall get less than their due, as they do throughout practically the whole Six Counties. Again there are districts such as Newry where the Nationalist strength is 80 per cent. of the whole, and where only the most blatant gerrymandering could deny them majority representation. There, the best that can be done is to secure six of the 18 seats for the Tory minority. But wherever Nationalist majorities are not too overwhelming, the electoral boundaries are drawn with meticulous care so that they cannot exercise a majority franchise.

### 60 PER CENT., NO MAJORITY

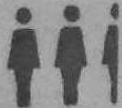
Thus, in practically every area in which the Nationalists are below 60 per cent., and in several in which they are above it, they are prevented from electing Nationalist Councils. The plan is always the same—simply an application of the Derry City device. By an expertly devised boundary, the Nationalist majority is enclosed in less than half the electoral divisions. The others are left with Tory majorities. It is by this means that the following typical results are achieved :—

1. THE TYRONE CO. COUNCIL has 35 members. The county which elects these members is made up of 54 per cent. Nationalists and 46 per cent. Tories. **The Tories get 23 seats, the Nationalists 12.**
2. ARMAGH URBAN COUNCIL has 20 seats. The area which elects the Council is 58.5 per cent. Nationalist and 41.5 per cent. Tory. **The Tories have 12 seats and the Nationalists 8.**

#### ANTRIM CO. COUNCIL



The Tories get a seat for every 3,900 supporters; the Nationalists only one for every 9,700 i.e., 2½ times as many.



#### ARMAGH CO. COUNCIL



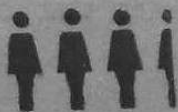
The Tories get a seat for every 1,600 supporters; the Nationalists only one for every 7,000 i.e., 4½ times as many.



#### DERRY CO. COUNCIL



The Tories get a seat for every 2,200 supporters; the Nationalists only one for every 7,200 i.e., 3½ times as many.



3. LISNASKEA RURAL COUNCIL has 22 members. The area is 61 per cent. Nationalist and 39 per cent. Tory. **The Tories have 14 seats and the Nationalists 8.**
4. OMAGH URBAN COUNCIL has 21 seats. The Nationalists form 62 per cent. of the Council area and the Tories 38 per cent. **The Tories have 12 seats and the Nationalists 9.**

Observe the new "democracy" at work : 54 per cent., 58 per cent., 61 per cent., 62 per cent.—it is all the same—the minority gets a substantial majority of the seats.

### A GIANT GERRYMANDER

This method whose effectiveness the figures demonstrate is applied across the whole partitioned territory from Down in the East to Derry in the West. Indeed, this manipulation of electoral boundaries throughout the Six Counties is in keeping with Partition which is itself a giant gerrymander. The Six County boundaries were fixed by Britain on one consideration alone, that the cut off area should contain as much Nationalist territory as the concentration of Tories around Belfast could safely outvote.\* By that major boundary manipulation the mass of the Irish people were deprived of their democratic right to decide national policy, just as to-day Nationalist majorities within the partitioned area are deprived by local boundary manipulation of their right to decide local affairs.

Remember that while in the area taken as a whole the Tories predominate numerically—it was to give them this advantage that Britain detached only six of the nine Ulster Counties—they have local majorities in less than half the area.

**In half of Armagh and half of Down, in all Tyrone and all Fermanagh, in Derry City and part of Derry County and in the northern tip of Antrim, those against Partition are in majority.**

If these areas were free to elect representatives of their choice there would be a chain of Nationalist Councils stretching from east to west, taking in more than half the severed Six Counties.

### AT ALL COST

That in the Tory view must be prevented at all cost since it would expose the geographic smallness of the area supporting partition. It is to conceal that fatal fact that gerrymandering has been applied with such ruthlessness to the Border areas.

As has been said, the areas in which the Tories were already a majority needed least gerrymandering. The greater number of Parliamentary constituencies accordingly escaped but some which were Nationalist it was thought important for the Tories to secure.

\* Within a radius of roughly thirty miles from Belfast lies the Tory concentration in the partitioned area. Inside that radius, which is about a third of the area, there are 77 per cent. Tories and 23 per cent. Nationalists. Outside that radius, in the remaining two-thirds of the partitioned area, the Nationalists are in a majority of 52 per cent.



Derry City, though it has a special place in Tory mythology, is a Nationalist stronghold. We have seen how the majority was prevented from electing a representative City Council. They were also prevented from electing a Member of Parliament. For Parliamentary purposes Derry City is a unit, with a population divided into 29,000 Nationalists and 18,000 Tories. It would in face of these figures seem impossible to keep the Nationalist nominee out. However, political arithmetic is no obstacle to the determined gerrymanderer. The important thing was to get the City for the Tories and that was done. Part of the City was cut away altogether and put into an already Nationalist constituency (the Foyle Division). Then a carefully chosen series of rural areas some of them eight miles away, were grafted on to the now truncated city until a Tory majority was created for what they called the City Division.

Turn to the cover and observe the electoral monster thus produced.

## TWO TO ONE

The Tories also considered it necessary to break up the solid Nationalist counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh, whose area is over a third of the whole partitioned territory. They concentrated on Fermanagh and created three Parliamentary constituencies in which the population was thus divided :

	Nationalists	Tories
Enniskillen ... ..	9,600	10,500
Lisnaskea ... ..	7,900	9,700
South Fermanagh ... ..	12,600	4,170
<b>Totals ...</b>	<b>30,100</b>	<b>24,370</b>

Notice the same pattern as in Derry. Fermanagh has 30,196 Nationalists and 24,375 Tories. By drawing such an electoral boundary as will make one overwhelmingly Nationalist constituency the Tories provide themselves with two constituencies in which they have a small but sufficient majority. Thus, despite adult suffrage and the secret ballot, the minority gets twice the representation of the majority. And having done this the Tories can point to a two-to-one Parliamentary representation to support their contention that Fermanagh wants to remain partitioned from Ireland!

Widespread gerrymandering is not necessary in regard to Parliamentary constituencies because the Belfast area itself gives the Tories a majority in the Parliament.\* But in local government areas boundary manipulation has been well-nigh universal. There the "arrangement" of electoral divisions was carried out without the slightest concern for the peoples' rights. The over-riding purpose has been to ensure, by every means and in every possible instance, that all power and patronage will be in the hands of the Tories.

## NOT FOR THE IRISH

The attack on the electoral rights of the Nationalists comes from two directions. Not only are those who have the vote deprived of

\* From the area within a 30 mile radius of Belfast 34 of the 52 members of the Parliament are returned.

### DOWN CO. COUNCIL



The Tories get a seat for every 4,300 supporters ; the Nationalists only one for every 7,000, i.e., 1½ times as many.



### FERMANAGH CO. COUNCIL



The Tories get a seat for every 1,100 supporters ; the Nationalists only one for every 4,500 i.e., 4 times as many.



### TYRONE CO. COUNCIL



The Tories get a seat for every 2,150 supporters ; the Nationalists only one for every 4,900, i.e., 2½ times as many.



its value by gerrymandering but as many as possible have been denied the franchise altogether under a new Act. An interesting parallel was provided in this matter. In 1945, both the British Parliament and the Belfast Parliament had before them legislation determining who should vote in local elections. The British Act extended the franchise declaring that anybody aged twenty-one years or over was entitled to vote. (Free Ireland had given this right to its local electorate more than ten years earlier). The British Act, however, contained a lengthy section excluding the voters of the Six Counties from the benefit of adult suffrage and decreeing that restrictive regulations designed nearly 30 years earlier (1918) should still have force there.

**The Act going through the Belfast Parliament improved the shining hour by extending not the franchise but the barriers to it and took the vote from many who had it.**

The property qualification was made more onerous and in addition a new form of plural voting was introduced giving wealthy business firms up to seven votes each.

A member of the Administration openly admitted that the aim of the Act was to disfranchise the Nationalists where they formed a majority. It has notoriously succeeded in that aim. One set of figures is typical. The constituency (Lisnakea, Co. Fermanagh) which elects the Prime Minister of the Six County Government provides an example. There 12,037 people have the Parliamentary franchise. Those who can vote in local government elections have, however, been cut down to 7,523. But this reduction—achieved by the application of the property qualification—does not affect the two parties equally.

**The number of Nationalist voters is cut from 7,097 to 4,143 but the total of the Prime Minister's supporters only from 4,940 to 3,380.\***

Even this, as the figures show, leaves the Nationalists in a majority.

## MINORITIES BECOME MAJORITIES

That majority is made ineffective by gerrymandering. The electoral boundaries are so arranged that the Nationalists have large majorities in thirteen of the 31 electoral divisions, their wasted votes allowing the Tories to win control of the other eighteen with small majorities. This gives them a majority on the Council.† The Tories are able to win a seat for every 187 votes, the Nationalists having to poll 317 votes for every seat they get. This shows the position with regard to voters. The disproportion of seats with regard to **population** is even more marked. The Tories get one seat for every 435 persons: the Nationalists one for every 925 persons.

The universality of gerrymandering needs no other proof than this disproportion. We have cited it for the Prime Minister's constituency. But it can be cited for almost every local government area in the whole Six Counties. From the most important public body to the least the disparity exists. Here is a list of examples giving one for each kind of public body from the full analysis which appears as an appendix.

	Seats per Party		Population per Seat	
	Tory	Nationalist	Tory	Nationalist
Derry Corporation ...	12	8	1,541	3,665
Armagh County Council	23	5	1,638	7,098
Lurgan Borough Council	15	0	551	none for 5,499
Omagh Urban Council ...	12	9	180	397
Irvinestown Rural Council	14	8	424	851

It is obvious that only a carefully organised plan could produce this uniformity of discrimination.

\* Figures cited from the Electoral Registers by Mr. Cahir Healy, M.P.

† In 13 electoral districts the Nationalists have an average majority of over 145 but the average Tory majority in the remaining 18 is less than 62.



## THE MOTIVE

But the impartial reader will say : there must be some motive behind a plan of this kind. What is the reason for an electoral system which wherever examined discloses one Tory vote equal to two or more Nationalist votes ?

**The Tories have a double reason : to provide themselves with an argument that Partition has a democratic basis and at the same time to reduce the Nationalists to political impotence even where they are in majority.**

As has been shown the British Government dismembered Ireland in such a way as to give to a concentration of Tory voters in the Belfast region a large area over which they could numerically dominate. Included in that area was more than half the partitioned territory where a plebiscite would produce a majority for inclusion in a United Ireland.

The existence in that territory of public bodies controlled by the Nationalists would, in the Tory view, disclose this fact and demonstrate to the world the lack of homogeneity in the severed area.

Many outside Ireland have been propagandised into believing that all "Ulster" is passionately for Partition. To have a chain of Nationalist Councils running from East to West of the whole area would blow this misconception sky high and would expose the geographical absurdity of the entire Six County boundary.

## DISPERSE THE NATIONALISTS

It would do something equally feared by the Tories. It would encourage the Nationalists to hope for rescue. It would keep them organised. It would give them authority and responsibility in these border communities. On the other hand to take control of the Nationalist areas from the Nationalists would help to dismay and disperse them.

**With the control of each public body goes the giving of employment, the building and allocation of houses, the spending of public moneys on amenities and education, public libraries, health schemes etc.**

All this implies considerable power over the life of the community. By Tory control, therefore, the Nationalists could be excluded from public employment, be denied their proper share of housing and contracts for public works ; they could be discriminated against educationally, and generally be treated as a subject section of the community.\* Tory control would deny them hope and drive them to seek employment and residence elsewhere until the Border areas could be made like the Belfast region itself, the undisputed preserve of the Tory Party.

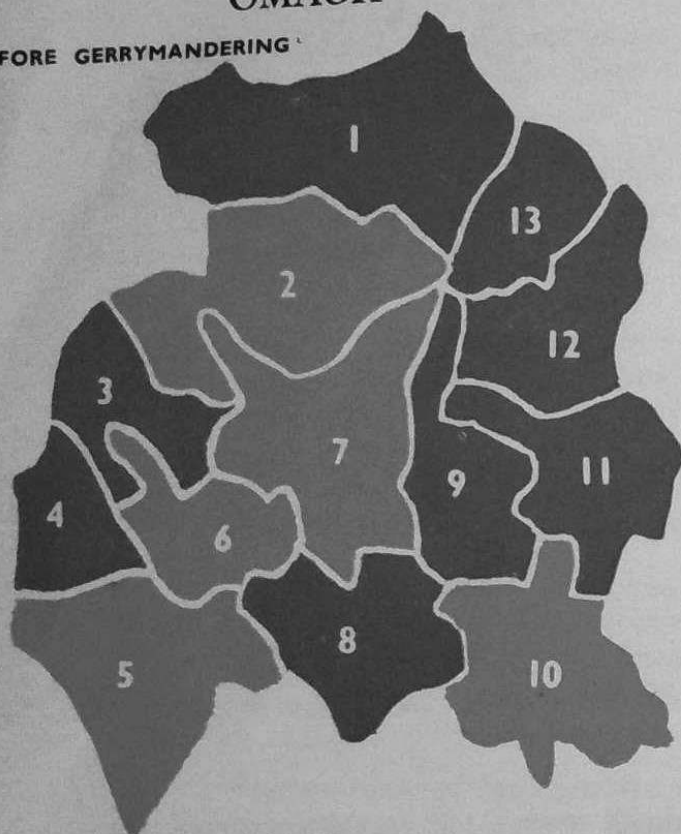
## TELL-TALE WORDS

Some to whom these facts are new may regard the statements as exaggerated. A few quotations should resolve this doubt. The general attitude of the Tory leaders to the Nationalist majorities in the Border Counties has been frankly stated by two prominent members whose importance to the Party has been recognised within the last few months by appointment to public posts. Mr. E. C. Ferguson, M.P., who, in October, 1949, resigned

\*The Voice of Ulster official organ of the Ulster Unionist Council, policy maker for the Tory party in the Six Counties, says in its issue of November, 1949, "Vital as were the votes cast in Ulster's great Election last February, equally vital are Local Government votes. By the latter, the Ulster people put into office those who can wield for weal or for woe, the power transmitted by our Stormont Government. Nor is this power negligible when one considers the making of appointments, the letting of houses, and the provision of health, medical, education and other services."

## OMAGH

### BEFORE GERRYMANDERING



In the part of the Omagh Rural District shown here there were before 1922, 13 Electoral Divisions of which 8 were Nationalist in majority. After the area had been gerrymandered in 1922 the Nationalists were left with only two of the now nine divisions. A rearrangement of the boundaries gave all the others to the Tories—a Nationalist majority of 61 per cent. of the seats in the area had been reduced to an insignificant minority of 15 per cent. (See key at foot of next column).

### AFTER GERRYMANDERING†



from Parliament to take up the post of Crown Solicitor for Co. Fermanagh, said at Enniskillen, capital of the county, on April 9th, 1948 :

*"The Nationalist majority in the county, notwithstanding a reduction of 336 in the year, stands at 3,684. We must ultimately reduce and liquidate that majority. This county, I think it can safely be said, is a Unionist (i.e., a Tory) county. The atmosphere is Unionist. The Boards and properties are nearly all controlled by Unionists. But there is still this millstone around our necks."*

In a word, everything except the people are Unionist!

Major L. E. Curran, then Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Finance, later Attorney General, and recently appointed a member of the High Court Bench, showed earlier that part of this "liquidation" of a Nationalist majority would be the wholesale disfranchisement of Nationalists not in Fermanagh only but in other Border Counties also. He was in charge of the Bill limiting the franchise and on January 10th, 1946, in the Belfast Parliament, he referred to the danger "of the Nationalists getting control of the three Border counties plus Derry City." Describing them as disloyal he said :

*"The best way to prevent the overthrow of the Government by people who had no stake in the country and had not the welfare of the people of Ulster at heart was to disfranchise them."*††

A most potent weapon with which to carry out Mr. Ferguson's liquidation policy, and Major Curran's disfranchisement, was the denial of houses to Nationalists in particular areas. This has, like so much else in this story of gerrymandering, a dual effect. **It compels Nationalists either to reside elsewhere or lodge with one another and thus lose the local Government vote under the new Act**

In either case the Tories come out relatively stronger for their purpose of dominating the local bodies. There is no concealment of this denial of houses. The Tory

††It was a sensational admission for though everybody knew the purpose of the Bill nobody expected that a member of the Ministry would himself state it so brutally. Major Curran's colleagues realised the damage that had been done and though the Tory Press (see *Northern Whig*, January 11th, 1946) had reported the passage the offending sentences were cut from the Official Debates. Part of the evidence was destroyed.

1. Gortin
2. Dunbreen
3. Gortgranagh
4. Lisnacraught
5. Mullagharn
6. Mountjoy Forest (West)
7. Mountjoy Forest (East)
8. Omagh Rural
9. Killyclogher
10. Camowen
11. Drumnakilly
12. Mountfield
13. Fallagh (part of)

1. Gortin
2. Dunbreen
3. Castletown
4. Mountjoy Forest (West)
5. Mountjoy Forest (East)
6. Omagh Rural
7. Edenderry
8. Maine
9. Fallagh (part of)



Journal, the Strabane Weekly News, on June 11th, 1949, published the following editorial advice to the Tory Councillors who in a predominantly Nationalist area have secured all but 8 of the 28 seats on the Strabane Rural Council :

*"Every Unionist (i.e., Tory), who sells a farm or lets a house to an Anti-Partitionist is assisting the Anti-Partitionists to win the Local Government representation in that area at the next election and their action can only be regarded as treachery to their party."\**

As will have been seen from the footnote on page 7, the Ulster Unionist Council itself five months later urged Tory voters to remember that "the letting of houses" is part of the spoils of controlling local bodies.

But the principal method of "liquidating" the Nationalists and the oldest of them all is the refusal to give to the Nationalist communities their rightful share of public employment and to close private employment to them also, wherever possible. This policy is as old as Partition itself and has been voiced by no less an influential person than Sir Basil Brooke, present Prime Minister of the Six Counties. He put it brutally in its full sectarian aspect in a speech in 1933 setting the line for all loyal party members :

*"Many in the audience employ Catholics but I have not one about my place."*

That policy is faithfully carried out to-day in every Nationalist area in the Six Counties in which the Prime Minister's party has secured control. The Nationalists even where they are in strong majority are denied the most menial public posts paid for by the money collected in local and general taxation to which they, as a majority, substantially contribute. Both the Tory and the Nationalist newspapers of the area are constantly reporting instances of the refusal by Tory controlled public boards to appoint Nationalists.

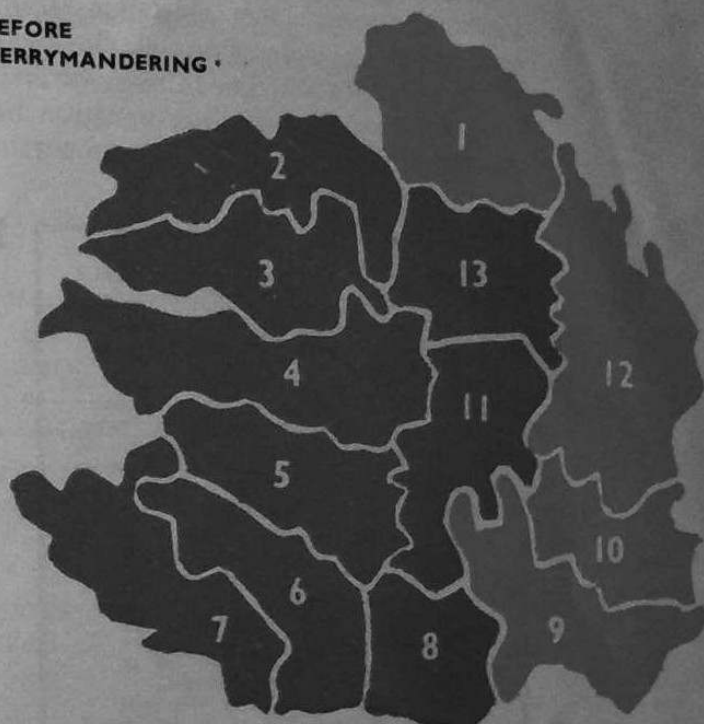
None of this could have happened without the connivance of Britain. In the Act which partitioned Ireland the British recognised that the Nationalists of the Six Counties were likely to be penalised simply because most of them differed in religion from those who would control the Government of the partitioned area. To reassure public opinion on this score, the British Government put into the Act a clause making it unconstitutional for the Belfast Parliament to

*"make a law so as either directly or indirectly to . . . give a preference, privilege or advantage or impose any disabilities or disadvantage on account of religious belief. . . ."*

\*See similar advice given in another Tory Journal, the Londonderry Sentinel, January 15th, 1950.

## ENNISKILLEN

### BEFORE GERRYMANDERING



In the western part of the Enniskillen Rural District before 1922 there were 13 Electoral Divisions of which 9 had Nationalist majorities and 4 Tory majorities. The area was gerrymandered in 1922. The Nationalist Electoral Divisions were greatly enlarged in order to reduce the nine held by the Nationalists to four. The boundaries of the Tory areas were then manipulated so as to give them five Divisions instead of the four they had, thus turning a two to one Nationalist majority of seats into a minority.

### AFTER GERRYMANDERING †



1. Rahalton
2. Doagh
3. Old Barr
4. Glankeeel
5. Aghanaglack
6. Gardenhill
7. Holywell
8. Gortahork
9. Lisbofin
10. Coolyermer
11. Ross
12. Ely
13. Monea

1. Rahalton
2. Doagh
3. Old Barr
4. Aghanaglack
5. Holywell
6. Lisbofin
7. Drummea
8. Coolyermer
9. Monea

That law has since been broken by every Prime Minister of the Six Counties and by the lesser Ministers. We need but recall the quotation from the present Prime Minister, setting the example of non-employment of Catholics. Those who held the office of Prime Minister before him, Lord Craigavon and Mr. J. M. Andrews, gave voice to similar sentiments. Under such patronage discrimination has flourished and it is to deprive the minority of electoral power that the same mentality has devised the gerrymandering system and is operating it to the full.

#### HOUSES FOR ONE PARTY ONLY

The Tory members of the Omagh Rural District Council met on June 6th, 1936 and asked for a change of law which would prevent Nationalists getting houses. The resolution was forwarded by their Secretary, Mr. Robert A. Parke, to the Deputy Whip of the Government Party, Sir Wilson Hungerford on June 16th, 1936. Mr. Parke himself summarised the resolution as follows—

"Briefly put the object is to confer on rural councils the power to formulate schemes for the erection of Labourers' Cottages without representations so that when cottages are completed they can be let to Unionist (i.e. Tory) tenants.

"We know that in the past cottages have had to be let to those who made representations (i.e. those most in need) and in the majority of cases these have been Roman Catholics and Nationalists.

"If this change were made it is believed it would enable the Unionist Party to improve their position without risk from the other side."

In other words the cottages will only be built by the Council if they can be let to Tory voters. This the Tory Councillors in their resolution put still more bluntly :

"We would point out that in certain districts cottages are required by Unionist Workers but we hesitate to invite representations as we know there would be a flood of representations from the Nationalist side and our political opponents are only waiting the opportunity to use this means to outvote us in divisions where majorities are close."

Rather than risk houses going to Nationalists the Omagh Rural Council (Tory-controlled despite the 62 per cent. Nationalist majority in its electoral area) did not build as much as one Labourer's cottage although the Tory Councillors' resolution itself shows how desperate the housing situation was, particularly among the Nationalists but also among the workers, generally

#### BRITAIN'S RESPONSIBILITY

Britain has never once interfered. The test of whether there was any sincerity in Section 5 of the Partition Act (which was supposed to protect minorities) came within eighteen months of the passing of that Act. Legislation was rushed through the Belfast Parliament in July, 1922, to abolish Proportional Representation in local elections and to give a Tory Minister full legal power to alter the electoral boundaries of any Council area in any part of the Six Counties.\* The British Government of the time recognising the true purpose of this legislation at first instructed the Viceroy to veto the Act but later after pressure from the Six County Tories yielded.†

**The only safeguard to the minority provided in the British statute which dismembered Ireland was, thus, rendered useless with the connivance of the British Government itself within less than two years.**

From that day to to-day, practically every area in the Six Counties where the Nationalists could be defrauded of the value of their votes by boundary manipulation has been gerrymandered. Local electoral divisions since 1922 and Parliamentary divisions since 1929 have been revised and rearranged at the will either of the Government alone or of the local and central Tory leaders without consultation with the people. In the case both of local elections and Parliamentary elections the system of Proportional Representation inserted into the Partition Act as a further aid to full representation for the minority was abolished. Its abolition need not have been injurious if the system which replaced it was justly devised to ascertain and reflect the wishes of the electorate.

\*The power to alter electoral boundaries is contained in Section 7 of the Local Government Act (Northern Ireland) of 1922 which declares

"The Minister may from time to time make orders

(a) dividing a borough urban district or town into wards and fixing the boundaries of such wards, altering the number and boundaries of the wards, or altering the boundaries of the wards without altering their number. . . .  
(b) dividing a county into county electoral divisions, altering the boundary of a county electoral division, or the number of county councillors and county electoral divisions of the county. . . ."

Though the Section binds the Minister to "consult with" the existing local body he is free to ignore their advice and is free also to put through his alterations of boundaries without any local inquiry

†See Northern Ireland Official Debates Vol. 2, Col. 957 October 10th, 1922.



But what followed showed that Proportional Representation was removed solely to enable drastic boundary alterations to be carried out by which the Nationalists were everywhere crippled in their voting power.

Britain never once protested.

## SIGNIFICANT FIGURES

Some examples of the effect of these changes on the Nationalist membership of public boards is provided in the following table. It shows the deadly blow that gerrymandering has struck at democracy in the Six Counties.

BELFAST CITY COUNCIL					
		Tory	Nat.	Lab.	Others
Before Partition	...	37	10	12	1
Now	...	51	1	8	0
DERRY CORPORATION					
Before Partition	...	19	21	0	0
Now	...	12	7	1	0
LURGAN BOROUGH COUNCIL					
Before Partition	...	4	2	9	0
Now	...	15	0	0	0
LIMAVADY URBAN COUNCIL					
Before Partition	...	4	4	0	1
Now	...	9	0	0	0
FERMANAGH COUNTY COUNCIL					
Before Partition	...	9	11	0	0
Now	...	19	6	0	0
MAGHERAFELT RURAL COUNCIL					
Before Partition	...	11	17	0	0
Now	...	18	11	0	0

In every case the Tory manipulation of the electoral boundaries has led to an increase in Tory representation wholly unjustified by the political composition of the electorate which remained stable over the period to which these figures refer.

## RESULTS PRE-DETERMINED

So penetrative is this gerrymandering that the main contestants in the elections now know there is hardly need to fight at all, the result has in so many cases been predetermined.

**The consequence is something unique in elections. In the rest of Ireland practically every local seat is hotly contested. In Britain there is similar keenness. But in the Six Counties only a small minority of the seats are now contested.**

In 1949 local elections took place for both municipal and rural councils. In several council areas the hopelessness of attempting to democratise the local elections was so evident that not even enough candidates were nominated to fill the seats vacant.\* In the majority of other cases only barely enough candidates presented themselves to make up the new Council. For less than 30 per cent. of the seats was there any contest. Here is a table of how this unique "election" was fought.

\*Only 20 candidates were nominated for 31 seats in the Armagh Rural Council area, only 12 for 20 seats in Newtownards Rural area and only 14 for 20 seats in Banbridge Rural area.

## NO ENQUIRY PERMITTED

In December, 1946, the Nationalist M.P.'s in the Belfast Parliament proposed the following motion:

"That in the opinion of this House the gerrymandering of local government electoral areas, whereby minorities of electors are able to elect a majority of the public representatives is undemocratic and a public inquiry should be held into the whole matter."

Nationalist and Labour M.P.'s from Fermanagh, Tyrone, Belfast, Armagh, and Down, urged the Government in its own interest to accept the motion.

Spokesmen for the motion gave many examples, with statistics and maps, of Nationalist electors robbed of their majority position by boundary manipulation. The Government's reply, a point blank refusal, was given by Major Curran who, the previous January, had charge of the Bill which disfranchised Nationalist voters so that they could not control "the three border counties and Derry City." He and other Tory spokesmen said the local electoral areas which had been impugned were so devised since the law required rateable valuation to be considered. The Nationalists replied that this could not explain gerrymandering where it was worst—in rural areas—as all agricultural land had been derated but in any case what the law required was first the equitable representation of the population and only then raised the question of rates. But the Government would not be moved by argument and "No enquiry" was voted.

	Total Seats		Not Contested
Corporations ...	72	...	16 (or 22%)
County Councils	129	...	123 (or 95%)
Borough Councils	171	...	96 (or 56%)
Urban Councils	272	...	138 (or 50%)
Rural Councils ...	613	...	576 (or 93%)

These figures\* simply mean that democracy in local affairs has to all intents and purposes been killed in the partitioned area. Boundary manipulation and widespread disqualification of electors have made elections so unreal that public interest in them has all but vanished.

The Tory majority which the British Act of 1920 created in the fenced-off six-Counties set out 28 years ago on a vast scheme of discrimination against the Nationalist minority. They have succeeded in destroying the electoral power of the Nationalists, but in doing so they have brought grave dishonour on the whole system of local government, and now elections contested from any quarter have become a rarity.

### Low Record of Service

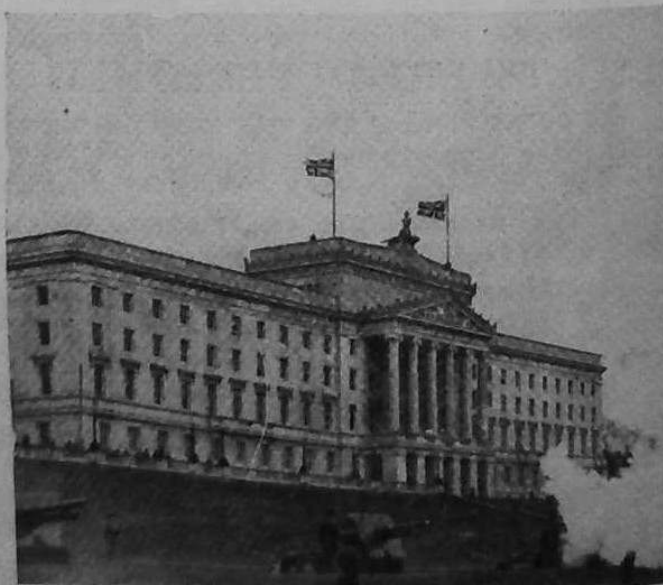
One of the fruits of the undemocratic local government system produced by gerrymandering is that the Tory-controlled public bodies have a very low record of service.

**The three Rural District Councils in the Nationalist County of Fermanagh, all controlled by the Tory minorities, did not build as much as one house in more than twenty years.**

In other counties the politically petrified boards which have resulted from boundary manipulation are as reluctant to adopt

\* The figures may not be complete in all cases as there are no official statistics. The table is compiled from reports of nominations, withdrawals and election results as they appeared in the Six County Tory and Nationalist newspapers in May and June, 1949.

*This is a view of the Belfast Parliament which was built by the British Government and in pursuance of British policy was presented as a free gift to the Government of the Six Counties in April, 1933. The guns in the foreground seen firing a salute at the opening of the Session on February 28th, 1950, are the guns of a British battery.*



(Courtesy of Irish Press).



schemes of social improvement.\* The explanation for this general neglect is to be found in the kind of representative who is enabled by the unjust electoral system to form a majority on public boards. He is usually a Tory from the propertied classes. These classes regard with traditional hostility any project which may increase the rates on property, and in consequence the record of public boards for social amenities, particularly housing, in almost every area in the Six Counties is far below that in the rest of Ireland or in Britain.

The Planning Advisory Committee set up by the Belfast Government issued in 1944 the latest available figures on the general housing situation in the partitioned territory. The neglect shown is considerable everywhere, but it is at its worst in the Nationalist Counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh. In the worst Tory rural areas the highest percentage of houses declared totally unfit is 19.8 per cent., but in Tyrone it is 40.6 per cent., and in Fermanagh 41.2 per cent. There is grave overcrowding in all parts of the partitioned Six Counties. Taking the whole area 34.4 per cent. of the houses are overcrowded. This overcrowding is worst in Tyrone, 55.8 per cent., and in Fermanagh, 57.9 per cent. In the entire area there is urgent need for 30.2 per cent. more houses than there are now. But in Tyrone that need is 51.5 per cent., and in Fermanagh 54.6 per cent.

This neglect is all the more acceptable to the Tory majorities on the Councils, as it prevents the hated Nationalists from benefiting by better housing, water and sewerage schemes and other community projects that are set on foot by Councils that do care for the public need. Such schemes create employment—but in the Nationalist areas of the Six Counties this might have meant that many Nationalists having found work could remain in the area to vote at the next election, so the least possible was done,†

#### AN OFFICIAL REPORT

*Housing in Northern Ireland* is an official report published by the Belfast Government in 1944. It sets out the need for new houses in that area as a percentage of existing houses showing that at that time (and there has been no material change since) the deficiency was 30.2. The figures for the separate districts both rural and urban illustrate how the Nationalists have systematically been denied their fair share of new housing. For instance, the deficiency in the rural districts of the counties where the Tories are strongest (Down and Antrim) is 28 per cent. but in those counties where the Nationalists are strongest (Fermanagh and Tyrone) the deficiency is 53 per cent. In urban areas as a whole, the deficiency is 27.3 per cent., but in Nationalist towns it is 35.7 per cent., and in Nationalist towns where the local body (responsible for rehousing the people) is in the hands of the Tory minority it is 41.8 per cent. There are four towns in which the deficiency is well over 41 per cent. and three of these are Nationalist. (Dungannon 48.3 per cent., Derry 44.8 per cent. and Enniskillen 43.7 per cent.) In Belfast City as a whole the percentage of the people living in overcrowded and unfit houses is 37.2 per cent. But in the three wards which are most strongly Nationalist, Smithfield has 76.1 per cent. of all its people in overcrowded or unfit houses, Falls has 67.1 per cent. and Dock has 54 per cent. These official figures show the neglect of which Nationalists are the victims.

\* Mr. Harry Midgley, now Minister for Education, speaking in the Belfast Parliament on March 20th, 1946, said: "I was 20 years on the Public Health Committee of Belfast Corporation . . . in between the war years there never was any scheme, not one single scheme, of slum clearance carried out in Northern Ireland."

Sir Milne Barbour, former Minister for Commerce, speaking in the Belfast Parliament on March 14th, 1944, said many members of local councils were neglecting their responsibilities because they were afraid "to face the electors if they raise the rates."

"I have observed in going around Belfast, frightful conditions of housing."—Mr. Connolly Gage, Tory M.P., for South Belfast, February 21st, 1950.

Speaking in the Belfast Parliament about County Fermanagh where all three Rural Councils, despite Nationalist majorities in the areas which elect them, are Tory-controlled, the Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. J. E. Warnock, K.C., said on May 18th, 1944: "No cottages have been built in that county under the Labourers Acts since 1912."

† On Tuesday, January 16th, 1950 (see *Londonderry Sentinel*, January 19th, 1950), Mr. T. L. Teevan, Chairman of the Limavady Urban Council, spoke at a Tory meeting. He warned his audience that the Tory majority in Derry County had fallen. That, he said, had occurred "through the ruinous and treacherous policy" of giving houses "to Roman Catholics," and went on:

"It is also caused by great employers of Labour in the North of Ireland employing Roman Catholic Labour." As Chairman of a public body, on which the Nationalists, though 40 per cent. of the population of the area, have not a single representative, Mr. Teevan indicated what this Urban Council will do whenever it has houses to allocate or employment to give.

# BRITAIN STANDS OVER IT ALL

The ultimate responsibility rests with Britain. What has been stated here has all along been known to the British Government. They are well aware of the sustained penalisation of the Nationalists. They are well aware of the effort made by the Tory Government in Belfast by manipulation of the electoral boundaries to rob the minority (even where it is a local majority) of that effective franchise which is supposed to be the elementary right of every citizen. Nevertheless, despite this knowledge, the British Labour Government in May, 1949, passed the Ireland Act confirming the Tories in their domination and giving them by Statute a veto on the will of the Irish people.

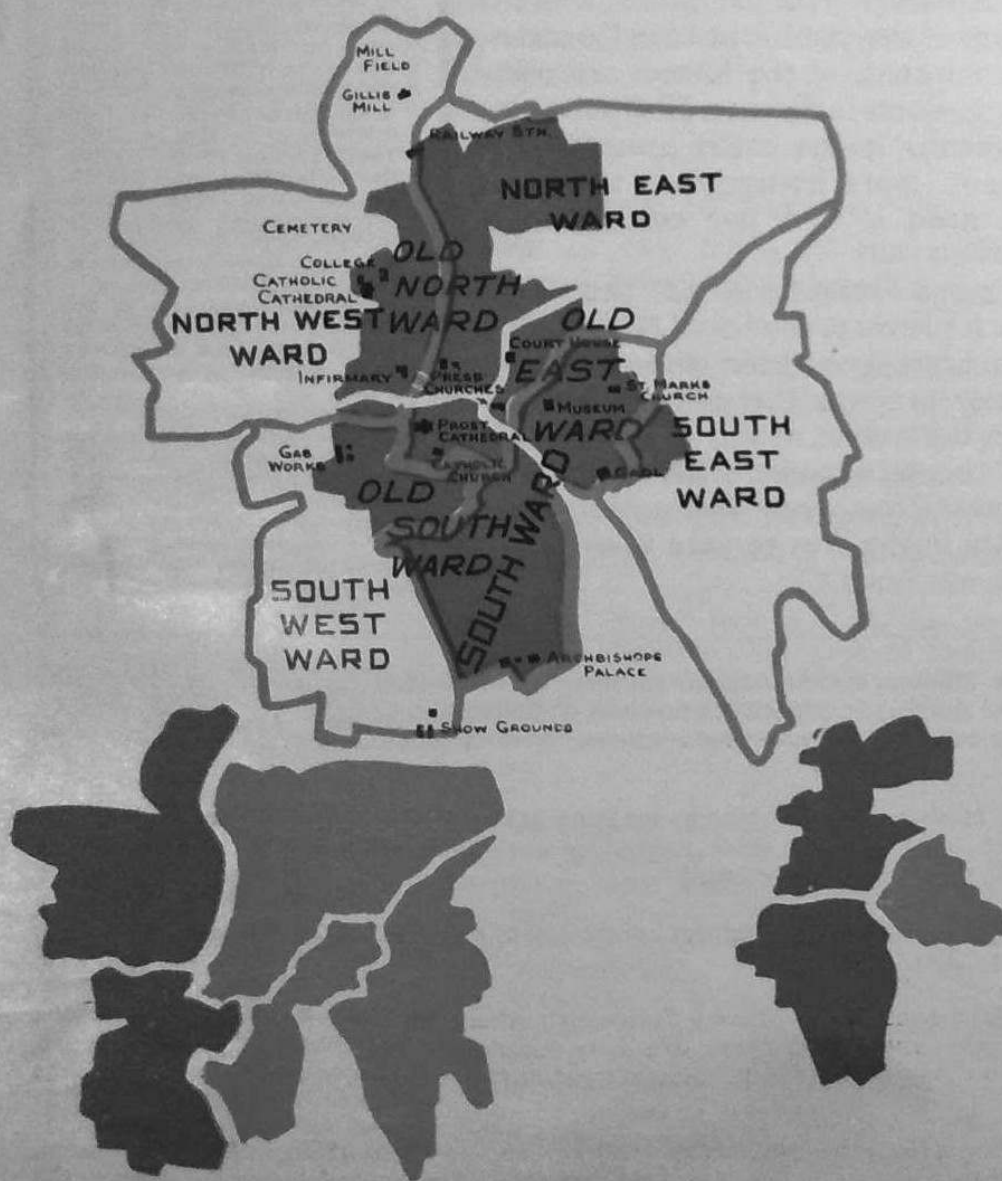
The facts set out in this pamphlet are, however, not widely known among the rank and file of the Tory supporters within the partitioned area. The injustices inflicted on the minority would be indignantly repudiated by many of these people themselves if the truth could be got to them. They, like the mass of every community, desire to be just to their neighbours, but they are kept in ignorance by their leaders and their press of what is going on around them, or they are made to believe that these things must be done for the safety of the State. Honest men and women of every party would revolt if it could be brought home to them how democracy has been overturned to keep Nationalists out of their rights.

## THE ARMAGH GERRYMANDER

In a debate in the Belfast Parliament on December 10th, 1946, the following facts were given of the manner by which the Nationalist citizens of Armagh were deprived of their control of city affairs.

The Urban Council was first established in 1903. The city was divided into three wards, each electing six members. The Nationalists were in majority in two wards and elected twelve members of the Council. The Tories elected the remaining six. In 1922 under the system of Proportional Representation, which provides specially for minorities, the Nationalists got 10 seats and the Tories 8.

The Council was dissolved by Order of the Belfast Government in March, 1934, despite the protest of the majority of the citizens and for 12 years was administered by a paid official. During that period the Nationalist majority made many representations to the Belfast Government to restore their self-government. In April, 1946 this paid official without any instruction from the citizens applied to the Armagh County Council which was Tory in majority for an extension of the town boundaries. Although, since it deprives them of revenue, county bodies are usually slow to grant such applications, the Tory majority immediately complied. It set up a Tribunal, exclusively Tory, to examine the details. The majority of ratepayers heard by the Tribunal were against the extension (indeed only one ratepayer, a Tory, supported it.) The boundary was nevertheless extended. A fantastic line which skirted every Nationalist district but took in every Tory one near it was made the new city boundary. Again without consulting the citizens the existing three wards were abolished and five new wards established and of the five—is it necessary to add?—three had been made safe for the Tories by the carefully-drawn boundary line. In this Nationalist city the Tories now send 12 Councillors to the Urban Council against the Nationalist 8. To complete this microcosm of the new democracy it need only be added that the population of this town, whose boundary had to be urgently extended in 1946 had been shown by every Census to be falling since 1903.



The diagram and maps show how Armagh with its Nationalist majority was made safe for the Tories. The City prior to 1946 is shown in green in the centre. The South and North wards were Nationalist and the East ward Tory (as illustrated in the key below on the right). The City created by the 1946 gerrymander is outlined in orange. With the rural additions, the wards were increased to five, of which three, the North-East, South-East and South were given to the Tories (as illustrated in the key on the left). The Tories thereby controlled the City Council.



# APPENDIX

This appendix gives an analysis of the distribution of seats according to population in each of the elected Councils in the partitioned area. It is based on the results of the local elections held in 1949 and on the latest census returns which are those of 1937. It will be seen that on only five of the seventy-two Councils do the Nationalists get representation equal to that of the Tories.

## POPULATION PER SEAT ON THE LOCAL BODIES OF THE SIX COUNTIES

### ANTRIM

Taking the Tory  
Representation of the  
Number of its Supporters as  
100%, the Nationalist  
Representation of its  
Supporters is :

#### URBAN COUNCILS :

	Nationalists A seat for every	Tories A seat for every	%
Ballycastle ... ..	192	172	89
Ballyclare ... ..	none for	239	0
Ballymena ... ..	none for	2,347	0
Ballymoney ... ..	381	246	64
Carrickfergus ... ..	none for	639	0
Larne ... ..	2,547	610	24
Lisburn ... ..	none for	2,353	0
Portrush ... ..	none for	469	0
Whitehead ... ..	none for	152	0

#### RURAL COUNCILS :

Antrim Co. Council ... ..	9,668	3,894	29
Antrim ... ..	none for	4,212	0
Ballycastle ... ..	435	631	145
Ballymena ... ..	2,629	1,296	41
Ballymoney ... ..	1,322	819	61
Belfast ... ..	3,922	1,096	28
Larne ... ..	1,113	1,199	107
Lisburn ... ..	none for	3,954	0

### ARMAGH

#### URBAN COUNCILS :

Armagh ... ..	517	244	47
Keady ... ..	114	none for 233	—
Lurgan ... ..	none for	5,499	0
Portadown ... ..	none for	2,987	0
Tanderagee ... ..	165	112	68

# ARMAGH—continued.

Taking the Tory  
Representation of the  
Number of its Supporters as  
100%, the Nationalist  
Representation of its  
Supporters is :

					Nationalists A seat for every	Tories A seat for every	%
<b>RURAL COUNCILS :</b>							
Armagh Co. Council	...	...	...	...	7,098	1,638	23
Armagh Rural Council	...	...	...	...	1,776	664	37
Lurgan ...	...	...	...	...	1,677	981	58
Newry No. 2	...	...	...	...	801	693	86
Tanderagee	...	...	...	...	none for 390	374	0

## DERRY

<b>URBAN COUNCILS :</b>							
Derry Corporation	...	...	...	...	3,665	1,541	42
Coleraine B.C.	...	...	...	...	1,887	486	25
Limavady	...	...	...	...	none for 1,087	187	0
Portstewart	...	...	...	...	587	181	31

<b>RURAL COUNCILS :</b>							
Derry Co. Council	...	...	...	...	7,274	2,200	28
Coleraine	...	...	...	...	2,278	750	32
Derry R.D.C.	...	...	...	...	1,546	739	66
Limavaddy	...	...	...	...	672	480	71
Magherafelt	...	...	...	...	1,517	800	52

## DOWN

<b>URBAN COUNCILS :</b>							
Bangor B.C.	...	...	...	...	none for 1,458	701	0
Banbridge	...	...	...	...	none for 1,401	282	0
Donaghadee	...	...	...	...	165	296	179
Downpatrick	...	...	...	...	229	436	134
Dromore	...	...	...	...	none for 300	203	0
Holywood	...	...	...	...	1,000	509	50
Newcastle	...	...	...	...	379	214	56
Newry	...	...	...	...	844	434	53
Newtownards...	...	...	...	...	none for 994	597	0
Warrenpoint	...	...	...	...	218	155	70

<b>RURAL COUNCILS :</b>							
Down County Council	...	...	...	...	7,392	4,322	58
Banbridge	...	...	...	...	3,027	813	23
Castlereagh	...	...	...	...	none for 637	708	0



# DOWN—continued

					Nationalists A seat for every	Tories A seat for every	Taking the Tory Representation of the Number of its Supporters as 100%, the Nationalist Representation of its Supporters is :
							%
Downpatrick ...	...	...	...	...	1,595	1,024	67
Hillsborough ...	...	...	...	none for	1,635	1,341	0
Kilkeel ...	...	...	...	...	853	930	109
Moir ...	...	...	...	none for	1,311	73	0
Newry No. 1 ...	...	...	...	...	770	733	95
Newtownards...	...	...	...	none for	4,123	1,168	0

## FERMANAGH

### URBAN COUNCILS :

Enniskillen B.C. ...	...	...	...	...	397	150	37
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### RURAL COUNCILS :

Fermanagh Co. Council ...	...	...	...	...	4,569	1,172	25
Enniskillen ...	...	...	...	...	953	425	44
Irvinestown ...	...	...	...	...	851	424	49
Lisnaskea ...	...	...	...	...	926	372	40

## TYRONE

### URBAN COUNCILS :

Cookstown ...	...	...	...	none for	1,447	160	0
Dungannon ...	...	...	...	...	295	133	45
Omagh ...	...	...	...	...	397	180	47
Strabane ...	...	...	...	...	471	453	96

### RURAL COUNCILS :

Tyrone Co. Council...	...	...	...	...	4,938	2,159	43
Castlederg ...	...	...	...	...	837	477	57
Clogher ...	...	...	...	...	1,148	416	35
Cookstown ...	...	...	...	...	1,374	569	41
Dungannon ...	...	...	...	...	2,143	729	34
Omagh ...	...	...	...	...	1,098	526	47
Strabane ...	...	...	...	...	1,091	420	38

## BELFAST CITY

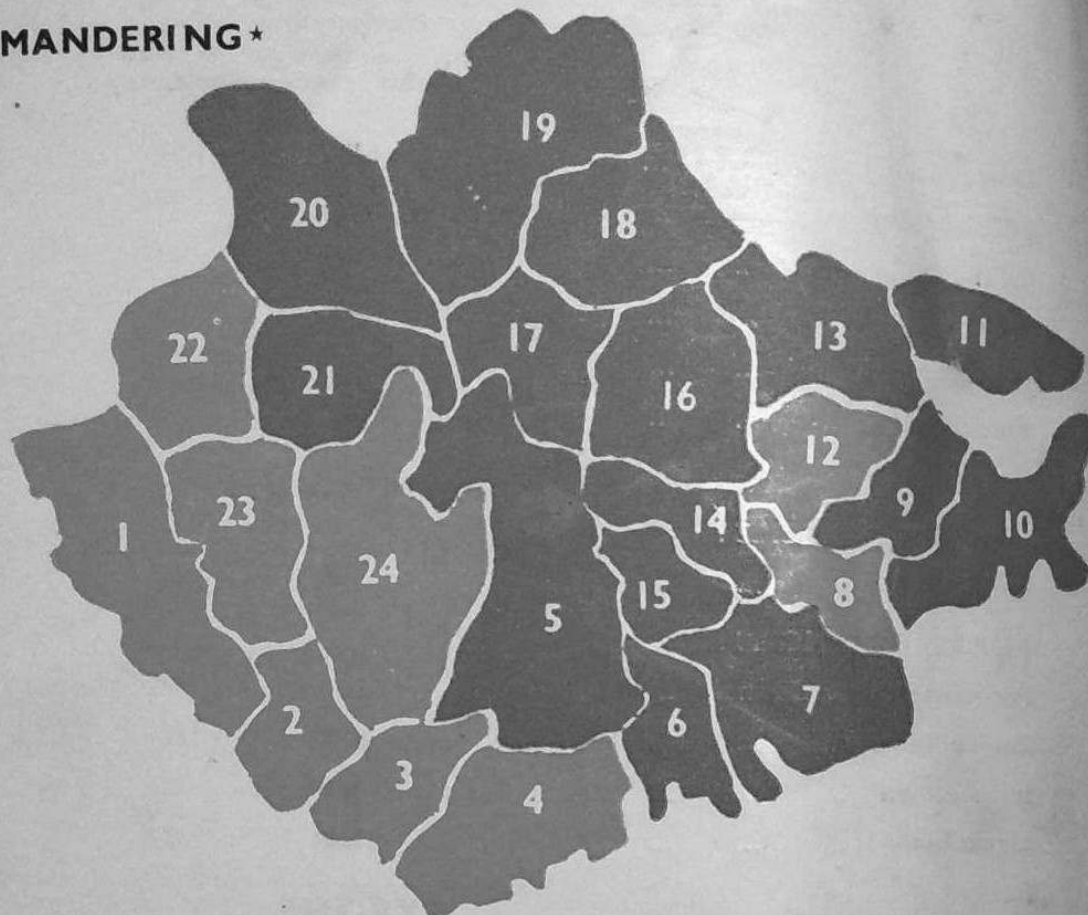
Belfast City ...	...	...	...	...	11,596	6,543	56
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In twelve of the fifteen wards in Belfast the minority has no representation, although 59 per cent., or 61,108 of the 104,372, Nationalists in the city reside in these twelve wards. On the other hand, the Tories are without representation in only two wards, and in these but 3,665, or 1 per cent., of the Tory population of the city, 333,714, reside.

# LISNASKEA

## BEFORE GERRYMANDERING\*

- \*1. Cross
- 2. Greenhill
- 3. Maguires Bridge
- 4. Belle Isle
- 5. Lisnaskea
- 6. Kilmore
- 7. Derrylea
- 8. Kilturk
- 9. Newtownbutler
- 10. Derrysteaton
- 11. Clonkeelan
- 12. Mullynagowan
- 13. Magheraveeley
- 14. Armagh Manor
- 15. Carrickmacosker
- 16. Coolnamarrow
- 17. Carnmore
- 18. Dresternan
- 19. Rosslea
- 20. Mullaghfad
- 21. Grogey
- 22. Corralongford
- 23. Brookborough
- 24. Deerpark



In the main part of the Lisnaskea Rural District before 1922 there were 24 Electoral Divisions, of which 15 had Nationalist majorities and 9 Tory majorities. The area was gerrymandered in 1922 and the boundaries so rearranged that majorities were created for the Tories in 17 of the now 25 Electoral Divisions, leaving only 8 Divisions in control of the Nationalists.

## AFTER GERRYMANDERING†

- †1. Cross
- 2. Greenhill
- 3. Belle Isle
- 4. Maguires Bridge
- 5. Ballindarragh
- 6. Castlebalfour
- 7. Lisnaskea
- 8. Kilmore
- 9. Armagh Manor
- 10. Derrylea
- 11. Newtownbutler
- 12. Derrysteaton
- 13. Clonkeelan
- 14. Mullynagowan
- 15. Magheraveeley
- 16. Coolnamarrow
- 17. Carnmore
- 18. Dresternan
- 19. Rosslea
- 20. Eshnadarragh
- 21. Mullaghfad
- 22. Corralongford
- 23. Colebrook
- 24. Brookborough
- 25. Deerpark

