THE MODERN WORLD

A SURVEY OF HISTORICAL FORCES

Volume I: IRELAND

THE MODERN WORLD

A SURVEY OF HISTORICAL FORCES

Edited by The Right Hon. H. A. L. FISHER, M.P.

The aim of the volumes in this series is to provide a balanced survey, with such historical illustrations as are necessary, of the tendencies and forces, political, economic, intellectual, which are moulding the lives of contemporary states. This volume is the first of the series.

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
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EDITOR'S PREFACE

THERE are periods in the world's history when generations pass away leaving little or no trace of their passage upon the heritage of man; there are others when events crowd upon events and vast changes affecting the political structure and outlook of the world or of a part of it are crowded into a narrow space of time. Such a cataclysmic period for Europe was the age of the French Revolution and the First Empire; such another not only for Europe but for the whole world was the Great War from which we have but just emerged. What an amazing transfiguration of the political landscape have we not witnessed in this breathless decennium! The Habsburgs gone, the Hohenzollerns gone, the Romanoffs gone! A Communist Government in Moscow, a Socialist Government in Berlin, a Labour Government in London, and, by way of acute reaction, dictatorships in Rome and Madrid defying Parliamentarism under the thin shadow of a Constitutional Monarchy! The crime of the Polish partitions is reversed, Roumania is swollen to the size of the ancient province of Dacia, the pride of the Magyars is cruelly abated. Dominion rights are conceded to Ireland, a Constitutional Monarchy to Egypt, the principle of responsible government is introduced into British India. Germany is bereft of her colonies, her fleet, of Alsace-Lorraine. The Arab world is emancipated from the Turk. China is a Republic in revolution. The Armenians are almost razed from the map. The United States first enters into a great European war and helps to frame the peace settlement, then suddenly frees itself of all further European responsibilities. A League of Nations with its seat at Geneva is set up to realise the dreams of the saint and the philosopher for the reign of peace among men. In the space of ten years we have beheld these and other far-reaching changes in the political constitution of the world.

Hardly less arresting have been the economic corollaries and consequences of the Great War. Where

can the student find such huge and thorough experiments in State socialism as those which were carried on by the belligerent States under the pressure of war? Where such prodigious examples of the effect of monetary inflation? Where again so firmly traced the widely ramifying social consequences of high taxes? The effects upon the trade and industry of the world of the diminished purchasing power of those countries which have suffered principally from war, revolution, and famine, equally offer a problem of immense interest and importance to the statesman and the student.

Upon all thinking minds these grave and formidable occurrences have imprinted a desire for light and direction. How, it is asked, is this havoc to be soonest repaired, and in what ways can the repetition of such catastrophes as those which we have endured be averted in future?

Never then has the interest in international politics been more widely spread. Never has the consciousness that States do not and cannot lead a life apart but that their prosperity and even their safety depend upon other members of the great community of nations been so widely appreciated. Never has it been more necessary that the citizen who is called upon to exercise his vote and, what is more important, to contribute to the formation of public opinion should know something of the political world in which he lives.

How is this knowledge to be acquired? There are the ordinary histories, there are the encyclopædias, there are articles scattered in magazines. From each of these sources much information may no doubt be gleaned; but historians are apt to be long and to stop short of the present, encyclopædias to be dry, and magazine articles at best can only give disconnected views of disconnected fragments. The kind of introduction which most people want to the study of the contemporary world is neither the formal narrative

history, nor the encyclopædia article, nor the fugitive contribution to the decent obscurity of the magazine; but rather a balanced survey, with such historical illustrations as may be found necessary, of the tendencies and forces, political, economic, intellectual, which are moulding the lives of contemporary States.

Such a survey the present series of volumes on the Modern Nations of the World hopes to supply. The aim of each volume is to enable its readers to understand a nation not as it was a hundred years ago, or even as it was twenty years ago, but as it is now with all the modifying experiences and happenings of the war become part of its system. And though it is impossible to form an intelligent appreciation of the present without a knowledge of the past, there are two pasts—a dead and a living—and these volumes deal only with the living past, with those fragments of ancient experience which continue to influence the minds and shape the actions of living men. Among some races, such as the Irish and the Serbs, very far-off things are often very present; elsewhere the commemorative instinct is so faint as hardly to enter into political reckonings at all.

One other feature of these volumes may be noticed. They are designed to supply materials for an estimate of the future. To the question "What course is such a nation likely to pursue, what position in the world is it likely to hold, what contribution is it likely to make to the common stock of human values?" this series should supply if not the answers which we seek, yet lines of approach travelling along which we may reach them. Our difficulty now is to distinguish the ephemeral from that which is enduring or likely to be relatively permanent, to put on one side manifestations which are but the dying relics of outworn and vanishing conditions, and to concentrate upon the movements which have in them a soul and a future. Even in our judgment of domestic things, where the facts and conditions are familiar, we do not always make this

distinction with confidence. How much harder is it to draw the horoscope of a foreign country! In such a region there is no such thing as scientific exactness, but there are degrees of probability, and one of the aims which this series has in view is to assist the formation of a sound estimate of the political probabilities of the future, as they may be suggested by an analysis of the conditions now prevailing in every country of the globe.

H. A. L. FISHER.

April 1924.

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IRELAND

CHAPTER I

THE IRISH NATION

IRELAND'S position among the European nations is a paradox. Officially, she dates from yesterday: the League of Nations, which admitted her a newcomer in September 1923, already counted Canada, Australia, and even New Zealand among its members, along with a dozen American States whose nationhood can be at most five or six generations old. Yet Ireland was a State organised and civilised before England or France had begun to take on a shape of unity. Her native language goes back further in its literary tradition than any other now spoken in Europe, except the Latin and the Greek; and up to the end of the sixteenth century she preserved, and very largely lived under, a code of laws written down while Britain still belonged to the Roman Empire. Even in the purely modern world, her race was making itself felt and known as a race all over Europe before any of the trans-oceanic dominions with which she ranks was British—indeed, before most of them had received European settlement. And in the present century her importance as a State is insignificant compared with the influence which her race has exercised in its wide dispersal, retaining always its racial consciousness with a tenacity like that of the Jews.

On the other hand, the full right as a nation now conceded to her does not yet extend over the whole of her small island; and the race which inhabits her land is still imperfectly fused, and at variance with itself on this very question of Ireland's nationhood. When you say that a man is an Irishman, you are still under the necessity of asking which kind of Irishman he is. Thousands of men and women think of themselves as Irish, are furious if their Irish quality is disputed, who yet deny that Ireland is a nation

and are eager to withhold from her the full national right.

It has to be admitted then that as a nation, Ireland stands incomplete. The division which mars her unity has on the map a geographical aspect; but its causes are not geographical, and the real division is not limited by any territorial boundary. The north-eastern corner is cut off from the rest of the island by no physical barrier, nor is its distinctness due even to any marked fact of nature, such as the presence of important mineral deposits. In truth, this region differs from the rest of the island only in this, that the racial mixture, everywhere present, has here different proportions.

In truth also, the mixture is not properly described as racial, but is rather the interpenetration of two differing cultures or civilisations, having different outlook, and marked off from each other most plainly and significantly by adherence to one or other of two types of Christianity. Exceptions among individuals are many; yet it is only the exceptional Protestant or the exceptional Catholic who belongs to a culture and shares an outlook not generally associated in Ireland with his creed. Everywhere in Ireland people of the two cultures, Protestants and Catholics, are found living side by side; but only in the north-eastern counties do Protestants predominate in numbers: and only where Protestants are in the majority has the country taken on the industrial aspect which is general in Great Britain.

Yet even in the North-east the country has a distinctively Irish character. Outside the towns, it is a country of peasants: its agricultural soil is owned by those who work it, and ownership is mostly in the hands of small holders; also, the attachment of each family of owners to its own land is maintained by an almost unalterable heredity. At this moment there still lingers in the North-east a transitional system of dual ownership; but it is marked for early disappear-

ance. Even from that part where English influence is strongest, the English land system will soon have been entirely replaced by one conforming to Irish ideas.

In this respect Ireland's distinctive national unity is already virtually accomplished. But in a wider sense, unity when it comes must admit national diversity. The Irish Free State belongs to the English-speaking world, yet differs from the rest of it by the fact that it is a Catholic country. If internal fusion be completed, Ireland will remain predominantly Catholic, yet much less distinctly so than is the Free State to-day. It is certain that she can only attain to complete nationhood by giving up something of the Free State's unlikeness to the rest of the community of nations to which she is linked. A place corresponding to their importance in modern Ireland must be made for the Protestant element and the Protestant outlook. Sentimentally, the Irish Catholic inclines to complete separation from the British Empire: sentimentally and practically, the Irish Protestant people hold to remain with that commonwealth. Complete nationhood can only be achieved by a reconcilement of the divergent ideals.

Such an evolution would accord with the limits which Nature has imposed upon Ireland's national distinctness. There is no instance in which the history of a people was more determined by geographical facts; yet these are not facts of the country's internal structure, but belong to its external geographical position. Part of an island group lying off the north-west of Europe, Ireland since the organisation of the modern world has been insular without being independent. Its insularity meant a profound and growing unlikeness to the rest of Western Europe from the tenth century onwards. The modern Europe derived its organisation from Rome; and the most important fact in early Irish history is that the Roman conquest and Roman institutions never crossed the Irish Channel. Christianity came to it in the fifth

century, and came from Rome: but a missionary of genius, the Roman Briton, St. Patrick, adapted Christianity completely to the framework which he found existing. In the break-up of Roman power, Roman political institutions largely disappeared from the Continent, and Christianity was the chief link which held Europe together. Thus Ireland, though more completely independent than at any later period, was then much less insular. Christian culture and learning, preserved within her boundaries, made her an important part of Christian Europe: she had then more significance for the Continent than in succeeding ages. But in continental Europe there grew up out of Rome's wreckage a type of society distinct from that which continued to exist in Ireland, and having more strength and solidity because it preserved the municipal organisation and the town life which Rome had diffused. The first assault from without on the native Irish order came from Scandinavian pagans, and though Ireland suffered much, she resisted it on the whole more successfully than did Britain. But when descendants of the Norsemen settled as conquerors in France, they soon equipped themselves with the resources of a civilisation which had descended from Rome, and became the most formidable power in Europe. For a century after the Norman Conquest had annexed England, Ireland, protected by remoteness, lay undisturbed by foreign aggression, but none the less certainly at the mercy of the power which was growing up between her and the continent—half continental, yet having increasingly an island base, sea protected; and when at last the thrust was made, even though tentative and local at first, Ireland's independence was ended within five years. But the conquerors of Ireland never succeeded in doing what they had done in England, and to a less degree in Wales: they never forced Ireland into the unity of what was now their homeland. The native Irish nobles remained outside the pale of chivalry, as they

had been outside the European movement of the Crusades. Conquest was never pushed home: the kings of England felt that Ireland, lying remote and not a tempting prey, could always be left to wait on a convenient season; the knights who carried out the work of completing and maintaining conquest were always liable to be summoned to take their part in some continental warfare: they came and went between Ireland and Anjou, Maine, or Gascony, returning more unlike than ever to those among whom their estates and rule lay. Yet they intermarried in Ireland, as did the pioneers of British conquest in India; and the union which resulted was infinitely completer and more fertile than any between Asiatic and European. So grew up what has been characteristic of Ireland ever since: a middle nation—Irish to the English, English to the Irish—dwelling beside the pure Gaels, the "mere Irish."

Up to the reign of Henry VIII, or even till that of Elizabeth, race was the only division in Ireland; but it was also a division of culture. Language only partially marked the separation: the Anglo-Irish increasingly spoke Irish; yet they were, and the mere Irish were not, a bi-lingual people. But the main cultural distinction was in law and in outlook. The Anglo-Irish adhered to the feudal plan, by which all land, theoretically held as a grant from the sovereign, passed in direct lineal succession from parent to next of kin, and by which ownership of land gave to the owner unlimited rights to dispose of it. If it is an over-statement to say that Irish law and custom regarded the land as belonging to the people, it is certain that they repudiated the conception which vested all in the king: and they never permitted the lord of the land to eject the occupier of land from his holding. Ownership of land under English law was therefore much more definite and paramount than under the Irish system. And since by Irish law the ruler was, at least in theory, chosen from a hereditary

group by those over whom he was to rule, the people under it had more rights against their ruler than under the English law, which decided by principles excluding all element of popular choice who should be ruler of a territory or owner of a tract of land.

From the sixteenth century onwards a new and terrible complication was introduced. The Reformation began in Great Britain as a popular movement, which had no parallel in Ireland. When the English monarchy broke with Rome, Henry VIII simply issued an order to Ireland for a change which had no support in popular feeling; and when the English crown became Protestant, Irish subjects were divided between allegiance to it (which by this time they had begun to recognise) and allegiance to their faith. There was thus a presumption of disloyalty against all Irishmen. Yet it was under a Catholic sovereign, Queen Mary, that the first step was taken on the road which led to the worst developments in Irish history. Since, according to the English conception of law, ownership of land rested in the last resort with the sovereign, this right was held to justify the complete expulsion of subject people from a territory and the replacing of them by other subjects. The "plantation" of Leix and Offaly set a disastrous precedent. The names King's County and Queen's County were given after the native Irish had been driven out and English settlers put in to replace them. Under Elizabeth the precedent was enlarged: Ireland became a place where adventurous persons might proceed to acquire estates by private conquest; and a pretext was to hand in the fact that all native Irish were Catholic, and as such disaffected to the Protestant power. Driven to defend their mere right to live and to hold what they owned, the Irish more and more identified their Catholicism with their nationality and with their claim to ownership of Irish land; and as the combat grew embittered, England increasingly thought of the Irish as Catholic

and as alien. In the course of the seventeenth century the greater part of the land of Ireland was taken from Irish Catholics and given to Protestants, many of whom came from England; though a large part was transferred to the estates of such Anglo-Irish as adopted the Protestant interest. In the eighteenth century the same process was carried on by a system of penal laws which made it impossible for a Catholic to acquire land, and broke up and subdivided such estates as remained in Catholic possession.

Thus through successive centuries the Catholic Irish learnt to regard themselves as under the ban of English law, whether as Catholics or as natives; and when armed resistance by law became impossible, they acquired the habit of combining to defeat the operation of English law. Hence came also the habit of enforcing the decrees of these combinations by sanctions and punishments of their own, carried out illegally and often brutally. Increasingly, Protestants came to regard themselves and to be regarded as a separate and privileged race. Laws forbidding marriage between Catholics and Protestants emphasised the demarcation. In the course of generations, Catholics came generally to accept their position of inferiority as part of the natural order. This was the more inevitable because in the period of the penal laws, which covered almost all the eighteenth century, nearly all the members of Catholic noble families sought a means of existence suited to their rank on the Continent, for the most part by joining the armies of Catholic States. The Catholic people became more and more a people of peasants, with a good many shopkeepers and a few richer merchants among them.

Thus the distinctness of the two peoples grew rather than lessened with the course of time: and it was increasingly a distinction between rulers and ruled. Over most of the country, such of the immigrant population as did not rise into the ranks of landlordism tended to become Catholic: Tipperary, for instance, is

full of Catholic peasants having typically English names. But everywhere there was the mixture of the elements, varying in proportions only.

The case of Connaught was special: for in the general confiscation which followed the reconquest completed under Cromwell, attempt was made to meet the claims of English soldiers who had served for the Parliament in the Civil War by grants of land in Ireland; and it was formally enacted that three provinces should be made available for Protestant settlement and that all Catholics should be moved west of the Shannon. The scheme was never completely carried out; neither were all Catholics forced to migrate, nor was all Connaught reserved for Catholic claimants. Sligo in particular was thickly planted with Protestants: Leitrim to a less degree. On the other hand, all over Leinster and Munster the original inhabitants of the poorer class remained, and were employed by the new owners as labourers or were allowed to rent land as petty tenants. But Connaught generally came to be regarded as a region outside the direct English influence, more purely native Irish than the rest. The number of the ruling race in proportion to the ruled was less here than elsewhere, and their rule retained more of the feudal character; it was more oppressive than that of the Irish local chiefs because the English conception of ownership in land was now legally established. Landlordism was everywhere the law; it superseded chieftainship.

On the other hand, in Ulster a very different proportion prevailed. The plantation during the reign of James I was an act of deliberate policy, carried out in time of peace, and not, like the earlier plantations in Leix and Offaly, or the later Cromwellian settlements, executed while the country was still convulsed with war. Moreover, Ulster, dispeopled by exterminating campaigns in the reign of Elizabeth, needed new blood. Plantation might have been entirely beneficent; but it was carried out in no statesmanlike

spirit, and left too little cultivable land to the Irish. Yet the planters, in the main Scots, were akin as Scots to the Gaelic people which held territory on both sides of the narrow sea; the conditions from which they came differed less from those they came to than was the case with English migrants. They made, therefore, a more useful population. Also, broadly speaking, they came to work the land, whereas in the South settlers became at once employers of native Irish labour. Later, when attempts to enforce a conformity in religion disturbed the Scottish Protestants in their own country, they fled in large numbers to the neighbouring Ulster, where dissenters had comparative immunity from persecution. The main object of State policy in Ireland being to multiply Protestants and diminish Catholics, no Protestant was seriously harassed by reason of his religious tenets.

Thus in Ulster the proportion of Protestants was large from the early Stuart period, and constantly maintained itself; while in the other provinces it dwindled away, except in the landlord class and the professions, which were a preserve of the Established Church. Also, Protestantism had in Ulster the violently anti-Roman character which was traditional with the Scots: and that stamp was accentuated by certain antagonisms which elsewhere did not exist. Outside of Ulster, the Protestant was the landlord, or if a tenant, was generally an exceptional and favoured person. But in Ulster, Protestants and Catholics were peasants competing against each other for the lease of every farm: and as population increased, land hunger grew, and the Catholics were generally willing to accept a lower standard of living and to pay a higher rent. This made for detestation of them. Also, because in 1641 Ulster and Ulster only was strongly in Protestant hands, the rebellion of that year took the form of a conspiracy to overpower the Protestants by a sudden concerted surprise. Elsewhere this was unnecessary: Protestants were too

few to resist; but in Ulster there was possibility of resistance, and in certain places the rising turned into a massacre. At best, a Protestant population was driven out of home and land, except at certain points where it made successful resistance. Hatred grew, and when the natives were crushed, contempt grew. In the war between William and James, the Protestant North again defended itself, and with even more notable valour. Ulstermen justly regarded themselves as the chief upholders of the Protestant cause in Ireland. Elsewhere, its victory was won by English troops under a Dutch leader: but Derry and Enniskillen made their own fight. From that time onwards the Protestant ascendancy south of the Boyne rested on British bayonets; in Ulster, on the fact that Protestants were equal or superior in numbers and strength to the Catholics.

But in Ulster, as elsewhere, there was admixture: the Irish nation, which up to 1848 was on the whole Gaelic speaking, everywhere dwelt in contact with the "middle nation," which used English speech, yet was not English.

In the eighteenth century the middle nation was given cause to realise its Irish character from the fact that the British Parliament treated it as a colony and endeavoured to exploit it solely in the British interest. When opportunity offered, during the American War of Independence, the colony revolted successfully, and by a bloodless demonstration under arms secured that the Irish Parliament should be independent of the British. But the Irish Parliament represented solely the middle nation, save for such few persons of old Gaelic stock as had become Protestants. With the spread of more liberal ideas which preceded the French Revolution, there was a movement towards including the Catholic Irish among those who enjoyed the franchises of the Irish nation: but it was resisted by many who had been most active in enlarging those liberties. The movement really

originated among the Protestants of Ulster, who, being for the most part dissenters, had a tinge of radicalism. Yet the French Revolution galvanised the Irish Catholics also out of their apathetic subservience, and the Irish Parliament went some way towards enfranchising them. They became electors, though they could not be elected to Parliament. Thus, from 1793 on the bulk of the Irish electorate has been Catholic. This alarmed a section of the Protestants, who saw that extension of this process was not compatible with preserving to Protestants their virtual monopoly of power. A policy was accordingly adopted of suppressing the Irish Parliament and throwing Ireland into a union with Great Britain, under which Catholics would be an inconsiderable minority in the united peoples. Pitt and the other British statesmen of that day proposed to make Catholics ordinary citizens under the Union: but representatives of the middle nation resisted this successfully, and the Union into which Ireland entered in 1800, by the Act of a Parliament of the middle nation, was one under which no Catholic could become a Judge, a Member of Parliament, or a City Corporator. This kept virtually the whole Gaelic nation marked off as separate and inferior. After nearly thirty years of agitation, which only won when it threatened war, Daniel O'Connell, the first political leader of Catholic Ireland, succeeded in abolishing the legal distinction in almost all respects. But in practice the people who possessed the land had still a monopoly of power. Catholics, though overwhelmingly a majority in Ireland, were so small a minority in the three kingdoms that they could not affect legislation in the United Parliament without difficulty; and experience confirmed the view that merely constitutional action produced no result. A few years of "giving the Union a chance" under a friendly Liberal administration convinced O'Connell that it was necessary once more to make Ireland self-governing. He tried

to carry Repeal of the Union by the same methods which secured Catholic Emancipation; but this time the Duke of Wellington met the menace with a display of real military force, and O'Connell shrank from bloodshed. A few months later began the great famine, and within four years the Irish population, reduced by two millions, became a less formidable opposition. This reduction in numbers fell mainly on the Gaelic people, not on the middle nation.

An attempt at rebellion in 1848 made only a trifling disturbance; and though in 1867 the Fenian organisation renewed the appeal to armed force, it was clear that victory could not be achieved by military operations. Yet the struggle went on. If the facts be faced, one cannot deny that the history of Ireland since the Union records a contrast in which the middle nation, English speaking and distinctively Protestant, and having the support of British power, was opposed to the purely Irish nation, which after 1848 increasingly ceased to be Gaelic speaking, but remained distinctively Catholic. That contest was for the possession of the land of Ireland and for the power which went with the possession of the land. There was no uncertainty among the men of supreme ability where the issue lay. Fitzgibbon, Lord Clare, in his speech to the Irish House of Lords—the Upper Chamber of the middle nation's Parliament—used these arguments when he advocated the Union in 1800:

"What was the situation of Ireland at the revolution and what is it at this day? The whole power and property of the country has been conferred by successive monarchs of England upon an English colony, composed of three sets of English adventurers who poured into this country at the termination of three successive rebellions; confiscation is their common title; and from their first settlement they have been hemmed in on every side by the old inhabitants of the island, brooding over their discontents

in sullen indignation. . . . What was the security of the English settlers for their physical existence at the revolution? and what is the security of their descendants at this day? The powerful and commanding protection of Great Britain. If by any fatality it falls, you are at the mercy of the old inhabitants of this island."—On the other hand, Fintan Lalor, who first advocated the policy by which Gaelic Ireland advanced to success, repudiated the aim of repealing the Union. "My object," said he, "is to repeal the Conquest. The absolute ownership of the lands of Ireland is vested of right in the people of Ireland."

A compromise was sought by less extreme politicians between these clashing conceptions. The claim originally put forth in behalf of Irish tenants was that all Ireland should enjoy the Ulster custom, under which a tenant as well as his landlord had a saleable right in the land. This was in effect a system of dual ownership, and was denounced as limiting the rights of property. The claim for Free Sale of tenant right was coupled with the demand for a tribunal to fix Fair Rents, and for a guarantee that a man should have Fixity of Tenure while he discharged his legal obligations. These were the "Three F's," much proclaimed on platforms; and all these objects were sought progressively by combinations among the tenantry which often assumed a criminal character. In the attempt to allay agitation British ministers made various partial concessions, notably the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, whose adherents were little more than a tenth of the population. This concession to the Catholic Irish was welcome also to those of the middle nation who were Nonconformists. The demand for rent-fixing tribunals was also not disapproved by the Ulster tenant farmers, though the methods by which the demand was pressed were denounced among them. Essentially, however, tenant right meant one thing in Ulster and another outside Ulster. It was justice for tenants in Ulster; it was

justice for the Irish natives outside Ulster. Land reform to the Protestant farmer meant improvement in the conditions of tenure: to the Irish Catholic it meant revolution: it meant in Fintan Lalor's phrase, repeal of the conquest. The phrase "repeal" is a just one because the revolution was carried into effect by statute. Ulster farmers when they condemned the revolution methods chose to ignore that the benefits, which they shared, flowed from parliamentary reforms that were refused to argument for decades before they were conceded to violence. Irish landlords up to the period when the revolution began had infinitely more power in Parliament than Irish tenants: and one of their ablest spokesmen, Lord Palmerston, condensed their views into the epigram that Tenant-right meant Landlord-wrong. The landlords paid for their attitude by extinction as a class; they turned what might have been reform into revolution by unmeasured use of the power which they possessed, especially through the House of Lords, which unreservedly sided with them. Merely constitutional action would never have achieved what has been achieved by the subjugated part of Ireland in the last two generations: neither could it have been accomplished except by pressure applied to the British constitutional machinery.

The Irish revolution was in its essence brought about by an unarmed people who had of necessity abandoned the appeal to arms. Among the blackest days of the famine an attempt was made at insurrection by the Young Ireland party in 1848. That attempt aimed simply at overthrowing British rule. Ten years later, when the Fenian Society, or Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, was formed, partly in Ireland, partly in America, it took up again the idea of resistance by physical force; but already the aim was to destroy the landlord power as well as the British rule. Fenianism developed chiefly after the close of the American civil war had liberated many Irishmen already veteran soldiers from the American

ranks. Its adherents repudiated altogether the other movement which still carried on, with some variation, O'Connell's policy of inducing England to listen to Irish demands by constitutional agitation, expressed through public meetings and through Parliament. The mind of the people was divided between these two policies, and the party of constitutional agitation had the support of such priests as took a leading part in politics: while the Fenians were officially condemned as a secret society by the hierarchy, whose influence helped to make the rising in 1867 a complete fiasco. But whether physical-force men or constitutional agitators, those who represented the old inhabitants desired to overthrow landlord power no less than British rule. By all parties indeed, landlord power and British rule were regarded as inseparably connected.

Many proposals of land reform for Ireland were introduced into the British Parliament, and one of the first reformers was Sharman Crawford, a Protestant of strongly British sympathies, who desired to limit by law the power of the landlords as it was by custom limited in Ulster. Parliament refused to listen to any of these measures, until 1870, when Mr. Gladstone carried his first Irish Land Act. Its effect was not far-reaching; but it recognised the principle that a tenant should be entitled to get compensation for improvements which he had made. Far more important than the statute was Mr. Gladstone's declaration that this reform, and the more important measure which disestablished the Irish Church, had been brought within the sphere of practical politics by the Fenian rising. The inference was obvious: law-breaking had to precede law-making. This became an axiom of Irish politics, and it greatly and injuriously affected the mind of the Irish people. How to break the law most effectively, became the question; and answers to it were all the more sinister because the Fenian failure had put open insurrection out of hope.

For at least a hundred years before the great famine —that is to say, ever since the growth of Irish population had begun to produce land hunger—the oppressive landlord had run the risk of murder: and in all that time the Catholic population had refused to take part in bringing such a murderer to justice. As land hunger intensified, this tendency to a combined shielding of criminals increased also. Local secret societies under varying names became a characteristic of Irish life: and terror was directed not only against the oppressive landlord or his instruments, the agent, the bailiff, and the process-server, but against the man who took land on which another in popular judgment had claims. This "predial" agitation, as O'Connell called it, was strongly condemned by O'Connell and all later leaders of the Constitutional party: it was condemned by the advocates of physical force in the Young Ireland movement, and, though with less clearness, by the Fenians.

While agriculture prospered, there was on the whole little agrarian crime. In the early seventies, the Franco-Prussian war raised the profits of farming, and rents rose with them. Towards the close of the decade this wave of prosperity ebbed, and, in 1879, a bad season produced something approaching to famine in the poorer regions.

Parnell had already from 1876 onwards begun to develop his policy of blocking business in the House of Commons until it should attend to the necessities of Ireland. But another man presented to him the beginnings of a new force which could be combined with the weapon of Parliamentary obstruction. During the whole century, but especially after the famine, emigration to America had been supplemented by emigration to the manufacturing districts of England; and especially in Lancashire a great mass of Irish labour had accumulated. These people necessarily became familiar with the methods by which Trade Unionism was limiting the power of the employer

against the individual workman. Michael Davitt, the son of parents who were evicted from their holding at Straide in county Mayo, grew up a Lancashire mill-hand, and as a boy lost an arm in some machinery. The Fenian movement drew him into its ranks and he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for being concerned in an alleged conspiracy to murder. He came out from his term in Portland with a double idea: to combine the Irish tenants as English artisans had combined, and to link up their cause with the English democratic movement. The Land League, founded at Irishtown in 1879, was in essence a Trade Union of Irish tenants. The man who outbid a sitting tenant by the offer of a higher rent was in the same position as a *blackleg* workman: the League was a Union designed to prevent such competition among tenants; the equivalent for the strike was a refusal to pay rents; and it hit the landlord harder than the employer was hit by a strike, and, if eviction could be avoided, did not injure the tenant as the workman on strike was injured.

Parnell decided to throw the forces of Parliamentary agitation in with this movement, and also to link up both with the hatred of Irish-Americans for British rule and for landlordism. Davitt assisted him to obtain support from at least a majority of the Fenians for the "new departure." Very rapidly the whole of the old inhabitants of the country were banded together in an attack on the landlord power, having a double object: to improve the position of Irish tenant farmers and to weaken the grip of English rule, which held Ireland mainly through this class. The project of armed rebellion was definitely set aside: the "wild justice" of revenge by crime was condemned as hostile to the purpose of the movement. Davitt's policy was to make war on the landlords through their purses; to combine the tenants in a refusal to pay rent unless large abatements were given; if a tenant were evicted, to ensure that no other would take the

farm. But a penalty was needed to check the prompting of land hunger, and it was found in the "boycott." Without the use of violence, existence could, through the boycott, be made absolutely impossible for any member of the community.

The revolution was thus in essence a class war, though many of its ugliest crimes were committed by members of the peasantry upon other peasants: secret societies are ruthless, and Catholic Ireland had come to be virtually one vast secret society. But Parnell, a landlord himself, and of a family that owed its position in Ireland to confiscation, did not aim at ruining the landlord class. His policy was from the first one of state-aided land purchase. He desired to buy the landlords out—yet not at their own valuation. They naturally regarded the attack on the rights of property as robbery. Combination was met by combination. "Emergency men" were found to take up the boycotted farms: and the State at great cost gave armed protection. The boycott was by no means the only weapon used by the tenants: murder grew terribly rife, and it weakened the movement, which aimed at enlisting British sympathy for the tenants and against the landlords; indeed the revolution could not succeed without gaining a measure of popular support in Great Britain, since it aimed at carrying out its purposes by statute. But if sympathy was estranged, Irish eloquence in the House of Commons at least succeeded in driving home the facts of the Irish land system. One of these facts was that rent had in vast numbers of cases no just relation to the agricultural value of the holding; and in these cases rent could not be earned, and was paid, and could only be paid by, remittances from America.

The first step in the revolution was achieved when Mr. Gladstone carried his Land Act in 1881, which set up tribunals all over Ireland to fix a legal rent and decreed that no tenant should be liable to eviction so long as that rent was paid. This established the

principle of dual ownership: the tenant had a legal interest in his holding which he could sell, and owing to land hunger, the tenant right in many cases came to be quite as valuable as the landlords'. The tribunals, on all of which the landlord interest was represented, awarded reductions on an average of 25 per cent. The Land Act was incomplete, and long years of agitation followed to extend its operation: but from 1881, broadly speaking, the Gaelic nation recovered everywhere a partial ownership of Irish land where it was in Catholic occupation; and the power which the Anglo-Irish landlord class exercised, through their power to evict, disappeared. Land purchase, State-aided, followed, and the landlord class became merely the occupants of houses and demesnes. The influence which they possessed in Parliament was swept away by extension of the franchise, and from 1885 onwards the "old inhabitants of the island" returned four-fifths of the Irish members. In 1898 reform of local government threw control of parish and county business entirely into the hands of the majority. But in more important affairs, the Anglo-Irish could still determine all decisions by appeal to the opinion of the Parliament at Westminster.

On the eve of the European war, however, a Bill giving to Ireland a Parliament with ministers responsible to it was on the point of becoming law. This, the Irish nation had won as against the Anglo-Irish. Its victory should be claimed for Ireland rather than for Catholicism, because throughout the whole of the nineteenth century its leaders were very largely drawn from the middle nation; men like Parnell had become Irish to the English, and English to the Irish. Yet Ireland's victory had its limitation. Where the power of the middle nation rested solely on British bayonets, it must disappear with their withdrawal. But in Ulster, where the middle nation held the majority, the middle nation proposed to resist by force, and Great Britain decided, under threat of

war, to allow Protestant ascendancy to continue in the region where Protestants were a majority in numbers.

The original proposal of Ulster Protestants was that the whole province should be separated from the rest of Ireland and be governed as Ireland had been since 1800 directly from Westminster. After the war, this plan was modified and in 1920 self-government was extended to the whole country, but on a double basis. Partition established two countries, of Northern and of Southern Ireland. Northern Ireland was allowed to define its own limits, excluding on the north-west, County Donegal, and on the south, counties Cavan and Monaghan, in all which the Catholic element largely predominated. But Tyrone and Fermanagh, though in both of these Catholics outnumbered Protestants by about ten in a hundred, were thrown into Northern Ireland. In the other four counties, however, the Protestant majority was so large that in the total electorate Catholics were decisively outnumbered.

These concessions to the Protestant North were violently resented by Catholic Ireland, and they led to war. The Act of 1920 operated in Ulster, but was a dead letter in the rest of the country. After two years of guerilla warfare, a Treaty was signed by which Great Britain gave to Ireland as a whole the full rights of a Dominion. These powers greatly exceeded those granted to Northern and Southern Ireland respectively, under the Act of 1920. But it was part of the Treaty that Northern Ireland should be entitled, if it so chose, to retain its position as separate and self-governing; subject to a revision of the boundary, which was to be modified in conformity to the wishes of the inhabitants.

The middle nation thus remains intrenched in power over six counties: but with this difference even there as compared with the past. Property and power are mainly in Protestant hands: but where the Catholic occupies land, he has part ownership in it, and will

soon become the sole owner. Further, as has been the case for almost a century, the Catholic is equally eligible with the Protestant for all posts: he is under no legal disability. In practice, however, the control of power by the middle nation means at present that in Northern Ireland citizens who identify themselves with the purely Irish point of view have little chance of any preferment. Yet probably the proportion of Catholics who hold places of public trust or emolument in the Six Counties, where they are in a minority, is as great as it was fifty years ago over the whole of Ireland. Moreover, it is fair to say that the difficulty for those of the middle nation who wish to see their Catholic fellow-countrymen have fair play has been increased by the refusal of Catholics to take part in the work of the Northern Parliament, whose right to existence they, implicitly and explicitly, refuse to recognise. This course has greatly emphasised the separateness of the two nations which live together in Ulster, juxtaposed but not blended.

This fact of imperfect national fusion at once explains and dictates the present political organisation of Ireland. It is agreed on all hands that the partition of so small a country is contrary to all natural economy. Two parliaments with their attendant expense, and two separate systems of law and administration with their attendant complications, are employed when one would amply serve the needs of four million people. A customs barrier, drawn across the island in so arbitrary a manner that even many farms are partly on one side of it, partly on the other, hampers the movement of commerce. All parties are agreed that to abolish partition and institute a central government would be a good thing, considered in the abstract. But on neither side is there as yet much evidence of a practical will to create national fusion.

Naturally the Irish Free State as a whole is willing and eager to absorb Ulster. Since the Catholic Irish are three parts in four, power under democratic

conditions would inevitably rest with them. On the other hand, the reluctance of the middle nation to be absorbed is intelligible; and in the years since 1918 representatives of the dominant faction in the Irish Free State, and especially Mr. de Valera, have expressed their willingness to leave to Northern Ireland the degree of self-government which it enjoys at present; to give it as much real freedom as Quebec has in Canada. Thus it is recognised that a different mentality, that of the Protestant, has to be provided for within a Catholic State; and also that a predominantly industrial community may fairly hesitate to entrust its business interests to a Parliament in which agriculturists would predominate. These concessions to Ulster's point of view show a genuine desire for Union; and it may be assumed that if national union takes place, it will be on these lines.

But Mr. de Valera and those for whom he speaks—and they include at present more than a fourth of the elected members in Ireland's Parliament—refuse absolutely to accept the Treaty which puts Ireland on the same footing as Canada. Their demand is for a Republic, or for some position implying that the Irish Parliament does not derive its rights from any British administration. Further, those representatives of Ireland who accepted the Treaty at Westminster, and voted for it when proposed at Dublin, almost uniformly justified their acceptance on the ground that it was a step to complete separation. Ulster, representing the middle nation, refuses to come under the jurisdiction of a Parliament whose leading persons avow such an ideal. A prominent Ulsterman said latterly, "If you want to unite Ireland, you must quarter the Union Jack and the tricolor."

Flags are difficult things to alter, and men will fight about a symbol after the fact for which it stood has ceased to have real existence. The minds of men are more malleable, their dispositions less hard-edged, than the creed to which they profess allegiance. A

change of heart must precede, and by a good many years, any definite change of flag. It must be recognised that where such a situation exists as existed in Ireland for three centuries at least, a diseased psychology results. If power and privilege are confined to a minority of the people, those who possess the power and privilege will justify to themselves their situation by claiming a special fitness in themselves, and alleging a special unfitness in the unprivileged. More than that, their position with its advantages may often produce, on the average, a real superiority. But in all cases the degree of arrogance which an ascendancy displays is certain to exceed its justification. As equality is extended, or privilege disappears, the truth of fact will always tend to gain acceptance; yet the last stages of the struggle will always be embittered by the rankling in ungenerous natures of an angry contempt which easily engenders an answering hatred.

We are not rid in Ireland of the operation of these morbid tendencies: but the influences which make for better understanding are already at work. A great part of the traditional dislike and distrust is based upon ignorance bred of unfamiliarity. The unreconciled sections of the Irish nation have lived in estrangement which was like a racial separation. Where men are forced into common discussion and common action and resistance, estrangement tends to disappear.

These last unhappy years have renewed and perhaps deepened the estrangement. Yet one thing holds good. Nationalist Ireland has accepted with sincerity Parnell's saying: "Ireland cannot spare any one of her sons." The fact that Parnell himself was a typical figure of the middle nation, leading the way to national development, has enormously strengthened perception of the truth which he uttered in this phrase. But until the problem of Ulster is solved, the Irish nation will not have come completely into being: the conception of what Irish nationality is will still remain unclear.

It ought, however, to be remembered that this conception is a new thing in Irish history: whereas the existence of racial diversity in Ireland is very old. Before the Norman came to Ireland, Dublin, Wexford, and Waterford, cities of Norse foundation, were in the hands of Norsemen: were their citizens Irish? Their rulers were sometimes Irish, their leading men were intermarried with the Irish people; it is uncertain whether they retained their Norse speech. Their presence in Ireland had been accepted without attempt to disturb them for over a hundred and fifty years before Strongbow crossed the Channel. No one enquired whether they were part of the Irish nation, because the term was not in use nor did the idea to which it now corresponds affect men's minds. When it began to be used by Englishmen to describe facts of Irish life, its significance was limited to what we should probably call a clan. The ruling O'Brien, Kavanagh, O'Neill, even the ruling head of a much smaller group, such as the Dempseys in Leix, was "captain of his nation." A century after the whole order of these small kingships and chieftaincies had been broken up, and after parliamentary institutions were seriously introduced, there began to be much talk of the "Irish nation." But in Swift's mouth that meant the nation of Irishmen who possessed political rights: it excluded all Irish Catholics. On Grattan's lips, the word took a larger meaning; but Grattan never induced what we call Grattan's Parliament to accept his conception of what should be meant by "the Irish nation." He repudiated ascendancy; but the ascendancy accepted the Union to maintain their privileged position and their limited interpretation of Ireland's "national" right. O'Connell, who helped to break down ascendancy, made the word "Nationalist" signify in effect the majority of the Irish people, with such allies as they could gain from the minority. Yet the ascendancy fought steadily against the conception of nationality implied in O'Connell's

use of the word. If to be a nation involves a right to separate freedom, Ireland was not to them a nation.

One thing, however, no section of Irishmen or Irishwomen has repudiated: their citizenship of Ireland. Had they desired to, the world would not have allowed it. In Ireland, they might be Irish with a qualifying limitation; but to the world outside they were simply Irish: and in almost every case they have been proud to be so recognised. It is the element of community thus admitted by all Irishmen and Irishwomen which holds the germ of Ireland's national unity. The Irish nation is a political concept; still imperfectly realised: the Irish people, that is, the population of Ireland, are a fact of nature, which another chapter must attempt to describe.

CHAPTER II

THE IRISH PEOPLE

IT is difficult to say when the word "Irish" began to have its present meaning. Probably to Shakespeare an Irishman meant one who spoke Erse: and, even so, he did not class Elizabeth's cousin, "Black Tom," the Earl of Ormonde, as Irish, though every Ormonde of that century almost certainly could use Gaelic. A hundred years later, one cannot be sure whether Swift, though born in Ireland, considered himself or was considered to be an Irishman. It is, however, clear that he became the first articulate spokesman of an Irish people, which was in great part English-speaking and which was considered by Englishmen as being inferior in rights—at the best, a colony. Fifty years after Swift's time, the conception of an Irishman to the English mind clearly had nothing to do with language: Goldsmith, Sheridan, and Burke were all Irish, and were recognised as Irish and therefore as different. Also, thanks chiefly to Sheridan, the Irishman began to be a type in popular imagination: Sir Lucius O'Trigger stood for the gentleman of quality, and in the background was his native Irish servant—Irish in a different way, and comic in a different way. But in the ordinary acceptation the Irish gentleman was a Protestant; the Irish retainer a Catholic: these were ultimate facts, to the popular imagination. Early in the nineteenth century Lady Morgan in her novel *O'Donnell* presented as an almost unbelievable thing, an Irish gentleman who was of native race and a Catholic. Moore did much to remove the taint of servility which hung about the outside world's idea of his people: his lyrics made Catholic Ireland a name in Europe, associated with a romantic beauty. O'Connell made Catholic Ireland a power which he wielded: it is noteworthy that Moore was furious with O'Connell because he seemed, by the scurrility which often disfigured his speeches, to dishonour the nation which he served. Between them

these two men forced upon Europe the sense that there was an Irish people with a long history. Yet it was scarcely realised that two of their contemporaries, having very different standing in Europe, were also Irish. The popular idea of an Irishman, say in 1820, left out of sight Wellington and Castlereagh. Yet Parnell, who did more than any one man to carry the Irish people to freedom, was of the same strain and type as these. Nor did popular imagination take any account of the hard intellectual fibre and the fierce tenacity which was to be found in many individuals of the Irish people in the South no less than in the North, among Catholics no less than among Protestants.

If one is trying to picture what the Irish people have been like and how they were situated in times that we regard as modern, it must be realised that there is a sharp dividing line in the middle of the nineteenth century. Ireland before the great famine is one picture; Ireland after it, another. Taking the first, no country in history ever presented a simpler division between the rich and the poor, the gentry and the peasantry. The popular conception of an Irish gentleman showed him gallant, reckless, supple-tongued, witty, and for the most part in financial straits. That of an Irish peasant pictured a mass of contradictions: a mixture of simplicity and cunning, faithfulness and treachery; kindly, yet murderous; and in religion superstitiously devout. One thing was recognised as common to gentleman and peasant—a total disregard of law. Yet this was a varying standpoint. The Irish gentleman regarded himself as above the law, the peasant as outside it.

Those who desire to fill in and to correct the picture of this dead and buried Ireland will find the best material in Miss Edgeworth's novels. *Castle Rackrent* simplifies itself to a presentment of the extreme types, seen with humour based on knowledge. Other studies of hers are much more detailed and documented,

but the dominant impression is given by this little masterpiece. Sir Condy Rackrent is the Irish gentleman, amiable and improvident, hospitable by custom and by love of display no less than by good-nature, unable to refuse anything to himself or anyone else: a type bound to go under, to be worm-eaten by parasites. It is a picture of prodigality without comfort and of claims to superiority which had nothing but custom to support them: and in a sense it is a caricature. Miss Edgeworth knew as well as any human being how much ability and how much culture were in the class to which she belonged. Her father was an able man, and if anything, over-educated and over-laborious: at all events a prig. The class of which he was a part had made Dublin one of the first cities of Europe, in the end of the eighteenth century; their houses and their public buildings are monuments to the sense they had of dignity and beauty. Debates in the Dublin Parliament were conducted with an eloquence that is still admired; but there was also plenty of solid business acumen: Wellington and Castlereagh were only the supreme examples of an efficiency which the governing class in Ireland showed itself to possess. But the Union drained Ireland of the best of these men, and the Sir Condys remained. At the best of times, there was too high a proportion of Sir Condys in the class; and their good-nature was only skin-deep. They made no real effort to take thought for those by whose use of the property they were able to live and to spend; and from the Union onwards these dependents, on whom they depended, were multiplying with tremendous rapidity.

In four decades after the Union, Ireland's population nearly doubled: in 1841 it was 8,175,000. During the same period, except in the area about Belfast, industries were declining: British competition was too strong, and the protective barriers set up by the Irish Parliament had been removed. The teeming multitudes of the poor had nothing to live on but the

produce of the land; the rich had nothing to live on but the rents from land. In the war period, up to 1815, war prices enabled this state of things to continue. When it ended, the results, even in average years, were appalling. Diet for the poor varied from meal, potatoes, and milk in the North to potatoes with milk in the South and without milk in the West. Over two million persons, it was estimated officially about 1835, were in distress for thirty weeks of every year. At least a quarter of a million were habitually driven to beg on the roads for the period between the exhaustion of one potato crop and the digging of the next.

The failure of the potato crop through disease from 1845 to 1850 put an end to this Ireland. In 1845 the population cannot have been less than 8,500,000. By March 1851 it had dropped to 6,500,000. Western Europe shows no parallel to this calamity. The decline in numbers may roughly be assigned in equal parts to two causes: to death resulting from lack of food, or from fever bred of famine; and to a vast emigration. The Ireland which those now living have known has been a country of steadily decreasing population: the Irish people of that same period, a race dispersed over both hemispheres. At home, the population has diminished; abroad it has increased: and the Irish revolution may in a sense be said to date from the beginning of that change, because the power of revolt against the position accorded under British rule to those whom Lord Clare called "the old inhabitants of the island," increased when the Irish people broadened its bases and could organise outside the limits of British authority. But the famine, though it transformed Ireland, did not directly produce a revolution. It left power where it had been, in the hands of the landed class. That class, which lived by rents from land, suffered in its degree from the national calamity. Rents could not be paid when people had nothing to pay with, and in the years after 1848 a great many families of the gentry were

ruined: all of them underwent a period of relative hardship. In the case most familiar to me, half a dozen households took up their abode together in one great mansion, and so weathered the crisis. In hundreds of instances, sales were forced under an Encumbered Estates Act specially passed, and new possessors came in, who very often embittered feeling by their method of dealing with property. Huge tracts were cleared by speculators in land who desired to create cattle runs on a wide scale. Men have, in my knowledge, returned to Ireland from America who had earned their passage money by pulling down houses and boundary walls in the place where they had lived with their neighbours. For at least thirty years, emigration was the main fact in Irish life. The chief agency for promoting it was found among the emigrants themselves, who, finding work and wages in America, paid the passages of their kin to join them; and the fact that an Irish boy or girl could go out and be with friends took away the deterrent of strangeness. Nearly all the emigration from Catholic Ireland went to the United States. It shunned the British flag.

Generally the ruling class in Ireland accepted this outflow of population as a beneficent operation of economic laws, and to assist an emigrant with passage money was considered, very justly, a meritorious action. But a rankling bitterness was left in the Irish people by the sense that the British people and the Irish ruling class looked with complacency on the disappearance of the "old inhabitants." A leading article in the *Times* was never forgotten. "The Celt is going with a vengeance," it said, and the writer proceeded to speculate upon a day when the native Irish would be as rare in Kerry as a Red Indian on the banks of the Manhattan.

But emigration began to affect also the ruling and landed class. They looked more and more outside Ireland for their living. Money was scarcer, the old haphazard way of living fell increasingly into disrepute.

As privilege disappeared in Great Britain, careers were opened to the sons of needy Irish gentlefolk: the abolition of army purchase, and the opening of the Civil Service to competitive examination, helped this tendency. A result was to induce parents to send their sons for education to England, and the increasing ease of travel encouraged them. For the first half of the last century, Irish gentlemen were generally educated at an Irish school, and at Dublin University; by the last quarter of the century, this was the exception rather than the rule with the landlord class. The ideas and the ideals of those who, before the revolution, say before 1880, possessed and governed Ireland, were in a sense more distinctively Irish than those of their sons. They belonged to a semi-feudal Ireland which has disappeared, and which was nearer to Miss Edgeworth's experience than to ours. Sir Condy and Castle Rackrent would be extravagantly charged caricatures of anything that I have known in Ireland: they would be unrecognisable as pictures of anything that exists in Ireland to-day; and we read with horrified incredulity accounts of the multitudinous cottier families that wandered Irish roads in beggary from spring to autumn a century ago. The domineering landlord exists no more, neither does the quailing serf. But we are by no means yet out of a time that still has living memory of them both; I take my own experience as typical of what an Irishman who has reached sixty can remember.

Neither tyranny nor servility was normal in the Ireland of my boyhood: we lived in a countryside of kindly, decent people. But the conditions existed which could produce both tyranny and servility, and they were found near us in the more backward regions. My home was in the eastern part of Donegal, which did not differ appreciably from the bordering counties of Derry, Fermanagh, and Tyrone—all of them now comprised in Northern Ireland: it differed only from what could be found in the less fertile parts of Leinster

by the presence of a large Presbyterian element, farmers and shopkeepers. Catholics were perhaps six to four in the population: the Presbyterians slightly outnumbered the Church of Ireland. In Kilkenny or Carlow the Protestant population would not have been more than two in ten.

West and north of us lay mountainous country, then very largely Gaelic speaking, and almost entirely Catholic. At intervals of many miles were found, like oases, the "gentry houses"—seats of landlords. Their owners were without exception members of the Church of Ireland. Even farther apart lay the rectories of the Protestant clergy. In the Catholic population the priest only occupied a distinctive place. The doctor was generally recognised as forming part of the landlord class.

This class had complete local control. It provided the magistracy and so administered the laws; it transacted all the county business, supervised the roads, made all local appointments, including that of doctors, who were partly salaried by the State. All the better-paid posts in its gift were virtually confined to members of its own order. After Disestablishment, men of this class took a leading part in managing the ecclesiastical affairs of the diocese. Before Disestablishment many of the clergy were virtually landlords: they had to manage their glebes and the tenantry on their glebes; their incomes and their way of life put them on a level with the smaller landlords.

There were no rich people in our immediate neighbourhood, along the shores of Lough Swilly; but the society of gentry was numerous. Their standard of living was very modest: there was everywhere a simple and friendly hospitality. Every gentleman had his own farm, and the management of it and of his estate, together with his duties as a magistrate, poor-law guardian, or member of the Grand Jury, which then had charge of county business, made his occupation. Nearly everybody shot or fished; there was

game preservation, but not on any elaborate scale: it was a country of cheap sport. We were unlike the greater part of Ireland in not having the institution of hunting; and also, consequently, there was little horse racing. The most characteristic interest of the Irish countryside was lacking: otherwise, we might have stood as typical of the normal Ireland, outside the districts which were, or had recently been, Gaelic speaking. And of those we had typical examples within ten miles.

All the landed gentry had in greater or less degree the stamp of a ruling class, and the best men in it had very strong individuality. They used their power on the whole with justice and tolerance. The priests were always treated by them with great respect, but, by a kind of tacit understanding, there was no social intercourse with them. This social separateness of the Catholic clergy was, I think, dictated by the wish of the priests: in other parts of Ireland, it did not exist. The Presbyterians made a kind of middle class, as Nonconformists have done in England. Socially speaking, Protestant Nonconformity was regarded as a religion that was not of the gentry. The attitude towards Catholicism was different. Everybody knew that Catholic gentry existed, though there were few or none in Donegal. But essentially Catholicism was the religion of the peasants.

Every estate in that countryside derived its origin from the confiscation under James I. Our neighbourhood might be taken as an example of the plantation policy as it was intended to work out. The old inhabitants of the island remained on, in the condition of peasantry, poor but not miserable. Power lay with the members of an aristocracy who were members of what had only just ceased to be the Established Church; their hold on the country was supported by the presence of a strong Presbyterian element, which enjoyed a good deal of prosperity, but had little or no share in administration.

Conditions were very different in the baronies which lay out towards the Atlantic. Here, estates were of very wide extent, and landlords much less in touch with their tenantry. Such properties were much more prone to change hands than those of the smaller gentry. Out of five or six within twenty miles of us, one was in the hands of a receiver: the vast house, which its owner had ruined himself in building, stood uncompleted, and the landlord interest there was represented by an agent resident in the small village near the big house. These facts were typical of that Ireland. Here also was a small centre of Protestant settlement on the north coast; but apart from this for miles the country was dotted with the tiny houses of Catholic peasantry. The family which originally owned this tract had been obliged to sell: a branch of them lived as small gentry in our less remote neighbourhood. Among my father's parishioners was also the proprietor of a still wilder territory at Gweedore, out towards the Bloody Foreland. Lord George Hill, one of the Downshire family, had bought this estate not long before the famine. The state of things which he found existing is one of our leading documents on that earlier Ireland.

The parish which in 1841 held over 9,000 souls possessed, according to the inventory furnished by the schoolmaster in 1837 (and Lord George vouched for its accuracy), one cart, and no other wheeled vehicle; one plough, sixteen harrows, and twenty shovels; no pigs, twenty-seven geese, three turkeys; no clock, three watches; no fruit trees, no vegetables but potatoes and cabbage; two feather-beds, eight chaff-beds; people slept on straw, green or dried rushes, and all of them "in the bare buff." Men and cattle were housed together, the cattle at one end of the kitchen. The school-teacher, a man of distinction, had a salary of £8 a year. The peasantry in general lived on one meal a day, and in 1837 could often eat only once in two days. When Lord George bought, he found the

whole estate of 23,000 acres held in "rundale"—that is to say, tenants had not separate farms, but a share in scattered fields. One man's farm of a few acres was in thirty-two separate patches. One field of half an acre had twenty-six tenants having right to it. There was no proper system of enclosure, and little manuring, since no one would manure for the public benefit. By careful handling, Lord George persuaded the tenants to let him measure the land and subdivide and fence it. The same thing has had to be done in the last thirty years in hundreds of places by the Congested Districts Board, for Gweedore was not exceptional but typical of the poverty-stricken West in its wilder parts. Yet with all his goodwill, Lord George could not solve the problem, for the people were too numerous. The highest rent paid to him was £6: some of the holdings were rented as low as five shillings a year. The average per acre was about three shillings. People so situated had not a means of living by the land even in good years: they just kept alive; and when the potato crop failed, they starved.

In the famine Lord George laboured and spent with might and main to save his people, and thereafter he and his were an earthly providence to their outlying folk. It used to be said, and doubtless truly, that if his horses broke down, the Gweedore people would have dragged Lord George's carriage back those twenty miles. No man in his day did more to bring honour on the Irish landlord class, and he was happy enough to die before the revolution.

Bordering on his estate was another, purchased after the famine, and with the same philanthropic motives. But Mr. Adair, who built a huge castle on the wild and beautiful shores of Lough Veagh, had not Lord George Hill's gift of patience and charity. He endeavoured to improve the breed of mountain sheep by bringing in new stock: his sheep came in too many cases to a bad end; finally, his land steward, a Scotch-

man, was killed. Mr. Adair could find no means of bringing the crime home to anyone, and he used his power as a landlord to punish the townland where the body was found by wholesale eviction. Opinion in the country, all the feeling of the landlord class, was against him; but he had his rights by law and a regiment of soldiers was sent down to protect the persons employed in carrying out the eviction of some 400 souls, and in destroying what had been their houses. That happened in 1861. It was one of the events immediately forerunning the great spread of the Fenian movement.

Another of these great estates lay nearer to us along the shores of Mulroy Bay: a great part of it was in what had been my father's parish, though on reorganisation after disestablishment, Milford, some four miles from us, was made a separate cure. The agent lived in this village: Lord Leitrim himself resided at a big house which he had built away out in the wilds—for this estate also was of comparatively recent acquisition; and he was generally resident. His rents were not excessively high, and he, like Lord George Hill, did useful work by abolishing rundale and arranging the holdings on his property; but the man was a tyrant. Determined that on his land there should be no opposition to his will, he ensured this by refusing to give anyone a lease that was not yearly renewable. A single instance will illustrate. When Milford was made into a separate parish, a rectory had to be built, and the only possible site was on Lord Leitrim's land. He made it a condition that the rector should come to him in person every year and solicit a renewal of the right to hold it. This was merely vexatious; but if an ordinary tenant crossed his will in anything, the penalty was eviction. He had no pity for those thrown out to starve: the Rector of Milford went to intercede for one family in this plight: "Sir, I would not give you so much as a blanket to cover their bones," was his answer. His violent and

imperious temper made him a scourge to the country, and his life was always in danger: he never moved without arms. Ultimately, in 1878, he was murdered along with his driver and his clerk. He had then eighty processes of ejectment pending. The whole of a countryside knew the men who had done the deed, but no one was ever convicted. For more than a generation after, boys in that district when they came to be of age were told the whole detail of the guarded secret. Within four years after his death his capable and energetic successor had altered the whole aspect of Milford and its neighbourhood. Nothing could more clearly indicate the excessive power for good or ill which in such cases lay in the hands of one man—or the fatal consequences attending it.

Such was Ireland before the revolution which began in 1879 with the foundation of the Land League, and which has taken forty-four years to complete: if indeed it can yet be considered to have been fully completed. The power which resided in the landlord class was of two kinds. They had power first as the delegates of British authority: legislation, framed at Westminster, and administration, directed from Dublin Castle by the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, put virtually all offices of local trust in their hands. More formidable was the extra-legal power of enforcing their will by the penalty of eviction, which in a country of land hunger was a sentence of ruin. I take a single instance. John Roche, for many years member for East Galway, told me that the first office he ever was elected to was that of poor-law guardian. He had a mill and a farm on the Clanricarde estate. In the afternoon of the day on which the election was held he received a notice from the Estate Office telling him that it was against the custom of the estate for tenants to hold public positions. He had no choice but to resign or to be evicted, and for that time he resigned. This was an extreme case; and it was no doubt an act of war.

Lord Clanricarde had determined to fight the revolution, in which he felt himself and his class attacked. Before 1879 he would scarcely have troubled about such a matter. Yet the landlord's power to control his tenantry by the threat of eviction was gone in principle and disappeared increasingly in practice.

With it vanished the landlords' control over politics. Before 1879 very many Irish landlords still considered themselves entitled to command their tenants' votes at a Parliamentary election. A humane man might not inflict penalties for defection, but would consider himself wounded in his own house and betrayed if those whom he regarded as his retainers did not follow his direction. From 1880 onwards, all landlords had to assume their powerlessness to influence votes.

This was a small matter, however, in the sufferings of a class against which the Irish revolution directed its first attack. Many families were beggared: Irish estates had been heavily encumbered, and the law made no provisions that the rent reductions imposed by tribunal should be accompanied by a reduction of the charges. Yet with succeeding years families adjusted themselves to the changed conditions, and the class which had been the ruling class continued to exist as the gentry, admittedly superior in position, though dispossessed of power.

The introduction of Land Purchase on a very large scale, which dates from 1903, greatly eased the position of the landlords, and removed causes of friction. Relations between classes in Ireland were far more friendly in the first decade of this century than in the previous twenty years. It was now established that the Irish people had at least a partial ownership in land where they cultivated it; and the power vested in the landlord class by unlimited ownership of a necessity had disappeared. So far the revolution was accomplished, and accepted. But the question of Irish self-government was still unsettled, and the landlord class as a whole alienated the rest

of the population by opposing it. That opposition was dictated by a traditional fear of still further confiscation of property, which members of this class felt powerless to prevent. In 1898 the application of the English system of Local Government had extended the revolution, transferring the control of all local business from a limited class to those whom the electorate might choose. Henceforward in local matters members of the old governing class had no power except what the community might entrust to them: and since for the most part they were opposed to the community on the main political question, very few were elected to office. What they retained was social prestige. The great majority of the handsome houses in town and country belonged to members of the Church of Ireland, who still formed an exclusive social caste. There has been, however, since 1900 a noticeable breaking down of the barriers. The freemasonry of the hunting-field is nothing new: but popular movements, of which the Gaelic League was the most notable, have drawn into them many of this class: and the work of agricultural co-operation has had the same tendency. In its early stages recruiting for the European War helped the fusion, and perhaps the tie of common service in arms, which includes nearly two hundred thousand survivors of the Great War, may have uniting effect which is for the time obscured.

But in the last stages of the struggle which completely dislodged British rule it was made finally clear how far revolution had gone. Whenever before there had been insurrections in Ireland, the landlord class were leaders in the task of suppressing it. Yet while the guerilla bands of the Irish Republican army contended against the armed police and troops, what had been the Irish aristocracy, if it stayed in the country, remained powerless to intervene, disarmed either by Republicans or by voluntary surrender of its arms to the British authorities. More than this, they weakened the British hands, affording in their persons and in

their property actual or potential hostages to the insurgents. Few of the Anglo-Irish suffered then ; but before the Free State was fully established, many lost their houses, destroyed by the " Irregular " Republican bands. Many more houses were looted ; many families quitted the country, some at least determined never to return.

The Irish people of to-day are not the Irish people of my boyhood. Normally, a revolution accomplishes itself in two or three years : ours has been spread over nearly half a century, because the country in revolution was controlled by a stronger outside power, which could not check the revolutionary impulse, but prevented it from getting far in a single burst. Yet the result is accomplished. A territorial aristocracy, drawn almost entirely from members of a privileged Church, which was the Church of a small minority, has been replaced by a democracy of peasant proprietors. In essence, Ireland has got rid of the conceptions as to ownership of land which England for centuries imposed upon her : and the Irish view, which sees in the occupier of land its natural owner, is accepted by all the Irish people—Catholic or Protestant. It is also accepted as a principle that no religion shall be privileged : though in practice Catholics and Protestants alike tend to give preference to those of their own persuasion. Yet this is generally condemned, and appointment by competitive examination will undoubtedly help to break it down.

The landlord power no longer exists anywhere. In the North of Ireland, the class who were landlords retain their social position undisturbed, and are still leaders of the countryside. But in Ulster as a whole, political power rests mainly with the industrial magnates, who are often Presbyterians. In the rest of Ireland, what once was the ruling class has no power and no duties.

It has not lost the sense of danger, and resentment at its powerlessness. Yet it will probably in great

part return to its old way of life, and regain most of its social prestige. But as a class it is relatively much less distinguished by riches than before the revolution. Much of the property and nearly all of the power have passed to the old inhabitants of the island. Fusion is easier when there is equality of condition: and though the division upon questions of religion may tend to some estrangement, the old territorial aristocracy and the professional classes allied with it will, probably, be at least as effectually merged in the Irish people as are the Catholic royalists in Republican France. Already they have, as a class, recognised that if they are to remain Irishmen they must be citizens of the Free State, and have shaped their conduct accordingly. Upon the result to them within the Free State, and upon their report of it, the attitude of Ulster must ultimately depend. Ireland outside Ulster has first to absorb completely into the Irish people that Anglo-Irish element, differing in outlook and in race, which forty years ago controlled the country. Later, it may persuade the Anglo-Irish to sacrifice something of the complete ascendancy which they possess in the Six Counties in order to secure their position in Ireland as a whole.

If prejudices could be removed, the task of fusion would not be difficult. Outside of Ireland, all meet as fellow-countrymen. But in Ireland there was always the question of nationality, which resolved itself into a question of ascendancy. "If two men ride a horse, one of them must sit in front," is a phrase by which the difficulty was expressed. The people could not be a nation because equality of individuals, which logically means decision by majorities, was not accepted. It is difficult to see how Ireland can become a properly constituted nation until that principle of democracy is accepted for the whole country.

CHAPTER III

DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY

TAKING Dublin as the centre of the east coast, an active man could walk in ten days to the extreme south, west, or north of the island. Derry, the northernmost town of importance on salt water, is 150 miles from Dublin; Galway, in the west, 130; Cork, on the south, 157 miles. But Cork is only 10 miles from open sea, Derry about 30, and Galway about 50. The shortest way from St. George's Channel to the Atlantic lies directly from Dublin to the bight of Galway Bay, traversing the central plain, much of which is still bog. A broken chain of low, sandy hummocks, still called Eskirs, made in primitive times a traversable track across these morasses, and was known as the Esker Riada. It was regarded as the dividing line between Northern and Southern Ireland. But this division never had any effective significance, and to-day Ireland is virtually grouped into Eastern and Western. Any eastern county is more like to any other eastern county than to any western, though, like Antrim and Donegal, eastern and western may almost touch, or, as in East and West Cork, may be actually under the same local administration.

It has to be admitted that, considered as a country, Ireland is inconveniently made. Its mountains for the most part are situate near the sea, thus enclosing the island with a rim of high land and leaving the centre badly water-logged. There are many lakes and rivers, but very little water-power because the streams which rise in the mountains have a short course to the sea and a small volume of water: the larger ones nearly all originate in the central bog, so that the fall, in proportion to their length, is inconsiderable; and the difficulty of carrying off surplus water from their catchment area in a wet season is very great. There is a certain compensation in the ease with which inland water transport can be pro-

vided: the Shannon for most of its length is a waterway, so is the Barrow in South Leinster; and the whole country is covered with a system of canals. Yet these communications have not proved to be of any great value.

The structure of Ireland has, however, this advantage, that no part of the island is definitely cut off from the rest, as is Scotland from England, by marked natural features. The country is marked out for unity. The East indeed generally has advantage over the West, which is more weather-beaten and storm-swept, and along whose coasts the mountain-chain is more continuous. Connaught is decidedly poorer than the other provinces, and less civilised because poorer. But conditions in Connaught vary only in degree from those which prevail in West Munster or West Ulster. So far as industry is concerned, no part of Ireland has any special equipment. There being no important coal-pits or mineral workings, population is not naturally concentrated at any centre: and coal, the ordinary raw material for producing manufacturing power, is approximately as cheap in one part as in another. Belfast and Derry are only a little nearer to the Scotch mines than Dublin and Waterford and Cork to those of Wales. Geography does not account for the development of industries and of an industrial population in the North-east. The causes are historical, political, and racial or cultural.

Town life in Ireland exists only along the seaboard, or at the head of large estuaries. There are in the region about Belfast a few inland manufacturing centres of some importance—Portadown, Ballymena, and Antrim—in addition to Lurgan and Lisburn, which are almost suburbs of Belfast. In Leinster, the continued prosperity and power of the Ormonde family made Kilkenny an important place, and it had, up to 1800, at all events, a real urban life of its own; and to-day, though mainly a market-town, it is a town

proper, and not merely an overgrown village like such centres as Thurles or Mullingar or Tuam. With this exception, all towns are on the tideway.

Every part of the sea-coast is well provided with harbours, but the Irish have never been naturally a seafaring people. The Gael never founded either port or city in Ireland. Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick were established as trading-stations and centres of power by the Danes and Norsemen; Drogheda and Galway grew up under Anglo-Norman rule. Derry was established as a military post in Elizabeth's day, and became a great centre only after the plantation of Ulster. Belfast in 1750 had not 10,000 inhabitants: it grew important during the latter half of the eighteenth century, but its rise to industrial leadership and immense leap in population have come within the last hundred years. Its harbour is quite modern.

As harbourage for modern shipping, the Atlantic seaboard offers far better facilities than the channel coast. Ireland's southern, western, and northern shores are steep: water deep enough to accommodate the largest vessels comes close to the land, whereas along the east the shore is shelving, and Belfast and Dublin are both artificial harbours constructed and maintained at great expense. But, in the period since the legislative Union, during which Ireland was administered simply as an outlying part of the island group, Galway, Limerick, and Cork, the centres of commerce facing the western sea, have declined, and all commercial movement has directed itself to the more powerful island. Harbours have developed where facilities were least. Also, while in Ireland, as elsewhere in modern Europe, urban population has increased, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the increase has been only along the east coast, extending so far as Cork and Derry, where East and West divide. Galway and Limerick, once places ranking with Bristol, are fallen into decay: their

population has dwindled. Further, except in the North-east, the urban population of Ireland adds little to the national output of wealth. The towns are not centres of manufacture, but of distribution: markets and ports for a country of agricultural production. Yet though Ireland is a country of country people, not of townspeople, the Irish, when they emigrate, almost always settle in cities: and this is even truer of the old inhabitants than of the Anglo-Irish. Irish farmers in Canada or the United States are not very numerous, but a very large proportion of them are Ulstermen.

In truth, though Ireland is generally described as an agricultural country, it should be more properly spoken of as pastoral. Its main industry is food-production; yet it does not grow all the food it requires. Its characteristic excellence lies in cattle-raising. Grass grows in it better and more freely than almost anywhere else in Europe. The soil is generally, and over large areas, extremely productive; the moist climate and absence of frost keep vegetation active over a great part of the year. On the other hand, tillage is always carried on at great risk because there is not enough dry sunny weather to give the best kind of grain, and the frequency of heavy rain in harvest-time makes saving the crop difficult. A man with a considerable extent of land can be sure of a profit by simply turning cattle on to convert the natural growth of grass into wealth that can walk to its market: the outlay of labour or capital involved is very small. To put the same land under tillage, even partially, produces larger returns but needs much larger outlay, and the risk of loss from bad weather is much enhanced.

These facts have had immense influence on the whole life of Ireland: and they have to be taken in conjunction with the neighbourhood of Great Britain, the world's best market for meat. Climate and soil have determined the distribution of Ireland's popula-

tion. Where the land is most fertile, human beings are less numerous to the square mile than anywhere except in the sheer wastes of bog and mountain. But the land so occupied is, by the general consent of Irish farmers, in a money sense, more profitably occupied than if farmed under any other system.

There are three of these tracts: the best-known extends over most of Meath into Kildare and into parts of West Meath, and is almost entirely under cattle, part of which are bred on the land; but the majority are bought as yearlings or as two-year-olds from men with inferior land; and on the rich grass they are fattened for market. Another district west of the Shannon in Eastern Roscommon almost rivals the Meath land. This farming of dry stock, simply being fattened for killing, needs only labour to drive animals on or off the land and to maintain the fences. This soil will, of course, yield heavy crops, but it is held that grain sown on it grows too rank and is liable to be beaten down by rain; and generally that the net profit secured from leaving it in grass exceeds that which can be hoped for from that attainable by applying costly labour. Large farms here are the rule, and where small holdings exist among them, the owners tend to let their grass to one of the large speculators.

The other region of special richness is the Golden Vale, extending from South Tipperary through East Limerick. This is the great centre of dairy-farming, and since cows have to be milked, a good deal more labour is required and winter fodder has to be provided to a larger extent. But in the main the farmers here are occupied in converting the summer growth of grass into milk—and so into butter. The raising of dry stock is here relatively unimportant, but it supplements the dairy-farming. Tillage is neglected.

The exploitation of such pastureland as these tracts hold gives the opportunity for amassing wealth: and the land fetches a very high price. Five pounds

an acre for the year's rent was a common price before 1914, and during the war fifteen pounds was often paid. But the conditions of this trade in land involve clearing it to the utmost of human habitation.

The normal type of Irish agriculture of the better class is to be found where there is normally good land and a climate not too rainy and windy. These conditions generally prevail along the east coast except in the mountainous parts of Wicklow, Down, and Antrim. This country is worked by farmers possessing enough capital to acquire modern machinery and having holdings of a size that needs the employment of labour over and above that of the farmer and his family. But in the vast majority of cases the farmer is his own leading farm-hand: he works with his men, as a rule he eats with them; and his sons work with him.

This type of agriculture is to be found all over the island wherever there is reasonably good soil. A large proportion of the land is always in pasture, but there is rotation of crops over the whole farm. But west of the Shannon, and to some degree in the counties which border it on the east, there is a tendency to accumulate large blocks of lands into what are called ranches, that is into permanent pasture. If buying and selling had unlimited play, all land in Connaught that will stay under grass would be so utilised, as weather conditions make tillage farming very difficult. Yet with this inferior pasture, the business of buying young stock and selling them after a year or two, is precarious, and there is far more solid prosperity among the western peasants who have holdings of land which cannot be left in grass because it reverts to brake and fern unless steadily cultivated. Well-to-do peasants by a very laborious life succeed admirably with land of this type, provided their holdings are large enough.

But along the whole western coast are vast tracts of country wholly unsuited to farming, if farming

be considered as an occupation by which a man can amass money or acquire a return for capital. All these regions swarm with the habitations of cottiers, who gain a bare living out of the land. In the rest of Ireland, wherever there is bog and mountain, the same type of cultivation is found; men often working ground which is so stony that a plough cannot be used on it. Even in the central plain, the result of such labour can be seen on each side of the canal which connects Dublin with the Shannon: little patches of reclamation creep out into the expanse of bog. A huge part of the land which to-day supports human existence in Ireland has been created by the effort of such petty cultivators. They cannot properly be called farmers: they have neither skill nor equipment; but they have, as Mr. G. B. Shaw makes a personage say in *John Bull's Other Island*, an industry that is not human: it is like the labour of insects.

That there are vast numbers of these petty cultivators living always on the edge of want is the best-known fact in Irish life: but it is no longer the dominant fact. An uneconomic holding, that is, one which cannot support the people on it, is now rare. And the frugality as well as pertinacity of these cottiers have enabled them to amass money in considerable quantities. The sense of ownership has wrought wonders: since there was no fear of rent being raised, or imprisonment, in thousands of cases money that would have gone in drink before, has gone into manures or the like.

Rich or poor, the Irish farmer has to-day his principal wealth in cattle: what he grows he grows to feed himself and his stock. There are, however, two exceptions. In Ulster the cultivation of flax is traditional. It is a precarious crop, as the prices and yield fluctuate greatly, but it may be richly profitable. In Leinster, and to some degree in East Connaught, the growing of barley for sale to brewers and distillers is a large part of the farmer's work: his hopes depend

on it. Sheep supplement cattle, and in the mountains, especially of Wicklow and Galway, largely replace them. Yet what Scott observed in *The Two Drovers* is true of Ireland: the Celt, a prince among herds, is a child among flocks. Ireland has never earned a name as a sheep-raising country.

But in all history the Irish have excelled in one thing. They have an instinct, a little less marked in Ulster than elsewhere, for breeding and handling fine horses. The best no doubt come from the best lands, in Meath and Limerick; but almost everywhere even the smallest farmer will chance sending his mare to a good sire and breed a possible hunter. Everywhere a colt can be left out of doors while growing, and can range freely over rough ground; and in the South every second urchin can sit a horse, bare-backed, over a fence. This element is the gambling chance in the life of these farmers—if farmers they can be called.

Wherever there is tillage farming there are pigs and there are poultry: sources of wealth which traditionally the Irish farmer did not trouble about greatly. Now, their importance begins to be realised: the export of poultry and eggs approaches a value of ten millions a year, in spite of the admitted fact that this business is not at all well managed.

In truth, except in horse-breeding there is no department of a farmer's work in which Ireland stands well. The Belgian flax fetches sixty pounds in Belfast against forty for the Irish grown. Denmark can always get a higher price for butter than even Limerick or Tipperary, when their yield is at its best; and Denmark contrives by winter feeding to keep its supply of butter constant through the year. The average yield of a cow's milk is higher in Denmark than anywhere in Ireland. Irish cattle sell well, yet the big buyers in Great Britain say that the Scotch and English beasts outclass them, because breeding is more carefully supervised. According to

statistics the yield of most crops is on the average higher in Ireland than in England: but it would be very unwise to attribute this to more care or more skill. In the crop most universally grown, potatoes, Ireland is a long way behind the English standard, and the fact is significant. In England and Scotland, farming is a business: in Ireland it is a hereditary occupation, undertaken in a wholly different spirit. To be a farmer in Ireland is not at all the same thing as being an artisan, still less as being a labourer; though the farmer's earnings may be no greater than the labourer's, he is regarded as belonging to a different class. Further, if you go into shopkeeping, you go in to make money, and if you succeed you will be applauded. If you are a farmer, in most cases, your farm limits by its extent the possibility of your earnings. Intensive cultivation is practically unknown, and to rise in the scale of farmers you must, from an Irish point of view, increase your holding. But what you buy or acquire is far less a means of earning wealth than a possession which gives rank. Land has everywhere in Ireland a sentimental value, and the smaller and worse the farm, the less relation has the price to the commercial value of what is bought. Large farms, say in County Dublin, change hands freely because they are taken by men who go into farming as an ordinary business enterprise. But in the country, to buy up a small holding means obliterating the position of some family. Land is usually regarded as belonging to the family, not to the owner for the time being. Those who are brought up on the land work the land as a matter of course, and work it without wages. Ownership of the farm passes, of course, to the eldest son. A younger son wishing to be a farmer can only become one by marriage alliance—taking for wife the daughter of a man who has no son to succeed him. An elder son is a farmer by destination: he might resign his position to a younger brother, but would be despised for doing so; unless indeed his

destination were a profession or the priesthood, by entering which he would add to the family's position. But an only son would be held disloyal to his family if he did not remain on the farm, however poor his prospects.

Inevitably connected with all this is the feeling that a man who adds farm to farm is wronging his neighbours: and when the purpose is merely to extend pasturage which gives no employment, the successful farmer will find himself in certain ill-repute, and in possible danger as a "land-grabber." The feeling is natural: tracts of land are shown which once supported twenty families and now carry nothing but bullocks with one herd's house: and it is certain that the land if subdivided among the many seeking it would produce more actual wealth, though quite possibly less nett profit. But even if farms were consolidated into one large holding, worked with superior skill and plenty of capital, public opinion would still run strong against the successful farmer; although he might employ as many people as before got their living from the land, and give them a securer livelihood, he would have lowered their status and destroyed their self-esteem.

Thus the physical aspect of Ireland is that of a country where land is passionately sought after for farming, yet which as a whole shows little aspect of skilled agriculture. It resembles England and Brittany in being everywhere broken up into small fields by a network of rough hedges which occupy a great part of its total extent. The smaller the farms, the smaller the fields, and the great bulk of the farms are very small. The cultivation is nowhere neat and often slovenly: appearance is despised. A gap filled with stones or bushes is more common than a gate, and a gate that swings free on its hinges is very rare. Experts maintain that the productive power is lessened by a lack of shelter-belts. It is at all events true that the country is almost entirely stripped of timber.

Under the old order every landlord's demesne had timber about it: but when sale was in prospect, landlords, knowing that the possession of timber would not increase the price appreciably, cut and sold. Tenants have nowhere undertaken replanting, and they have often carried the process of cutting down still further. There is no systematic exploitation of what timber is left, and for the most part trees are a ragged growth along hedgerows. Nowhere except in the North of Ireland (and especially about Armagh) is farming much supplemented by fruit-growing. As a rule Irish cottiers and farmers cultivate few vegetables except potatoes and cabbages. A cottage garden with flowers is a rare and pleasant sight.

Yet there is this to be said. Under the conditions which prevail in Ireland, as a result of the land hunger and of passion for the ownership of land, much soil has been reclaimed and much is to-day maintained in fertility which would be waste land if farming were merely pursued as a commercial speculation. Moreover, since the peasant has become an owner, by general consent the condition of the cottages has enormously improved. Tumble-down hovels with perishing thatch are now rare: and farming, if not scientific, is very much better than it was. The use of artificial manures has greatly increased and the quality of the stock on the land improved out of knowledge. As compared with England, and still more with Belgium, France, and Germany, Irish agriculture offers a sorry spectacle: but as compared with the condition of the country forty years back, there is good ground for jubilation.

The improvement has taken place, however, on the most backward parts which are naturally impoverished: and it is the result of unsparing effort. The same degree of energy applied with intelligence to the most fertile lands would alter Ireland's position in Europe. Probably in any development of our agriculture grass-farming must occupy the largest

place. But grass-farming in England means rolling and top-dressing: in Ireland it means leaving the land in a state of nature.

Improvement of cultivation would take nothing from the charm of a country which, at least to those brought up in it, has no rival for pleasantness to live in, and which for many generations has captivated thousands of those who came to visit its shores. The unkempt aspect of fields, the slatternly towns, are to us who know it recognised as familiar: but none yet have complained when good order took the place of neglect. And, however man may work, prudently or imprudently, much in it that most wins the heart must remain unchangeable. Mountains rising from the seaboard may be inconvenient for the provision of water-power, but they afford a beauty that nothing else can match, whether the salt waters have the paler tinge of St. George's Channel or the deep azure that bathes the cliff bases from Slieve League southward to Brandon. The bays and long estuaries of that indented coast must always keep their loveliness or their grandeur: the mountain-sides, brown or purple with heather, olive-green with bog-grasses, must be for ever places where, as one of our poets has written, "only God exults in silence over fields no man may reap." Nor will the beauty be sought and found only in the wildernesses: rivers like the Boyne or the Cork Blackwater, that flow with every exquisite charm of salmon-breeding water, are faced on either bank with houses and demesnes too delightful to go untenanted; and the Galway stone walls, the Tipperary banks, and the long grassy stretches of Meath are never likely to be forgotten by those who love Ireland's special delight of the fox-hunt. Nor, whatever comes or goes, is the abiding charm of the country's people, gentle or simple, likely to lose its gaiety, its winning welcome, and its hospitable heart. Nearly all the discontent, the bickering, the disorder, and the crime which have offset and obscured Ireland's natural

attractiveness have arisen from a conflict for the actual ownership of Irish land; and now that long controversy is ended by a settlement on the broadest possible lines, making each family who occupies land to work it owners of what they labour on, the Irish countryside may well keep all its old charm and banish into realms of unwelcome memory what its friends, its lovers, and even its acquaintances were often glad to condone.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL GROUPINGS

COMPARED with the rest of the British Isles, Ireland has a small proportion of urban population—less than a quarter against more than half of the whole. But the main fact in Irish history since the famine has been the growth of Belfast. In 1800 Dublin was the second city in the British Isles: Belfast had some 30,000 inhabitants. Since 1911 it has often been absurdly said that Belfast was the larger city, a result arrived at by excluding the separate boroughs of Pembroke and Rathmines from Dublin, of which they are as much part as Chelsea is of London. But in fact this manufacturing centre is on the point of outstripping the old capital: it may come to surpass it in the same manner as Glasgow surpasses Edinburgh. Yet Dublin must always mean at least as much to Ireland as Edinburgh to Scotland, and though fallen into some decay it bears evidence of the time when it ranked among the great capitals of Europe.

The city began as a Danish station for raiding and trading. It grew in the ninth century to be the centre of a Scandinavian kingdom which extended along the west of Britain by a chain of island posts to Orkney and Shetland, and at one time comprised most of Northern England. Its first cathedral was built by the Norse, though the first bishops were of Irish race. When the Normans took it from the Danes, who then held it under the loose suzerainty of the king of Leinster, Henry II made it his capital, and it remained throughout the centuries the centre and base of English power. It was never captured from him by the Gael.

Of the mediæval town no traces remain, except in Dublin Castle, and in the two cathedrals, Christ Church and St. Patrick's, which have been reconstructed within living memory. Essentially Dublin is still a town of the eighteenth century. It came to splendour, though a splendour set in squalor, as the capital of

the middle nation. From 1750 onwards the resident Anglo-Irish aristocracy developed a strong local character: their parliament had increasing importance and the life of the island ran to Dublin and not beyond. All that comes down to us from that epoch indicates a high level of culture. Outlay was largely on domestic architecture, and the brick-built houses of the period, admirably decorated inside with stucco, are still extant in great numbers, though very few in their original state. Some are clubs, a good many are Government offices; on the north side of the city whole streets of them are now tenements let out in single rooms: yet all, even in the uttermost squalor, keep traces of distinguished beauty. Of the public buildings which marked the time, the front of Trinity College, and what was then the Parliament House, but is now the Bank of Ireland, survive intact: the Four Courts and the Custom House, more beautiful than they, are in ruins, but enough stands to show that they were among the best European examples of the classic school. The minor decorative arts, silver, glass-cutting, and furniture-making, were on the same level. Dublin was the seat of a strong oligarchy, who spent money lavishly, both private and public, for their own advantage, and spent it with good taste.

After the Union, the centre of Irish political life shifted to London, and the society which possessed the power and wealth of Ireland—a very small proportion of the Irish people—in great part transferred its residence and its expenditure to England. There was no further building of the same merit; the skilled crafts died out for lack of patrons; and society, still centring round the Viceregal Court, centred round the forms, not the reality of power.

Still, Dublin remained a metropolis: it had a character wholly different from that of the great provincial English towns which rapidly came up to it in numbers. It was the seat of a government,

though no longer of a representative government; it was the headquarters of the considerable military force which Great Britain always maintained in Ireland; it was the centre of the Bar and of the Judiciary, which alone of Irish institutions lost none of their importance after the Union; and it had at its heart a great residential University. Many phases of culture met in it, and its society was still brilliant and exceedingly convivial.

But as the nineteenth century went on, it became more and more rare for the landed aristocracy of Ireland to have houses in Dublin. There was still a Dublin season, but people who came up to it came rather to hotels and lodgings: and clubs became more significant than houses as social institutions. The Kildare Street Club, built about 1850, was increasingly the centre for landowners in the Irish capital. Professional men, lawyers, and doctors were normally resident: the University Club in Stephen's Green was their chief meeting-ground, but their own society existed in their own homes. There grew up also an increasing number of Catholic professional men, and for them the Stephen's Green Club took the place of the University—though its membership was less limited to one denomination. No society in Dublin definitely excluded Protestant or Catholic as such; but in fact people of the two denominations living in the same city, following the same profession, and having approximately the same standard of living, were socially almost completely apart.

In the City Corporation a friendly understanding existed by which the office of Lord Mayor was alternately filled by Catholic and Protestant. Till Catholic Emancipation (achieved in 1829), no Catholic was eligible. After his triumph, O'Connell held the Lord Mayoralty himself for a year, and then inaugurated this alternating policy, which lasted until the revolution had been for some years in progress. Since 1883, none but Nationalists have occupied the civic

chair: and they have been almost invariably Catholics, though chosen for their politics, not for their creed.

From the beginning of the revolutionary period, say from 1880, a change has to be noted in Irish social life. The land war, as it was justly called, divided classes sharply and the division coincided roughly, though not completely or logically, with the religious division. Broadly speaking, although the revolutionary forces were headed by a Protestant landlord, the revolution was an attempt to take from the Protestants a considerable part of what they possessed in money and power. Parnell's policy of binding his followers in Parliament to accept no preferment from Government had a wide extension socially: Nationalists who were, as they soon became, actively at feud with the Irish Government, could not very conveniently pay civilities to its recognised head, the Lord Lieutenant, who, unlike the Governor-General of the Dominion, was a member of the British Ministry of the day. No active Nationalist therefore would go to the Viceregal Court, and such Catholic professional men as continued to do so separated themselves in a sense from the mass of those who practised their religion. Society in its official sense became more sharply defined as Protestant.

Also, with the progress of the revolution, grave hardship, often very ill deserved, fell on the landlord class: some had to leave the country for safety, some were completely impoverished. Landed properties were as a rule heavily encumbered, and the Acts of Parliament which in effect reduced rents by a quarter, made no provision for a reduction of the charges. Thus from 1880 onward the landlord element in Dublin society lessened in wealth and in importance: the Kildare Street Club acquired a very large admixture of a new element from the Civil Service—a multiplying bureaucracy—and from the higher branches of what was increasingly like a highly trained Government department, the staff of Guinness's brewery.

The heads of this great concern were at that period the only owners of great wealth having houses in Dublin and its suburbs; and since the revolution began, Society in Dublin has been formed mainly by the professional classes and rich business men. The landlord element largely disappeared from it; and the importance of the Viceregal Court as a social centre steadily diminished because from the time when a British Government proposed a Home Rule Bill, the landlord class, which regarded this as an acceptance of revolution, refused to recognise the Lord Lieutenant, if he formed part of a Home Rule Ministry. They were, as they held, Loyalists; and the King's representative being a Home Ruler was either disloyal or the associate of disloyal persons. The Nationalist taboo on the Court and Castle as organs of British rule continued, and thus from 1892 to 1895, and during the long period of Liberal administration from 1906 onward, the Viceroy and his suite were to some degree marooned at the official residence in the Phœnix Park. The last characteristic days of the old social régime were seen under Lord Cadogan, and especially in Lord Dudley's very popular Viceroyalty, which coincided with the introduction of Land Purchase—a moment when the Government itself was almost popular.

Later, the social eclipse of the Dublin Court was the more marked because neither Lord Aberdeen nor the Chief Secretaries, Mr. Bryce and Mr. Birrell, took any interest in racing or hunting: and all main festivities in Dublin are directly or indirectly connected with the cult of the horse. The two great moments in the Dublin social year are the Punchestown steeplechase meeting in April, and the Dublin Society's horse-show in August. But though during this century the Irish capital has become crowded in these months with smartly dressed people, most of them have been birds of passage, staying for a few days or a week in an hotel. The town's normal aspect is a little dingy:

men and women alike have the aspect of being dressed in their second or third best: and the distinction between town and country life is by no means sharply marked. That is natural. A man can live in Dublin and easily hunt with the Meath or Kildare hounds; can shoot grouse within five or six miles of the General Post Office, or fish for salmon on the Liffey from Chapelizod upwards. The most famous Irish golf-links stretch in a succession along the shore from just beyond Clontarf, a suburb completely incorporated, to the village of Malahide. Apart from sport or game, playgrounds are at the door in every direction: in Ireland or out of Ireland there is no more beautiful scenery than at Howth, which makes the northern arm of Dublin Bay, or at Killiney and Bray, where the Wicklow Mountains send down steep outliers to the flat coast.

Social life in Dublin has been always easy, informal, and hospitable, and the most undeniable of Ireland's special talents, the gift of witty talk, gives it a special charm. But any observant student of manners must have quickly become aware of the division into two camps which since the revolution corresponded more or less accurately to a division of power: for power resided no longer solely in the middle nation. From Parnell's day onwards, the mass of the Irish people, outside of Protestant Ulster, were grouped under the leadership of a man, or small group of men, who were in Parliament, but declined to hold office in a British administration, and who had great power without definite official responsibility. On the other side were the permanent official heads of the British administration, who had power much greater than that of the corresponding civil servants in Great Britain because the ministerial chiefs of the Government were never Irish, and always therefore less or more strange to the country. This official element was always closely in touch with the considerable military staff maintained in Dublin. It would have

been almost impossible between 1880 and 1900 to meet Parnell or Redmond, or any of their leading colleagues, at any house where one might—even on another occasion—make acquaintance with a general commanding troops in Ireland or one of the heads of an Irish department. From the period of Mr. Wyndham's Chief Secretaryship onward, a tendency existed to break down this demarcation. Land Purchase was a measure carried with the consent of the middle nation: and the man who assisted Mr. Wyndham to make it law was Sir Antony (now Lord) MacDonnell, a Catholic of purely Irish stock whose fame had been won in Indian administration. Even before this, Sir Horace Plunkett, a man of the middle nation, but of a stock that went back to its first beginnings in the Norman Conquest, had taken a bold step towards breaking down the limitation of power to the Anglo-Irish interest. When, by his means chiefly, a Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was established in 1897, and placed in his charge as minister responsible to Parliament, he selected for its permanent official head Mr. T. P. Gill, who had been a brilliant member of Parnell's party. These two appointments, but especially that of Mr. Gill, roused the Ascendancy party to fury. Before then, Irish Catholics, though in comparatively few instances, had held high posts in the Irish Civil Service and the Irish Judiciary; but they had been Catholics who accepted the views and policy of the middle nation, under which it was, for instance, by law prohibited that a Catholic should be either Lord Lieutenant or Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

These restrictions were formally abolished by law under the Act of 1920 before the Irish revolution was completed. But in practice the Liberal administrations under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Asquith had conferred many important posts on men chosen from the old inhabitants of the island. There was, however, the difficulty that Nationalist politicians were still bound by the pledge which forbade an

elected member of the Nationalist party to take office, and Irish Nationalist constituencies refused to be represented by any man not so bound. The offices of Attorney-General and Solicitor-General had as a rule to be filled by men for whom no parliamentary seat could be found, and who therefore lacked authority. But, from 1903 onwards, separation between leading Nationalist politicians and the controllers of government machinery was by no means so complete as it had been; and there was free social intercourse between Nationalist houses and those of the officials who had sympathy with the wish of the Irish for complete self-government. It was a transition period. In that period the Irish administration divided itself into two sections, only one of which frequented the Kildare Street Club.

The European war created an extraordinary position in Ireland. A Home Rule Bill had thrice passed through the House of Commons, and was on the point of becoming law under the Parliament Act. As a price for national solidarity, the British Government reached a compromise by which it was agreed that the Bill should become law, but its operation should be deferred till a year after the signing of peace. Thus Ireland was by statute endowed with a Parliament of her own and an executive responsible to it; but this same statute laid down that until the war was over, British administration should continue. The British Government remained in Ireland, but remained merely as caretakers. From 1915 onwards they were threatened with insurrection, but their hands were tied by their previous refusal to use force against similar threats from Protestant Ulster. Also, since they were caretakers for Mr. Redmond, who would naturally have become Prime Minister of Ireland, they could not in fairness take action that would compromise his chances: and Redmond did not believe the threats to be serious. Then came the rebellion of Easter 1916, and power was at once thrown into the hands of the

military. Henceforward the effective control of Ireland lay with the military and with that section of the Irish Civil Service which shared the views of the Kildare Street Club. The revolution had entered on its last phase, and Irish society as well as Irish institutions went into the melting-pot. But the course of the struggle showed that power had passed definitely away from the middle nation, and that Ireland must be governed by the Irish as a whole: unless, as an alternative, it were ruled as Great Britain ruled her Asiatic or African dependencies. Those who had at one time been glad to call themselves England's garrison in Ireland became dreadfully aware of their helplessness. The unreality of their prestige grew manifest.

Socially and economically, the war brought floods of money into Ireland. There was no vast afflux of wealth to individuals, except in the North, because no great manufacturing centres existed. But agriculture had a golden time, and all the profits of agriculture went to the occupiers of land. The landlords had either been bought out or received rents fixed by law at an earlier period: in either case, they suffered in income by the war taxes, and they received none of the advantages, except in so far as they were farmers of their own land. The proportion of Ireland's wealth owned by the old inhabitants, as compared with that owned by the middle nation, therefore must have been greatly altered between 1914 and 1920. Protestant Ireland was henceforward no longer in at all the same degree richer than Catholic Ireland: and thus one social line of demarcation became effaced. The war itself broke down another—the division between "loyalists" and the rest. Redmond at the outset flung himself into the allied cause and called on the Ireland which he represented to follow his example. His purpose was even more to abolish the old division between the old inhabitants and the middle nation than to serve the great European interests. Many

men of the middle nation met his action in the spirit which he desired: but on both sides many held cynically or angrily aloof. There were too many "loyalists" who desired that loyalty should still be the useful badge of a privileged minority; and their words and action, and their lack of action, played into the hands of those who believed that the old inhabitants should hold no truce with the traditional enemy. Nationalist Ireland became divided against itself; and the revolt against Redmond was largely a revolt of the young. With the gradual transference of powers and property from the middle nation to the old inhabitants a new temper had grown up which put Irish aspirations on a wholly new plane. Ireland was to be made independent because Gaelic, and Gaelic because independent. The middle nation was invited to become Irish and Gaelic with the rest. As to the British connection, the idea of uniting the two islands freely under a common sovereignty was abandoned by this newer Nationalism.

These were theories on which an uncertain proportion of the people were prepared to act: and they divided both camps. A large proportion of the Unionist ascendancy party hoped that the growing strength of this revolt would induce Great Britain to revise its policy and once more insist on governing both islands under a common rule, which would ensure that Catholics should be in a minority of the joint electorate. These welcomed and encouraged the revolt against Redmond and his party. Another element, however, realised that Great Britain, having committed herself to the rights of small nations, could not without singular inconsistency repeal an Act establishing self-government for Ireland in response to a long-continued national demand; and the representatives of this opinion came into the Irish Convention of 1917 prepared to make terms. At this point a curious social movement took place. The mass of the Irish people had not yet definitely committed itself

to Sinn Fein, and a very large number of Irish Nationalist young men, having engaged in the war, engaged also the sympathies of their friends and families on the British side. Nationalist members of Parliament held the King's commission, and Redmond's very gallant brother, one of the most popular figures in the Parliamentary party, had fallen in a general action at Wytschaete, in which the Irish division and the Ulster division went over to victory side by side. There was amongst men of good-will in the middle nation a new attitude of friendliness towards Nationalists. On the other hand, it was felt by many Nationalists that Ireland's attitude to the King's representative must change, and for the moment men of all parties attended receptions at the Viceregal Lodge. The change involved political risks, but there was no length to which Redmond would not have gone in order to secure the acceptance of Irish self-government by the middle nation, for the whole of Ireland.

But it became plain at once from proceedings in the Convention that the middle nation was no longer a unity. Ulster had over twenty representatives, among whom were two peers and a couple of other large landowners. But essentially it was a group representing the mercantile and manufacturing interests. The ten Southern Unionist representatives comprised four hereditary peers. With them were a great land agent, the head of a famous distillery, the chairman of a big railway company, and a distinguished civil servant belonging to a landed family. All were members of the Kildare Street Club. Their spokesman was Lord Midleton. The Ulster spokesman, Sir James Barrie, was a merchant from Coleraine. From the first the Ulstermen made it clear that they came there to defend their own separate position. It was recognised that self-government had to come, and that the Southern Unionists must cease to have any political power if left to themselves. But the Northerns made it plain that they were not prepared to become

part of a Protestant minority, however powerful, in a Catholic State governed from Dublin. The middle nation outside Ulster must shift for itself.

The Convention failed to reach a settlement; and Great Britain's attempt in April 1918 to impose conscription in Ireland against a vote of all Irish members outside Ulster led to resistance which swung most of Ireland toward the party that had from the first opposed the war. There followed at the beginning of 1919 the declaration of an Irish Republic and the establishment of a theoretical government under the presidency of Mr. de Valera. In the two years of guerilla warfare which were ended by a truce in July 1921, people of the middle nation outside of Ulster found themselves totally powerless to intervene or even to protect themselves; and the negotiations which led up to the Treaty were conducted by Englishmen without reference to Anglo-Irish wishes. But Lord Midleton and his friends had, however, the wisdom to negotiate privately with Mr. Griffith, head of the Irish plenipotentiaries in London; and they obtained from him promises of recognition for their separate interest which Mr. Cosgrave, his successor in the presidency, made good. Several members of the Kildare Street Club to-day hold seats in the Senate, and one has his place as an elected member of the Dail. The University Club has three elected representatives of Trinity College in the Dail and can also claim Lord Glenavy, the President of the Senate. Some officials of the old type also still occupy important posts in the Civil Service. But all the ministers without exception belong to the older nation, to whom power has now completely passed. Representatives of the middle nation, however, are present in its councils; they speak with weight and are listened to with respect. The social separateness of the past has less existence within the Irish Parliament than anywhere else. Fusion has begun at the top.

In general society, the estrangement still remains.

But men like Mr. Yeats and Mr. George Russell (the poet and philosopher), who count and perhaps count increasingly in the shaping of national thought, have friends in both sections of the Irish people and in all quarters of Irish society. They have always been centres of fusion, the more because both come of Anglo-Irish stock: and their influence is strong to-day and is reinforced by a perception of facts. The Kildare Street Club exists as before; but its buildings had to be rescued from an occupying Republican party in 1922 by the soldiers of the Irish Free State. Its members realise, probably with few exceptions, that it is their interest as Irish citizens to strengthen the constituted Irish authority. Yet the attitude of this element in Irish life towards the social possibilities of the future is as yet hardly defined.

In truth, outside of Ulster, the attitude of Irish society is still one of uncertainty. The sense of separateness, the duality of outlook, may gradually wear off, and the country be no more aware of racial and religious divisions than, for instance, is Australia, where these divisions are felt, but not in overmastering degree. It is even possible that the Governor-General's function may prove to be that of one who provides a meeting-place outside of party allegiance for Irishmen of good-will: possible also that the existence of an active Republican party anxious to wreck the Free State may group into a unity all citizens who desire to support the State. Yet unity for political purposes does not involve social fusion. The real question is how long the middle nation can or will retain the sense of its separate identity when that sense is no longer fortified by the possession of a disproportioned share of power or wealth.

A curious complication in Irish social life is that the country as a whole outside of Belfast is strongly penetrated with aristocratic ideas. Not only did the old landlord class think of itself as an aristocracy: the old inhabitants of the country accepted that view,

and discriminated sharply between families of more recent origin and the "old stock" who might derive from Anglo-Norman times but were often Cromwellian in their origin. Only in a very few cases did they descend from the purely Gaelic aristocracy, which, except when its members turned Protestant, disappeared either by emigration or by sinking into the mass of the peasantry. The new rulers of Ireland meet under a democratic constitution: their claim is to be "men of the people." Yet in fact they are to some degree handicapped by the lack of that prestige which in an old-fashioned country goes to men of the "old stock." The sentimental liking for old lineage and for those of long-standing association with power has been offset by the prejudice against landlords as such. No prejudice dies out immediately on the removal of its causes, and landlord families will inherit a share of unpopularity; but it is possible that as they begin to take their place in Irish life, the feeling for them, as a respected aristocracy and as national leaders, will more than compensate the prejudices against their class, at all events where the family has made friends through generations.

What has been said of Dublin is true with modifications of all the lesser towns. Everywhere there is a county club, the faint shadow of Kildare Street, whose membership was primarily recruited from the landed aristocracy and was extended as of right to officers of the British services. Everywhere the society which by general consent occupied the top of the social ladder was predominantly Protestant; though in Cork, Limerick, and Galway there was a larger infusion of Catholics than in Dublin. The revolution which, in hundreds of cases, handed over the houses of the landed gentry to occupation by Free State troops or their Republican opponents, and did not spare their club houses, has left a mark on all minds; and social institutions will naturally be affected by it. Whether the division between Irish and Anglo-Irish,

Protestant and Catholic, old inhabitants of the island and middle nation, persist or no, the Irish people in the Free State will no longer consist of superimposed strata, with the mere Irish for the under layer.

In Northern Ireland, however, that state of affairs exists; Catholics there have no better a position than they had in Dublin before the emancipation. Whether in town or country they scarcely exist in the upper classes of society, and they have not succeeded in establishing themselves as manufacturers, nor do they own any of the larger wholesale or retail businesses, except in the retail liquor trade. This has often been attributed by Nationalists to the effect of a Protestant combination: but it is a fact that throughout Ireland nearly all manufactures and most of the leading shops are in Protestant hands. This indication of superior business efficiency is largely responsible for the belief which Northern Protestants entertain of the Catholic Irishman's racial inferiority. They naturally enough do not enquire whether centuries in which the preponderance of power and property were vested in Protestants, and vested there by force of British arms, may not have contributed to the result. But the fact is that Protestant Ulstermen justify Protestant ascendancy by a belief in the inherent personal superiority of Protestants to Catholics all the world over, and especially in Ireland.

Apart from this, Northern society is not aristocratic; it is more democratic than any other society in Ireland, in the sense that it attaches less prestige to birth and upbringing. It contains cultured and able men, but it affects a contempt for culture and values ability by strictly materialistic standards. Its arrogance is unattractive, but has a considerable justification in the efficiency displayed, recently in its beginnings of self-government, before that, in its conduct of civic affairs in Belfast; but chiefly in the building up of two great industries, by which Belfast exists.

Social life in Northern Ireland in so far as it differs

from that of the rest of the country is really tempered by the spirit of Belfast. That spirit has a fine justification in its own achievements, but it extends into places where the achievement is not shared: and everywhere it is marred by a bigotry which has few parallels in civilised Europe. In the period from 1920 to 1922, the revolutionary struggle in Southern Ireland had its reactions in the North, and there, but especially in Belfast, the two unreconciled nations came to a strife of horrible savagery. On both sides, at varying moments, atrocious provocation led to atrocious reprisals: it is a period from which black memories must remain, yet which decent people on both sides are anxious to forget. Tranquillity has been restored, public order is everywhere well maintained: yet the conditions of social and political life are far from satisfactory. There is a definite disposition of the majority to regard a minority marked off by their religion as alien in race and sentiment, and necessarily to be kept in subjection. This is met on the part of the minority by a refusal to acquiesce effectively in a régime which subjects them in their own country of Ireland to a position of inferiority; and they express this by declining to take any part in working the institutions of self-government which exist in Northern Ireland.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION

THERE is a heavy count against England in the matter of Irish education: for the Irish have been from the earliest times avid of learning, and England during her centuries of control starved this passion, and did worse in trying to abuse it. When Ireland, during the sixth and seventh centuries, the darkest period of European history since Christ, kept school for Europe, but more specially for the Northern group of which she formed a part, Bede bore testimony to her generosity with learning and the ample provision made in her schools for foreign students. Later, after the battle at Clontarf in 1014 had established ascendancy over the Norse and Danish raiders, Brian, and after him Malachy, did their utmost to renew the store of books and supply of teachers. There was a genuine renascence of learning in Ireland in the eleventh century. In the twelfth came the Normans, and by the thirteenth century the middle nation had begun to exist. Its chiefs, de Burgos, Geraldines, and Butlers, were generous patrons; but they founded no teaching institution of note. Universities were then beginning to count greatly in European life, and the youth of Ireland, finding no provision at home, had resort to Oxford. In the fourteenth century there was talk of a university to be established in Dublin, but talk only; and by the end of the fourteenth century "mere Irish" students were prohibited from access to the English universities, which of course remained open to the middle nation. Nothing contributed so much to keep the contiguous nations apart in a small island as this separation of teaching; nothing so helped to draw them together as the patronage extended by the great Irish Earls to Irish letters and learning.

Wolsey, so superb in munificence to Oxford, was an enemy of whatever was most Irish in the middle nation. If Dublin University had been founded under Henry VIII, Irish history would have been all

different. But its establishment was delayed till the last years of Elizabeth, after Ireland had been swept with two wars of extermination, and after the religious division had been made savagely acute. When a seat of liberal culture was at last established in the Irish capital, its use was limited to those of the reformed religion. This cut out at one blow all the old inhabitants of the island; and the great scholar who was its first glory, Archbishop Ussher, was head of a commission which went through the country, closing places of education kept by Catholics. They shut down Alexander Lynch's Academy in Galway, which counted 1,200 pupils, drawn from both the Irish nations; and the Commissioners' report, announcing its closure, bore witness to the excellence of answering which they had found there.

Modern Ireland begins with the eighteenth century, and through the greater part of that period the schoolmaster who taught Catholics was a kind of smuggler, pursuing an illegal commerce. For University training, as for everything that went to the making of a gentleman, Catholic Ireland must cross the seas to the Continent. The middle nation, by this time almost entirely Protestant, had tolerable provision in Ireland. There were numerous schools: one at Kilkenny which still survives, taught Swift and Congreve. Dublin University existed, and Swift, who passed some of his unhappy youth there, lampooned it with savagery later, describing the Irish Parliament as

> "Half a bowshot from the college;
> Half the globe from sense and knowledge."

But it sent out the best men of the middle nation, Burke and Berkeley and Goldsmith: and perhaps no more could be said of Oxford, in those days when Gibbon stigmatised its dull and deep potations.

By the last quarter of the eighteenth century the wave of Liberalism had reached Ireland, and the Irish Parliament, when it gained independence, showed a

more reasonable attitude towards the Catholic population. There was no further interference with teaching: but there was no endowment of the Catholic schools. These were supported by the fees of pupils and were taught as a rule by a single master who set up his academy in a neighbourhood where the families of rich farmers abounded. The institution of poor scholars who came to these teachers—mostly in Munster—from the backward parts of Ireland, getting lodging in some farmhouse in return for petty services—was the sole equivalent for the Protestant charter schools. The teachers were often men of great ability, not a few of them poets; but often also very irregular in their conduct. Culture in a literary sense, they had none to give; politically, they were passionately Nationalist: the whole tone and tenor of their teaching pointed away from the ideals inculcated at Kilkenny or Armagh. Neither was there behind them, as behind the teachers of Scotland, any contact with university learning. Books were their only university, and their access to books was limited; when they used English, they used it as educated Indians do to-day, with a lack of inherited perception.

In 1796 an opportunity offered itself for bringing the nation together in its studies instead of driving it apart. There had been founded since the Reformation seminaries in Spain, France, and Italy, to which Irish Catholic students of the richer class could have recourse: Daniel O'Connell was a typical alumnus, and he saw the college of St. Omer disestablished by the French Revolution. The Catholic Bishops in Ireland now petitioned for a provision of university facilities at home. Catholic Ireland, angry with revolutionary France, was then supporting the English Government: Irish regiments, manned by Catholics, were being formed from 1793 onwards: and the case had to be met. The authorities of Trinity College proposed that a Catholic college should be joined to Dublin University: but the ascendancy party, which

had then come into full control after inflicting defeat on Fitzwilliam's policy of broad emancipation for Catholics, rejected the scheme: and they had the support of the Catholic Bishops, who from a national point of view have been always disastrously timid counsellors in the policy of Irish education. Against the protests of Grattan, Maynooth was established as a separate institution and designed to be a seminary, not a university. Thus the Irish youth continued to be segregated in two theological camps during the whole period of education. Maynooth was the first political provision made under British rule for the education of the Catholic Irish people, who were mainly the old inhabitants of the island: and it was made only for their clergy. It had remarkable results: it changed the character of the Irish priesthood; they had been primarily Catholic, and otherwise inclining to a European conservatism: now they became strictly insular, narrowly and fiercely nationalist; they returned to the districts of their origin as priests, leaders of the community because they had more education. For a full generation after the Union no public money was spent to provide primary or secondary education for Irish Catholics. The population was increasing at the rate of over half a million in each decade; it was multiplying in appalling poverty, and its illiteracy grew to be a byword throughout Europe.

At last when Catholic emancipation was carried and O'Connell with his following at Westminster had put the Whigs in power and enabled them to pass the Reform Bill of 1832, a measure was designed at Westminster to promote primary education in Ireland. O'Connell was a devout Catholic, but in no sense a narrow-minded man: he desired, as did any English member of Parliament at that day, that children should be educated in a school which taught the religion of their parents. The Liberalism of England, however, had become impressed with the evils of

segregating Irish youth, and they avowed the desire to fuse Ireland by enforced union of all the young for purposes of education. At the back of every Englishman's mind in that period was the conviction that Catholic belief was a form of obscurantism, hostile to education; and the Government was aware that it would be difficult to induce the British public to sanction a vote for money for distinctively Catholic schools. Consequently a plan was devised for a system of National Education which should be strictly undenominational. It was to be controlled by a Board of Commissioners; in order to make this body "undenominational" a system of cancelling out denominations was established. Men who had no denominational attachment in Ireland did not exist, or if they existed, would not be considered desirable directors of education; but a Protestant was set against a Catholic, and a Catholic against a Protestant: by a further subdivision a Nonconformist Churchman was chosen to balance every member of the Established Church; and thus though all members of the Board were adherents of some religious denomination, and indeed qualified for selection by that fact, yet as the result of all these counterpoises, the Board emerged "undenominational." This authority managed primary education: it dispensed the revenue voted for it. But since it could not directly control each school, it must delegate authority to some person or body, and in many of the outlying parts it would have been difficult to find a committee accurately reflecting its own composition. Also, it was found in practice that parents would not send their children to schools unless they were satisfied about the religious atmosphere: and there grew up a system by which in every parish a school was provided, having as manager the clergyman of the parish, who was vested with power to appoint or dismiss the teacher. If there was more than one kind of clergyman, there had to be more than one school—irrespective of the number of

pupils in it. And since no clergyman would appoint a teacher not of the denomination to which he ministered, under the undenominational system the schools assumed a rigidly denominational character. But the Central Board controlled teaching. It could and did guarantee that religion should not be taught in the hours for which public pay was given: and also that no teaching should be given offensive to the principles of any pupil who might be present. It being almost impossible to teach Irish history without possibly hurting the feelings of either the middle nation or the old inhabitants, matters were simplified by complete exclusion of the subject. Irish boys and girls in all primary schools grew up without any knowledge of the history of their own country. The secondary schools, which were not State-provided, conformed to the example set them by the State. Irishmen and women of both nations in all classes, found themselves inspired by all the unlimited prejudices of their nation and class, without any historical training to modify their predispositions.

In short the teaching was intended to be colourless in so far as it concerned convictions. Irish education abhorred convictions. The position accorded to teachers was governed by the same guiding principle of fear. Like civil servants, they were forbidden to take part in any political activity: unlike civil servants, they had no security of tenure, all being liable to dismissal by the manager: there was no adequate pension system, and the salaries were miserably small. Neither was there any ordered system of promotion from the inferior school to the better—managers having an unrestricted power of choice. Such conditions were fit to produce spiritless service, and on the whole they did produce it.

Further than this, the whole system was starved for lack of money. Under the policy of the Imperial Parliament education was paid for in part by local contribution, in part by the Treasury. The local contributions were

raised from the rates. This involved the consequence that the authority which raised the rates was entitled to a share in control of the schools. But the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland resented vehemently any limitation put upon the authority of the managers, who were in almost every instance clerics, and they were always ready to head resistance to any proposal which should put education on the rates: while the laity, who had for more than a century been kept short of culture, were more anxious to keep rates low than to make public teaching efficient. It is a fact that the more completely you deprive a man or a people of education, the less will the sufferer realise the measure of the loss or the need to end it. Ireland with docility went on from generation to generation, sending out its young people less well instructed than those of the rest of the United Kingdom. The schools were ill-found, the teachers ill-paid, and the standard of public feeling in the matter such that it was never found possible to make school attendance compulsory. In the view of the Catholic hierarchy, any lessening the completeness of clerical control would have endangered the souls of children. It was impossible to expect that the British taxpayers, who by no means shared this opinion, should contribute in double measure to the upkeep of Irish schools. Ireland, led in this matter absolutely by the clergy, accepted the consequences, of which the least important is an unduly high percentage of illiteracy. The most serious is, perhaps, that Irish citizens and Irish parents have never learnt to accept in full their responsibilities in the vital matter of the training of their children. The damage has not been limited to one creed. Protestants and Catholics have been under one and the same system, and though claims for a share in control have been put forward by Protestants, especially in Ulster, the Irish ratepayer has complacently accepted a system which spared him an education rate. Neither section of the population has learnt to take a pride in the

work and appearance of their schools, or to insist on the provision of competent teachers. By politicians the subject was always considered too difficult a thing to approach, and it was given the go-by.

It is only fair to add that for the Catholic population an organisation was created by voluntary effort, which supplemented the National schools in large centres of population and provided secondary teaching of the cheaper sort. This was the lay order of the Christian Brothers, founded in 1802 by Ignatius Rice. Many testimonies to their zeal and efficiency have been given from the opposite camp in Ireland: but the best is to be found in the fact that working men in Ireland have always preferred to pay their small fees, rather than send their children free of charge to the National Schools.

Secondary teaching of a more advanced and expensive kind has been provided by the religious orders, especially by the Jesuits, who have a great school at Clongowes, in County Kildare, equipped on the lines of an English public school, with admirable playing-fields: and a cheaper day school at Belvedere in one of the once splendid streets on the north side of Dublin. This famous order, commanding the service of many able and highly trained men, has given very efficient teaching and produced many notable alumni. General Sir William Butler, even more distinguished as writer than as soldier, Lord Chief Baron Palles, by consent of his profession greatest among Irish lawyers of the past half-century, and in a younger generation, T. M. Kettle, wit, orator, essayist, and poet, one of the most brilliant creatures that fell in the Great War, are names that stand out. Another teaching order, the Missionary Congregation of the Holy Ghost, has for many years had very large schools at Blackrock in a Dublin suburb and at Rockwell in the heart of Tipperary. More recently the Benedictines established a school near Gorey in County Wexford, which may come to correspond to Downside.

Besides the provision made by the regulars, the Bishops have established diocesan colleges in most of the more important country towns—primarily to give an early training to the aspirant to the priesthood, but also to make secondary teaching cheaply accessible.

It is thus clear that the whole teaching of Catholics up to the University period is in clerical control and in great measure given by clerics. Lay teachers are employed to supplement the staff, but their position is unimportant. In effect the teaching profession in this grade is closed against the laity. Correspondingly the higher education of Irish girls is in the hands of nuns, and their establishments have not at all the degree of efficiency reached by the Jesuits.

It is in the department of secondary education that clerical control will be hardest to shake in Ireland. The Free State Government on assuming office immediately relegated the Board of Primary Education to a mere advisory capacity. Education as a whole is directed by a minister who is a layman, and under democratic government the teachers are likely to improve their position as against the managers. In the University, clerical influence is already very greatly lessened. But in the intervening stage, unless a new profession grows up, clerical control must remain. One thing is common to the whole system of secondary teaching for Catholics. Education is sold under cost price. Before the war, Clongowes, which is equipped with playing-fields, gymnasium, swimming-bath, and so forth, like a first-class English school, and has a teaching staff of the corresponding standard, charged £40 a year for a boarder. The thing was possible because some twenty able men were giving their services without pay. Diocesan schools were considerably cheaper. The result has probably been bad for Ireland: people have not learnt to make sacrifices for the education of their children: they have rather expected to be rewarded for allowing education to be given over a prolonged period. Yet

it must be allowed that during the war, when farming prospered, all the Irish schools had a great influx of pupils. When prosperity came, a good deal of the money was spent on education.

The provision for Protestant boys, though not for girls, has been to some extent endowed. Foyle College in Derry, Armagh School, and Portora at Enniskillen, educated great part of the generation that grew up a century ago: it was a Spartan upbringing. About the time of the Oxford Movement, St. Columba's College on the Dublin hills was founded and became important; while some thirty years ago a great bequest established Campbell College in Belfast, and it soon outstripped all others in numbers. Generally the history of these schools for half a century has shown that the richer Protestants send their sons by choice to English schools: yet a popular headmaster, backed by the lower cost of education, has been able to bring together a considerable body of boys. Like the Catholic schools, these also benefited by the war; chiefly perhaps because travelling to England was more expensive and never absolutely safe.

In general, the Irish Protestant public school conforms more or less to the English type; but the whole standard of living is simpler and cheaper; and on the whole, probably more work is done, though athletics have the same importance. In Catholic schools the tradition of placing much responsibility on selected boys is not observed: there is closer supervision, and a good deal less bullying. Christian names are generally used instead of surnames, and there is less attempt to pretend that boys are men. So far as outlook is concerned, the Jesuit schools were in no way aggressively nationalist and always sent a large quota to the British army and foreign services: but they were not definitely attached, as were the schools of the middle nation, to British rule. The tone of the other Catholic schools, especially in those manned

by the Christian Brothers, was pronouncedly Nationalist.

Since 1880 the actual teaching in all Irish secondary schools has been to some extent standardised by a Government measure, which set up an annual examination over the whole range of school subjects, and awarded exhibitions and prizes to the successful competitors, with proportioned fees to the colleges that had produced distinguished or qualifying pupils. All teaching was directed to securing results fees; and broadly speaking, the same subjects were taught in the same proportions all over Ireland. This standardisation no doubt somewhat lessened the divergence in spirit between Protestant and Catholic teaching: but it achieved this result largely by robbing both of individuality. There has been a growing reaction against the system, and it is unlikely to be continued in the same form.

But it is essential to note that during the whole period of intermediate education, Protestant and Catholic boys and girls, representing roughly the middle nation and the old inhabitants, pursued the same studies, but pursued them apart. What intercourse there has been, has been on the playing-fields, and this has happily increased: forty years ago Protestant schools played no matches with the Catholic institutions; now they do so everywhere.

The segregation may be regrettable; but it is little more marked than that which exists in English secondary education, at all events of the more expensive type. The difference in Ireland is, that segregation exists from the free primary schools right up to the university, so that even the professional schools of law and medicine have in effect a denominational character. Nearly every lay person in Ireland deplores this fact, but the causes of it lie far back.

Even after 1793, when Catholics were admitted to Dublin University, the preferments of the College were confined to Protestants. Thomas Moore, for

example, though a Catholic, entered as a Protestant, and so became eligible for a scholarship. Yet it may be said that it was in the University of the middle nation that he developed his Gaelic nationalism: for he was the friend of Robert Emmet, most picturesque figure among all the Anglo-Irishmen who have become rebels against English rule. As the Catholic element in Ireland gained wealth and importance, an increasing number of Catholic young men entered Trinity. But this involved their entering an atmosphere which was still definitely Protestant: and the University school of theology was a Protestant school. Over and above this, the college which was in fact the University had been designed closely on the English model: the statutes were modelled on those of Trinity College, Cambridge. It was a college of residential students, and though its standards were much more frugal than those of its English models, yet it was too costly for a poor man's purse. The Whig Government which had O'Connell's support attempted to bring university facilities within the reach of all Irishmen. In the early days of Queen Victoria there was established the Queen's University with colleges at Belfast, Cork, and Galway: and, to remove the objection to a Protestant atmosphere, no chapel was attached to any of them and no chair of theology was permitted. The institution was welcomed by the Young Ireland party, which then represented the left wing of Nationalism, and which through the writings of Davis and Duffy in the *Nation* had immensely quickened the intellectual life of Ireland. O'Connell was disposed to join in this approval: but a cry of "godless colleges," raised first by an English Tory, was taken up by members of the Irish hierarchy. At a Synod of the Irish Bishops held at Thurles in 1850, the Queen's Colleges were pronounced dangerous to faith and morals. O'Connell conformed to this finding. In consequence of this, Queen's College, Belfast, developed strongly and usefully, but only as a college for the Northern Protes-

tants, who from this period onwards grew increasingly distinct: it was not what it ought to have been, a meeting-place for the young men in Belfast who never would meet otherwise, and the opening of a career for Catholics in the one part of Ireland where they were permanently held down in a position of inferiority. The colleges in Cork and Galway continued to exist, but with no strong life. Yet they were centres. Many Protestants from Ulster, tempted by the scholarships, came down to Galway, and there for the first time mixed in Catholic society; and many Catholics, disregarding ecclesiastical disapproval, accepted the opportunity offered them. In Cork, with a larger population to draw on, an appreciable centre of culture for the older Irish stock was formed, especially under the presidency of a distinguished scholar, Dr. W. H. K. O'Sullivan, one of the pioneers in modern Irish historical research. But the number of students did not rise above four hundred. In Galway it was little over the hundred, and the academic life was oddly marooned there in its elaborate Gothic building by the banks of the Corrib. Yet many remarkable men passed through its walls, as teachers or as students. Young men with brilliant degrees like Maguire or Starkie from Trinity, or Professor Larmor from Cambridge, spent good years on its teaching staff: and one generation of students included Sir Antony (the present Lord) MacDonnell, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Frank Hugh O'Donnell (a notable free-lance of the Irish Parliamentary party), Mr. John Clancy (one of Redmond's wisest legal colleagues), and Mr. Thomas Marlowe (for many years chief editor of the *Daily Mail*).

Yet, whether in Cork or in Galway, the college remained in semi-isolation: only exceptional persons frequented it; and the university-going habit never spread, though these institutions were on the Scottish rather than the English model, and the most modest way of living was possible to their students.

It should be said in fairness to the Catholic hierarchy

that about the middle of the nineteenth century there was a very sharp propagandist movement directed against Ireland. Changes of religion were bought from starving peasants in the famine years, and this form of missionary enterprise embittered feeling. Dublin was, from the orthodox Catholics' standpoint, unprovided for; and the most narrowly orthodox of Catholics, under the guidance of Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Cullen, then Archbishop of Dublin, undertook the task of founding there by voluntary effort a Catholic University. They secured John Henry Newman for its first rector. Houses were acquired on the south side of Stephen's Green, which had belonged to wealthy and fashionable men of Grattan's time: the institution established a school of medicine and it gathered a large number of students. One of them was Mr. John Dillon, afterwards famous as a Nationalist leader.

But without consent of Parliament the University could not have the legal power to confer degrees, and the permission was refused. Gradually the whole attempt was about to flicker out when the Jesuits took charge of it, and conducted it as a college. Gladstone's attempt in 1872 to found a Catholic University having been rejected by Parliament (though in his desire to render the scheme acceptable he had denied to the University by statute all right to teach either History or Philosophy), Lord Beaconsfield, as Prime Minister, made his contribution to the solution of the problem. He founded the Royal University, an organisation which existed, not to teach but to examine for degrees: and students at University College, Dublin, were as eligible for its examinations as those from Queen's College, Belfast. It was thus possible for Catholics to graduate without risking their faith and morals in either Trinity or the Queen's Colleges: it was also possible for them to do so without attending the teaching course of any University. But it remained true that whereas Protestant Ireland, broadly speaking, the middle nation, was provided with a University

established and largely endowed by the State, in which all the phases of University life could be experienced, Catholic Ireland, the old inhabitants of the island, though a majority of the people, and paying equal taxes, had no counterpart.

In the first period of the revolution, Ireland's attention was concentrated on possession of the land. When that struggle was ended, there remained the fight for possession of political power: and the Unionist party, which sought to postpone this or defeat the aim, proposed palliatives. One of them was a suggestion, thrown out again, of a Catholic College attached to Trinity. But Trinity met it with furious opposition, and had the middle nation and all its English allies at its back. In 1906, when the Liberals came into power, pledged not to touch Home Rule, but to do the best they could for Ireland in the meantime, this scheme, suggested in Mr. Wyndham's day, was authoritatively put forward by Mr. Bryce and Sir Antony MacDonnell. It was again rejected: and it was by no means acceptable to all Catholics. At last, in 1908, Mr. Birrell, who had succeeded Mr. Bryce as Chief Secretary, brought in a Bill which made the Irish University system conform to the theological position of Ireland. Dublin University remained untouched; Queen's College, Belfast, was raised to the status of a separate University and was endowed with a moderate competence: it became automatically the University of Presbyterian Ireland. For the rest of the country there was founded the National University, with colleges at Cork, Galway, and Dublin—and power to recognise other institutions as constituent colleges. Each college became autonomous under a governing body of its own: each did its own teaching: but examinations for degrees were to be held by the authority of the University's common Senate.

So reorganised and recognised, the old colleges rapidly increased in numbers, while what had been

the Jesuits' College in Dublin outstripped Trinity in numbers. All the colleges and all the lectures were open by statute to students of any denomination. No religious test was permitted. No theological chair might be founded out of public funds. But by the choice of persons constituting the Senate and Governing Bodies, and the staff, a Catholic atmosphere was secured. There were still many distinguished non-Catholics in the professorial chairs: and the head of University College, Galway, was and still is a Protestant man of science from Ulster. But the demand was met. Ireland was provided with a University adapted to the needs of the old inhabitants of the island.

The first thing they did with it was to make a knowledge of Gaelic compulsory for entrance. The importance of this teaching must be discussed otherwhere: here, it is only needful to note the effect of this decision, which sharpened the lines of separation. If Gaelic came to be regarded as the national language, it was certainly not the language of the middle nation: and this test has acted as a barrier to keep Protestant students out from a University which is at their door in Cork and Galway, and even in Dublin offers a more modern and somewhat cheaper type of institution than Trinity.

The body appointed to frame the statutes and to make the first appointments had to operate under fear of a new breach with the clergy: its chairman, Lord Chief Baron Palles, was an ultra-devout layman, and probably much more timid than the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Walsh, who sat beside him. We appointed none but ecclesiastics to the chairs of Philosophy: and in one case at least the selection was angrily resented by the general body of students and graduates. But otherwise no account was taken of theology in making appointments, and later at Galway, when the Governing Body had to fill up a couple of chairs, Protestant candidates were chosen in preference

to Catholics, although the teaching staff at that time numbered few of the older religion. Later, again at Galway, there was a departure from this principle in one instance, to which public attention was called. But speaking generally, there has been nothing sectarian in the atmosphere of the National University or any of its three colleges. The revolution, however, in its latest phase marked it very strongly.

The University was established just before the constitutional movement to gain self-government approached success. It was fully at work as a degree-giving and teaching institution in 1912 when Mr. Asquith's Home Rule Bill was introduced. All the colleges had greatly increased in numbers; but there was as yet no tradition, no recognised type of university life: even playing-fields had not been adequately provided in Dublin, social clubs had not yet formed: the students were an aggregation, not a body. They accepted, like the whole of the older nation in Ireland, the claim for self-government, and there was agreement everywhere to give the Parliamentary party its chance, and goodwill in its chance. But the new political school of which Arthur Griffith was the prophet had many adherents among the young: Sinn Féin, rather than Parliamentarianism, was the growing creed, and it based its claim on different grounds and had a different outlook. Over and above this, was a section of earnest men who maintained the Fenian creed with its policy of complete separation, a Republican Ireland, and a belief in physical force as the true way of salvation. Mixed with them, as a source of inspiration, was the teaching of the Gaelic League. Redmond and his colleagues accepted from Parnell the inheritance of Grattan: their aim was to restore the Parliament of the middle nation, but to extend possession of it to the old inhabitants of the island, who were the majority. Gaelic teaching repudiated in effect the ideals of the middle nation and sought to get back to a much earlier Ireland.

These ideas were obscurely fermenting among the young when a movement of the middle nation, where it still remained ascendant, precipitated them into active forces. In Ulster the middle nation appealed to arms. The appeal for a rival force of Volunteers came from the National University. It was issued by Professor MacNeill, one of the scholars who had been appointed by the University Commission in the design of forming a more complete school of Celtic studies than existed anywhere else in Europe. His appeal was launched in the *Claideamh Soluis*, the official organ of the Gaelic League, of which he had long been Vice-President ; and his action violated the constitution of the League, which professed to avoid politics. But the effect was instantaneous. University College, Dublin, was the real focus of the movement which brought Ireland into armed insurrection. From 1913 onwards the life of the University became the life of political and even revolutionary clubs.

This tendency did not develop fully at first. Redmond's attempt to bring Nationalist Ireland into the war naturally found backing among the student class : and there were comparatively few university men among the body that with Pearse and McDonogh made one wing of the Easter Rising in 1916 : the other wing, under Conolly, was furnished by extremist Labour in Dublin. Yet Pearse, McDonogh, teachers and poets, and the other young poet, Joseph Plunkett, executed with them, were entirely typical figures of the movement which three years later came to a head when Mr. de Valera, a teacher of mathematics and ardent Gaelic student, was chosen first President of the Irish Republic. In the struggle against the British forces innumerable students took part with the guerilla bands : one, Kevin Barry, was executed ; and the Assembly that had to decide for or against acceptance of the Treaty was manned very largely by this class. Two of the ministers who have been most conspicuous since the Free State was constituted, Mr. O'Higgins

and Mr. Hogan, were among the first batch of undergraduates that the National University examined for its degrees; Professor MacNeill, their colleague in the Ministry, has remained a leader of the young; the Speaker of the Dail, Professor Hayes, is another of the staff of the same University.

In short, the University of the older Irish nation has beyond all doubt made itself felt as a force, but has not yet taken shape as a feature of the country. It has hardly any social existence: it is not a society in itself, it is not felt in the society of Ireland. Yet politics apart, Gaelic culture apart, it is a very considerable intellectual centre, where definitely clerical factors operate in the same field with others by no means clerical. On the side of science it is well equipped both with teachers and with apparatus: its medical school, now the most numerous in Ireland, has some men working on the most modern lines. It can never, from the nature of its constitution, become so close and homogeneous a society as Oxford and Cambridge, and their sister University in Dublin: but it will no doubt acquire a solidarity of its own, like the continental or Scottish Universities which it was planned to resemble; and it will certainly make higher education much more common among the Catholic Irish than it has been for two hundred years. So will disappear the most real inequality between the two nations, the two strata, warp and woof of the Irish people: and with this disappearance a fusion will become more possible.

Already the existence of the University brings about new contacts. Contests in athletic sports and in games between the various Irish colleges and universities have been maintained through the period of most acute disorder: intercollegiate debates held at the various centres have afforded another and different meeting-ground: and the young men have insisted, even against the wish of those in authority, that these discussions should continue. On all sides

in this grouping of Irish life there is a desire to lessen the separateness.

Queen's College, Belfast, has been throughout its history an efficient institution, but it has not yet greatly affected the life either of Ulster or of Belfast. It may rank with the newer English provincial Universities, such as that at Sheffield. Yet Belfast in becoming the seat of a Parliament acquired a character that is something more than provincial: it is the capital of Ulster, and the University of Ulster is likely to take on an individuality of its own, expressing the mind of the middle nation in its newer and more limited phase. Through the last two generations that mind has been, so far as political and social thought is concerned, too much on the defensive to produce an interesting evolution. If there is a point at which that mentality can be modified and brought more into harmony with the rest of Ireland, the University should afford it. Since provision was made to meet Catholic requirements throughout Ireland, the hierarchy have less sharply disapproved the recourse of Catholics to other colleges, and the laity have felt themselves much freer to send their sons and daughters there, since it can no longer be regarded as selling the pass. The result has been a marked rise in the percentage of Catholic students both at Belfast and in Trinity. It is more important in Belfast, for, apart from this, social contact between people of opposite religions is scarcely known in Ulster, outside the ranks of Labour. And perhaps the best-known figure in the University is Professor R. M. Henry, a Protestant Belfast man who fills with distinction the chair of Latin, but is more often mentioned as the sympathetic historian of Sinn Féin.

Whatever happens in Ireland, Belfast and the area of Ireland which increasingly centres upon Belfast are strong enough to support a University of their own and will need one as an expression of the Anglo-Irish mind in its Northern manifestation, and

as a means to frame and develop and perhaps to mellow that very individual mentality. The complete separateness and self-directing freedom of this University is a thing to rejoice over, because it will strengthen to the utmost one invaluable element in the composite structure of the Irish people. And though it does not point to any apparent unity between North and South, it will in the end, as an Ulster writer has said, " produce in the long run that inner spiritual sympathy which will always develop between Irishmen engaged upon similar tasks in their own country, and will eventually strengthen, by the very strain it puts upon them, those invisible links of character and sentiment which beneath the surface bind Irishmen together."

Up to the present, however, the University has meant less in the life of Belfast than it should, because the town, essentially one of business, has not realised the value of University training for business. The University has educated men for professions, not for business. If a man has been rich enough to send his son to the University, he has generally chosen Oxford or Cambridge : but for business, the training has been in business and from a very early age, even sixteen. The same is true of all Irish Universities ; but since in Belfast business holds a larger importance, and the professions a lesser, the thing is more regrettable.

It may be that the University College in Cork will ultimately become separate also, and seek the status of an independent university. When the University was formed, its President, Dr. Windle, expressed this desire very strongly. Most of us have felt that this ambition corresponded rather to the ambitions of Cork than its necessities : there is not anywhere in the South a type of culture so distinct at all as is that of North-east Ulster. Most of us also feel that this step should wait until the course of university development is decided in the Irish capital, where we have had since 1910 two universities in the same city—a

phenomenon which has no parallel except in Prague. A great deal must depend on the future of Trinity College, to which no Irishman can be indifferent, for it is the most splendid, the most distinguished, and the most distinctive institution in the country.

Cast in an English mould, it resembled Oxford and Cambridge and differed from them, in the same way that Anglo-Irish life resembled and differed from that of English society. Its roots were not far back in the past: no trace of the mediæval is in its buildings or its traditions: it had its beginnings in the years when the Authorised Version of the English Bible was in the making; but it scarcely stands out to the imagination till the defeat of James II had decided that for two centuries the Protestant middle nation should be masters in Ireland. Yet before the Battle of the Boyne, Swift had passed through its lecture-halls, and no man was destined to set his imprint so powerfully on the Anglo-Irish mind. He more than any other taught the colony to think of itself as a nation; and Trinity College became that nation's University. Grattan and Flood, Fitzgibbon, Lord Clare and Castlereagh, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the Emmets, all got their first training there: these, rather than the great men who went out into the wide English-speaking world, Burke, Goldsmith, Sheridan, Berkeley, represent the nation of that time. After the Union, the Irish Parliament for which the University trained them ceased to exist; but the University remained, and gained a new importance as at least one surviving centre of distinctively Irish culture. Like Oxford and Cambridge, it had the semi-monastic character of a body of men students and their teachers living together under a certain discipline within collegiate walls. But unlike them, it was in the centre of a great city: the University was only an element in the town, not its central existence: and inevitably a very much larger population of the students resided in their own homes and inevitably

their friends came to see them there. Collegiate and non-collegiate life were far less separate. For the first half of the century the teaching staff of Fellows were still at least theoretically celibate; but in the Dublin of living memory Trinity College was the centre of a number of families whose heads were members of the College common-room: and intercourse between town and gown was closer than before. Also, whereas at the English Universities fellowships were commonly held only for a term of years, the fellowship of Trinity College was an endowment for life. Again, the lawyer, or doctor, or clergyman who went out from the college to take up work in Dublin could, and as a rule did, maintain contact with the university life for years after his undergraduate career was ended. The whole place, shut in by its walls, with its residential buildings, its lecture-rooms, its chapel, its library, its gardens and cricket-field in the very heart of the city was academic in a manner that none of the non-residential universities can be; yet it was part of the city life and modified by it.

This character showed itself in the type of men it produced. The last half-century was perhaps the most brilliant and characteristic in the University's academic history. It had certain men like Ingram, Abbott, and Palmer, whose reputation lay only among the learned—though Ingram was known also universally throughout Ireland as the author of a patriotic song, "Who fears to speak of Ninety-eight," published when he was an undergraduate in the time before 1848. But three or four others, notably Tyrrell, Salmon, and Mahaffy, were conspicuous as personalities in a way that scarcely any of their contemporaries at Oxford and Cambridge approached. The contact with city life took from them much of their donnishness, and the particular mould of the university studies prevented restricted specialisation. Tyrrell was a man of letters as well as scholar: Salmon a Biblical critic as well as a mathematician, and of

European repute in both: Mahaffy, with probably the most encyclopædic learning of any modern university personage, was also courtier and man of the world; and both he and Salmon inherited much of that pungent vigour in debate which Swift bequeathed to the nation of which he was the first authentic voice. In the present day, Professor Bury, first a pupil of these men and then their equal rival, has departed to an English university: Professor L. C. Purser is perhaps known only to scholars, but among them known for the unsurpassed extent and quality of his work, and the extreme modesty of his pretensions. But the Provost, Archbishop Bernard, preserves the tradition of a learning which is not cloistered: he has been by his personality and by his activities a great part of the public life of Ireland, which Trinity has always coloured and enriched in the past.

A great part of this influence was exercised through the succession of remarkable men chosen to represent the University at Westminster. David Plunkett, Lord Rathmore, and William Gibson, Lord Ashbourne, and in a later day the present Lord Carson, with his colleague, James Campbell (now Lord Glenavy), in being spokesmen of Trinity were also spokesmen of the Anglo-Irish outside Ulster, where this interest had scarcely another elected representative. Through them, the University exercised a political influence much more directly felt than that of Oxford and Cambridge: but it was made possible because there was an undefined perception that Trinity College was something more than an academic institution: it was the expression of this element, once dominant, in the Irish race. Yet the men themselves were essential to the result: they succeeded outside of Ireland by that blending of qualities which has made the Anglo-Irish stock so extraordinarily effective in selected individuals: and they were certainly no abler than others who, living more in Ireland, as judges and leaders of the Irish Bar exercised more influence

over Irish life. Chief among them should be named Michael Morris, Lord Killanin, and Lord Justice FitzGibbon, of whom the former made part of the Anglo-Irish interest none the less though he was a Catholic and of a family which, Gael or Saxon by origin, had been in Galway from time beyond memory.

Broadly speaking, through its alumni Dublin University controlled the Irish Bar. To be member for Trinity was a sure way to judicial promotion: and nearly all at the Bar that was Protestant, together with a good deal that was Catholic, had passed through the College halls to a degree. In this way the University reached out to the Library of the Four Courts, which was the sole active centre where cultivated men of the two nations in this one people met on terms of equal and friendly intercourse. Yet even here there was the element of disparity. Just as in the University, Catholic students, of whom there were always some ten or fifteen in a hundred, had complete equality of friendship and rivalry in examination-rooms or on cricket-ground, so in this ordinary work of the Bar, Catholic and Protestant were freely engaged in every kind of encounter. But just as the University Catholics could not but be aware that the whole permanent control of the institution rested with men of the other interest, so at the Bar they saw—at least till 1906—all preferment virtually limited to the Anglo-Irish or to those of the older stock who definitely separated themselves from the ideals of their people.

Nevertheless, through the University and the Bar there was more approach to intercourse, and through intercourse to fusion between the races than anywhere else in the upper strata of Irish life. And in other respects the University was actually a force making for fusion. Broadly the atmosphere of the place was anti-Nationalist; but there was never a time when some of its best intellect among the young men was not on the side of Nationalism: and when the revolution began, one of its professor's houses made a

centre for those young men who were to take an active part in moulding the mind of Ireland. Edward Dowden was not of the Anglo-Irish party by origin, he had less by far of the Irish character in his blend than, for instance, Lord Ashbourne and Lord Carson; and he took sides even acrimoniously against the revolution. Yet he attracted the young, and at his house Douglas Hyde, founder of the Gaelic League, and Yeats (who, though not a student of Trinity, made part of the group) were constantly to be seen, and with them slightly older men, T. W. Rolleston and J. F. Taylor, leading forces in the intellectual movement of that time. There would be often also a man who unobtrusively contributed much to quicken all forces of thought, T. W. Lyster, Librarian to the National Library, which under his direction became the most popularly frequented institution of its kind that Ireland has ever known—and frequented especially by students.

Yet, looking back on those days, it is strange to realise how completely this life of young men, almost all of them eagerly Nationalist, was destitute of contact with Catholic Ireland. Old John O'Leary, the ex-Fenian, afforded a contact with it; but O'Leary was not a devout and perhaps not a practising Catholic; and he was out of sympathy with the Nationalism of the revolution. In fact, for all of us, Catholic Ireland as an active force might have been a great secret society from which we were excluded: though its all-powerful leader was the Protestant landlord, Parnell.

Now, the revolution is over. In all its phases it has affected the life of Dublin University: financially to begin with, for the College owned a great property in land, and its rents suffered with the rest. Again, when the Local Government Board shifted the control of parish and county authority from the Anglo-Irish to the Irish at large, men who applied for posts as dispensary doctors found that instead of an appointing

Board predisposed in their favour, they had one prejudiced against them. Now, all ascendancy is gone. All power, rule, and authority, including possibilities of jobbery, which the Anglo-Irish never neglected, and which no one in Ireland is ever likely to neglect, belong to the Irish at large: and Trinity College, instead of sending able and ambitious lawyers to Westminster to fight for her interests, and the Anglo-Irish interest, as things identical, now selects three members of her teaching staff and sends them to be her spokesmen in a Parliament of the Irish at large. There, since their advent, they have earned the reputation for courage, for efficiency, and for a real conception of the State's interest, and under their persuasion the Irish Government has been persuaded to add to the University's resources, which, like those of Oxford and Cambridge, have been considerably embarrassed.

Yet it is a question whether the Irish people can afford to maintain the multiplicity of higher teaching institutions with which Dublin pullulates. There are the two Universities, one partly of the residential type, the other entirely devoid of it; there are the College of Surgeons, which gives a medical qualification highly reputed, and the College of Science, whose work has been temporarily suspended because its buildings just completed were annexed as offices by the Irish Provisional Government and continue to be so used.

The problem is immensely complicated by these vested interests. Three medical schools in one city of half a million: three separate installations and laboratories for the teaching of science: two engineering schools; on the face of things this seems absurd: yet which to dispense with? how to fuse? Two facts stand out: one that fusion would be desirable in the higher interests of the national life; the other, that each of these institutions is inadequately endowed to do separately what a pooling of their resources might enable one central University to do excellently.

On the other hand, it is not yet clear that the Anglo-Irish as such, if they continue to be recognised as such, will easily find careers in the Irish Free State —especially if that State remains shorn of the Six Counties. For the past generation Trinity College has been educating a great proportion of its students with a view to careers in other countries. Yet the same is true of the Scottish Universities: and their value to Scotland is not in dispute. If Dublin University is to receive public assistance at the national expense to maintain its separate establishment, it will have to justify its value to the Irish people as a whole. That may easily come to pass. Since the establishment of the National University the number of Catholic students in Trinity has increased: the residential way of undergraduate life has great attractions and merits, the superb position of the place, the beauty of its buildings, its playing-fields at the door, all combine to draw students; and by these influxions of a new element, and effluxion of time, but most of all by disappearance of the issue which has for generations divided the Irish people, Trinity may come to be as fully national as anything in Ireland, and in its atmosphere Irish without qualification.

If that come to pass, Anglo-Irish will be a term of only historic signification: but Irish will have a somewhat different meaning. Fusion will not be simple absorption: the Anglo-Irish element is too strong: fusion must mean modification, must mean growth and change. Two cultures will have to blend, and it will be well to consider what they teach and what they are.

CHAPTER VI

THE TWO CULTURES

Up to the end of the eighteenth century, if not to the period of the great famine—which is within living memory—the two nations in Ireland were distinguished by two languages. In certain parts of the old English Pale, for instance in County Wexford, English had largely superseded Irish; but speaking generally, the old inhabitants of the island were Irish speaking. They had been reduced to the condition of a peasantry in a more servile state than that of any other in Europe, because they had no secure tenure of the land by which they lived; and the number of well-to-do Catholic shopkeepers, farmers, and middlemen (as those were called who lived by taking farms and subletting them in parcels) was comparatively very small. Their literature was a peasant literature, rich in folklore and in at least the scattered elements of epic; but they had made for themselves in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a profusion of folk-song, partly love-poems, partly satirical, but deeply stamped with a kind of allegoric nationalism. It was superficially Jacobite, but essentially Irish: the exiled chief over the water was the fairy prince, whose return would deliver the beautiful but enslaved damsel who was Ireland of the Aisling or Vision—a theme interminably repeated.

This literature was familiar in the eighteenth century to many of the Anglo-Irish landlord class who were necessarily bilingual: there is evidence in many songs that they were hospitable patrons of the needy singers who made the songs. But for the Anglo-Irish race Gaelic legend and poetry, which were the essential expression of the older Irish nation, had only interest as a curiosity. Ireland of the Anglo-Irish began to find expression of its own in Swift's writings: and these were in their essence political. Swift's was the greatest genius that ever applied itself to pamphleteering, and political satire in his hands became work of

the highest imaginative power. All that he wrote in Ireland and about Ireland, the pamphlets which servant-girls in Dublin read with delight, belonged to English literature: and the great successors of Swift in the line of Anglo-Irish writers wrote rather for England than for Ireland. Yet Sheridan's brilliant wit and the supple ease of Goldsmith's prose were marked by the country of their origin. A new phase was reached when Thomas Moore began to write his "Irish Melodies." His career marked a degree of fusion; for he belonged to the older race and the older creed, yet was educated in Trinity with the Anglo-Irish: and he met there other young men who had already transferred their allegiance wholly from England to Ireland. What he wrote first was Irish only by the turn of mind and style: his easy erotics, his versions from *Anacreon*, had no specially Irish inspiration. But he was a musician and the Irish melodies fed his imagination: he was Robert Emmet's friend, he had grown up in a Dublin that mourned for Lord Edward FitzGerald: and he at last began to put into English something of what the Irish poets had been saying for two hundred years. He wrote in a sense for the English market, as he had a practical design; but by temperament he wrote for Ireland, and the older race seized upon his expression of their ideals with a passionate devotion. Scarcely anyone has ever been so much a national poet, and the two races in Ireland were equally proud of him. There can be no doubt that his poetry, combined with O'Connell's oratory, helped to quicken the decay of Irish; for the Irish could now hear the desire of their heart spoken and sung in English.

Distinctive Anglo-Irish literature and culture may be said to begin with Moore: the culture that is not Anglo-Irish but that expresses itself through the English tongue begins with O'Connell. Moore was accepted by both races because his inspiration was only remotely political: he drew upon the picturesqueness, the plangent melancholy, the twinkling laughter,

which were part of Ireland's inheritance even in her rags. But after him, the streams divided. Miss Edgeworth, first and possibly the best of Anglo-Irish novelists, developed Ireland's peculiar humour with a sure touch that had no more exaggeration in it than Miss Austen's. Samuel Lover keyed this vein of wit up to knockabout farce: Charles Lever caught its hilarity, its physical high spirits; but before Lever was far on his long career the terribly transformed Ireland of the famine and the Encumbered Estates Act darkened all his pages. Still, very definitely, Lever belongs to the Anglo-Irish culture: the tragedy which he felt most was the tragedy of the old aristocracy driven out by the moneylender. In all his books the other race is present as a distinct people: "they," not "we": the people from whom "we" draw our retainers and our rents. Yet there is in his work a growing feeling for the old Ireland, and an immense pride in the free Ireland which the Union ended. This came to be the attitude of Irish Unionists all through the period after the Union. Nothing was so much matter of pride as to claim an ancestor who had voted against Pitt's measure: and as each successive step in the emancipation of the old Irish was accomplished, the sons and daughters of those who had most fiercely resisted it, if not the actual resisters, accepted it in retrospect. "We are all Home Rulers fifty years back" was a saying of one of this class; and of a most vehement anti-Home Ruler.

Generally the culture of the ascendancy was the ordinary English culture, modified to the conditions of Ireland. It started with the assumption that there was an ascendancy in Ireland—even though the fact would be often denied by those who in practice supported it. Any Catholic who became what was called "a loyal subject" had equal opportunities, it was said, with any Protestant Anglo-Irishman: it was at all events admitted that he ought to have. But the implication was always that the desire of Irish

Catholics for self-government was disloyal and must be resisted. There was everywhere—though, except in Ulster, with decreasing emphasis as the century advanced—inculcation of the view that the Catholic religion produced less admirable civic qualities, less efficiency, and in the last resort less wealth. This view was adapted to the spectacle of an Ireland where, broadly speaking, Protestants were prosperous and possessors, and Catholics were not. Those who held it had none the less a strongly cultivated pride in being Irish: and few of them enquired, which kind of Irish. All Protestant Irishmen were proud of the achievements of Irish soldiers in all ranks: they accepted as natural, if indeed they ever noted, the fact that Wellington, the Goughs, Sir George White, Lord Roberts, and the whole line of great captains belonged to Protestant Ireland, while the men whose valour in the ranks was equally a source of pride were for the most part of the old Irish. Yet as the century went on, the literature which Anglo-Ireland produced began to renew Moore's concentration on the cry of the purely Irish. Allingham's *Ballyshanny*, Moira O'Neill's *Songs of the Glens of Antrim*, come from Anglo-Ireland, but Ireland can accept them in common, as it accepted Moore's work. Miss Emily Lawless and Miss Barlow rendered in fiction the charm and the piety of Irish Catholic peasants: Miss Barlow was Nationalist by conviction, Miss Lawless strongly Unionist; yet it was Miss Lawless who put into verse with tremendous power the cry of exiled Irish soldiers of the eighteenth-century foreign brigades, the fierce exultation over Fontenoy—Ireland's nearest equivalent to Bannockburn—and the essential tragedy of their fate:

> "War-dogs hungry and grey,
> Gnawing a naked bone,
> Fighters in every clime
> Every cause but our own."

Finally, in so far as the Home Rule cause depended on showing that Ireland had once possessed a Parlia-

ment with very ample power, had prospered under that Parliament, and had lost that Parliament through a very squalid transaction, Lecky gave the whole weight of his candid ability and leisured learning to support these statements. Yet he voted on every occasion in Parliament against the conclusions to which, in the feeling of Nationalist Ireland, his whole work pointed. But the Anglo-Irish culture of which he was part had assumed the Union as a beneficent fact, by whatever means attained: it assumed steadily a special inaptness in the Irish for the task of governing themselves: though Lecky himself would probably have preferred to say that the racial mixture in Ireland was in proportions so dangerous that the introduction of modern parliamentary institutions must inevitably produce a disastrous explosion.

But as a rule Anglo-Irish culture did not think it necessary to justify the position of ascendancy which was asserted as a right: yet it dwelt with increasing indulgence and affection on the race with which its own was bound up. Nothing more characteristic ever came out of that culture than the series of novels and short stories by Edith Somerville and Martin Ross: and no books could speak more plainly of the loving delight which these authors had found in close life-long intercourse with the older Irish. Yet nowhere is more clearly expressed recognition that the Irish gentry, of whom and for whom they wrote, lived islanded about by a population wholly differing in outlook, having its own thoughts—which these observers strove to interpret—but above all keeping its own secrets. It is "we" and "they" throughout: yet who more than these writers have loved Ireland and the Irish?

Those who study these books will note in the latest of them, written during the last phase of the revolution, a growing preoccupation with the idea of racial fusion—which to them involves a social fusion of classes: and for them that is the difficulty. But the

possible fusion of ideals is in no way rejected by these lovers of Ireland's sport and Ireland's people, who are also, by innumerable ties of inheritance, linked to the service of the British Empire; and such a fusion of ideals has, I think, been rendered possible by at least some approach to a fusion of culture. From the time of O'Connell onward, that is from the first reaction against the Union and the attempt to merge the older Irish race into a British amalgam, Ireland's culture has been one of political controversy. O'Connell was of his time; his appeal belonged essentially to the Age of Reason and the claim for the Rights of Man, less than to the Age of History and to the Rights of Irishmen. But in order to raise the spirit in his people he had to touch their pride: and he found among them remnants of a culture long transmitted which pointed them back to a pedigree of greatness. From his day to Parnell's, if the past of Ireland was studied, it was always with a practical eye to the present: the missionary achievements of St. Patrick's successors were insisted upon less for their own sake than as constituting part of Ireland's title-deeds to freedom. Since, owing to restrictions on education, the great mass of the older inhabitants could not read or write, their culture had to be orally acquired: Ireland's national education through the English language was made from the pulpit or from the platform, and more from platform than pulpit: and it took on a rhetorical character. The new movement which came in behind O'Connell extended this impetus to the press: the *Nation* newspaper grew to be a huge force, and its collaborators showered out books of prose and verse, all having the same glorification of Ireland's past, vilification of the part played by England in Ireland, and both equally addressed to emphasise Ireland's political aspiration. Every Irish novel that was written became in greater or less degree a political pamphlet. Indeed, after her first little masterpiece of *Castle Rackrent* had been composed,

Miss Edgeworth scarcely wrote anything that did not contain some excursus on Irish political and social issues : Lever's later and less light light-hearted novels showed the same tendency. But when the novelist came out from the older Irish nation, these passages were obligatory. They marred very greatly the work of William Carleton, an Irish peasant of genius, whose work lay between the Young Ireland period and the revolution. Essentially, in all Irish literature that came from the older nation there was present the idea of a semi-forensic appeal to some public whose intellectual convictions might be changed. History was of course partisan. The most brilliant writer of the Young Ireland group, John Mitchel, had a hatred of England which as a source of inspiration became greatly more potent than his love of Ireland. Yet in the Young Ireland group the Irish Nationalist case was stated by men whose training showed at every point the influence of English literature and no other. Macaulay and Carlyle set their mark clearly on all the culture which at that period was offered to Gaelic Ireland. A different rhetoric replaced O'Connell's. The ideal was Irish, but it was expressed in English fashion, whether by Davis and Mitchel, men of Anglo-Irish stock, or by Duffy and O'Hagan, who belonged to the older strain.

On this literature, with some addition of popular ballads made in the Fenian times, and on a prodigious output of political speaking and newspaper articles, the culture of Catholic Ireland was formed, up to a point after the land war had been fully launched. Nothing else counted in the formation of Ireland's mind, except the teaching of the Catholic Church : and that also, when the land war grew fierce, was entangled with the political issue. It is hard to overstate the degree to which Ireland's culture was rhetorical, and to which the Irish mind has been affected by this direction of intelligence.

When the revolution began, in the guise of a land

war, there was a new outburst of ballad writing, speech making, and journalism, much of it having great power and intense conviction. It was the literature of a revolution, having the hot revolutionary passion, wakening emotions, sometimes generous, sometimes hateful: but it was always a literature devoted to an end outside literature: and even when the emotion was sincere it had the verbal insincerity of rhetoric. A literary reaction against this rhetorical Irish literature set in. Two men who were lads when the revolution began were the chief forces in it—Douglas Hyde and W. B. Yeats. Both preached a culture whose end was purely cultural: but one had to aim at a more concrete achievement. Hyde set out to preserve and to restore the dying Gaelic speech: and for this, organisation was necessary. Yet when he with fellow-helpers created this organisation, they made it their ideal to keep clear of politics. Yeats, who found literature in Ireland the tool or weapon of political organisations, began to make an Irish literature which should be its own end, and which, since pure literary work is very individual, would necessarily be recalcitrant to organisation. Both men were Protestants of Anglo-Irish stock; both strongly nationalist by sympathy: this gave them a central position. By origin and by associations both were far nearer to Trinity College than to the intellectual centres of Catholic Ireland: but it was chiefly in Catholic Ireland that Hyde found support for his propaganda. Trinity College looked askance at the Gaelic movement: Mahaffy, the most versatile of its intellectual chiefs, did not include a knowledge of Irish in his wide range of accomplishments and decried petulantly the value of what he had not troubled to study. The elder Nationalists too who had been brought up on the culture of a controversy conducted solely in the English tongue were not over-friendly to a movement magnifying the importance of a national possession which they had neglected: while

they turned with fury upon Yeats and his friends who disparaged the literary value of writings which older Nationalists held as sacred, from Moore's Melodies down to the rallying song "God Save Ireland." Nevertheless Hyde and Yeats, each in his own way, succeeded far beyond the limits of ordinary expectation. Each created his own centre of culture: each centre spread, and each affected the other. Yeats and those who followed him in increasing numbers learnt to find in the Irish mythology a field almost unexploited; and here they got leading not only from the Gaelic League but from another Anglo-Irish writer, trained in Trinity College. Standish James O'Grady had an influence far greater than the measure of his own finished work. Also, the poets learnt to look in Gaelic for rhythms, strange to English verse, yet, as Yeats proved, capable of delightful adaptation to it. On the other hand, the students of Gaelic literature learnt from the poets to seek in that storehouse for poetry rather than for rhetoric. Again, outside the literature of invention, Irish history began to be approached in a new and less partisan spirit. The two most laborious scholars of the Anglo-Irish school, Bagwell and Orpen, modified, indeed, little of the stiffness of their attitude, and proceeded somewhat on the assumption that nothing mattered in Irish history but the actions of the Anglo-Irish stock. Yet those who worked on the other side of the dividing line did not fail to profit by the labour of these industrious quarrymen; and perhaps the most judicial account of Irish history yet given came from a Catholic priest, Father d'Alton: while in the Trinity College circle, Cæsar Litton Falkiner, one of those who were class-mates with Douglas Hyde, showed in all his historical studies how the most controversial issues could be handled thoroughly, competently, and with generous candour. His untimely death took away one of those who was doing most to create in the historical field an Irish culture that

should be Irish without qualification of party or of race.

Another influence must be noted which was emphatically that of culture, though in another sphere, and which was almost exactly contemporary with that of Hyde and Yeats. Horace Plunkett had been preaching to Irish farmers the doctrine of agricultural co-operation, and preaching it as a necessary part of Ireland's training. Knowing the New World, he saw how vast was the pressure of competition to which small, unequipped, uneducated peasants in his own country must be exposed: and he saw that only in education lay the possibility of meeting it. He looked for helpers in the work of preaching and organising, and so came into contact, through W. B. Yeats, with one of the most remarkable persons that Ireland has produced. George Russell was then a young shop accountant, but known to some few as a mystic and poet, writing under the initial Æ. Around these two personalities there came into being a group of men and women, occupied with generous ideas and also very largely occupied with literature, who have created the economic and co-operative propaganda identified with Sir Horace Plunkett's name. This movement has been a fruitful centre of culture: it has drawn together men and women from opposite camps—one of the most notable being Father Thomas Finlay, a Jesuit, Professor of Political Economy at University College, Dublin, an admirable writer and speaker. It was a new thing in Ireland to find such a man working in close association with prominent members of the Kildare Street Club, like Lord Monteagle and Sir Nugent Everard.

Looking back on it now after forty years, I should say that the Ireland of the Free State possesses a strong central culture for which there was no equivalent in my undergraduate days. Many forces have contributed to it: first the main revolutionary movement, which, gradually bringing about the transference of property in land from a class to the people at large,

and progressively introducing self-government, broke down old barriers and gave a new impetus to the national spirit. The intellectual necessity for assimilating and taking account of the change produced was in itself a culture: and it taught the power of organisation, it stimulated men to work together. The Gaelic League brought a new element into Ireland's melting-pot, and Hyde's genial personality kept it free many years from sectional rancour: it turned the creative mind of Ireland to work on a quarry of its own. Yeats's work, as it grew more distinctively Irish in subject, had a wider interest for Ireland: while this very self-centred poet was drawn by the tendencies of the time into almost a communal working. He can claim to have directed the genius of J. M. Synge to the sources in which Synge found so fruitful inspiration. A reflex of this same impulse affected Mr. George Moore for a time; his kinsman Mr. Edward Martyn also became part of what may be called a modern Irish literary school; while Lady Gregory was Mr. Yeats's close associate in the work which established in Ireland a serious national theatre. So also at a later stage in its development were the younger dramatists St. John Ervine and Lennox Robinson. The Sinn Féin movement in its earlier and more purely intellectual phase added to the stream of ideas and writings. All these separate activities were in touch with one another, by attraction or repulsion: but Sir Horace Plunkett perhaps more than anyone else helped to create out of these a central culture. His wide sympathies drew about him a group of young men and women concerned generally for the welfare of Ireland, in which no shade of Irish thought and no Irish personality was accounted alien. As a result, Irish thought began to be taken seriously wherever there was interest in ideas, and gained dignity in the process. In 1884 an Irish play in Dublin meant one of Boucicault's melodramas; an Irish poet meant Aubrey de Vere, or T. C. Irwin, or George Savage Armstrong. In 1924, we have all the

best work of the Abbey Theatre to point to: Yeats is awarded the Nobel Prize and George Russell ranks by consent with the leading poets, while about them has grown up a school of writers possessing at least very high technical merit. Of Irish novelists in 1884, there was none to count: Lever had died, but his work still held the field. Lever does not get his due from criticism at present, but he has been at least equalled by the two ladies Edith Somerville and Martin Ross, who carried on his tradition. The work of Miss Barlow and Miss Lawless was different in kind from theirs, but not inferior; while Mr. James Stephens has by general consent one masterpiece to his credit in *The Charwoman's Daughter*, and has written much other work that stands higher than almost anything in Anglo-Irish prose. Meanwhile the Northern counties have made their own contribution to Irish literature in the Ulster Theatre, in Mr. St. John Ervine's novels and plays, and in Mr. Richard Rowley's poems—all of them works that are in the widest sense Irish, that appeal to no special section of the Irish public. No candid person can deny that there is a distinctive modern literature of Ireland; yet though there is scarcely any writer among those I have named but has revealed or declared allegiance to some political side, that literature is no longer primarily political: and even when the passion is fiercest, as in Mr. Yeats's play, *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, the theme is lifted out of the atmosphere of controversy and the work can be, and is, admired and enjoyed by countrymen of Mr. Yeats whose political views are in sharp opposition to him.

In short, literature which in the Ireland of my boyhood did little more than accentuate party cries, has become a central and uniting culture: and those other arts which by their nature stand clear of politics help to swell this force. In music, Ireland of our days has produced singers rather than composers of eminence; but there has been a marked development in the

plastic arts. Nathaniel Hone, who lived and worked to a great age, came to us from a period before 1880: he was in truth a stray product of the French Barbizon school and only under the guidance of an Irish art critic of genius, Sir Hugh Lane, did his countrymen learn to appreciate his work. The Dublin group which produced Yeats, Hyde, and Russell, gave us among painters Walter Osborne and Miss Sarah Purser, whose work at its best could hold its own in any modern exhibition. Sir William Orpen began his training under Osborne, but though he has painted Irish genre pictures and Irish landscape, yet by his career he, like Sir John Lavery, his contemporary from Belfast, belongs to British rather than to Irish art. But Mr. Jack B. Yeats, the poet's brother, is wholly and solely Irish, and with a style as individual as can be conceived: while Mr. Paul Henry has painted hardly anything but West of Ireland landscape, and has caught its essential character as no other man. His wife, Grace Henry, at moments equals him in intensity of vision and surpasses him in beauty of colour; while Mr. Keatinge, self-consciously Gaelic, has rendered notably the wild dignity and beauty of island folk in the West. Belfast can claim Paul Henry, but not his inspiration: it has, however, its own painter in Mr. William Conner, who renders the life of its streets with a force and pathos that recall Steinlen. Added to these is a notable development in arts and crafts, much of which, notably in Miss Glesson's Dun Emer industries, has looked for inspiration in the traditional Celtic design of interlaced spirals. In stained glass, Miss Purser founded a group of workers who produced glass of very original merit, notably in the work of Miss Rachel Geddes; and in another establishment Mr. Harry Clarke has perhaps even more remarkable windows. Dublin is not London or Paris; but it may be claimed with moderation that it has a culture richer and more varied than any town except London in the British Isles. And that

culture is central: it is not of any section: it is Irish, of the land, belonging to Ireland as a whole. It seems inevitable that this centralising and unifying tendency must increase, now that the controversy which divided Ireland since the Union is ended. The Union has gone: and in the country now self-governing, new lines of cleavage are already setting up new party affiliations that do not follow the old boundaries of race and religion.

In Belfast and the area which it governs, this is not so: the controversy over partition sharpens the old demarcation, Anglo-Irish of one side, old inhabitants of the other: and the culture of Belfast is terribly partisan, pervaded throughout with sectionalism. Yet even here there is change. In becoming a seat of government Belfast has altered: the interests of its life have been raised and enriched. One innovation in particular which Dublin had reason to deplore has been to Belfast's advantage. The centre of the Irish Bar and Judiciary was at the Four Courts: now both Bar and Judiciary for Northern Ireland have their seat in Belfast. A centre of fusion in Dublin has been weakened: yet the addition to Belfast of this cultured professional class must inevitably enrich and broaden the whole life of the city, and must have a healthy influence upon the growing and expanding University of the North, about which something has been already said. At present, however, the one thing in Belfast wholly free from partisanship is the Ulster Literary Theatre, a strong local growth rivalling the Dublin group, and producing by far the merriest and freest little comedies and extravanganzas that Ireland of our generation has seen. The writers who call themselves Rutherford Mayne and Gerald Macnamara are chiefly responsible for its success, by their acting, as well as by their plays; the company has no theological limitations, and its work is equally popular in Belfast and in Dublin.

There is this further to be observed. On a broad

view, the development of all this central culture in literature and the arts helps Nationalism: and the majority of those creative minds which have produced it have been actively Nationalist in sympathy. Yet in the main, each wave of the movement has been set in motion by some Anglo-Irishman. Yeats, Synge, Lady Gregory, George Russell, and Stephens: Hyde, Horace Plunkett, Mrs. J. R. Green, Hone, Qsborne, Miss Purser, Orpen, Lavery, Jack Yeats, Paul and Grace Henry—none of these come from Catholic stock: nor do Miss Lawless, Miss Barlow, Miss Somerville, or Martin Ross. In the dramatic movement one Catholic playwright, William Boyle, wrote very successful and witty comedies, while nearly all the best actors, the Fays, O'Donovan, and Sinclair, Miss Sara Allgood and her sister Máire O'Neil, are from the older race, as also the singers Denis O'Sullivan and John McCormack: and in the Gaelic League, apart from Hyde, no Anglo-Irishman has been conspicuous. Yet if Ireland's modern culture has been created for her by her own people, it has come chiefly from those of the mixed breed; and perhaps it may be all the more likely on that account to unify.

This at least is certain. When you get Irishmen brought up in the same way, doing the same work, sharing the same traditions—as, for instance, in a regiment—there is no distinguishable difference today between Protestant and Catholic. Education, tradition, and political conditions have kept them apart in the past: that is now ended. There is, broadly speaking, a great deal of difference between a Belfast man and a Dubliner: they belong to different traditions. In many ways a Belfast Protestant is more like a Belfast Catholic than like a Protestant of Dublin or Cork. Yet in Belfast Catholic and Protestants are still kept apart by tradition and are kept in different circumstances: except to some degree in the ranks of labour; for there is far more mutual understanding between the two nations at the workers'

bench than in the employer's office. Trade Unionism is in itself a democratic culture, alien to ascendancy: and it is at war even in Belfast with theological prejudice. But while Protestant ascendancy is maintained, deliberately and as such in Ulster, there cannot be fusion or unity. Neither can there be in the South if attempt is made to set up as such a Catholic ascendancy or an ascendancy based on the tradition of two separate races, one of which must be master. Fusion is the only alternative to disunion; and fusion can be most easily achieved through a blending of cultures.

All our pleasures, our predilections, and our interests —except the predilection for being top dog—tend to unite us in Ireland: yet prejudices, and even habits transmitted from dead prejudices, keep us in two camps. One of my Catholic friends used to go every winter for winter sports to Switzerland with a party most of whom were Protestants. They all lived in Dublin, but in Dublin the Catholics and Protestants never saw each other except to nod "good morning" in the street. The whole thing was automatic: there was no planned or reasoned avoidance: it simply happened so. In the future it should be less likely to happen that way.

Up to now, the most reconciling element in Irish life is the cult of the horse and his rider. North and South, the hunt and the race-meeting are equally popular with all: and there is a freemasonry of sport. It does not extend at present to social life beyond the hunting-field and the racecourse; but it exists there. Another rallying-point exists in the question, what we shall drink. Protestant and Catholic will undoubtedly combine, and have always combined, to protect the franchises of alcohol: they will undoubtedly combine also to limit those franchises. In some recent phases of temperance propaganda the Churches have worked separately yet in unison: and there is no temperance reformer who does not know that the most amazingly successful campaign

against the drink evil—of which the seriousness for Ireland can unfortunately not be disputed—was that of Father Mathew, in the days when O'Connell's power was at its height. Yet it illustrates the complexity of Irish life that this question, which in the Free State's present area cannot emphasise any old line of demarcation and may well obliterate some that exist, might have a different issue in the North. There, proposals to limit the drink traffic have already acute significance for the local Parliament: but, although the manufacture of beer and spirits is mainly in Protestant hands, the retail trade in Belfast is almost entirely left to Catholics: and the fervent teetotaller who is also a fervent Unionist incurs suspicion of wishing to be righteous at the expense of his political opponents.

Yet, on the balance, here, as in all things, the existence of self-government is likely to make for fusion. Prohibition is being seriously advocated in Ulster, and its Unionist opponents have good reason for desiring to break down that abstention from service in the Northern Parliament to which Ulster Catholics at present stand committed. They can only do so by measures of conciliation: and they will be assisted by national pressure from the urgency of another problem which links culture in a stricter sense to political life. All denominations of the clergy are uneasy about what they consider to be the irreligious tendencies of modern education: they hold strongly to the view that a religious atmosphere should be maintained in every school: there is little divergence between the views of the Catholic and the Protestant bishops, at all events, as to the means by which this must be ensured. This matter is within the control of the Northern Legislature, and abstention from that Parliament has left Ulster Catholics without any share in the decisions taken upon an Education Act which was passed in 1923. Now, proposals for its amendment are put forward: the community will be divided upon them, but the lines of division will not separate Pro-

testant from Catholic, while a very strong interest will prompt to combined action. Yet, for lack of mutual understanding and liking, for lack of general fusion, the possibilities of this action are likely at present to be greatly limited. A lesson is often plain long before it is learnt; but the lesson is there and not for the clergy only. Strong distrust of secularism is characteristic of the Irish mind generally, in the average lay citizen: but it is mixed with a growing distaste for clerical control; and both the Protestant and Catholic laity will be constrained to decide what sort of schools they really want. Up to the present, Ireland has left this to be settled by a bureaucracy of experts, working as best they could in consultation with the clergy of various denominations. The Northern Education Act has at least the merit of forcing the laity to take a hand in the work of culture for themselves, and even from the conflicts which result some idea of a common culture must be engendered.

Briefly, then, the free application of Irish thought to Irish problems with power to give effect to decisions in action must work for a blending of the two cultures which have developed along separate lines. But there is one point at which the cult of an intellectual ideal threatens danger to possibilities of fusion. The Gaelic League set before itself the aim not merely of reviving interest in the Irish language, but of inducing the country to return to a general use of Irish, and the Irish Republican party before the truce was formally committed to this aim. In its extreme form and perhaps in its logical development, this doctrine would imply that all education in Ireland should be based on a knowledge of Gaelic. Any combined attempt to force this ideal into practice would separate the two cultures decisively and would render real unity of the two nations in Ireland unattainable. It is necessary to consider the history of this question and to consider how far the Gaelic movement is a ground for hope and how far for despair.

CHAPTER VII

THE IRISH LANGUAGE AND THE GAELIC MOVEMENT

THERE can be no question of the interest which Irish possesses for students of language or of primitive literature. When St. Patrick came to the country in A.D. 432 as a missionary bishop, delegated by Rome, he found a highly literate class established at all the centres. His confession or autobiography gives no account of the Druid organisation, chiefly no doubt because he assumed that those for whom he wrote, his fellow-Romans in Britain, would be familiar with it. Neither do the Lives of Patrick, actually written down two or three centuries later, give any detail on the subject. Patrick and his successors desired to abolish even the memory of Druidism. But all the accounts presuppose knowledge of the fact that every king had his professional poet and his professional lawyers, who were no doubt part of a culture linked to the Druid religion, such as Cæsar has described in his Gallic War. Patrick in effect annexed this "clergy" or clerical class of professionally learned men: and he spread in every place where he carried his mission the use of the Roman alphabet. Before him, the Ogham script was in use; but it is clear that the literature and the laws were transmitted by elaborately trained memory, as Cæsar had noted to be the practice in Gaul.

This pre-Christian literary class was already specialised into poets and lawyers—who were also chroniclers. Literature was for use as well as for artistic pleasure. As in the Greek civilisation, so in Ireland, the earliest was epic: a blending of chronicle and mythology. It comes down to us in the shape of a highly ornate prose interspersed with poetry: but we cannot be sure when it took this shape. No manuscript of any Irish saga is earlier than the eleventh century. But the subject-matter of the earliest epic cycle is concerned with kings who lived some centuries before the dawn of written history. The institution of the High Kingship, centred at Tara, which Patrick found

existing, evidently had not come into being at the time of which these legends keep a memory; and the chief seat of power was then at Emain Macha, the fortified camp (now known as Navan Fort) just outside the city of Armagh. The main epic story is the Tain Bó Cuailgne or Cattle Raid of Cooley, which describes how the queen of Connaught with a hosting from the rest of Ireland came to carry off a famous brown bull, which was one of Ulster's glories. But Ulster then reached south to the Boyne: Cooley, which still keeps its name, is the Carlingford peninsula, running seawards from Dundalk, and is divided by Carlingford lough from modern Ulster. The chief figures of the epic are Conor MacNessa, king of Ulster; Maeve, queen of Connaught, her husband Ailill, and Maeve's lover, Fergus MacRoy, who was in voluntary exile from Emain Macha; but above all, the Achilles of the story, Cuchulain, the young hero of Ulster. A whole group of epic tales connect with this central saga: most famous among them is the Fate of the Sons of Usnach, which describes how the beautiful girl Deirdre, being brought up in secret for the bridebed of Conor MacNessa, fled with Naisi, eldest of the sons of Usnach. The story tells then how, after living long in Scotland, the sons of Usnach were persuaded to return to Emain under the guarantee of Fergus MacRoy—but against Deirdre's warning: how they were set upon and slain by Conor's orders, and how Deirdre died over her lover. This was the cause why Fergus went in anger to Connaught and fought against his king.

But the true centre of the whole cycle is Cuchulain, and there are sagas of his birth and upbringing: of his marriage: of the fight between him and his son by the witch of Skye from whom he got his warrior training; and finally of his defeat and death by the powers of magic. These lead up to, or out from, the central epic story which tells how he, single-handed, except for his charioteer, held back the host of Maeve till the rest of Ulster should have recovered from the

magic fit of weakness which fell on them periodically by a curse. And in this narrative the central episode is that of his three days' fight at the ford against his own comrade Ferdiad, who had been trained along with him at Aoife's school of heroes in Skye.

It is a part of the revolution that every educated man and woman in Ireland now has some familiarity at least with this mass of legends, whereas in my boyhood they were the possession of the technically illiterate: they still belonged exclusively to the culture of the older Ireland, and the Anglo-Irish were ignorant even of their existence. About twenty years ago I took down from the lips of an old shanachy (or storyteller) in Donegal a very powerful Irish ballad telling of the fight between Cuchulain and his son. To judge from the structure of the verse and the type of the language, this composition was four or five centuries old: the man from whose dictation I painfully transcribed it could neither read nor write, and perhaps for a century at least no progenitor of his could do either: but he was a scholar, he insisted on scrupulous fidelity to his tradition, and later, when I showed him another variant of the poem, he complained at once that someone had been tampering with the text. That was barely ten miles from the home where I spent all my boyhood: yet it never entered my imagination, nor, I think, that of the cultivated people among whom I lived, that such a phenomenon as this old illiterate lover and preserver of literature could exist. To-day everybody knows that the literature exists, and that there are such custodians of it: while the epic cycle itself has afforded subjects to every Irish writer of eminence. Yeats, Synge, Russell, James Stephens, have all drawn upon it again and again; and also not less freely on the later group of legends, less strictly classical, which in the middle ages ousted it from its pride of place in Irish tradition. James Kelly, the old shanachy of whom I have spoken (he was a very small farmer, on the mountain-side west of Letterkenny in

Donegal), thought it strange of me to press for a song about Cuchulain. He could have given me, he said, a hundred about Ossian and Finn MacCool.

This second legend-cycle differs markedly from the earlier. In it, the High King rules at Tara. Finn MacCool is the head of a body of warriors called the Fianna who are employed by the High King, Cormac Mac Art. According to Irish chronicles, Cormac flourished in the third century of our era: Connor MacNessa just before the birth of Christ. The later series is three hundred years nearer to the dawn of clear history: and chronicles give us account of the Fianna, and of the final revolt of this professional soldiery against Cormac's son, in which the Fianna were broken and destroyed at the battle of Gowran. It is probable that Cormac, who was originally king of Connaught, owed his extension of power, his capture of Tara, and his foundation of the central monarchy to a fighting organisation stronger than had been known in Ireland. This at all events is clear. The Emain Macha cycle describes the feats of chariot fighters such as those whom Cæsar met in Britain. The Fianna fought on foot—like the Gauls.

Here again there is a group of legends in the cycle: but the best known is the flight of Diarmuid and Grania, which tells how the girl chosen as a wife for Finn, old, grey, and a wizard, saw and loved Diarmuid and persuaded him to fly with her: and how the lovers roamed over Ireland, fugitive and outcast. Yet the special interest in this cycle lies in the fashion of its telling and the accent given to the whole. In the legend, Ossian, son of Finn, poet and minstrel of the Fianna, was induced by a fairy woman to go away with her until, after a year, he wearied for Ireland and insisted that he should be sent back to see Ireland once. She gave him a fairy horse, bidding him not set foot on Irish soil: and he crossed the sea and saw little puny men endeavouring to move a stone which any of the Fianna could have tossed from him. Stooping

from his horse, he swung it: but the saddle-girth broke with the strain, he fell to the ground, and at the touch of earth age came on him, and he was a crippled, powerless giant, in a land full of noises strange to him, the noise of church bells. They brought him to St. Patrick, and the saint undertook his conversion: the legends are told in dialogue by Ossian, replying to Patrick, and setting up against the Christian ideals of meekness and forgiveness, the praise of heroes and the contempt for a degenerate monkish race. In short, this group of Irish literature sets the personages of early historical tradition, the miracle-working saints, into contrast with legendary figures from a dimmer epoch, at the close of the pagan discipline which they destroyed: and it is deeply stamped with a kind of revolt against clericalism.

At what period this cycle took shape, scholarship has not yet decided. But it is certain that during the ninth and tenth centuries the Norsemen, plundering seats of learning, destroyed most of the written literature; and that after Brian's victories, when the Norsemen ceased to be a menace, Brian himself, Malachy his successor in the High Kingship, and many others set to restoring the supply of books: and Irish scholars and clerks were busy recompiling and writing down past traditions. Very many Ossianic manuscripts have come down: and they date from the eleventh century to the sixteenth.

It has to be understood that so long as the old Gaelic order lasted, literature was maintained as a distinct and endowed profession. St. Patrick, who was not Irish, was a missionary pure and simple, a Bible Christian, and it should seem a Christian statesman: but not a man of letters. Many of his successors, notably Columba, were learned. According to tradition, Columba, a youth of Royal family, eligible for the kingship of Northern Ireland, and therefore for the High Kingship, in his course of training passed a period under the tuition of one of the professional poets. It

is said that he wrote verse, and compositions ascribed to him are transmitted. The authenticity is uncertain: and in any case, if genuine, they have been modernised as Dryden rehandled Chaucer; but they are poetry of the same type as the earliest things which come down in the actual script of Irish writers: lyrics written in by professional scribes on the margin of the Latin manuscripts, to prepare which was their vocation.

Columba is famous also in Irish history as a patron of letters; he persuaded the High King, his kinsman, against suppressing the traditional order of poets, whose exactions had grown burdensome to the community. Their rights were fixed then and limited by law—in the sixth century. A poet had his assigned place and portion at banquets and he ranked high in precedence; he had his traditional dues. Neither was the study of literature left only to the professional. In the twelfth century, when St. Malachy carried out a reformation of the Church in Ireland, many of the great preferments, including even the archbishopric of Armagh, had become hereditary in certain families, and were held by laymen. But it is carefully set down that these laymen were learned. They were "clergy" in the mediæval sense: trained to appreciate and to preserve the secular literature of Ireland.

After the Norman Conquest had established an Anglo-Irish order supreme in parts of the island, the Irish culture was shaken, yet it lasted: and some of the greatest Anglo-Irish became patrons of Irish literature. At the height of the Desmond power, an Earl of Desmond was famed as a poet in Irish: in the thirteenth century, Murray O'Daly, a poet, having incurred the anger of O'Donnell in whose territory he lived, fled for hospitality to de Burgo of Clanricarde in County Galway. Definite attempts were made to rally and preserve the tradition: Lady Margaret O'Carrell at the close of the fourteenth century gave a feast at her house to "the learned of Ireland" in

general, and 2,700 persons, poets, historians, and brehons (that is, lawyers), assembled and their names and qualities were recorded by MacEgan, hereditary brehon to Lady Margaret's husband, O'Conor of Offaly. The great Earl of Kildare had as many books in Irish as in English in his library at Maynooth; and his son Silken Thomas was goaded into revolt by the incitations of the hereditary bard of the Geraldines, who accompanied him.

With the break-up of the Gaelic chieftaincies, came the ruin of all distinctively Gaelic culture. Yet even after the reign of Elizabeth, the O'Clerys, hereditary historians, were compiling the Annals of the Four Masters at the Abbey of Donegal, under the patronage of Fergal O'Gara, lord of Coolavin in Sligo: and Duald MacFirbis, last of another hereditary line, compiled his book of genealogies in Cromwell's time. The whole long transmitted organisation of professional learning in Gaelic Ireland perished: but gain came with the loss. Poets and historians alike had made a mystery of their art: they had surrounded it with difficulties to hedge it off from the layman. Verse might only be written in certain admitted metres, of very great complexity: there was a strict conventionalism of language: and in prose all relation to current speech was lost. When the professional guardians of the mystery were removed, a popular poetry and a popular prose began. Geoffry Keating, a priest of old Anglo-Norman family, wrote in the reign of Charles I his History of Ireland. He lived despised and hiding, making his way from house to house wherever old Irish manuscript chronicles were preserved: and his work was the first piece of normal modern Irish prose: he wrote in common language, and what he wrote was infinitely multiplied by copyists. At the same period there was an outburst of popular poetry, comparable to that of the Jacobite times in Scotland. Irish poets now abandoned the rigid syllabic reckoning of metre and wrote by ear. They still used assonance not

rhyme, but they approached more nearly to the effect of rhyme; and they multiplied assonance—that is, vowel rhyme—to a degree which the untrained ear simply cannot follow. The poetry was extraordinarily harmonious, and up to the middle of the eighteenth century it preserved much of the old complexity, though in new forms. The writers were very often schoolmasters, unlicensed men, smugglers of contraband learning to the Catholic population. They added more than a touch of pedantry to what was essentially a peasant literature: for the gentry of the older Ireland had sought their living over seas. The Protestant gentry, most of whom then knew Irish, were sometimes generous patrons: but it is safe to guess that they favoured the drinking songs, the lampoons, and the clever scurrilities with which this poetry abounded. Its masterpiece indeed, in this comic kind, Merriman's *Midnight Court*, is a sort of rival to Burns's *Holy Fair*, but so Aristophanic as to be hardly printable. The central inspiration, however, of the literature is lament for the enslavement of Ireland. Again and again there is the Aisling or Vision which describes a young and beautiful woman basely enslaved, for whom a princely deliverer—and here the Jacobite element enters—is foreshadowed.

Even in the eighteenth century poets were still poets by profession: they wandered from house to house like the fiddler or harper: and they paid for their entertainment or for their rebuff with poems of praise or blame. In some places, notably in County Limerick along the River Maigue near Adare, a group of well-to-do farmers took to verse writing, and manuscripts of their poems have been republished. But from the nineteenth century onward what poetry there is, is found chiefly in Connaught, the most wretched of all the provinces; and it is simpler, more artless, and for these reasons perhaps of a more accessible beauty. The old blind fiddler Raftery, whose poems Douglas Hyde collected, some from men who had known him,

seem to me worth more than any of the elaborate rhymes that Munster produced two generations earlier.

> " I am Raftery the poet
> Full of hope and love,
> Going west on my journey
> By the light of my heart."

Yet this literature looked like being the last utterance of a vanishing speech: it was at its best pure folk-song, songs of love, songs of religion: its culture, if it could be said to have a culture, was the religion that its people had held to in the darkest hour of their race: its learning, old scraps of the hedge schoolmaster's lore in which Alexander and Cæsar, Troy and Rome, jostled with the names of Irish mythology: the nearest it knew to prince or patron were the strong farmers in whose houses good drink abounded, or the gentry who might be hospitable too and bounteous, but who belonged to the Cromwellian stock.

And the political aspiration, the race's cry after liberty, now no longer found expression in the old tongue. O'Connell, who spoke Irish from his childhood in Kerry, belonged to an age that thought of Man rather than of Nations: he was a devout admirer of all English institutions at their best: he stood for the English conceptions of liberty as against the French Revolution: and he accepted the English language as the key for his country to the best culture that he knew. Definitely, he decided that the old inhabitants of the island, miserably poor, ill provided with education, handicapped in every career, could not afford to carry the further disablement of a language used only among themselves. More than that, he made English speech the vehicle of Ireland's national pleading, and in English he pleaded Ireland's case as no one had pleaded it before.

At the same time, under different inspiration, Moore, ignorant of Irish but full of the Irish melodies, recaptured in English words the spirit of Irish popular

poetry: he gave an Irish voice to the feelings of a race that had already in many regions partly lost its native Irish tongue; and his popularity was boundless.

In the generation after Moore and O'Connell, the new teachers and prophets, Davis, Mitchell, Duffy, the whole Young Ireland group, though they urged their readers to turn back to Ireland's records, though they set to work to popularise the history and flung episodes of it into vigorous ballad rhetoric, still used English as their medium. Thus even the literature of rebellion in Ireland was written and spoken and remembered in English. The Fenian movement, working chiefly in the artisan class, kept its secrets in English: the whole political propaganda that led up to Parnell's movement and Davitt's, and that engrossed the mind of Nationalist Ireland in a struggle for Ireland's actual soil, used English and nothing else. I do not think that among Parnell's chief associates, all of them men of the people, there was one who could speak Irish.

Only one man on the popular side during the second half of the nineteenth century made a struggle to save this part of Ireland's inheritance—Archbishop MacHale of Tuam. His archdiocese was and still is the most Irish-speaking region of Ireland: Tuam, though little more than a large village in aspect, despite its two cathedrals and its excellent secondary school, keeps more Irish in its streets than any other town, and in MacHale's day Irish must have been generally spoken there. The Lion of St. Jarlath's, as he was called, was a fierce champion of his people: he headed early stages of the constitutional revolt, and taught the people to use their right at the ballot box or at the hustings: and in this he had Ireland with him. But in his fight to keep alive the language he got no support. All he could do he did: it was to leave a monument, his translation of the Iliad into Irish.

At the same time scholars from the other camp in Ireland began to turn their attention to what was

perishing and lay neglected. Trinity College from its earliest days had left Irish learning severely alone, except for some interest shown by its first great scholar, Ussher, and for the piety of Bishop Bedell, one of its earliest Fellows. Bedell's object was, frankly, conversion: and Catholic Ireland has never loved those who sought to turn its people from their allegiance. But Bedell's personality vanquished all prejudice, reasoned or instinctive, and his gift to Ireland of a translation of the Bible has been always accepted with gratitude.

This was one of the earliest books printed in Irish at an Irish press. Even earlier was an Irish version of the Prayer Book, which was utilised for Scotland also—the literary language being common to both Gaelic-speaking peoples. Apart from these works of propagandist intention, Ireland had to rely on manuscript or Irish literature till the nineteenth century, save for certain books that were printed in Louvain.

It was towards the middle of the nineteenth century that a group of scholars in Trinity College, among whom Dr. James Henthorn Todd was prominent, set to reviewing the Irish manuscripts which were in the library of the University. There were still men available who preserved the ancient tradition of learning, and one of them, John O'Donovan from Cork, was employed to edit and bring out the Annals of the Four Masters. He was then employed in connection with the Ordnance Survey to digest and set in shape the topographical history of Ireland and the legends attaching to special places. This vast work remains in manuscript after more than half a century.

In the same period, Standish Hayes O'Grady, a man of very great talent and eccentric personality, applied himself to edit and translate the Ossianic literature. He was of one of the old noble families which had saved its position by becoming Protestant, and he learnt Irish probably first from a foster-mother. His work spreads over a long life from 1857, his first publication, to the close of the century.

He was essentially the great forerunner of the modern Gaelic revival: no man else did so much to quicken interest in the literature: but he was an individual scholar working in seclusion and working out of Ireland. Ireland at large would never have heard his name but for the propaganda undertaken and carried through by men who were schoolboys when the political revolution was beginning. Hyde has been already named: son of a parson in Roscommon, brought up on the shores of Lough Gara, in touch with Irish-speaking folk and having the taste and talent for languages. The most notable associate whom he found was John MacNeill, son of a strong farmer from the glens of Antrim and one of several brothers, all of whom had a distinguished career in the Royal University: MacNeill had a post as a civil servant in the library of the Four Courts. He also had grown up where Gaelic was still spoken and he had a singular aptitude for recondite information: the soul of one of the old genealogists appeared to have entered into him, but it was allied to the critical intelligence of a modern historian: and he set himself to see what lay behind the mass of extremely precise but largely incredible statement that was in the early legendary history.

Hyde was busy collecting the folk-song and folk-lore of his native Connaught: he had been also from his earliest years writing Irish poetry: and it found publication first in America, where O'Donovan Rossa, one of the leading Fenians and himself an Irish poet from Cork, was occupied on the same purposes. But the object which Hyde and MacNeill shared with a few other enthusiasts was to check the disappearance of the language where it still survived. Not less than three-quarters of a million people still spoke it in the early eighties: but these were years of great agricultural distress, and emigration was terribly rapid from the Irish-speaking parts, all of which were very poor. The Gaelic League was not actually founded till 1892: Hyde was its first president, MacNeill its

vice-president. But they had help from two men of an older generation; one of them, Dr. Sigerson, Professor of Zoology, was a man of wide scientific knowledge. His volume *Bards of the Gael and the Gall* was a series of translations in which attempt was made to reproduce in English something of the original assonantic stanza. It did much to interest the larger world in Irish poetry as an art: and it reminded them that Gall as well as Gael—that is to say, settlers as well as the native stock—had contributed largely to the literature. Dr. Sigerson, or Sigurdson, claimed for himself descent from the Danes of Fingal, the country about Dublin: and some of the best-known Irish names show this filiation. T. M. Kettle was of Fingal—his name shows its origin if you write Ketel. A Cotter—that is, Mac Otter—told me that under the Land Purchase Act he had sold land which went back to a holding in the Daneland near Cork.

The other man of the older generation was more important than Dr. Sigerson, for he may be the last writer who used Gaelic for writing with full mastery of all its riches. Father Peter O'Leary, priest of Castlelyons, near Fermoy in Cork, but south of the hills which border the Blackwater, had spoken and preached in Irish all his days: and he was a born writer. Nobody can read his *Æsop in Ireland*, even in his literal Englishing of his own Irish, without feeling that the old story has got a new and different life, racy of another soil. His volumes are many, and without the impetus of the Gaelic movement he would probably have written much less, if he wrote at all: but he has shown what the language can be in the hands of a master. I must speak here with great diffidence, having very slight knowledge of a tongue that I only acquired in middle age and never learned to use: but I read Hyde's best things, some of his lyrics, sketches, or his idylls in dialogue with lyric interspersed —*The Twisting of the Rope*, *The Tinker and the Fairy*, or the adorably tender sketch *The Lost Saint*—and

feel only the charm of the imagination mingled with the softness and suppleness of the tongue; and the same is true of things that Patrick Pearse wrote in Irish: whereas in Father O'Leary's work one cannot but be aware of the richness of vocabulary, the variety and fertility of idiom. All students, especially the continental scholars, lay emphasis on the wide range which Irish keeps where it is still in full living use. I have been at a political meeting in Connemara and heard from half a dozen speakers, good, bad, and indifferent, the usual harangue about the land question: then came a young man who spoke in both languages; but the difference was astonishing: so fresh, so vigorous, so full of salt was the unhackneyed tongue. It is unnecessary to draw on faith in this matter: the character of Irish speech is caught in Synge's dialogue. Synge lived in Aran long enough to learn Irish well and to impregnate his mind with the English that is spoken by those who think in Irish: an English which has always its peculiar vivacity and colour. "If John Redmond came into Ballina two hundred footmen with naked swords would not protect him from the people in it," said an angry peasant to me one day during some heated electioneering in Mayo. Paul Henry, who spent seven years in Achill, month in month out, painting, affirms that Synge's dialogue merely reproduces the kind of talk which was daily to be heard there.

But when all is said and done, Irish has been for more than a century only the speech of peasants, and in that period every European language has taken in a vast range of words. A Welsh meeting will discuss by the hour in Welsh the most technical questions, for instance of national insurance: my young man in Connemara would have been hard set to do that. Before the language could be made a national language in being for Ireland of the twentieth century, it would need to be largely re-equipped, at all events in vocabulary. That, however, would present no great

difficulty. There would also be need of standardisation. Owing to the fact that it has been a peasant speech with no printed literature current, dialects have grown apart. Yet even so there is very little more difference between the Munster Irish and the Donegal Irish than between the English spoken in the same regions. Certainly any educated Irish speaker from Connaught would have no difficulty in Kerry: but a Connaught-bred English speaker might be hard set to follow talk on Tyneside. Even the Gaelic of Scotland has not gone so far away but that a Donegal labourer can easily be understood and understand in it; while if they get to telling traditional stories all difficulty vanishes, for the stories are transmitted word for word in an older idiom—in something approaching to what is called Middle Irish.

It may be well to explain that certain fragments survive of what is technically called Old Irish, in glosses written by Irish scribes on manuscripts of the sixth or ninth century; and this tongue is as different from to-day's as Latin from Italian. Middle Irish, the language in use for literary purposes from the eleventh century to the break of the Gaelic order under Elizabeth, differs from modern Irish at least as widely as Chaucer's English from that of to-day: it cannot be read without special training. From Keating's time onward, the language is modern, is the spoken tongue; or as near the spoken tongue as Milton's English to ours.

The cases are not quite parallel, because Irish, an older language than English, came down in a more highly inflected form; and to this day in Munster *deanfaid*, for instance, expresses "I will do": a Connaughtman would add the personal pronoun and a generalised form of verb, saying, *deanfaidh mé*. In this ancient and modern form alike the language dispenses with auxiliary use of the verb "have." "I have got" is either *fuair mé* or *fuaireas*. It is, in short, from a philologist's point of view, a very interesting language: it is the key to a

picturesque literature; and it is an instrument fully capable, so far as idiom and structure go, of expressing whatever can be expressed. But it has been for a century and a half a dying speech, and "native speakers" of it are not more than a quarter of a million people in Ireland: those who speak no English are only a few thousand: so that in very few circumstances can a knowledge of it be actually necessary.

The view which the Gaelic League put forward was that the language constituted a national inheritance which the nation had a duty to preserve. Extremists contended even that the very existence of the nation was at stake: if a nation lost its language, it ceased to be a nation. Such tenets ignored the fact that there were two national strains in Ireland, and that, for instance, neither Grattan nor Parnell probably ever had an ancestor who spoke Irish as his mother-tongue. However, in the first ten years of its existence, the Gaelic League did its best to avoid raising such questions: it studiously kept clear of the existing party divisions and it gained recruits in all camps. At the annual gathering in Dublin, the Oireachtas or Assembly to which Teachtairi or delegates were sent from branches in the country and in Great Britain, a well-known Protestant divine was one of the chief figures. Also, the League enlisted support of many who did not care greatly about the language, but liked its revival of the traditional Irish dances and Irish games. A journal was published in Irish, and Patrick Pearse, the son of an English railway worker who had married a Connemara woman, was first generally known as its editor. There was a great output of textbooks, and allied effort led to publication of various Irish authors, chiefly the poets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Further, a vehement campaign was pushed to secure a place for Irish in the country's educational system. It was argued, justly, that in the Irish-speaking districts education should be given in Irish: more debateably, though in my opinion justly also, that

Irish should be taught in the primary and secondary schools, even to English speaking children. There were obvious difficulties and as the educational authorities resisted, the agitation grew angry. Broadly speaking, those who belonged to the old inhabitants of the island, and whose ancestors had been Gaelic speaking, were for having it taught: the Anglo-Irish nation did not share their opinion. Yet the cleavage was by no means clearly marked: many Catholics agreed with the Anglo-Irish. Emigration had become so permanent a factor in Irish life, that every Catholic parent viewed education with an eye to the possibilities of America—where Irish would be no help to anyone. Many parish priests who largely controlled education were strong in this view. On the other hand the Gaelic League, regarding America as a place where Irish nationality perished, began to treat it as a treason to Ireland to sell tickets for the United States.

The Irish National party in Parliament (where service was an inheritance, so far as Ireland was concerned), consisted mainly of oldish men and took little interest in this new movement, which nevertheless assumed formidable dimensions. Hyde went to America to raise funds for the League, and when he returned, bringing back £10,000, the streets of Dublin were crowded to receive him as they would not have been for Redmond at that date. Arthur Griffith and the new political group which was forming under his auspices naturally did their utmost to become identified with this vastly wider organisation. Yet not until 1909 was it realised how far the new propaganda had spread. When the National University was established and founded, the Gaelic League demanded that a knowledge of Irish should be made necessary for matriculation. A resolution endorsing this demand was carried at a Convention of the Irish party's own organisation, the United Irish League: although in a set debate Mr. Dillon, scarcely second in influence to Redmond, argued against it with all his power. Probably two

thousand delegates were present and probably not one in a hundred of them had learned Irish: but they had made up their minds that the next generation should not be equally ignorant. The Senate of the University was much opposed to the demand, but was forced to accept it by the attitude of Irish county councils, who declared that unless this were conceded they would strike no rate to provide scholarships.

Objection to this proposal came from some keen supporters of the Gaelic movement on the ground that the National University was designed to be national in the broadest sense, and that since no Protestant schools taught Irish nor were likely to teach it, the effect would be to limit the students to Catholics. The Gaelic League, however, held that Irish was the language of the Irish nation, and that whoever refused to admit this, repudiated his nationality. This was unhistoric, and the virtual acceptance of it made for deepening divisions. It was the more resented by those who had no Gaelic element in their ancestry, yet who had always conceived of themselves as Irish beyond question, because it was imposed by people of Gaelic stock who themselves for the most part did not know the language. But the practical effect was small, as few Protestants in any case were likely to go to the National University.

But with the advent to power of the Sinn Féin party the matter took another aspect. When in January 1919 an Irish Republic was proclaimed, and the members elected in the Sinn Féin interests met as an Irish House of Parliament—Dáil Éireann—all proceedings were formally in Irish. Mr. de Valera, the chosen President, spoke Irish fluently; of the two Vice-presidents, one was Professor MacNeill, though the other, Arthur Griffith, had never mastered the language. But the assembly, consisting for the most part of young men and young women, was able to conduct its public debates in Irish—in so far as they were purely formal. With perhaps one exception,

Mr. O'Malley, the member for Connemara, there was no man or woman who did not prefer to use English when a matter of importance had to be handled. This became apparent at a later stage, in December 1921, when the second Dáil, elected in 1920, had to debate the acceptance or rejection of the draft Treaty signed by five Irish representatives on December 6th, 1921. A great part of the proceedings was in private. But at the public sittings the bulk of the speaking, and all the speaking that had weight, was in English. Only one prominent person, Cathal Brugha (Mr. Charles Burgess), who had been Minister for Defence in Mr. de Valera's administration during the guerilla war, insisted on keeping Irish to the front in his speaking.

The Provisional Government of the Free State when it was formed, and later the regularised administration under the Irish Constitution, maintained the same attitude. It was enacted in the Constitution that Irish is the national language and that all statutes of the Parliament should be framed in Irish and in English. Oireachtas was adopted as the equivalent to Parliament, Dáil for the Commons and Seanad for the Upper House. Irish titles were invented for the Speaker and for the ministers. The question was put and answered in Irish. An agenda for the day was issued in Irish. But in practice, convenience prevailed. The habit of beginning speeches in Irish and then saying the same thing again in English began soon to be abandoned: more notably the Ministry, in issuing public proclamations, many of which involved matters of life and death, dispensed with Irish, at all events in the public prints.

But at the same time drastic steps were taken by the Ministry of Education to make the teaching of Irish universal in publicly supported schools. The Board of Education being discarded, and no contribution to schools being made from the rates, the minister had full control: and in 1922, and again in

1923, national schools were given a long holiday in summer, during which time all teachers not already qualified to teach Irish were called on to attend training courses. The secondary schools were left free in their curriculum; but the necessity of putting students through the university matriculation coerced them. Trinity College, however, remained free of this test. Yet Trinity College, like Oxford and Cambridge, was financially in difficulties, which the Land Purchase Act increased, and it became possible that Government might demand an extended recognition of Gaelic in its courses as the price for a subsidy.

Clearly Gaelic has been made a regular part of Irish education, and, so far as the Catholic part of the Irish people is concerned, with popular approval. Pressure will be exercised to induce Protestant schools to undertake the teaching of it: though it is quite possible that Ireland, while it has two Universities, may prefer to leave one free from the necessity of qualifying in Irish for matriculation. (This rule, it should be said, does not apply except to students of Irish birth.)

The serious question which lies ahead is how far the Irish Government will desire or be constrained to go towards making knowledge of Irish an obligatory qualification for posts under Government. Every step in this direction will be sharply resented by the Anglo-Irish elements, and will be regarded as a device for conferring preferment on Catholics. Hitherto, the process has gone no further than making knowledge of Irish a recommendation. But the fear is present, and in Ulster will be used as a motive for maintaining the present partition. That is the danger to national fusion which arises from this movement.

Apart from this, I at least hold that the revived study of Gaelic has been a force for good in Ireland. No language other than English was habitually taught in primary schools. At present, all children will have to learn something of a second language: and those

whose first language is Irish will be taught through that language. Forty years ago, when I was a boy, to find an educated person studying Irish was as rare as to find one learning Chinese. Now, Irish is as commonly studied in Catholic schools as French ; and it is much better taught : at the public examinations answering in French on papers of equivalent difficulty is on the average much better than in Irish. That is natural, because everywhere now there is easy access to people who actually speak the tongue, and it is taught as a tongue to be spoken. No one of sense will assert that knowing Irish gives the key to a literature in the least degree comparable to that of France. But it has a value for Irish people which French has not : it gives the key to the meaning of place-names in the country ; it explains the innumerable peculiarities of Anglo-Irish idiom ; it makes Ireland better understood and more interesting for the Irish learner. More than that, few indeed of the students from Irish secondary schools or universities come away in the least degree able to speak French : a great many have learnt really to speak Irish : and a second language enormously quickens the mind in the task of learning a third. Finally, and perhaps chiefly, it helps to develop the legitimate sense of national pride. It has, in short, a very high cultural value.

Such arguments will always have weight with those who direct education in the Irish Free State. Yet in handling this question they will have great need of statesmanship, if their main object be to succeed in fusing all Irish elements into a coherent Irish nation : and the most important thing in any culture is a generous standard of justice. That standard would, I think, forbid the attempt to make Irish indirectly obligatory for promotion in the service of the Irish State, at all events until the " middle nation " has come to join fully in the desire to revive its use.

As to making the language once again the usual speech of Ireland, it is only necessary to point to the

fact, that despite all support given to the Gaelic League, the number of Irish speakers fell from 690,000 in 1891 to 580,000 in 1911. There were in the latter year only 16,000 persons recorded as speaking Irish only; and only in one county—Galway—were more than half the population acquainted with the tongue. In Mayo the percentage was 46; in Kerry and Waterford, Clare and Donegal from 38 to 35; in Cork 23. Sligo was the only other county where it reached 20 per cent. A new census would undoubtedly show a great increase in the number able to claim knowledge: but few who know Ireland would dispute that those who use it for ordinary purposes, because it comes easier to them than English, is even now on the decline.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHURCHES

WHAT goes by the name of religion, but might be much better described, has been unhappily for many generations and down to our own day a potent force for evil in Ireland; and the historical causes are sufficiently indicated in what has been already written in these pages.

But in a very different sense Ireland has been, is, and is likely to remain, a country where religion has immense influence. Its aspect has always been Puritan. The successors of St. Patrick, those who carried on his work of evangelisation and extended far beyond Ireland's shores, sought their only splendours in an ecstasy of asceticism. Monkish scribes and craftsmen learnt in that day to ornament sacred volumes and vessels and emblems with incredibly lavish and skilled labour; the Book of Kells, the Ardagh Chalice, the Cross of Cong, are relics of a splendour thus bestowed. But there is no trace in Irish records of any lasting desire to make religion splendid, and innumerable signs of the cult of austere renunciation. St. Malachy O'Morgair, who in the twelfth century made a notable reformation, deliberately went back, though Bishop and Primate, to the ideals of primitive Irish Christianity. Yet it should also be remembered that he brought back solemnity and beauty to the services: he restored the chants: and he brought to Ireland masters in Gothic architecture under whose direction Mellifont Abbey grew to be what its ruins still permit us to guess at.

After the Norman Conquest, evolution was not normal: the English power used the bishops, whose appointments it controlled, for political agents; and despite the devotion of religious orders, especially of the Franciscans, it is clear that by the sixteenth century, religion had greatly lost its hold upon the people. When it was restored, the men who put new life into it were working at peril of their lives: and

Catholicism grew to its full strength as a proscribed cult, counting its individual martyrs, yet more truly involving the martyrdom of several generations of a whole people. If fidelity under affliction to a faith is counted for righteousness, surely the old inhabitants of Ireland can claim it.

The Church of which I am a member suffered spiritually in its origins from the fact that it was the Church of an ascendancy. From Elizabeth's day onward, in Ireland it paid to be a Protestant; and that fact denied to the religion the beauty of sacrifice. Also, the victory was finally won for Protestantism by the Puritans, and though the Irish Church in its days of prosperity preferred to celebrate the glorious, pious, and immortal memory of William III, it really took over its inheritance from Cromwell. Further, throughout the eighteenth century its official heads, Stone, Boulter, and King, were politicians as much as divines: England maintained the tradition of using them as chief instruments for government of the country, and for keeping control in English hands.

But a great gap divides the Irish Church of to-day from the organisation which existed up to 1870, the year of disestablishment. Even before that, a change had set in. It was no longer usual that the rector of a parish should be a magistrate on the bench along with the other landlords. I never knew an Irish clergyman who acted in that capacity; but memory was rife in our neighbourhood of one such, who represented the extreme type of the old school. Dr. Hastings, Rector of Kilmacrenan, lived, so to say, at the gate through which you passed from English-speaking, Protestant-settled country to wastes and mountains and long tracts of seashore, occupied almost solely by the Gael. His living was, like my father's, one of those in the gift of Trinity College; the big square, plain-built houses dotted the way north from Dublin out into the wilds: and he was not only holder of a considerable living, but wealthy in his own

right—the only rich man for miles around. It was a tradition that any traveller of good appearance, passing the bridge at Kilmacrenan, was stopped and forced to come up to the Rectory to dine: and there was probably little exaggeration in this. But it is literally true that this wealthy divine first rebuilt his own church, which sadly needed it, and then built a chapel for his Catholic neighbours. I think he added a Presbyterian meeting-house.

The Rector of Kilmacrenan now is nominated by no patron or corporation. Like every other incumbent in the disestablished Church, he is chosen by the select vestrymen of his parish, whose choice must be approved by the diocesan council, elected from the parochial nominees. And undoubtedly he is not rich by virtue of his stipend, nor likely to be so otherwise. But one thing survives from the past. Some years ago when the little old chapel had to be rebuilt and enlarged, an appeal for contributions towards the fund came to me and doubtless to many others from the Protestant rector: and at the opening service, when people came from long distances on all sides, there were many Church of Ireland worshippers and Presbyterians present, not only as evidence of goodwill, but to contribute to the collection.

That illustrates relations which have been throughout the life of this generation prevalent through Ireland. Catholics would probably not attend a Church service, but they will always accompany a funeral, by which observance of respect great store is always set in Ireland; and Protestant clergymen in other parts of the country than Donegal have told me that, for neighbourly offices, such as the loan of a cart or a hand in saving hay, Catholic farmers have often been more prompt and generous than their own parishioners. There is to-day nothing aggressive in Irish Protestantism outside the Six Counties: and even within them, in areas where contest is worst and fiercest, neighbourliness gets the better of theology. In Belfast itself

it would be held indecent to propose in public such toasts as were general, say, at the Dublin Corporation before Catholics acquired the right of entry to it.

Apart from these matters it should be noted that although the Church is properly a branch of the Church of England, it has a different accent. Everywhere in Ireland we are much nearer the eighteenth century than anywhere in England and the Church in Ireland has no hint of mediævalism. It has indeed inherited certain beautiful mediæval buildings, such as St. Canice's Cathedral at Kilkenny, St. Mary's Church at Youghal, the church of St. Nicholas at Galway; while in Dublin St. Patrick's Cathedral and Christ Church have been restored on mediæval lines. At Tuam the Protestant cathedral encloses a superb arch of pre-Norman Irish carving on red sandstone—a wonder of intricacy. But the authentic character of the Irish Church is seen in the cathedrals at Armagh or Derry, which in their decent plainness, their severe well-ordered lines, have the same stamp that is upon nine-tenths of the parish churches of Ireland. It corresponds to the services, which in a solemn dignified way avoid enthusiasm—a quality for which the eighteenth century had no taste. This is the more significant because, by its new constitution under Disestablishment, the Church is democratic: its laity can impose the tone, and they rigidly maintain the traditions of Puritanism. The cross is shunned as a symbol: there is indeed little place for symbolism in this religion of plain Bible teaching, which lies much nearer to the Presbyterian cult and has more sympathy with it than with what Irish Protestants call Romanism.

In its organisation the Irish Church takes no account of the recent political division. The primacy remains at Armagh where St. Patrick fixed it: and generally the framework is that transmitted from very early times. But there has been much closing up of dioceses: two archbishoprics, of Tuam and Cashel, have never been recognised by the reformed Church: and many of

the sees which are important in the Catholic hierarchy —notably that of Raphoe—are merely titles thrown in.

Before the pressure of circumstances caused by the war, the disestablished Church made it a point of honour to keep open all existing parish churches, although in Connaught and Munster all the parishioners could often have assembled in a cottage kitchen. The Church taxed its resources heavily to maintain this provision, but in the war, a great regrouping was planned and the number of incumbencies has been severely reduced. Yet as an institution, she is still over-equipped. Nearly three-fourths of her adherents are in the Six Counties, and these have an archbishop, three bishops, and four cathedrals. Two hundred thousand outside have the other archbishop and eleven diocesans, with thirteen cathedrals, of which two are in Dublin. The origin of this curious duplication goes far back: Christ Church was a Danish foundation; a Norman archbishop established St. Patrick's outside the walls; and it came later to be closely identified with the old Gaelic see of Glendalough in Wicklow. Both were restored with Protestant money: Christ Church by Sir Thomas Rowe, a leading whiskey distiller, St. Patrick's by Sir Benjamin Guinness, head of the brewery: and Protestant sentiment is strong for the retention of both. And if it were purposed to hand over the larger edifice of St. Patrick's to the Catholics of Ireland, it is doubtful whether the offer would be accepted. Who could exorcise the ghost of Dean Swift? and who would wish to have its hostile presence?

The withdrawal from distant parishes is an economy for the Church, but it is a loss to Ireland. Keeping the rectories inhabited meant maintaining in outlying parts some one man, and generally a family, of superior education. It would not be disputed anywhere in Ireland that the Protestant clergy extended their practical beneficence to all who would accept it. The period of systematic proselytism, sometimes pursued by ugly methods, is a memory that darkens these rela-

tions: but it is only a memory: the worst that could be said against the clergy of western parishes in my lifetime is that they had not enough to do. George Birmingham's novels have sufficiently illustrated the possibilities: but whenever a call came, these people met it. One little parson, who had been a great cricketer and remained a deadly shot at snipe, seemed perhaps more of a sportsman than a divine till an outbreak of typhus struck the mountainy parish, and there was terror, through which he ministered to the sick, taking no more account of denominations than did the disease, and he died in his ministrations.

In the parts where duties are more normal, where in fact the clergyman has a flock to tend, the rectory is always a centre of good works that have no sectional limitation: and in such homes have been bred very many of the most serviceable people that came out of Ireland. One stands out to my mind as typical: a boy who had just gone to Trinity College when the war broke out, intending to qualify there for his father's profession. Within a year he was recognised as probably the best subaltern in the first brigade that was formed of the Irish Division: the battles at the Somme left him for the moment in command of his battalion and very competently in command. But his mind was set on the same destination, and in the second year of active service he still looked forward to his future as a Protestant clergyman, till a brilliant raid which he commanded left his company without their captain.

That household had three grown sons in 1914; two were killed, the third wears an empty sleeve: but they and theirs belong to Ireland. The Irish regiments in which they served are now only memories: but the Church and the University which shaped the framework of their family continue—linked together by the strong Divinity School in Trinity, which has been always a teaching institution for which there is no equivalent in Oxford and Cambridge.

It would not have been possible to conceive the

old established Church apart from the existence of a land-owning ascendancy: the democratic disestablished Church has learnt to stand independent of that support. But without the existence of a college, having the character which is stamped on Trinity, the Church would be hardly possible. Its head to-day, Archbishop Darcy in Armagh, is a typical product of the Divinity School: having by general consent as able a brain as the best of his predecessors, erudite, a trained theologian, yet a citizen, rather than an ecclesiastic. I can remember the last examples of the old order in the Church: men of wealth, members of an aristocratic society, scholarly and devout, and having often marked literary gifts—for instance Archbishop Trench of Dublin, and Archbishop Alexander, memory of whose eloquence has hardly faded. But these were all people born to privilege: their successors, Archbishop Darcy and Archbishop Bernard, belong to a leaner life: they have won every step of their way, as surely as the Labour Minister who began with his local Trades Union. Trinity College gave them their training, their ordeal, and their chance: a life's work in Ireland had to do the rest.

These men and these institutions are a part of Ireland whose value it would be difficult to overestimate; but they are part of the Anglo-Irish Ireland, and they are too strong to accept fusion at the sacrifice of the British connection to which their own ideals attach them—as do also their ambitions for their sons. Their breed has made its mark in the world: the Lawrences and Lord Roberts are examples: and they will not go into a system which shall lessen their sons' chances. But they are strong enough also to insist that what powers are given to the community of which they form a part shall be maintained and exercised to the full.

Of the Protestant non-episcopalian bodies, Presbyterians are by far the most numerous and important, counting nearly half a million souls. They again are

organised on the basis of taking Ireland as a unit: the Moderator of their General Assembly, who is chosen yearly, was not long ago selected from Galway. But this denomination is overwhelmingly concentrated in the Six Counties, in which it considerably outnumbers the Church of Ireland; whereas in the Free State, Church of Ireland members make nearly nine-tenths of the Protestant people.

Presbyterianism in Ireland dates from the Ulster Plantation, and it has kept a strong Scottish tinge. In the eighteenth century its adherents were naturally opposed to a system of government which put them under civil disabilities, and Wolfe Tone found in the North of Ireland the germ of his movement. Broadly, up till then Presbyterianism inclined to Liberalism and Liberalism inclined to give equal rights to all citizens. When, after the recall of Fitzwilliam in 1795, and the defeat of Liberalising policy, a physical force movement replaced the constitutional one, Presbyterianism was divided: the most popular heroes and martyrs of the Northern rising were William Orr and Henry Joy M'Cracken, young Presbyterian farmers. But the events of the Wexford rebellion terrified many Protestants into accepting whatever seemed to give them most security. Castlereagh, who was originally a Presbyterian, took pains after the Union to conciliate Presbyterianism by increasing the Regium Donum, their endowment from the State. But Liberalism and Castlereagh did not see eye to eye, and there remained in the Presbyterian body a very strong element of Liberal opinion. Its leading champion was Henry Montgomery, pastor of Dunmurry, between Belfast and Lisburn, child of a household whose home and property had been destroyed by Orange yeomen after the battle of Antrim: and he signalised himself by appearing side by side with the Catholic Bishop in support of Catholic Emancipation. Yet the opposite side found a champion in Henry Cooke, who in 1827 was already noted for his

strong political sentiments, and at that moment was by reason of them set aside for the choice of a minister for a new church in Belfast. But Cooke succeeded, owing to the existence of a purely theological schism, in driving out of the Presbyterian Church the element which followed Montgomery, and with him supported the principle of tenant right. Cooke's policy was to unite Presbyterians with Episcopalians in a "Protestant union and co-operation" against the advances of "Popery" and of agrarian agitation. His gift of eloquence, and the character of his eloquence, made him a rival figure to O'Connell, whom he challenged to public debate in Belfast—a challenge which O'Connell avoided.

Up to 1880, Liberalism in Ulster maintained its ground: Disestablishment had its support and so had the Land Act of 1870. But the "Gladstonian Liberals," of whom there were many among the ablest business men of Belfast, turned away in a body when Home Rule became Gladstone's policy: and from that day onward Presbyterianism was at least as solidly opposed to the Irish policy of successive Liberal Governments as was the Church of Ireland. Yet the Montgomery tradition survives in notable instances: and there is probably no clergyman, Catholic or Protestant, who has more influence with Labour than Mr. C. Denham Osborne, pastor of a church in Dublin.

Methodists come next in order of importance to the Presbyterians: their Church had a membership of sixty thousand in 1911—about the same number as that of all the persons not classified, and is one of those main denominations. This list includes the Jews, of whom Ireland has had in the past very few; but it is noteworthy that their number has begun to increase rapidly.

The Society of Friends holds a remarkable position in the South. Many of the great business houses belong to them, and they are manufacturers as well

as traders. In all the troubles of Ireland from the eighteenth century onwards, they have been singularly immune from disturbance and devoid of partisanship. Two members of their body are in the Senate.

If both the Anglican Church and the Presbyterian Church in Ireland have a distinctive Irish character, the same is naturally much truer of that communion to which three-fourths of the Irish people belong. Converted by St. Patrick, who called himself Romanus, a Roman subject, and who wrote and thought of himself as constrained to dwell outside the Roman world, Ireland took furiously to Christianity; but the plant in its new soil grew unshaped and untended from without, owing to the break-up of the Roman world; and when the converted island became missionary in its turn and carried back the Gospel to Britain, it was, in a sense, a different Gospel. "England at a momentous period in her early history (the Synod of Whitby in 664) practically had the choice between Roman and Irish Christianity," says a learned Pole, illustrating by this parallel the religious evolution of Poland. There was no doubt something of what Mr. Dybowski calls "factious provincialism" in the type of Church that grew so strongly among the Gael. In the generation after the Synod of Whitby, Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, laboured to bring the Gaelic Christians into conformity with the Latinised Europe, on such questions as the tonsure and the date of Easter; and he was to some degree successful. But the Scandinavian wars checked all peaceful development: and by the twelfth century Ireland, though a Christian country, had fallen outside what Mr. Dybowski calls "that mediæval League of Nations which consisted of the Catholic peoples." The Irish were treated by the Normans as lying outside the pale of chivalry: their isolation was already marked by their absence from the great European movement of the Crusades. During the three centuries and a half up to the Tudor period and the Reformation, Ireland was in all its

parts a Catholic country, yet under two separate religious systems: the bishops for that part which lay within English rule being formally provided by Rome, yet in fact and practice by the Irish Government, and exclusively from men of non-Gaelic stock: while in the regions where Gaelic rule lasted, the bishops were of the older race and selected in conformity with the wish of local rulers, spiritual and temporal. But from the time when the Pope broke with Henry VIII, there began the practice of rival ecclesiastical jurisdictions. Wauchope, Bishop of St. Andrews in Scotland, was appointed by the Pope to the Archbishopric of Armagh, in opposition to the existing Primate Dowdall, who had recognised the King's supremacy in the Church.

But in the reign of Henry, neither Reformation nor Catholicism was active in Ireland. Irish Catholicism began to be what it has been in modern history from the time of Elizabeth: and the Jesuits, still under the first impulse of Loyola's zeal, were at the beginning of it. The religious history of that period has not yet been written, but it is known that much had to be done by the counter-Reformation. Irregularities, laxities, and lethargy were everywhere. But if much had to be done, much was done. When Catholicism became a proscribed creed, its martyrs were ready. They lit a flame which was not quenchable. Greed for confiscation in a harsh age spared nothing: theology was made a cloak for plunder—not in Ireland only, at that period in history, but nowhere more shamefully than in Ireland; and when the eighteenth century came, the Irish Catholics had nothing left to them but their religion, and nothing to hope while they held to it. Yet they held. It was their sole victory that they were constant in defeat. Their gentry crossed the seas to seek fortune, and their names only, as an Irish Protestant has written, came to Ireland "blown backward on the winds of fame." But the peasantry, who lived by the hearth and the land, lived through those

generations in which " the hunted priest said mass on the hillside " ; and from those generations of adversity, Irish Catholicism and the Irish priesthood keep a halo which no prosperity will wholly efface. Even those who least approve the Roman cult cannot deny the justice of its hold on Ireland's devotion.

When nothing is left to a people but its religion, priests become its leaders. Individual priests led in the Wexford rising, very much against the will of their hierarchy. But after the Union, when O'Connell sought to organise the huge mass of Irish Catholics to secure their rights as citizens, he used the framework of the Church as the cadres of his organisation. He made politicians of the priests, because in the lack of a Catholic gentry there was no other choice. Throughout the nineteenth century the priests came, in fact, to be regarded as the leading citizens. Ireland reverted to something of the old system of local chieftaincies. Bishops and priests were those who dealt with the English Government, and with whom it always preferred to deal. As the political growth of Nationalist Ireland developed, the British Government repeatedly sought to drive a wedge between the two authorities, the lay leaders and the clerics.

From the beginnings of the revolution led by Parnell and Davitt, Ireland felt that the priests were on the side of the tenants as against the landlords: but on the larger question of a claim to national self-government, opinion was never so clear. In 1798 and in 1848 the Catholic hierarchy had been loath to find itself allied with a party that looked for allies in the revolutionary movement throughout Europe. Undoubtedly also the taste for authority grows with the possession of it, among ecclesiastics or laymen: and the clergy was everywhere jealous of its authority. But once the revolution was fully launched, though Parnell was a Protestant and Davitt notoriously Fenian, member of a secret society which the Church denounced, the clergy were swept into a movement which had origin-

ated outside of their ranks. The Land League was organised by parishes, and each naturally chose a priest as its president: though very often the curate was active while his senior stood aside. In a hundred places some priest was an indispensable leader in the struggle to "keep a firm grip of the land."

Yet on the whole, the effect of the revolution was to dethrone the clergy. A member of Parliament became as important as a bishop. Hitherto when a parish had demands to make, for a pier to be built, a road to be constructed, or the like, the priest was the channel through which all went forward, and with him Dublin Castle dealt. Now, the local member took on this work and had effective means of pressing it. There was in the higher circles of the Church some distaste for Parnell; and when proposal was made to start a national subscription to clear his estate of mortgage, official disapproval was expressed. The result was to treble the rate of subscription. These slights were felt, and when the break-up of Parnell's party came, the Church turned on those who supported him. Authority was strained, and abused. One very able member of the Parnellite group owned a local newspaper: the bishop of his diocese declared it a mortal sin to buy, sell, or read a copy of it. The owner himself was for years debarred from the sacraments. This phase passed: and later Redmond, leader of the Parnellites, became leader of the whole Nationalist organisation. He, like his colleague, the newspaper owner, remained a devout Catholic: and was in close working touch with the hierarchy. But a distrust of the clerical power in politics has been general among Irish laymen throughout the present century. This was not lessened by the fact that the clerical influence contributed very largely to Redmond's personal defeat, and to that of the party which he had led.

In the later stages of the revolution the Church found itself embarrassed by the guerilla war. The

hierarchy could not agree either to condemn or to justify the action of those who, acting as the Irish Republican army, killed such persons, armed or unarmed, as they had instructions to kill. But when the Free State was launched, and an opposition in the name of the Irish Republic claimed the right to perform similar acts of war against the supporters of the Irish Free State, the Church as a body condemned the exercise of private judgment. Its logic, or lack of logic, was severely censured by Irish Republicans. Meanwhile the executive authorities of the Free State, exclusively laymen, acted without regard to ecclesiastical desires in matters where ecclesiastics had previously been consulted—notably in the entire reorganisation of education. In practice also, clerics have been excluded from the Irish Legislature. They are eligible, but have been neither nominated nor elected. In short, under self-government, the political power of the Irish clergy is less than it has been at any time since O'Connell's day. For the moment there is reason to believe that their control over individual morals has been a good deal shaken during the years of civil disorders: but that will doubtless return, at least to the point where lay opinion supports it. They will be limited more and more to the special priestly duties and will not be called upon to direct or organise the people for secular purposes. Perhaps the best evidence that this is accepted and desired by the Church itself was given in 1921 when the present Archbishop of Dublin was chosen. Dr. Byrne had never taken any part in politics. When his predecessor, Dr. Walsh, was named in 1885 by the Irish clergy as *dignissimus*, the British Government actually intervened at Rome to prevent the appointment of so prominent a Nationalist politician.

It ought to be said that through the whole revolutionary period, extending over more than forty years, during which something like a class war lasted, priests were forced by circumstances into a part that was not

clerical. The Nationalist politicians looked to them, as educated men of a superior position, to influence and guide those among whom they worked; while in matters that were not political, the fact that the landed gentry were estranged from the mass of the people by the revolution left leadership vacant. It came to be expected of a priest that he should take thought for schemes of economic development in the poorer regions. As they were looked to for political direction, so it became usual that anyone who wished to set up a local factory, to introduce lace making, to preach co-operative enterprise or the like, should first enlist the priest: or that the priest should seek out someone to bring in some such chance of wage earning. Mr. Balfour, when he established the Congested Districts Board in 1891, gave official recognition to these facts by putting two or three leading ecclesiastics on its Governing Boards: and they became its most important members. With the establishment of an Irish Parliament, the Congested Districts Board has been swept away; it is now the duty of an Irish Minister for Fisheries to see to the provision of nets and boats for the longshore fishermen and the like. But in order to understand the Ireland of yesterday, it is necessary to realise that its parochial organisation served for many purposes that were not ecclesiastical, and that its priests were in effect local chiefs as well as clergy. According to individual temper, they used, some more, some less, the powers which lay within their reach; some succeeded and many failed in enterprises that were almost wholly commercial. But in Galway, for instance, there is a prosperous woollen factory that was established wholly by the energy of an old priest, Father Peter Dooley, who was also the political leader of the city: it has employed a couple of hundred hands for a quarter of a century and earned dividends for those whom he induced to go into it. He was also a great organiser of saving banks, and—whether he spoke Irish or English—a pungent orator for teetotalism.

But the more frequent result of such activities is described by the late Canon Sheehan in one of the novels which are the best documents about the Catholic Church in Ireland for the last half-century. *My New Curate* shows us the zealous young man, whose first clerical experience had been gained on the English mission in Manchester, launched upon a South of Ireland seaboard parish. It was in the nature of the case that he should dream of establishing a fishing-station to compete with the French and Manx boats off the coast: the old priest, Father Dan, had dreamed so before him; natural also that he should try to get work for the girls by introducing sewing machines and taking a contract with a shirt factory. Both schemes went wrong, badly wrong, and over and above the loss of money, there was a talk in the parish that "the priest was making a good penny by it." Yet probably another generation must go by before such enterprises are left to people whom no one will blame for looking to make money, and who will be better trained for the making of it. Education and more normal social organisation may change the character of the people: if they do, the character of their religious life may change with it.

Education has undoubtedly altered the priesthood. Canon Sheehan describes, as within an old man's memory some twenty years ago, the "polished, studious, timid priests, who, educated in continental seminaries, introduced into Ireland all the grace and dignity and holiness, and all the dread of the secular authority, with the slight tendency to compromise, of the French clergy." Next upon this followed "the brood of Maynooth, fierce fighters for the temporal as well as the spiritual interests of their people, men of large physique and iron constitutions, who spent ten hours a day on horseback, despised French claret, loved their people and chastised them like fathers. . . . They had the classics at their fingers' ends, would roll out lines from Virgil and Horace at an after-dinner speech,

and had a profound contempt for English literature. In theology they were rigorists, too much disposed to defer absolution and to give long penances. They had a cordial dislike for new devotions, believing that Christmas and Easter Communion was quite enough for ordinary sanctity."

Behind these, at the close of the Parnellite generation, he saw "the coming generation of Irish priests, clean-cut, small of stature, keen-faced, bicycle-riding, coffee-drinking, encyclopædic young fellows," regarded with a tolerant pity by the older men, "who have as much contempt for coffee as for ceremonies."

There is this to be added. Development of Anglo-Irish literature, development of the Gaelic movement, have modified the Irish priest, giving the younger generation of whom Canon Sheehan writes intellectual interests which are shared by the educated laity in general. Yeats and Æ. will be found on the little bookshelves of many "new curates": indeed, of many priests who were new curates twenty or thirty years ago. The Irish priest used to have little in common with men of his own intellectual standard, outside of sport, politics, and the topics of a countryside. That is less true to-day. Yet the priest is still educated apart; Maynooth is a "recognised college" of the National University, but except for attendance in common at a few lectures, the Maynooth student has little contact with lay undergraduates. The wider the sphere of intellectual contact possible to him the better; for the parish priest in country places has been socially very much thrown back on himself. As a rule, he avoids going, except on duty, to the houses of his parishioners; and there is none of the district visiting which every Protestant clergyman undertakes as matter of routine. But when sociability is possible without raising jealousies, no folk in Ireland are more hospitable or sociable than the Catholic priests.

Their political power in the past has been very great, and so has their personal influence; yet both

have been habitually exaggerated. For instance, in the last years of the Home Rule struggle Mr. William O'Brien, with all the bishops and all the bulk of the priests against him, returned his followers for all the seats in County Cork, with one exception: Mr. O'Brien was of course a devout Catholic: and as it chanced the one supporter of Redmond whom he could not beat was a much-loved old Protestant gentleman. I remember also about the same period a libel action arising out of a political quarrel, taken by a veterinary surgeon against a leading priest: he obtained heavy damages, but many held that he would suffer professionally. Nothing of the sort happened, and the welcome at political meetings showed how strong public sympathy was for the successful plaintiff, and against what was felt to be an improper use of the priest's position.

In future, the priests in secular affairs will tend to rank more and more as ordinary citizens: and few, I think, wish to see them cease to take a full part in citizenship. Their real prestige is not likely to be lessened while they are the ministers of a religion which has so amazing a hold on the affections of the Irish people. I have come in to a remote chapel in Donegal and found the congregation overflowing by both doors into the open air—a sight not uncommon in Ireland—and when the young priest stood on the altar steps to preach, and the old men in their frieze stood by him, touching the very rail, it seemed not so much a religious office as some tribe council where debate was held on matters homely, yet weighty with significance. The Protestant Church, for all its bareness of ritual, has come far away from that primitive simplicity.

Another thing struck me then as never before, for all I have travelled about Ireland—the strength and the constant maintenance, through the Church, of the local bond. As the priest disrobed before the sermon, he gave out subjects for prayer: "You will

say now a Paternoster in Irish for all out of this parish who are in America," " a Paternoster and two Hail Marys for those who are in England or Scotland" (that parish is a great home of emigrant labour), " a Paternoster and three Hail Marys in Irish for the dead that are in this churchyard." And the heavy rustle of the whispered prayer would go through the crowded transepts like the noise of leaves on a summer evening —bringing the dead and the far-away very near, it seemed, to those who then called them into memory. Never at any time in Ireland have I felt so remote from England, Scotland, and all the world as there at that Catholic service—so world-wide, yet so homely.

Away from the church was a very different gathering around the post office, where men and women crowded and jostled as the postmaster read out names. Well they might look to the post, with the four or five hundred of their men away at the harvesting. It was all a part of the weekly reunion, when these mountaineers and fisherfolk gathered from many miles around have sight and speech of one another. The week centres round Sunday. The church is the meeting-point of life for a whole countryside ; and I think the rest of us, not Catholics, who care for Ireland, when we are brought face to face with the Catholic Church at such times and in such places, must feel towards it almost as if it was our own, because it is so deeply interwoven with all the life that is most Irish in Ireland.

Much has been said in dispraise of the money spent by a needy people in church building. But it is much more common to find, as in this outlying Donegal parish, a building that cannot contain its congregation, than one whose space is excessive. It is true that the characteristic ambition of every zealous priest is to leave a monument behind him in a church rebuilt, enlarged, or beautified : just as it is the ambition of every Irish Catholic wife to have a son a priest : and both may lead to neglect of what should be heeded.

Yet I can never forget the opening ceremony of the decent little church at Kilmacrenan and the figure of the old parish priest as he moved about, seeing his dream accomplished and receiving the congratulations of all who were near him : nor can I forget the wondering talk of those who told me that they had never believed that he would win through with it : so simple, so devoid of energy, so lacking in eloquence of appeal had this man seemed when he set himself to the task of gathering several thousand pounds—most of which must come, as such funds come in Ireland, from the very ends of the earth. America and Australia had to give their share if the task were to be completed : and what voice had he to reach them ?

In such cases, the priest moves no doubt after consultation with his superiors but without control by the laity : and the funds are solely his affair. To the Protestant mind it is astonishing that the Catholic Church should persistently refuse to publish any accounts. But it all fits with the system of unquestioned parental authority which is strongly maintained in Catholic Ireland.

There are other points, too, at which the opposition of view is very notable. Canon Sheehan describes the relation of the sexes as it existed in the parish where his " new curate " officiated. ". . . There was no lurid and volcanic company-keeping before marriage, and no bitter ashes of disappointment after ; but the good mother quietly said to her child, ' Mary, go to confession to-morrow, and get out your Sunday dress. You are to be married on Thursday evening.' And Mary said, ' Very well, mother,' not even asserting a faintest right to know the name of her future spouse. But then, by virtue of the great sacramental union, she stepped from the position of a child and a dependent into the regal position of queen and mistress on her own hearth. . . . Married life in Ireland has been up to now the most splendid refutation of all that the world and its gospel, the novel, preach about

marriage, and the most splendid and complete justification of the supernaturalism of the Church's dogmas and practices. . . ."

Facts are facts, and by any generally accepted test it must be allowed that the institution of marriage works better in Catholic Ireland than anywhere in Christendom; though the Irish peasant, in taking a wife, holds very frequently that there is "not the odds of a cow between any one woman and another." Yet the signs of revolt which may be found everywhere in modern Anglo-Irish literature are apparent in all that touches the relation of the sexes. A very powerful novel by Mr. Brinsley Macnamara, called *The Valley of the Squinting Windows*, depicts a parish in which a girl convicted of an illegitimate union is treated on all hands with meanness, injustice, and cruelty; and especially the priest, with whom the power lies, is cruel, mean, and unjust in his use of it.

Revolt certainly is in the air of Catholic Ireland; it is a natural consequence of the political evolution. During more than a century, Catholic Ireland was preoccupied with a struggle which was in effect the effort of Irish Catholics to secure control of their country. Thought was engrossed by this, concentrated on it: the intellectual ferment of the nineteenth century hardly touched Ireland: or if it did, all sign of it was repressed by an instinct which forbade those engaged in a struggle against odds to risk internal division. All that is comprehensively described as modernism would appear to be unknown. Forces no doubt are at work, and on the surface: a very able and much-loved professor at Maynooth came at least under suspicion of unorthodoxy, and at another time controversy might have blazed out; but politics were too engrossing. Yet in the later stages of the revolution, mutterings grew angry: and there was much grumbling against the excessive power of the priesthood. The cry for freedom was in the main one for a freer standard of moral judgments, and that is what we get

in Mr. Macnamara and in a good many other voices of rebellious Catholicism. But the challenge to Catholicism's main fortress—the revolt against Catholic dogma—has been hardly heard. Speculative minds were occupied in other directions: but now from out of the generation born during the revolution comes a book which criticism cannot ignore. Mr. Joyce's *Ulysses* arraigns no priest: it arraigns nobody: but like his earlier books it depicts Dublin, and says in effect, "This is the principal city of your Catholic Ireland." Also it pictures with dreadful intensity a Catholic soul in torment, striving to get free of beliefs that it cannot believe and yet that are twisted into its vitals, bound up with all its charities.

The book is extravagantly and insanely disgusting: but nobody taking account of modern Catholic Ireland can omit considering it: and Mr. Macnamara's work is scarcely less significant. At the end of these generations of piety, these young men see a squalid, drink-sodden Ireland, the home of mean ambitions and unworthy compliances. And if you set beside this picture the Ireland as Canon Sheehan sees it, there are elements in common. He also depicts a stagnancy, an apathy, a neglect of all that makes life alert and comely. "Nothing," says his Father Dan, "can cure the inertia of Ireland." In the later more detailed novel Luke Delmege follows the same path to the same failure. Yet the priest reaches a triumphant conclusion. "He wanted to lift them up, and lo! there they were on the summits of the eternal hills far above him. He desired to show them all the sweetness and light of life, and behold! they were already walking in the gardens of eternity! He was preaching the thrift of money to the misers of grace. Where was the use of talking about economising to a people whose daily fancies swept them abroad to regions where time was never counted? And the value of money to a race who, if parsimonious and frugal, became so through a contempt of physical comfort?"

It is certainly true that the religious ideals of Irish Catholics (so far as I have been able to observe them) are still what they were in their past history, ideals of asceticism. They are Puritans in their disregard of every trace of splendour in their church worship. Their church knows no art but eloquence. Heedless of ornament, even of cleanliness in their service, they are much more rigidly observant of fasts than those of their religion in France or in England. It is true also that their convictions run against the amassing of money in large bulk. Yet for all that, the Irish peasant saves money passionately for a purpose that he can understand. No wealth that is not expressed in land and cattle greatly appeals to him. But when Catholic Irish tenants have become owners of their lands, they have developed both thrift and the habit of spending money wisely on improvement.

Among the educated laity, I have never met the opinion that an educated Catholic either ought to be, or is, more indifferent to worldly prosperity than anybody else. And judging by those with whom I have lived and worked, sometimes on terms of close intimacy, I cannot distinguish any point in which the conduct of a gentleman is specially affected by the fact that he is a Catholic. Certainly Catholic comrades of mine, whether in political life or in the army, were as free and fearless in following their purpose, and as exacting in their standard of honour, as men of our time could be. No priest ruled them, assuredly. Yet their lives had an accent which was not that of Protestantism: and it was impossible to live with them and not feel how great a place, yet how unostentatiously, their religion held in their lives.

CHAPTER IX

INDUSTRY AND LABOUR

THE main industry of Ireland is agriculture, and its preponderance is much more marked if the Free State be considered apart from the six separated counties. Seventy per cent. of the Free State's wealth comes from this: were the estimate for all Ireland, the linen-making and shipbuilding of Belfast and the other industries which centre in Ulster would greatly alter the proportion, though agricultural products would still exceed all others in value.

About a million persons, that is to say about half the working population, are reckoned as employed in agriculture; about half of these again are actually owners of farms. The industry is, as a whole, in a backward condition. The Census of Production taken in 1908 showed a production of £46 per head of the agricultural workers against £113 for England and Wales and £109 for Scotland. But certain things have to be taken into account. First, as has been already observed, farming in Britain is a business: in Ireland it is a hereditary occupation, carried on by poor people, and it is still short of capital. In England farming is a partnership, the landlord lets farms: in Ireland he lets land, and in most cases up to 1870 he let it on a yearly tenancy. The position is thus summed up in the *Journal of the Irish Department of Agriculture* for November 1923: "The landlord provided the land. The tenant erected the buildings and made the improvements. As soon as the tenant made the farm, it became the property of the landlord." That system was ended by the Land War of 1880, and it has been replaced by a peasant proprietary: but they have not had time to accumulate wealth, and the bad traditions of the old hand-to-mouth way of living continue. Also certain consequences of the old haphazard division of land remain. With the progress of the revolution there has gone a reduction in the total number of Irish farm holdings from 690,000 in 1841

to 518,000 in 1909. In 1841, 310,000 holdings were not more than five acres. This class has now been reduced to 60,000. Yet the largest category—150,000—is still between 15 and 30 acres. That between 15 and 30 acres, however, is nearly double what it was in 1841, and proportionately four times as numerous, since the agricultural population has been halved. In that time, in short, this country of peasant proprietors has become increasingly one of holdings that will decently support a family: but there are still about a quarter of a million people living on the tiny holdings of not more than five acres, and necessarily on the verge of starvation. These bring down the average of production. The men whose farms are of a nature to give them a chance have undoubtedly greatly increased their productivity since the revolution, chiefly no doubt because they felt that every improvement of the farm and stock went direct to themselves and their heirs; but also they have been greatly assisted by the Department of Agriculture, and specially by its measures for improving the strain of all kinds of stock.

But essentially the proportion of tillage in Ireland is unhealthily low. In 1900 it was just over 20 per cent. of the cultivable land, as against 71 per cent. in Scotland and 46 in England. It is not reasonable to set this down to laziness. In 1841 the amount scheduled as barren mountain bog and waste was six and a half million acres; in 1861 it was down to four and a half. There is no more exacting form of labour than this breaking-in of land, and a glance at any Irish mountain shows cultivation carried far beyond the line where it will pay. Again, in the war, when food supply was threatened, appeal was made to the Irish farmers, assured prices were offered, and the crop area was increased within two years from 2,200,000 acres to over 3,000,000. But Irish farmers will not till unless they think it is going to pay them, and wherever there is good land, the belief prevails that

it is more profitable under grass. The result is that out of something under fifteen million acres of cultivable land, over eight million are in permanent pasture. Undoubtedly a great part of this land which is now in large prairie holdings could produce more wealth and carry more population, if distributed in holdings of fifty acres or under. The larger the farm, on the average, the smaller the proportion under tillage.

This fact, combined with the existence of a large population having holdings that they cannot live by, constitutes the main agricultural problem which the Irish Government must attempt to solve. The Congested Districts Board, in its history from 1891 onwards, did much to reduce the number of uneconomic holdings by redistribution of land: but it was never fully armed with power. The Minister for Agriculture has now been vested with authority to take up land anywhere for redistribution. He will, however, be faced with the difficulty that the people of the congested districts, especially along the seaboard, although quite ready individually to emigrate to America, are reluctant to move as families to another district in Ireland: and further that they have as a rule little competence as farmers. Offered reasonable-sized farms of fair land at a distance from their native place, they will often refuse to accept them; and if they accept may not work them profitably.

According to agricultural experts, however, this is only one phase of Ireland's great need in agriculture, which is more and better education. Experts maintain that with skill and knowledge mixed farming, that is, tillage combined with a proportion of pasture, is the most profitable: and generally that the industry must be treated on intensive lines. Co-operation has been vigorously preached by Sir Horace Plunkett's organisation, and butter is generally now manufactured under factory conditions. But co-operation for the purchase of farm requirements and for the sale of farm products can be carried much further: and it is now proposed

that the State should intervene to protect the better Irish farmers from the worse who give Irish products a bad name. A State brand for Irish butter, eggs, and the rest is advocated, with drastic penalties for anyone who attempts to obtain it for an article below the standard.

Whether this introduction of better business methods be accomplished by the State or by voluntary co-operation, it is undoubtedly much needed. According to statistics of production, an average acre of Irish land well cultivated produces a higher return for any of the crops grown in Ireland than the same area in almost any European country. If farming does not pay, the fault is not with the land, nor even with the climate. It would seem indeed at present as if the failure to ensure a return lay in lack of organising skill and energy rather than of ability in the farmer's business. A leading farmer in County Dublin recently deposed that he could only get in the market £4 10*s*. a ton for his potatoes, and that this represented an actual loss on the cost of labour, manure, and land: but that the consumer in the Dublin market was paying at the rate of over £9 a ton: in other words, that the payment for distribution exceeded the payment for production.

The present position of Irish farming is abnormal. Wages are excessively high: while rates are a much greater burden than rent used to be, because the damage of the guerilla war is being in great part levied on the localities. Yet when all allowance is made for the transient character of certain difficulties, the tendency of all Irish land to go back into grass is unmistakable, and is increasing, under self-government.

Yet it has to be remembered that those in charge of Ireland's agricultural policy have needed, and still need, to lift the community out of a veritable morass. Nothing worse could have been imagined than the conditions of Irish farming in the first half of last

century, and the amendment in the second half was very partial. There has been improvement—but under what difficulties. I would illustrate by a case that I have known all my life, a man of first-class intelligence and character tied to the labouring of a thirty-acre farm of the poorest soil. He was a reader and a thinker, and he had two advantages: his farm was purchased under the Church Act, and so there was no fear of a rise in rent. Against this has to be set that it was bought in a rising market and bought too dear. The other advantage was his father's notable skill with horses and cattle, by which he learnt. That, however, was off-set by personal failings in the father. Broadly, his history is that after half a century of toil he owns his land, and in the war actually amassed for the first time two or three hundred pounds of capital that could be spared to invest in war loan. An acre that I remember was stony moor is now a useful paddock: in the rest of the land cultivation has been carried as far as is possible. The effect on the countryside has been that this man's experiments, the result of much thought and reading, have altered the course of farming: well-to-do neighbours have followed the example which he set; and even now, competing against better machinery, better land, and available capital, he can get the best price in a market for his oats. Yet only a few years back he showed me a winnowing machine which he himself had constructed without a model from the design in some book—not having the means to purchase one. So short as that of the appliances for labour is Irish peasant agriculture at its very best.

No man with that man's farm could make more than a livelihood, and even that demands desperate industry. When the land is good and the sky clement, men take an easier way, and maintain the same standard of living with far less effort. Such workers as he might do more in their place. The shrewdest worker of land on a large scale whom I know has

carried on tillage extensively in one of the richest parts of Ireland. He says it pays. His neighbours, less educated, say it is ruinous. Their sole concern is to keep down the labour bill. Unwillingness to risk money in order to earn money is a noticeable part of the Gaelic character.

Finally, I have knowledge of a townland in the West, where all about is stony pasture covered with undergrowth and fern. This land would be pasture too, but that on it the grass cannot maintain itself. The townland is divided into a dozen holdings of about a hundred acres, worked each of them by a family employing one hired man, who lives as a member of the family. All these people are well-to-do, almost rich by peasant standards. If their land were under ranches, it would employ from two to three herdsmen and would carry probably not so many cattle and sheep as at present, while there would be no horses on it, nor pigs, nor poultry.

There is no doubt which method of exploitation the public interest prefers; but it is a question how to force its adoption. Some have recommended a sharp tax on all permanent pasture: others, either bounties on corn or a protective system. Ireland can grow its own wheat, but while it can buy meal made from Canadian corn at the same price as Irish, it prefers and will prefer it. The Irish farmer cannot hope to live by providing bread unless he is given a great advantage in the home market.

Bread is an immensely more important article in Irish diet than half a century ago: before the famine it was scarcely used by the peasants. They lived then on potatoes—a very bad staple food, but very cheap. To-day the poorest use chiefly bread and tea. Meat in the shape of coarse, cheap bacon will now be found in all but the poorest cottages; fresh meat, even with the comparatively well-to-do, probably only for Christmas. But flour is the main essential: and except in a few districts it is not home-grown

flour or meal. Neither is the bacon home-grown: Ireland manufactures expensive bacon, very lightly cured, for the English market, and eats Canadian.

There is one limitation to the continuous spread of pasture. Everybody who has a piece of land, big or little, grows some potatoes, and the total value of this crop for Ireland greatly exceeds that of any other: but its failure no longer spells famine. Complete failure indeed is now prevented by spraying the crop with chemicals, and this precaution is most carefully employed where the growers are poorest and most dependent on its yield. Yet it is nowhere of the same life-and-death importance as before: and as a rule potatoes are grown in reasonably manured ground, cultivated with reasonably modern implements. The yield of this crop per acre has, according to the agricultural statistics, increased by over 50 per cent. on the average; that class of cultivation is disappearing which meant putting potatoes by spade labour year after year into the same ground.

On the whole, Irish farming, the country's main business, has passed within living memory from the most primitive methods to something like a modern industry. But it cannot be called a really prosperous industry, such as it is in Denmark; and it does not in any considerable degree lead up, as it should, to other industries, not agricultural, which would naturally spring up where there is good modern farming.

Farm work touches modern manufacturing industry most nearly at the creamery, where cream is separated from milk and made into butter by steam-driven machinery. But this is a rudimentary stage of production. There was in Limerick an important establishment for the production of condensed milk and other articles whose manufacture has only become possible by modern appliances; but it has fallen into difficulties, and was not of Irish origin. Except for this, Ireland has developed very few of the industries naturally connected with agriculture. She exports

her cattle on the hoof. Attempts to organise a trade in dead meat have not succeeded. Tanning, which employed much labour on the hides, is now very little done in Ireland.

Wool, which up to the close of the eighteenth century was an important product, largely manufactured at home, is now, in the main, exported raw. There are woollen factories of some note at Cork, and at Athlone, manufacturing very good tweeds; and smaller ones at Galway, Kilkenny, and Kilmacthomas in County Waterford, at Lucan near Dublin, at Convoy in County Donegal, and other places. But the persons employed by textile industry altogether scarcely exceed ten thousand in the whole Free State.

Development of transport facilities killed the old trade in salt beef which was a great Irish industry up to the close of the Peninsular War. England preferred to import beef fresh. But the trade in bacon continued, and as transit quickened it was possible to get more lightly cured bacon on to the English market. There are now some twenty factories, chiefly in the South of Ireland, the largest at Limerick and Waterford, and they may employ in all some 2,000 hands. But the development of this directly subsidiary industry is far less than it might be, considering the proximity of the English market, because the Danes, with superior application of industrial intelligence, beat Ireland in this trade, as they do also in the making and marketing of butter.

Milling is increasingly concentrated in a few centres: and these mills are chiefly producing flour from imported grain. A few small mills grind local grain, but this trade has little more national importance than that of the local shoemaker. It is subsidiary to agriculture, but only in a very small way: the farming population, except in the limestone district of County Galway and some other parts, use only imported flour, and the grain which they grow is mainly oats to be fed to animals.

The sole important industry directly fed by Irish agriculture outside of Ulster is the production of beer and whiskey. Good or bad, this trade has helped to retard the process of converting Ireland from tillage to pasture. That change became marked with the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1847, since which period the area under wheat has fallen by 90 per cent. (in other words, wheat growing has almost ceased); that under oats has, roughly speaking, been halved, while that under barley has fallen little more than a quarter. Brewing is carried on in many Irish towns and there are important centres of it at Cork and Dundalk; but as far back as 1900 the firm of Guinness was manufacturing two-thirds of the beer produced in Ireland and the proportion is undoubtedly greater nowadays. It is not an industry which employs very many hands; taxation apart, the cost of labour is relatively a small part of the cost of manufacturing beer: that is to say, that a great part of the value is created by purely agricultural labour in the production of the raw material, most of which is barley. Industrially, labour has gained by the ascendancy which one great establishment has reached: the Guinness firm employs several thousand hands under such conditions that their men have never gone on strike.

The manufacture of whiskey uses, according to estimate, about a third of the total yield of Irish barley and a considerable quantity of Irish oats. It is in the hands of many firms and is not specially localised anywhere, but the bulk of it is done in Dublin and Belfast.

Politically, these industries have a great importance, because a great proportion of Irish revenue is levied by taxes on alcohol. Since Ireland not only exports but imports a very great deal of both beer and whiskey, it can readily be argued that if a protective system were adopted, the Irish trade in liquor could benefit very appreciably without proportionate loss to the revenue.

Another industry which has the same class of importance is the preparation of tobacco. By much the largest factory has been that of Messrs. Gallaher in Belfast. Within the Free State's present area there are considerable firms manufacturing pipe tobacco and cigarettes in Dublin, Dundalk, and in Cork. In this industry a degree of protection exists; since manufactured tobacco and cigarettes imported from outside the Free State pay a higher duty than that which is charged to the Irish manufacturer on taking his tobacco direct from bond. An immediate result has been the establishment in the Free State of branches of great British manufacturing firms.

The Irish tobacco trade has a certain connection with Irish agriculture, because much tobacco was grown in Ireland up to 1830, when the cultivation was suppressed by law. Within the past twenty years it has been revived experimentally, and there is no doubt that the plant will grow more easily than, for instance, in Flanders, owing to the rarity of frost and harsh winds in spring. Yet since Irish tobacco cannot be cured without artificial heat it can never be produced so cheaply as in lands where sun drying is possible. Irish agriculturists, however, plead strongly for a State policy which should aim at developing the cultivation of this crop by a preferential system of duties. It is a crop which employs much labour and employs that labour in the slack months of the winter; it is useful in rotation, and it makes considerable demands on the farmer's skill and intelligence; and it can be produced successfully on a great variety of Irish soils. For the present, however, the tobacco industry in Ireland is essentially one which employs labour to fabricate a raw material grown outside of Ireland. Yet it has possibilities of great development, because it is a raw material which Ireland can produce for itself.

In every Irish town of any importance there are small local industries subordinate to agriculture,

growths from the artisan's shop: carriage builders, and (nowadays), motor repairers, and cycle works. There is only one place where something larger has grown from this. At Wexford Messrs. Pearse employ a large number of hands in the production of agricultural machinery, which sells not only throughout Ireland, but on the Continent.

Dublin had a good many of the more highly skilled crafts, such as gunsmiths, saddlemakers, and carriage builders of the better type. Nearly all this has disappeared with the general weakening of Irish industrial life. Only one luxury trade survives, the beautiful poplin making in which Dublin still keeps its ascendancy. A very large biscuit factory, that of Messrs. Jacobs, is one of the chief sources of employment in the Irish capital: but its work, like that of the tobacco factories, is of a nature that does not make large demands on the worker's skill or intelligence and consequently can never offer more than a bare living wage.

It is in truth only in the six northern counties that we find high-power development of modern industry, and that principally in the Belfast area. The staple trade is linen, and this links up the life of the province, for flax-growing is still an important element in northern agriculture. Ulster grows about one-fifth of the flax used in her linen trade: there is practically none of this crop outside the province.

The history of the linen industry is curious and significant. From the earliest times of which there is any record or tradition Ireland grew flax, and spun thread and wove linen, for Irish use. But it also grew, spun, and wove wool: and when manufacture for export began, it was her woollen fabrics that were demanded on the Continent. From the opening of the seventeenth century onward, England was in full control of the whole island and saw with dislike the growth of competition to what was then her own chief industry, the woollen trade. Strafford, anxious to get revenue out of a country which was not then profitable to the

English exchequer, yet unwilling to foster rival commerce, began the policy of promoting the linen manufacture. In the reign of Charles I and in that of Charles II public money was spent on importing skilled linen workers from the Low Countries to improve the industry. But in the same period the woollen manufacture had, says Mr. D. A. Chart in an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, January 1924, on the Industrial History of Ulster, "progressed to such a degree that the attitude of the English industrial leaders had passed from mere watchful jealousy to an active and relentless hostility." Mr. Chart, who writes from an Ulster standpoint, observes that in Ireland as in England industrial development came first in the South. The woollen trade was not one in which Ulster had any large part; and when William III gave an undertaking to discourage the woollen manufacture and encourage the linen in Ireland, the effect of the discouragement was felt chiefly outside the northern province. Moreover, when William in fulfilment of his promise encouraged the Huguenot refugee Crommelin to settle in Ireland for the purpose of extending and improving the linen industry, it was at Lisburn near Belfast that Crommelin fixed his works. From this date onwards, the South, which had led in manufacture, began to be outstripped by the North.

The encouragement of linen weaving was not in any way limited to Ulster. Under Charles II the Duke of Ormonde settled Brabant workers in the parts of Ireland where his own interests lay—at Chapelizod near Dublin and at Carrick-on-Suir in Waterford. But the Scots were already a strong body in the North-east, and linen manufacture had developed early in Scotland. Mr. Chart is probably right in thinking that Crommelin settled where he had the largest nucleus of linen workers to draw on, and applied himself not so much to introduce the industry as to improve it. Yet when the Irish Linen Board was established in 1711 with power to spend considerable sums yearly on grants and

premiums, its seat was fixed in Dublin. None the less, the trade continued to develop in Ulster and in Ulster only: and its development was associated with the rise of Belfast.

From the twelfth century onwards, Carrickfergus on Belfast Lough had been a great stronghold of English power: Belfast was scarcely a name: but gradually a village grew at the crossing-place of the Lagan river, where it reaches the tideway: it became a market to which the weavers brought in their rolls of unbleached web, and in 1754 a Brown Linen Hall was built there. The town had in 1757 only 8,000 inhabitants. While the woollen trade was being slowly killed out, linen industry multiplied and Belfast gained importance: in 1783 a White Linen Hall, or mart for the finished fabric, was established to avoid the necessity of carrying all the stuff to Dublin. About the same time the town became a port. Up till then Carrickfergus, built on a rocky projection, had been the harbour for the North-east: but it had poor shelter and confined space, while at Belfast there was the channel of the Lagan. This was, however, only a muddy and shallow creek. If port there was to be, it must be made; and it was made.

But the decisive fact in Ulster's history did not come till much later. When steam power began to be applied, it was used first in Ireland for cotton spinning. Belfast led in this, but there was strong competition in the area about Dublin. The Irish Parliament, having from 1780 onwards power to protect its industries, used it, and cotton spinning rapidly grew till it rivalled the linen trade, which throughout all this time was woven everywhere in the homes of peasants, on hand looms. The development of cotton-mills was no way confined to Ulster. After the Union, when the remnant of protective duties was withdrawn in 1820 by the British Parliament, Manchester undersold the Irish cotton-firms. The linen industry did not suffer from this competition,

but was from other reasons in grave distress; after the Napoleonic Wars the purchasing power of Europe lessened, and demand for this costly product declined. But in 1828 the burning of a cotton-mill in Belfast induced its proprietors, the Mulhollands, to venture on a cheaper production of linen by machinery. So began what is now the York Street Spinning Company, the biggest concern of its kind in the world. Yet the industry was at first only in part brought under factory conditions. Weaving by machinery only began in Ulster twenty years later. The introduction of the spinning mills had raised the population of Belfast from 30,000 in 1816 to 100,000 in 1851: by 1881, after the industrialisation was complete, Belfast had 208,000 people: since then it has doubled.

Meanwhile effects of this process had been felt elsewhere. Spinning in cottages was at an end, and a great deal of female labour was thrown out of employment. But at Derry an enterprise of making up the linen into shirts and collars was launched, and so from 1840 onwards began the main industry of the second city in Ulster. But whereas the linen industry is now altogether conducted in great factories—except for a handful of damask weavers who still make on hand looms a fabric that no machine can equal—the shirt making is very largely done in cottages by women who work at home with machines leased out to them. It would be rash to say that this home work is a blessing to the North-west of Ireland. Workers earn a pittance by it at the cost of health. And from its lowest development to its highest, the linen trade remembers its beginnings when people had to work or starve. It has put bread into the mouths of workers, it has found places at looms for vast multitudes of women, and through it many wages can go into one house. It employs in its various phases—apart from shirt making—nearly 70,000 hands. But it has been essentially an industry of low-paid labour. However one may admire the keen industry of Belfast

linen lords, their power of organisation, and their enterprise in keeping their machinery on the highest known level, it is impossible to regard this industry with entire satisfaction. Belfast's title to pride lies elsewhere, and it is of quite modern origin.

In 1846, as increasing trade and population demanded more harbour accommodation, the Harbour Commissioners decided to cut a new straight channel. The works involved reclamation of slob and what was called the Queen's Island was set aside as a site for a shipyard. The first venturers failed, but their manager, Edward Harland, took it over: in 1862 he associated with him as partner another quite young man named Wolff, his chief draughtsman. So began the most famous of shipbuilding firms. They had to import all their material, unlike their competitors on the Clyde who had coal and iron at their door: they won simply by superior brains. Neither man was Irish, but their labour was in the main local, and it was highly paid and highly efficient. The industry grew the more easily because it fitted in with the linen trade, which gave work to the women while the men earned in the yards.

Workman & Clark's yard came later, and though much the smaller, it was employing about 12,000 hands in 1917. (The total employed in shipbuilding, even now in a period of depression, is 34,000.) Daily, the shifts of labour were like the mobilising of an army division: huge lines of tramcars stood ready to carry away the workers; and every worker had the right to feel himself part maker of one of the world's masterpieces. Belfast could see the greatest and most perfect steamships growing in a harbour that was, with all its appurtenances, the creation of Belfast enterprise.

Over and above this, there are fifty Belfast firms, employing 11,000 hands, engaged in engineering and iron founding. The biggest twine and rope factory in the world is there also, and this trade employs 3,000 persons. There are also important tobacco factories, of

which Gallaher's is said to be the largest in any country.

In the war, Belfast had a period of immense prosperity. Its linen was needed for aeroplanes, its ships to repair the submarine havoc. A much larger percentage of Catholics than ever before came into the shipyards, for a very large number of shipyard men enlisted. After the armistice, shipbuilding was busier than ever, and though men came back from the army, there was room for all, and there was at that period more comradeship of labour in Belfast than at any time within memory. For one thing, the Ulster Division and the other Irish formations had fraternised in the trenches: for another, there was a general determination to change the status of the workers. In the beginning of 1919 there was a general strike in Belfast, and the chairman of the Strike Committee was a Catholic. It has been often said that before then in a conflict the theological division, coinciding with the political, made it always possible to break up the solidarity of Belfast labour. This time labour stood together—the cry was "To hell with the man that names religion"—and won very great concessions as to pay. These have been transient, yet Belfast retains as high rates of wages as are paid across the channel. But the concessions as to hours were more important. Before then, men have said, a workman might have good wages but no life. He could not go to a theatre of an evening and get up at five o'clock in the morning. He began to be able to enjoy life when his work did not start till nine. Employers have admitted that the hours of employment before then were inhumanly severe.

Since then, the later phases of the Irish Revolution have broken up the workers' solidarity. When the conflict that raged through Southern Ireland began to make itself felt in the North, all Catholics, even to the man who was chairman of the Strike Committee in 1919, were driven out of the shipyards and out of many factories. The principles of trade unionism went by the board: it is no wonder, for so did the

rudiments of civilisation in a savage war between two factions. Nothing so horrible happened elsewhere in Ireland even in those years; the worst elements in the crowd were let loose and each side could with some justice argue that the other was mainly responsible. It would serve no useful purpose to recall the episodes; but this has to be noted. It was essentially a strife in which the labouring classes, divided by denominations, rent and tore each other.

Nobody in Belfast wants to talk of those times; there has been appeasement, though the embers are still hot, and the Catholic workmen in large numbers are back at their places. But the labour aspect of this trouble has to be stated. Depression hit the linen trade hard as soon as the war contracts ceased. As after Napoleon's times, so in 1919 and onwards, linen was too costly for most buyers. There was an acute crisis in Belfast's staple trade from which the recovery has been very gradual. Then slackness spread to the shipyards, and men who had been in the war began to grumble when they saw employment continued to those who had taken no part in the war and had only got work when the war created it. This grumbling became inflamed when there was discussion in the workshops of what was happening in the South of Ireland. Once the trouble started, nobody enquired into any man's record: they simply asked his religion. There were endless injustices, even from the most extreme Protestant point of view. An artisan whom I had good cause to know, returned to his work in a spinning mill after gaining his commission in the field. The mill was forced to pay off hands, as half its machinery was standing idle; and he had to go. He was offered work elsewhere, but then learnt that the men would not allow him to be employed because he was a Catholic.

So long as workers are fighting for work in Belfast, feelings are not likely to become normal, nor will the inherent decency of trade unionism get a chance to

make itself felt. Yet in Belfast and the Belfast area trade unionism is very much what it is in Great Britain. It is led by people who understand thoroughly the conditions of their industry: and it is not a new thing. Throughout the organisation there is diffused some knowledge of what the industry can afford to pay; and when wages have dropped in Great Britain there has been a corresponding drop in Belfast.

Elsewhere in Ireland the labour problem wears a different face. Individual craftsmen, or small combinations of craftsmen, earned a decent wage: but till some fifteen years ago all labour outside of Ulster was terribly low paid. The highest wage paid to an agricultural labourer was in County Down, and that was only equal to the lowest wage paid in the remotest corner of Scotland. Generally labour in the South of Ireland was so ill paid as to be necessarily inefficient, and so inefficient as to be necessarily ill paid.

Then a remarkable labour leader, Mr. Larkin, finding no effective organisations in the trades singly, attempted the plan of uniting all into one vast union, called the Transport Workers. About Dublin at least he succeeded in obtaining notable and necessary increases. Then in the autumn of 1913 came a great trial of strength between him and the employers. After five months the issue was fought to a finish, for the time: the strike was crushed, the dispute was not settled.

As a rule Irish labour was much worse paid than corresponding work in Great Britain. In the wartime wage-regulations made for Britain were applied automatically to Ireland: wages rose prodigiously. After the armistice, when the scale of pay began to drop in England with the fall of prices, there was war in Ireland. Many industries could not go on by reason of lack of transport. Those which could go on dare not attempt to revise wages in the general disorder. Broadly, the position is now that whereas before the war wages were lower in the rest

of Ireland than in Belfast and in Belfast than in the corresponding trades of Great Britain, Belfast is now on a level with Britain, but Free State wages stand at a much higher rate. In August 1923, for instance, dock-labour in Dublin was insisting on a pound a week above the Liverpool rate. The result has been the closing down of many industries—notably in Dublin the shipbuilding firm—and an endless series of strikes. There is little evidence that the labour leaders can control the men whom they represent or that the body of the workers understand when a demand is impossible. In short, trade unionism in Southern Ireland is much closer to what is called Bolshevism than in Ulster. Labour is less educated in its own economics.

The attempt to make all employed persons act together in mutual support has almost completely broken down. Strikes are sectional. Yet the fact that almost any branch of industry may call on its men to lay down its tools because there is a dispute in a wholly different form of employment makes for unrest.

The fact remains, however, that the firm of Guinness have been able to avoid strikes: and the branch of Ford's works established in Cork also holds an effective weapon in the threat to close down what is the best-paid work in Ireland, even though Cork has had a larger experience of strikes than any other Irish town. Apart from these cases, Irish employers have not been successful in maintaining good relations with labour, and the fault is probably not only on one side.

For Southern Ireland, the acutest phase of the labour problem concerns the land. The best type of farming cannot be produced by a man depending only on the labour of his own family: and it is a grave question what wage the farmer can pay and earn a profit. On the answer to that hangs the decision whether tillage must continue to decline.

It is strange that this chapter need take little account of sea-going pursuits. Ireland, admirably placed for seafaring, has never used her position. There is ship-

building in Ireland, but extraordinarily little ship-owning. On certain parts of the coast, County Down, County Wexford, and notably West Cork, there is a strong seafaring tradition. Also from these centres and from Dublin work the small fishing-fleets of which Ireland can boast. But while the Irish waters are, and have been always, worked by the fishing-craft of many nations, the Irish-owned boats stick to their own seas. Long-distance fishing over long cruises demands better appliances, more capital, and more enterprise than this industry has yet produced in Ireland. The total yield of sea fisheries to Ireland is not more than that of her inland waters—that is, of her salmon and trout. And with so great a coast-line in proportion to her size, and such profusion of natural harbours for small craft, she imports a large proportion of her fish from East Anglia. This neglect of her natural advantages has always existed : there must be something racial in it : and it is not likely to be cured.

Finally, the worst feature of Ireland's industrial position is the very high percentage of the people engaged in non-productive employment. The number in domestic service is proportionately much larger than in Great Britain ; and very many of these are in the very numerous small shops. It is a country of many little huckstering businesses which cannot afford to sell cheaply because their turnover is insufficient, and which protect themselves against the results of their own inefficiency by combination to keep up prices. Agriculture does not pay, because, for instance, potatoes only fetch £4 10*s.* a ton in the market, and because wages are very high : wages must be very high because the working man has to pay at the rate of £9 a ton for his potatoes. All shops are charging too high a profit, and very few shopkeepers are really amassing because the work of distribution is done without trained skill or adequate capital. Those who produce wealth in Ireland have to support an inordinate number of the inefficient and are handicapped by the effort.

CHAPTER X

THE IRISH FREE STATE

IT could serve no useful purpose to recapitulate here the series of events by which the Free State came into being, nor the actual happenings of the time since December 1921. I have traced these things elsewhere. Here, it should suffice to explain the conditions and limitations under which that part of the Irish people which is included in the Twenty-six Counties has begun its career as an independent self-governing community, a member of the British commonwealth of free nations.

From the beginning of the European war to the establishment of the Provisional Government under Michael Collins in February 1922, Ireland was increasingly controlled by underground associations, which were linked with one definitely secret society. The main nucleus of these organisations lay in the Irish Volunteers, founded in October 1913 as an opposition to the Ulster Volunteer Force. The Volunteers were a perfectly open organisation: and from April 1914 onwards they had the public support of Redmond and the whole constitutional party. Six weeks after the outbreak of war, they split, the bulk of them supporting Redmond's course of action. About thirty thousand, according to figures supplied by the British Government, from this body joined the British army. The section which definitely broke away from Redmond, led by Patrick Pearse, Professor MacNeill, and others, numbered about 12,000. But this included the most active members of the organisation left in Ireland: the pick of Redmond's following had gone to the European war.

Sinn Féin, an open organisation, political, not military, supported this section, who retained the name of the Irish Volunteers: those who adhered to Redmond calling themselves the National Volunteers. But there was also very ardent support given to the Irish Volunteers by the I.R.B. (Irish Republican Brotherhood) or Fenian organisation, which was a

secret, oath-bound society. Pearse, who never belonged to the Sinn Féin organisation, was a leading Fenian.

After the suppression of the Easter Rising, in 1916, the main overt activity was that of Sinn Féin, which from 1917 onwards began to win seats at parliamentary elections. But its most active agents were men who had been prominent in the physical-force movement—whether as Irish Volunteers or as I.R.B. The first Sinn Féin member returned to Parliament was Count Plunkett, two of whose sons had been in the rebellion, one being executed. After July 1917, the political prisoners being amnestied, leaders in the Dublin rising were put forward whenever a seat became vacant. Mr. de Valera was the first chosen; then came Mr. Cosgrave. Sinn Féin was increasingly identified with the party of physical force.

The decisive event came in April 1918, when conscription was enforced by statute. Ireland as a whole prepared to resist it, and though the directing committee was composed in equal numbers of the Parliamentary leaders and Sinn Féin, the whole task of organising the country and collecting funds was carried out through the Volunteers. A quarter of a million was raised. When conscription was abandoned, Sinn Féin and the Volunteers got the credit of having defeated it. The general election of November 1918 completely dismissed the old constitutional party from representation of any seat outside Ulster, except that held by Captain Redmond in Waterford city. Sinn Féin was now fully identified with Republicanism, and when the seventy-four elected Sinn Féin members met for the first time in the Mansion House as Dáil Eireann in January 1919, an Irish Republic was formed, and an Irish ministry set up: which included a Minister of Defence, Cathal Brugha (Charles Burgess). Under his direction the Irish Volunteers, with new elements added, were organised as the Irish Republican Army or "I.R.A."

Up till the autumn of 1919 the Irish Republic issued

decrees and the British Government took no notice of them. Sinn Féin remained the overt organisation of a majority of the Irish people. It was defined by Mr. de Valera as being "a kind of civil army to carry out the orders of the Dáil Cabinet." Ireland's attitude towards British rule was to be "that of the Belgian people to the German army of occupation." Passive resistance was the order of the day. This was the official policy of Sinn Féin, as laid down by its leader, Mr. Griffith. But it did not stop at that. In May 1919 three or four men with revolvers rescued a prisoner from his armed escort in a train by opening fire suddenly on the escort, two of whom they killed. Similar cases multiplied. Many condemned these acts, but no bystander attempted to interfere and no evidence could be obtained, though one district inspector was shot down in a crowded street. Police barracks were surprised and raided for arms: so were posts of soldiers. Early in September a dramatic onslaught was made on a party of some twenty soldiers going to church at Fermoy by a dozen gunmen in motor-cars. The raid succeeded, twenty rifles were captured, a soldier was shot dead, and the attackers got clear away. Government's response was to proclaim Sinn Féin as an illegal organisation and Dáil Eireann as a dangerous association. Thus the whole movement was driven underground. Henceforward the decrees of Dáil Eireann were issued secretly, and whoever disregarded them knew that he was risking penalties from a widespread and ruthless secret society. Sympathy in general was against the British Government: it was not regarded by the mass of the people as having any moral authority. But those who condemned the methods taken to fight it were kept silent and inactive by fear. Fear became the leading fact in Irish life.

Under pressure of fear the machinery of Government began to break up. The police force was soon solely occupied in the task of protecting itself. The courts of law could not function. Sinn Féin then set up its

own courts, and these, sitting at first secretly, and afterwards almost tolerated, dispensed rough justice. But with the break-up of ordinary law serious consequences began to appear. In the province of Connaught abstract Republicanism had never taken strong hold, but memories of the land war were potent. Men short of land saw land in the occupation of persons who were not Sinn Féiners, and proceeded to annex it, in the name of the Irish Republic. Mr. de Valera and his colleagues knew that there was real danger of Bolshevism and some kind of a Jacquerie. They knew also that rival claimants were appearing on the same land, each with Republican flags, and intestine strife was threatened. They knew also that in some cases bargains made under the Land Purchase Acts were being overthrown, and the one valuable measure of settlement which had been reached was imperilled. So, sections of the I.R.A. from other districts were moved up to Connaught to restore order, and did it. In certain cases sales were promptly carried through for cash. These measures greatly improved the prestige of Sinn Féin in the eyes of the general public. Morally the movement was at its climax about the summer of 1920.

But in the meantime the war against the police went on and the whole force came to know that, if any of them were shot, no coroner's jury would bring a verdict of murder. They were treated like wolves by society, and they turned on society, beginning to exact their own wild justice by reprisals. The first notable case was the murder of the Lord Mayor of Cork in the spring of 1920. Many men resigned from the force, and Government began to fill it with recruits from men disbanded from the army. From the summer of 1920 onwards there was simply a conflict of reprisals; and the flame spread to Ulster, where it took a different and even uglier form.

During the period from August 1920 onwards, the I.R.A. had no leisure for police work: they were

hunted by the new type of constabulary backed by regular troops, and the struggle resolved itself into guerilla war. Sinn Féin could no longer attempt to govern the country: its whole energy was directed to prevent others from doing so. Part of the policy of the time was to advise citizens against payment of income tax or rates, and this counsel was very generally followed. Many persons extended it freely to other obligations. A great deal of land was illegally seized. In general, when truce at last came in July 1921, the country was profoundly demoralised; and the police force had been reduced to the condition of a garrison having blood-feuds in every barony. No Government could hope to utilise it as a means of restoring order.

Moreover, when the Government of Ireland Act was passed in 1920, establishing two Parliaments in Ireland, a general election became necessary, and it was plainly impossible to hold one seriously in a country where guerilla war was in progress. Sinn Féin therefore simply put up its nominees and they were elected everywhere without a contest, except for the four members representing Trinity College. The persons chosen were almost exclusively men active in the war, many of them prisoners. Outside of their own organisation they were scarcely known to the Irish people, except for half a dozen notable persons: and they had as a rule no experience of public business. This was the assembly which had to decide in December 1921 the question of accepting or rejecting the offered Treaty, all members of it who were in custody being liberated to attend. It was representative of Sinn Féin much rather than of the Irish people, and of the I.R.A. much rather than of Sinn Féin at large. In addition to this, every member of it had on election taken an oath of allegiance to the Irish Republic, and the binding character of this had to be ignored or explained away if the member voted for acceptance of a Treaty which did not recognise the Republic.

In the prolonged public debates there was general

admission that the country at large desired acceptance of the Treaty: some members declared that they did not feel authorised to disavow their oath: and in general the narrow majority by which acceptance was carried did not in anyone's opinion represent the state of public feeling. Republicans urged that this feeling arose from duress: that the Treaty was accepted, by those who did accept it, only to avoid renewal of war. There is no doubt that if the Irish people had been given opportunity to vote for or against separation and the establishment of a Republic, without consideration of ultimate consequences, they would have voted for separation. It is, however, by no means clear that this would have represented a reasoned preference. Political passion was strong in Ireland: but generations of political passion without political responsibility had not tended to produce political thought. The choice between such a status as the Treaty offered and complete separation would have been represented simply as one between continued servitude and an end of the British conquest. The temper of mind which existed did not admit of weighing the advantages of continued inclusion in the British commonwealth: and there was not enough coolness to reflect that a definite breach with England meant a definite breach with Protestant Ulster. It may be truthfully said that Ireland's education in the practical side of politics began in 1922.

It began under extraordinary difficulties. The police force was out of action. The British garrison was rapidly withdrawn and could not be used by the new Government to enforce order. Mutiny began in the Irish Republican Army, and General Collins, head of the Provisional Government, postponed all attempt to crush it; not unnaturally since it was stated later by Mr. Cosgrave that the mutinous section which refused to accept the Treaty was the more numerous and the better armed. Reference to a popular vote would have seemed the simplest way out of the difficulties. But there was a thoroughly bad electoral tradition in

Ireland. Up to a time within living memory, voters were driven to the poll by their landlords' bailiffs under threat of eviction. When this form of pressure was defeated, it was beaten very largely by counter-pressure: intimidation, moral, physical, and even spiritual, was not spared. Even within this century, though there was no very serious interference with voting, when a contest occurred the methods of faction fights were liable to recur. And in effect, the main issue was taken for granted. No serious opposition to Home Rule had been offered in any constituency outside of County Dublin except in Ulster for more than a generation, nor could it have been offered without risk of violent demonstrations. The democratic idea manifested itself only in Ireland under the phase of demonstrations in support of an agreed policy: the idea of appeal to the people to decide an issue had been lost. All this mentality had been emphasised, while it was complicated, by the ascendancy of a secret organisation. The I.R.A. had been accustomed to give orders and the people to take orders without questioning. The struggle with the British forces was not carried out by any levy *en masse*: it was fought in the presence of the Irish people, who gave countenance and support to the insurgents, but were not active: while those who disapproved the campaign against the police felt themselves unable to give any effect to their disapproval. In short, the first thing that the Free State had to do was to establish the idea of liberty.

How slow and difficult the approach to the task was felt to be may be inferred from the action of General Collins in May 1922, when at last it was decided to hold the election, for the holding of which the Treaty stipulated. By a pact reached with Mr. de Valera, then leading the opposition to the Treaty, he joined in an appeal to the Irish people to return only a list or panel of candidates recommended by Collins and de Valera jointly. The effect would have been to

produce a new assembly divided in the same proportions on the main issue as the Treaty vote had shown to exist in the outgoing Dáil. But the Labour party already had candidates in the field: they persisted in going forward; and following their lead, a number of Independent candidates presented themselves as well as others, chosen by a Farmers' Association. In a number of constituencies, returning a total of thirty-four members, there were no contests, for the simple reason that no one believed in those districts that the Republican forces would allow an election to be peaceably held. The panel candidates were returned in them, equally divided between supporters and opponents of the Treaty. Elsewhere the electorate took its own course, rejected many Republicans and put in seventeen Labour men and about a dozen Independents. It was a definite declaration, by a spontaneous popular movement, against the proposal to continue a fight for separation; and it was a declaration for acceptance of the Treaty.

The insurgent section of the Republican army, who were at this time holding the Four Courts as a citadel and issuing orders thence, refused to accept this as a decision: and indeed General Collins had agreed with Mr. de Valera that the Treaty should not be considered to be an issue at the election. The Republican policy was to reunite Ireland, or what it counted as Ireland, by forcing England into armed intervention, and to this end there was much arson in Ulster, Scotland, and Great Britain, along with attacks on the life and property of individual Protestant Unionists in the Free State. Finally, the murder of Sir Henry Wilson in London—whether ordered from Republican headquarters or no—brought matters to a climax: and the Provisional Government began to assert its authority by force. There was civil war. Within a few weeks the Free State lost its two leaders, Mr. Griffith by sudden illness, General Collins by a bullet in an ambush. Yet even before this, the Republican forces had been

beaten in what resembled open war: the Free State's possession of four field guns was decisive. In the guerilla war which followed, the moral effect of the Free State's steadily growing success was cumulative. Yet havoc went on while the new Government and the single-chamber Parliament were at work on most important business. Under the Treaty a constitution for the Free State had to be proposed and passed as an Act both at Dublin and at Westminster within a year from December 6th, 1921, the date of signing the draft.

In the Parliament which met in September 1922, none of the elected Republicans took their seats: many were actually in the field. Labour formed the Opposition. Apart from the Ministry and one or two Labour leaders, very few men in the sparse assembly were widely known even by name in Ireland. The only serious criticism came from the Labour benches. The Labour party's leader, Mr. Johnson, an experienced trade unionist of the best British type, not only proved himself an excellent speaker but maintained the best traditions of decency in debate. Under his guidance the Labour group more than once risked trouble with their own supporters rather than embarrass the Government unduly, while the State was not yet fairly established. Three Independents showed debating power: Mr. Darrell Figgis, the well-known writer, Professor Magennis, holder of the chair of Metaphysics in the National University, and Mr. Gavan Duffy, one of the two plenipotentiaries who had signed the Treaty and then advised the assembly to reject it on the ground that they had been forced to sign by threat of war. Mr. Gavan Duffy was one of the few men in the House who could be said to have had a serious political education: the son of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, who, first a leader of rebellion in the Young Ireland movement, later the first Prime Minister of Victoria, he had grown up in the house of a politician who was also an experienced statesman. Of the rest, Mr. Johnson had learnt what

a lifetime of trade unionism could teach him, along with a student's reading; Alderman Byrne, a Dublin Corporator, had been actually a member of Parliament for a division of Dublin in Redmond's party. But Trinity College sent at the head of its group of four ex-Unionist Protestants, Mr. Gerald Fitzgibbon, whose father, Lord Justice Fitzgibbon, was by general admission one of the foremost men at the Irish Bar. His personal value was accentuated by the fact that in this assembly he was the only barrister. A few solicitors from country practices were among the members, but Mr. Fitzgibbon brought to the discussion of a constitution the only fully trained legal mind. His assistance and that of his colleagues was throughout cordially welcomed by the Government and by the assembly at large, who gladly admitted the friendly purpose which underlay all criticism from these representatives of the middle nation.

Apart from this group, the Dáil—with two exceptions—represented the old inhabitants of the island. But these two were notable. Mr. Johnson, the Labour leader, was of British origin, and not a Catholic; Mr. Ernest Blythe, the Minister for Local Government, was a young Presbyterian ex-schoolmaster from County Monaghan. The only other Protestants prominent in Irish affairs at that moment were Mr. Erskine Childers, and his cousin Mr. Robert Barton, a landlord from County Wicklow. These were on the Republican side.

In general the assembly was one of young men and represented only the younger generation. Some of the farmers' representatives had doubtless been followers of Redmond while he lived; but the Parliamentarians as a whole had decided to give Sinn Féin a free hand, and following the example of their leader, Mr. Dillon, contested no seats: for Alderman Byrne stood as a Dublin Corporator, not as a Redmondite.

The Ministry, like the assembly, was a group of young men. Mr. Cosgrave, who had been chosen President on the death of Collins, was indeed over

forty and had a long record of work in the Dublin Corporation, especially in its finance committees. He decided for the present to hold the Ministry of Finance along with his other duties: but on this side of his work, Mr. Blythe assisted, and on occasion spoke for him. The exposition of the Constitution was in the main left to Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, a solicitor who had qualified but never practised: the revolutionary movement had absorbed his energy from the time when he was a student in the National University. He showed very remarkable gifts both in exposition and in reply. His contemporary at college, Mr. P. J. Hogan, brought to the work another acute and witty intelligence, well able to apply itself to the practical details of the Ministry of Agriculture, over which he presided, as well as to the general political issue. These men were barely thirty: Mr. Blythe was of the same age: but Michael Collins had been no older. General Mulcahy, now Minister for Defence and Commander-in-Chief, who had been Chief of Staff to the I.R.A. in its war against the British, was even younger: a singular man, dreamy and imaginative in speech, ruthless in action: viewing all problems with the eye of a guerilla leader who has headed insurgents in an idealistic revolt, yet is now faced with a counter-guerilla, based on an extreme development of the same idealism.

The only other minister whose action much concerned the Dáil was Professor MacNeill, now in charge of education. Not yet sixty, he seemed an old man in that group, and his intervention was generally on some point where a moral issue seemed involved.

In great part the clauses of the Constitution as submitted to the Dáil had been agreed upon in advance between the Provisional Government and the British Cabinet. Ministers in Dublin and at Westminster stood pledged to resign if they failed to carry the sections which defined the relations of the two countries. But certain important matters the Dáil, led by the Ministry, decided for itself and for Ireland.

First, it was laid down that "All powers of government and all authority, legislative, executive, and judicial, in Ireland are derived from the people of Ireland."

Secondly, it was laid down that Irish was "the national language of the Irish Free State." It is so now by statute of the Imperial as well as of the Irish Parliament. If it cease to exist, it will die in defiance of the law: yet it may be doubted whether in Ireland this is a good omen for its longevity.

Over and above these important affirmations, the Dáil settled that the Oireachtas, or Irish Parliament, should consist of the King and two Houses: the Dáil and the Seanad or Senate. Power to initiate legislation was given to the Senate, on all subjects other than finance: power to reject proposals passed by the Dáil was denied it, but it was given the right to delay any measure not being financial for a period of 270 days. Another power which may prove to be important was conceded to it. The Constitution established the Referendum as a right of the electorate and also under certain conditions the right of initiating legislative proposals. The Senate was given the power to call for a referendum on every proposal of which it disapproved.

Adult suffrage at the age of twenty-one was adopted, and the Dáil decided to adhere to the principle of Proportional Representation introduced by the Act of 1920. The constituencies, however, were altered, and the number of members in the Dáil was raised from 128 to 154. The Senate was fixed at sixty members, holding office for twelve years, a fourth of the assembly retiring every three years. Vacancies are to be filled by election, the entire electorate of citizens over thirty years voting as one constituency.

On the whole, the Constitution was carried through with very little discussion in the assembly and almost without exciting any public interest. The attention of Ireland was concentrated on the events of the

guerilla war, and on the attempt of the Irregulars to prevent the machinery of Government from working. Up to the close of 1922 the Irish railways were very intermittently in operation, and in great part completely out of work. The real issue for Ireland was one between law and anarchy: the question whether there could be an Irish Government or no obscured the enquiry what type of Government should be installed. Also in the period from 1914 onward the habit of public discussion had been lost. First came the British war censorship, and after 1916 the limitation and suppression of public meetings by British authority; then the counter-censorship by the Republicans, who attacked the property of newspapers which expressed unpopular views. To this was added the impossibility of holding any public meetings from 1920 onwards. All this created a disposition in the general public to leave the Government and the opposing camarilla to fight out their quarrel. In truth, during the first year after the Treaty, the Irish Government was in effect regarded more or less as a Junta exercising dictatorial powers—though undoubtedly the public by its refusal to obey the appeal issued from Michael Collins and Mr. de Valera gave sign that there was at least a potentially active democracy.

But in practice the Government governed as a Junta with the assembly merely registering their decrees. The Parliament at Westminster did little else in time of war, and civil war does not need less drastic treatment than foreign. At one point, however, feeling in the House was sharply expressed. Two members were fired on: one, a general, was shot dead, the other, the Deputy Speaker, seriously wounded. It was known that this was only the beginning of an attempt to break up the Free State's Parliament as the Royal Irish Constabulary had been broken up, by continued assassinations. Government executed four very prominent prisoners as a measure of reprisal: chief among them being Mr. Rory O'Conor, leader of the

mutiny in the army. There was no trial and the proceedings were of doubtful legality, as all four prisoners had been captured before the issue of the military decree which made it an offence punishable by death to be taken in the unauthorised possession of arms. Yet the Dáil endorsed the action, which was later to some extent justified by the fact that no further attempt was made to assassinate a deputy.

From the beginning of 1923 the Constitution came into operation, and the first Senate had to be provided, according to the plan laid down in the Constitution, in half by nomination of the President, in half by direct election with the Dáil as constituency. At this point an important development was seen. Mr. Griffith, during the negotiation for the Treaty, had come to an agreement with the Southern Unionists and guaranteed that they should have their share of responsible position. Mr. Cosgrave made this good by nominating a group of them as senators. These included three of the four landlords who signed the Land Conference Report in 1903: Lord Mayo, Sir Hutcheson Poe, and Sir Nugent Everard. Lord Dunraven, chairman of the conference, was offered a seat, but refused on grounds of age. Four other Irish peers were named, one of them Lord Glenavy, who had been known best as Lord Carson's second in command. Labour was also given representation. The bulk of the body was Sinn Féin: but this assembly of sixty was much more fully representative of Irish life than the Dáil. Lord Glenavy, who had been a most able law officer, was elected chairman: Mr. J. G. Douglas, a Dublin business man and member of the Society of Friends, closely associated with Mr. George Russell, as vice-chairman. Mr. Russell refused membership: but the assembly included Mr. W. B. Yeats, the poet. Among other senators were Mr. Parkinson, a famous trainer of racehorses, Alderman Moran, one of the chief members of the Dublin Port and Docks Board, and Mr. Burgess, an Irish railway

official who had been Director of Transport during the European war, and since that had been transferred to a leading position on the English railway group which deals with most of Irish traffic. What lacked representation was the political element of the old Nationalists: yet Sir Thomas Esmonde was of this section and brought to the Senate thirty-five years' experience of Parliament.

A very important link with the Parliamentary period of the revolution was, however, created by the appointment which completed the constitutional machinery. Mr. T. M. Healy was named as the first Governor-General. He had in the period after 1918 frankly declared for Sinn Féin as against the policy with which he had been long identified: and for this and many reasons the selection of him was not applauded by Nationalists. But the step was a wise one. Personal ties connected him closely with the Ministry, and if he occupied the Viceregal Lodge it was certain that the King's official representative would be closely consulted: equally certain that a Governor-General who would maintain the traditions of the past would be virtually marooned in the Phœnix Park.

The conception of the choice was perhaps to appeal to the spirit of democracy, and it can scarcely be said to have succeeded. Essentially, however, its symbolism was profound. In choosing an "old man of the people" for that office, the insignia of power were for the first time since the Normans captured Dublin entrusted in the Irish capital to one of the Gaelic race.

No personal changes were made in the Ministry, but effect was given to the clause in the Constitution by which attempt was made to give continuity to the policy of departments. Government, in preparing the Constitution, was disposed to depart altogether from the British system of collective responsibility, according to which an entire ministry goes out if the Government is defeated on one departmental vote of importance. It was proposed to substitute for this

a system of individual responsibility. But discussion soon made it clear that the whole assembly thought habitually in terms of British politics and regarded no others as democratic. Finally, a compromise was reached, which settled that the number of ministers should not exceed twelve, and that not more than seven nor less than five of them should form an Executive Council or Cabinet, of which the President should be chairman; that the Minister of Finance must be one of them; and that on any motion involving the President's resignation the Council should also quit office. Ministers being members of the Council must be nominated by the President, but their names must be submitted to the Dáil for acceptance: the other ministers were to be elected by the Dáil itself, to hold office for the duration of the Dáil, and to resign only if a special vote called for their resignation.

In practice it must be said that the change has so far produced no important result. The Minister for Agriculture, Mr. Hogan, was outside the Cabinet, but the measure for completing Land Purchase of which he had charge was the most important of the Parliament's first session, and a failure to carry it would almost certainly have involved the whole Government's resignation. Yet certain possibilities have been shown. At moments the action of the Postmaster-General, another of the ministers without collective responsibility, has been questioned; and if his resignation had become necessary, this clause in the Constitution would have usefully avoided considerable difficulty.

A very great change was rendered necessary by the disbandment of the Royal Irish Constabulary. They had been in essence a semi-military force. The Irish Government at once decided to replace them by one which should conform more nearly to the type of constabulary familiar in Great Britain; and it was laid down in principle that the Civic Guard should work unarmed. Recruitment and training began at once,

and according as the Government established its control, posts of them were pushed out into the small towns. They were repeatedly attacked by armed bands, plundered and insulted: more than one lost his life: but the design of keeping them purely civic was maintained, in the wise belief that the public would learn to do what they had never done in Ireland—support the police in an emergency.

The Dublin Metropolitan Police, a body which had always been partially paid for from the rates and had never acquired a military character, was continued, and its detective side revised and strengthened.

The control of the Civic Guard was put in the hands of General O'Duffy, who had distinguished himself in the I.R.A., and that of the D.M.P. was entrusted to General Murphy, a soldier of the European war. But counsel was taken with the permanent authorities of the old force in both cases. Generally, in the conduct of all the civil departments the new minister retained at least an important part of the staff which had carried out the work under succeeding Governments. But matters were different in the army. The I.R.A. had existed as an organisation opposed to British troops. In forming the new National Army which was needed to combat the civil war, forced on by mutiny in the I.R.A., it was open to General Mulcahy, on whom the task chiefly fell, to enlist the services of retired Irish officers having high professional standing. There was a definite refusal to utilise the opportunity. A certain number of junior officers, demobilised after 1918, had resented so strongly the British action in Ireland after the war that they joined the I.R.A. and fought. Such of these as were available received high commands in the National Army. But none of them had more than the experience of a company commander. General Murphy, who from a civilian post had joined the army in 1914 and risen to the command of a brigade, was the only ex-British officer employed who had ever handled

troops in large numbers; and his services were invaluable, not only in leading, but in the training of other commanders. But as a whole the National Army was without men who had been trained in staff work. Private soldiers and non-commissioned officers in large numbers, and some subalterns, were taken into the service, and were naturally of high value. But the army was left without a technical side, and had to make its own experience. Had the same plan been adopted in all departments of State, the results would have been chaotic.

An army so managed is more than commonly costly, and the necessities of the situation raised it to over fifty thousand men. In proportion to population this is equivalent to an army of half a million for Great Britain; but in proportion to the relative taxable capacity—the ratio being forty to one—it is equivalent to one of two millions. It had to be rapidly reduced as soon as actual fighting ended: and by the spring of 1924 it stood at a little over 20,000.

At present this force is clearly maintained as an insurance against renewed civil war, the Republican party avowing their determination to retain their arms and to begin the struggle again if occasion offers. Apart from this it is not clear what is the army's purpose, nor with what contingencies in view its training is to be directed. It has some half-dozen aeroplanes and four field guns. It is a professional army, well provided with non-commissioned officers, but having no efficient technical chiefs. No proposal has been made to form a national militia on the Swiss model, which might make the permanent retention of 20,000 men under arms a reality: and it is doubtful if in the present temper of Ireland such a proposal would be adopted with public sanction. As it is, the army is a support to the civil power which remains threatened from within: but if this menace were withdrawn, or ceased to have reality, it would become merely an expensive piece of symbolism.

Yet it has to be noted that this army of 50,000 men, ill-trained and ill-led, crushed a revolt within nine months, while the British with double that number and all possible equipment and experience failed to do it in eighteen. The reason is that the populace at large, though abstaining as a rule from any open support to either side, wanted peace, and gave far more help to the Government troops than to their opponents. By April 1923 the Republicans declared a cessation of hostilities, and on the whole the pledge was kept. In August it became possible to hold the election provided for under the Constitution, and to choose the new Dáil of 154 members. The results were perplexing. All ministers were returned, for the most part by immense majorities. But Mr. de Valera, who was arrested when he appeared in his constituency, headed the poll in Clare by an equally long lead: and his deputy in County Sligo was almost equally successful. Labour had been torn to pieces by internal faction and came back very much weakened: the voters of Dublin sent back scarcely one Labour representative. The Independents and the Farmers each doubled their following, and they sent in three men of a new stamp—Captain Redmond, who had been a member of his father's party, Major Bryan Cooper, who had been Unionist member for County Dublin, and with him another ex-British officer, Major Myles. But the rank-and-file supporters of Government did not fare well and no party had a clear majority in the House: while the Republicans, forty-four strong, were by a long way the largest group next to the Government. They, however, continued to abstain from attendance.

But in this assembly Parliamentary life began to be normal. The galleries, which for many months had been closed to the public, were opened: ministers and members were in their places instead of being absent on military duty: and the men with parliamentary experience began to furnish competent criticism.

There broke out soon the usual quarrel over the contending claims of the two Houses. Ministers who had grown used to carrying legislation through a single chamber in war-time conditions resented amendments: and it was unfortunate that although every minister in charge of a Bill for the Senate had the right of speaking and voting there, none was chosen from that House. The only serious conflict has been over a measure of great importance. Ireland determined to remodel its whole judicial system. The unpaid magistracy was abolished with general approval, and paid justices were appointed for every district. The Judicature Act proposed to increase the power of these local tribunals and also of the County Courts; and in general to decentralise legal business and cheapen it. Lord Glenavy was chairman of the Committee which drafted the recommendations on which the Bill was framed: and not unnaturally in the Senate he resented departures from the course recommended. Fear was expressed that steps would be taken to emphasise unnecessarily the breach with the past: and that wig and gown would be discarded, and kilts perhaps presented for pleaders. It does not, however, seem probable that Ireland will make any violent departure from any part of the tradition which it liked, and O'Connell's memory will protect much more than the garb which he wore.

In essence it seems quite clear that Ireland of the Free State recognises its character as a mixed race and is perfectly willing to give equal rights and chances to all its citizens. The Governor-General, Mr. Healy, is in truth more typical of the country at large than are most of the ministers, for their associations have been much narrower than his. At the moment the course of events, rather than the deliberate choice of the people, has put into power a group that represents solely the element in Ireland which has for many generations been the ruled, not the rulers; but it is certain that, on terms of equal citizenship,

individuals of the other strain, chosen for fitness, not for privilege, will come to authority and will be of value to their countrymen. Their general outlook is more acceptable, more representative, and indeed more Irish than that of the extreme Gaelic enthusiast contingent. So far as the Twenty-six Counties are concerned, the process of fusion into a single healthy nation will go on rapidly, now that it is no longer checked by the concentration of power, through action from without, in the hands of those who by religion and by tradition have instinctively regarded themselves as belonging to the British tradition.

Elements of that tradition will be accepted by Ireland at large in the creation of a modern Irish culture and State: but the degree to which they will be welcome is matter for doubt. There is no doubt at all that if Ireland is to mean the whole Irish nation, with the Six Counties brought in, these elements must be admitted in a degree scarcely acceptable at all events in the beginning of things to the Catholic majority.

Ulster, in becoming self-governing, has strengthened its position, and has done so by contracting its frontier. In the three counties of Donegal, Cavan, and Monaghan the great majority of the people were Catholic by religion and old Irish by blood or by sympathy. There was a Protestant majority in the whole province; but the directors of Ulster's policy, belonging almost entirely to Belfast, refused to accept the responsibility of conducting a Protestant State in Ireland unless the Protestant preponderance was made decisive. In the Six Counties the peasant proprietors and those who are about to become actual owners of the land, would be probably in about equal numbers Protestant and Catholic: the preponderance is given to the Anglo-Irish element by the industrial community. That community has been up to the present directed by the capitalist class, but within a few years a very great change might well occur which would

put power into the hands of organised Labour: and organised Labour has less distrust of Catholics as such, and less desire for Protestant ascendancy as such, than is found among the wealthier classes. But whether among the Protestant working men of the North or among the Protestant employers, there will be no desire for a Gaelic nationalism.

It is, however, highly conceivable that there may develop in Ulster a nationalism like that of the Dominions, based largely on a sense of local interests: and this will be stimulated alike by the presence of a Parliament possessing power to serve local needs and by the limitation which statute has placed upon these powers.

In truth events have already shown that the limitations practically exist for the most part on paper, and have been disregarded when they conflict with a strong desire.

The statute of 1920 which set up the Parliament of Northern Ireland delegated to that Parliament (as well as to that of Southern Ireland, which never came into existence) certain definite branches of administration. The most important of those withheld were the treaty-making power, the military power, and the fiscal and taxing authority. But when the Belfast Parliament came into existence, in the spring of 1921, Ireland was in a state of war and the commotion had spread to Northern Ireland. Under pressure of circumstances, the Belfast Government decided to arm its community—that is to say, the section of its community which supported it. The Catholics definitely refused to recognise its authority: and so, under the name of a police force, it armed almost the whole Protestant population. Order was maintained in the first instance by the Royal Ulster Constabulary, who were the R.I.C. continued with a change of name: in the second by the B force, a body of local volunteers to whom a small grant was paid: and finally in the last resort by the C police, in which any approved

citizen could enrol himself. On being enrolled he was furnished with a rifle and trusted with the custody of it. This force was assembled in large bodies for collective training, like a militia. There being in Ulster a large percentage of ex-service men from the European war, and of ex-officers, many of whom had held important commands, and no prejudice existing against the employment of highly trained staff soldiers, Ulster acquired, and at present possesses, what is virtually an army much more formidable than that of the Free State. This army is under the control of the Belfast Government, it being nominally a police force. Thus the disturbances in the rest of Ireland, and especially the action of the Republican forces, made of Protestant Ulster a military power, despite the statutory limitation.

Again, the treaty-making power does undoubtedly reside with the Imperial Government. But the Imperial Government having made a treaty with the Free State which affects Ulster, the Belfast Parliament are refusing to be bound by it so far as it affects them. They base their refusal on their solidarity with British tradition, and are ready to appeal to the British public to support them in the view that citizens of that tradition shall not be forced under a rule which deliberately estranges them from it.

These arguments were used unsuccessfully to prevent the grant of self-government to Ireland at large; but they become more formidable when they are put forward by a Parliament to a Parliament—and by a Parliament which was by statute entrusted with the charge of a defined area. They are now backed by a contention which can justly be put forward on behalf of Ulster, that unless Imperial troops were used to enforce a surrender, the Ulster people could hold the boundary assigned to them. And if this argument prevail, it will be plain that Ulster has established at least a general right both to the military and to the treaty-making power, in what concerns Ulster.

On the other hand, such a course of events makes a

State conscious of its own separate right, and no Parliament is content without a control of taxation. Hitherto, in a transition period, Ulster has accepted the Imperial system of taxation without reluctance. That is not surprising, seeing that the Free State, having its full fiscal freedom, has not varied the British taxes, except that, in the stringency of their financial situation, they have refused to follow the remission of certain charges. There is at present no financial inducement for the Six Counties to join with a State where income tax is five shillings instead of four and sixpence, and where a postage stamp costs twopence instead of three-halfpence.

It is true that Ulster has been paying and continues to pay a heavy subsidy to the Imperial Services, from which the Free State has been in practice exempt. On the other hand, much of this subsidy has been remitted to Ulster in the shape of payment for Ulster's army of police. There has been continuously a British administration sympathetic to Ulster claims. A Labour Government is admittedly less sympathetic to Ulster's claims, and may probably insist that Ulster shall pay for its own policing. If it came to pass that Ulster were paying heavier taxes than other Irishmen, a change of temper would be possible. In that case, the Protestant ascendancy would probably claim separate Dominion rights for the northern area.

This would be regarded in Ireland, not as a failure to carry out a clause in the Treaty, but an express violation of it. The Treaty recognised Ireland as a whole, but Ulster was given the right to exclude itself from the rule of Dublin by demanding that certain powers, which otherwise would be entrusted to the Free State Parliament, should remain with the Imperial Parliament. A further claim stipulated that if Ulster exercised the right, the boundary should be brought into conformity with the wishes of the adjacent population : and this clause has not received effect.

One may assume that the British State will continue

to hold itself bound in some measure by the Treaty; and it is only necessary to review certain possibilities. A policy of Protection for the Free State, if it proved profitable, might tempt Ulster to share its advantages. Yet, the economic conditions of the Six Counties resemble those of Great Britain more than those of the Twenty-six Counties, and they are hardly likely to go into a system not designed to meet their own case.

On the other hand, it is now plain that the Labour party will be always either in power or likely to be in power, and that a great part of Britain has accepted a collectivist policy, which may or may not be called Socialism. Ireland of the Twenty-six Counties, resting on a community of peasant proprietors, is the least favourable ground for socialist propaganda; and the Six Counties, though more industrialised, and therefore nearer to the collectivist organisation, do also rest on a peasant proprietary. They are in this respect more like Northern France than like England. It is conceivable that the elements in Ulster which fear and dislike Socialism may be driven back into making common cause with the rest of Ireland; and these elements are precisely those which at present most actively resist any movement towards the unity of Ireland. On the other hand, Labour in the South is weak, as an element in the State, and would work hard to bring in the North to strengthen its ranks; and Northern Labour has a more open mind than Northern Capitalism.

However one may estimate the chances, it has to be admitted that the whole position of Ireland is transitional and is complicated by the boundary question. If the Free State Government could induce Ulster to come in, progress would be assured; but this is too much to hope at present. If it could force upon Ulster a settlement of the boundary question which materially reduced the Six-County area, the triumph would strengthen the Government's position: but this is not a result to count upon. If it fails to

get a solution acceptable to Irish ambitions, there will be danger lest the Republican party, backed by the disaffection of all those whom the Government's hard-handed methods of repression have offended, may overthrow the existing ministry and renew chaos. More probably, however, by far, Government will continue on its present lines, becoming steadily more constitutional and normal. But it is possible that during this period the Northern State also may crystallise into a separate existence, hard to be absorbed at any future period by a single Ireland.

This, however, is certain. The Irish nation as it exists is incomplete and imperfect. We are still as Wolfe Tone described us six generations ago: "Separate nations met and settled together, not mingled but convened: uncemented parts that do not cleave to each other." Yet the possibility of cementing them is greater than ever before. It is for the majority to seek what concessions may be helpful, for theirs is the ambition that has to be gratified by unity. Concessions apart, one at least of Ulster's chief objections to union has been removed since the Free State proved its ability to borrow largely within its own boundaries at a rate very little exceeding that which Great Britain has to pay. This shakes the view widely entertained in the North that union with a Dublin Parliament would be a union with beggary. The impression nevertheless survives, because the Free State at present has a difficulty in balancing its budget. But this difficulty proceeds from the fact that it is trying to pay off the debt incurred for the damage of the past two years—which may reach fifty millions. It is estimated that Ireland's own directly incurred National indebtedness will be in 1925 about twenty millions. Her financial position must ultimately depend on the decision reached under Clause Five of the Treaty, since this would settle what share, if any, of the British war debt she must accept. That it will not be any, is the conviction of all elements in the Free

State, Anglo-Irish and loyalist concurring with the rest. Should this view prevail, Ulster will still be burdened by the liabilities which she accepted in accepting the Act of 1920. Under that composition the Six Counties were debited with roughly four-tenths of the amount demanded from Ireland by way of Imperial contribution, and this payment has been so far made—with some compassionate adjustments effected by the British Government in sympathy with Ulster's position. Ulster cannot always count on having a Government so disposed, and after a lapse of time reasoning based on this line of thought might prompt towards union with the Free State, if that union meant a relief from this tribute.

In any case, a fully developed Irish nation can only issue from a voluntary alliance of the two national strains, which lie at present almost with a naked sword between them. A romantic match is out of the question: the future Ireland must be the offspring of a *mariage de convenance*. This prospect is the less objectionable because in the Gaelic Ireland that we know no other type of marriage is customary or approved. But a great deal of hard bargaining precedes such alliances.

Yet there is this last word to be said, from the standpoint of an Irish Nationalist. Before a problem can be solved it must first be defined. Forty-five years ago, when the revolution began, we in Ireland did not know where the real heart of the difficulty lay. Much had to be altered, modified, or swept aside. Some thought the essential was to be rid of landlordism: landlordism has gone, and the problem remains. Some thought it was British rule, and some still think so yet; yet the Irish Free State exists, it is Irish, and it is free, and it has, with Great Britain's full concurrence, the rank of a nation. Stripped down to its ultimate elements, the problem stands clear: how to reconcile the ideals, the traditions, and the purposes of two races and blend them into one, so that "Irish" shall

be no longer a word of ambiguous meaning, but equally applicable to all citizens of a free and united country, marked out from the rest of the world by its own four seas, a nation bound together by the equal allegiance of all its people. No greater task can tax the resources of statesmanship and the qualities of human character; but it is Ireland's task now. Nothing that is not Irish stands in the way of its accomplishment: and if it cannot be accomplished by Irishmen, no outside power can convert our national aspirations into a reality.

As regards the external position, matters are clearer. It would be untrue to say that the Treaty was received with gratitude in Ireland, the Irish people feeling, rightly or wrongly, that what they got they had won in a hard struggle. The fact that acceptance of it was represented by Mr. de Valera and his party as an ignominious surrender prejudiced sentiment against it, and there was no doubt a degree of sincerity in the generally professed dislike to accepting English sovereignty. But even to-day, two years after the event, British statesmen and the British character are regarded with a respect in Ireland which is a new fact. It is recognised that in carrying out the detail of their Covenant, the British authorities have been more than as good as their word. This impression may come to be modified in the controversy over the Ulster boundary: but at present the mists of heated rhetoric are clearing away, and facts begin to be considered at their true value. The position accorded to Ireland as "a coequal member of the Community of Nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations" is not so simple, nor perhaps to a sentimental Nationalist so satisfying as that of a separate and independent State. But it is defined in a manner which already gives ample boundaries to freedom, and, what is more important, gives freedom unlimited room to expand. The definition is not by description, but by reference; it is laid down in the Treaty that the

Irish Free State's relation to the Imperial Parliament and Government shall be that of the Dominion of Canada. Whatever extension may be made, in theory or in practice, to the liberties of Canada accrues as of consequence to the Irish Free State: and any thinking Irishman must be aware that Canada as a nation is in practice not less free than, for instance, Denmark: while in moments of international crisis its liberty of action will be very greatly superior to Denmark's.

Also, when interests come to be more coolly considered, Irishmen, many of whom have by long tradition sent their children into some branch of the Imperial Service, will begin to realise that separation would mean closing at once all these avenues to employment and distinction. This may be said to affect only a small proportion of the people: yet the number of those parents who desire to see their children in the British Civil Service is very large. Apart from this, there is in the industrial parts of Britain a large Irish population, which under the Treaty can retain all rights of citizenship while remaining Irish. Given separation, all these people would become aliens, and, for example, not entitled to the old-age pension.

Another argument which might strike nearer home has little force while Great Britain remains a Free Trade country. But if a protective tariff, with preference for "coequal members of the Community of British Nations," should become a reality, Irish farmers would very greatly desire to be within that ring-fence.

For the moment perhaps, the most persuasive fact is the privilege of using British coinage. Immediately after the Treaty, Irishmen proceeded to destroy as fast as they could the financial credit of their country. Had we been depending then solely on our own credit, had a new circulation replaced the familiar notes and coins, very few will believe that the Irish pound would have held good. Under the cover of the British

Treasury, Ireland has been able to establish herself very tolerably high in financial standing, and the Irish Government's resolute campaign of retrenchment has helped. But at present a proposal to stand alone would be viewed with horror among Irish business men.

Arguments of this kind are ill-suited to the temper which prevailed in Ireland three or four years ago: they would have been looked on with some suspicion at any time during the forty years of revolution. When a people are fighting for national freedom, appeal is necessarily made in the first instance to sentiment: arguments from material advantage fall into the second place. But a nation called on to manage its own affairs rapidly alters the relative importance of these two appeals: and it seems clear that while the other Dominions find their interests best served by remaining within the Community of British Nations, Ireland by her geographical position and her national resources is even more clearly directed the same way.

To seek separation must inevitably make the problem of internal unity immensely more difficult of solution: it must also expose Ireland to the risk of finding herself handicapped in the great market so ideally suited to her resources. Yet, knowing Ireland, no man can be blind to the chance that long-inherited resentments and long-cherished and baffled pride of race may seek to find their utmost expression, disregarding consequence, unless it is possible to bind Ireland to the larger Commonwealth by her pride.

A beginning has been made. Ireland's first intervention in debates of the League of Nations came at a time when the security of our system of government was hardly yet assured: it found the country black, bitter, and disillusioned. Yet even then stirrings of pride were perceptible. And when President Cosgrave and his fellow-ministers took their place at the Imperial Conference, the words of greeting and welcome addressed to the ancient people whom they represented by the spokesmen of these new and powerful States

that are their fellows and coequals gratified Irish pride more than Irish voices were at that moment prepared to utter. These were only beginnings. But in the course of time nothing can be more certain that in such conferences and assemblies Ireland has a significant part to play. She also is a mother nation. Irish influence as such is felt in Canada and New Zealand, even perhaps in South Africa: in Australia it is a power. In the wider council-chamber where the nations of the world assemble, Ireland is of the small States, yet her action will always be noted because it cannot easily be predicted. She is in the Commonwealth of British Nations, yet is in it with a difference. Support from Ireland for a British proposal would mean a good deal in the opinion of Europe: it might mean even more in the opinion of America. Her representatives might very conceivably come to find their opinion counted in a way that would be acceptable to national pride.

These may be considerations of vanity, but one thing at least is sure. As far back as living memory goes, it has been, not unnaturally nor indefensibly, Ireland's part to make trouble between the two great branches of the English-speaking world. She has lain between them like a barrier, who ought to be a link. So strong is the feeling to-day against breeders of strife that there would be neither sympathy nor forgiveness for Ireland if she continued her traditions of the past. A very different rôle might be in her power: and John Redmond, the leader whom many generations of Nationalists served and followed, and who, I think, represented the sane and normal mind of Ireland better than any man in her public life to-day, would beyond question have believed, and would have risked all to bring to pass his belief, that the most glorious privilege of his country's freedom would be to take a hand in accomplishing the peace of mankind.

APPENDIX

CHAPTER I

An Act to provide for the Constitution of the Irish Free State.
[5th December 1922.]

WHEREAS the House of the Parliament constituted pursuant to the Irish Free State (Agreement) Act, 1922, sitting as a Constituent Assembly for the settlement of the Constitution of the Irish Free State, has passed the Measure (hereinafter referred to as "the Constituent Act") set forth in the Schedule to this Act, whereby the Constitution appearing as the First Schedule to the Constituent Act is declared to be the Constitution of the Irish Free State:

And whereas by the Constituent Act the said Constitution is made subject to the following provisions, namely:—

> "The said Constitution shall be construed with reference to the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland set forth in the Second Schedule hereto annexed (hereinafter referred to as the Scheduled Treaty) which are hereby given the force of law, and if any provision of the said Constitution or of any amendment thereof or of any law made thereunder is in any respect repugnant to any of the provisions of the Scheduled Treaty, it shall, to the extent only of such repugnancy, be absolutely void and inoperative and the Parliament and the Executive Council of the Irish Free State shall respectively pass such further legislation and do all such other things as may be necessary to implement the Scheduled Treaty."

And whereas by Article seventy-four of the said Constitution provision is made for the continuance within the Irish Free State of existing taxation in respect of the current present financial year and any preceding financial year, and in respect of any period ending or occasion happening within those years, and it is expedient to make a corresponding provision with respect to taxation within the rest of the United Kingdom:

Be it therefore enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same as follows:—

1. *Constitution of Irish Free State.*—The Constitution set forth in the First Schedule to the Constituent Act shall, subject to the provisions to which the same is by the Constituent Act so made subject as aforesaid, be the Constitution of the Irish Free State, and shall come into operation on the same being proclaimed by His Majesty in accordance with Article eighty-three of the said Constitution, but His Majesty may at any time after the proclamation appoint a Governor-General for the Irish Free State.

2. *Temporary Continuation of Present System of Taxation.*—(1) In

relation to taxes and duties, so far as leviable outside the Irish Free State, the following provisions shall have effect :—

(*a*) The establishment of the Irish Free State shall not affect any liability to pay any tax or duty payable in respect of the current or any preceding financial year, or in respect of any period ending on or before the last day of the current financial year, or payable on any occasion happening within the current or any preceding financial year, or the amount of such liability, and all such taxes and duties as aforesaid and arrears thereof shall continue to be assessed, levied, and collected and all payments and allowances of such taxes and duties shall continue to be made in like manner in all respects as immediately before the establishment of the Irish Free State, subject to the like adjustments of the proceeds collected as were theretofore applicable.

(*b*) Goods transported during the current financial year from or to the Irish Free State to or from any other part of the United Kingdom or the Isle of Man shall not, except in respect of the forms to be used and the information to be furnished, be treated as goods imported or exported as the case may be.

(2) If an arrangement is made with the Irish Free State for an extension of the provisions of this section as respects all or any taxes and duties to the next ensuing financial year or any part thereof, it shall be lawful for His Majesty, if a resolution to that effect is passed by the Commons House of Parliament, by Order in Council to extend the provisions of this section so as to apply, in the case of the taxes and duties to which the arrangement relates, in respect to the next ensuing financial year or part thereof in like manner as it applies in respect to the current financial year.

(3) For the purposes of this section, the expression " financial year " means, as respects income tax (including super-tax), the year of assessment, and as respects other taxes and duties, the year ending on the thirty-first day of March.

3. *Power of Irish Free State to adopt Acts applicable to other Dominions.*—If the Parliament of the Irish Free State make provision to that effect, any Act passed before the passing of this Act which applies to or may be applied to self-governing Dominions, whether alone or to such Dominions and other parts of His Majesty's Dominions, shall apply or may be applied to the Irish Free State in like manner as it applies or may be applied to self-governing Dominions.

4. *Saving.*—Nothing in the said Constitution shall be construed as prejudicing the power of Parliament to make laws affecting the Irish Free State in any case where, in accordance with constitutional practice, Parliament would make laws affecting other self-governing Dominions.

5. *Short Title and Effect.*—This Act may be cited as the Irish Free State Constitution Act, 1922 (Session 2), and shall be deemed to be the Act of Parliament for the ratification of the said Articles of Agreement as from the passing whereof the month mentioned in Article eleven of the said Articles is to run.

SCHEDULE

CONSTITUENT ACT

DÁIL EIREANN sitting as a Constituent Assembly in this Provisional Parliament, acknowledging that all lawful authority comes from God to the people and in the confidence that the National life and unity of Ireland shall thus be restored, hereby proclaims the establishment of The Irish Free State (otherwise called Saorstát Eireann) and in the exercise of undoubted right, decrees and enacts as follows :—

1. The Constitution set forth in the First Schedule hereto annexed shall be the Constitution of The Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann).

2. The said Constitution shall be construed with reference to the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland set forth in the Second Schedule hereto annexed (hereinafter referred to as " the Scheduled Treaty ") which are hereby given the force of law, and if any provision of the said Constitution or of any amendment thereof or of any law made thereunder is in any respect repugnant to any of the provisions of the Scheduled Treaty, it shall, to the extent only of such repugnancy, be absolutely void and inoperative and the Parliament and the Executive Council of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall respectively pass such further legislation and do all such other things as may be necessary to implement the Scheduled Treaty.

3. This Act may be cited for all purposes as the Constitution of The Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) Act, 1922.

FIRST SCHEDULE ABOVE REFERRED TO

CONSTITUTION OF THE IRISH FREE STATE (SAORSTÁT EIREANN)

Article 1

The Irish Free State (otherwise hereinafter called or sometimes called Saorstát Eireann) is a co-equal member of the Community of Nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Article 2

All powers of government and all authority legislative, executive, and judicial in Ireland, are derived from the people of Ireland and the same shall be exercised in the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) through the organisations established by or under, and in accord with, this Constitution.

Article 3

Every person, without distinction of sex, domiciled in the area of the jurisdiction of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) at the time of the coming into operation of this Constitution who was born in Ireland or either of whose parents was born in Ireland or who has been ordinarily resident in the area of the jurisdiction of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) for not less than seven years, is a citizen of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) and shall within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) enjoy the privileges and be subject to the obligations of such citizenship: Provided that any such person being a citizen of another State may elect not to accept the citizenship hereby conferred; and the conditions governing the future acquisition and termination of citizenship in the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall be determined by law.

Article 4

The National language of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) is the Irish language, but the English language shall be equally recognised as an official language. Nothing in this Article shall prevent special provisions being made by the Parliament of the Irish Free State (otherwise called and herein generally referred to as the "Oireachtas") for districts or areas in which only one language is in general use.

Article 5

No title of honour in respect of any services rendered in or in relation to the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) may be conferred on any citizen of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) except with the approval or upon the advice of the Executive Council of the State.

Article 6

The liberty of the person is inviolable, and no person shall be deprived of his liberty except in accordance with law. Upon complaint made by or on behalf of any person that he is being unlawfully detained, the High Court and any and every judge thereof shall forthwith enquire into the same and may make an order requiring the person in whose custody such person shall be detained to produce the body of the person so detained before such Court or judge without delay and to certify in writing as to the cause of the detention and such Court or judge shall thereupon order the release of such person unless satisfied that he is being detained in accordance with the law:

Provided, however, that nothing in this Article contained shall be invoked to prohibit control or interfere with any act of the military forces of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) during the existence of a state of war or armed rebellion.

Article 7

The dwelling of each citizen is inviolable and shall not be forcibly entered except in accordance with law.

Article 8

Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion are, subject to public order and morality, guaranteed to every citizen, and no law may be made either directly or indirectly to endow any religion, or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof or give any preference, or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status, or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at the school, or make any discrimination as respects State aid between schools under the management of different religious denominations, or divert from any religious denomination or any educational institution any of its property except for the purpose of roads, railways, lighting, water or drainage works or other works of public utility, and on payment of compensation.

Article 9

The right of free expression of opinion as well as the right to assemble peaceably and without arms, and to form associations or unions is guaranteed for purposes not opposed to public morality. Laws regulating the manner in which the right of forming associations and the right of free assembly may be exercised shall contain no political, religious or class distinction.

Article 10

All citizens of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) have the right to free elementary education.

Article 11

All the lands and waters, mines and minerals, within the territory of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) hitherto vested in the State, or any department thereof, or held for the public use or benefit, and also all the natural resources of the same territory (including the air and all forms of potential energy), and also all royalties and franchises within that territory shall, from and after the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution, belong to the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann), subject to any trusts, grants, leases or concessions then existing in respect thereof, or any valid private interest therein, and shall be controlled and administered by the Oireachtas, in accordance with such regulations and provisions as shall be from time to time approved by legislation, but the same shall not, nor shall any part thereof, be alienated, but may in the public interest be from time to time granted by way of lease or licence to be worked or enjoyed under the authority and subject to the control of the Oireachtas: Provided that no such lease or licence may be made for a term exceeding ninety-nine years, beginning from the date thereof, and no such lease or licence may be renewable by the terms thereof.

Article 12

A Legislature is hereby created to be known as the Oireachtas. It shall consist of the King and two Houses, the Chamber of Deputies

(otherwise called and herein generally referred to as " Dáil Eireann ") and the Senate (otherwise called and herein generally referred to as " Seanad Eireann "). The sole and exclusive power of making laws for the peace, order and good government of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) is vested in the Oireachtas.

Article 13

The Oireachtas shall sit in or near the city of Dublin or in such other place as from time to time it may determine.

Article 14

All citizens of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) without distinction of sex, who have reached the age of twenty-one years and who comply with the provisions of the prevailing electoral laws, shall have the right to vote for members of Dáil Eireann, and to take part in the Referendum and Initiative. All citizens of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) without distinction of sex who have reached the age of thirty years and who comply with the provisions of the prevailing electoral laws, shall have the right to vote for members of Seanad Eireann. No voter may exercise more than one vote at an election to either House and the voting shall be by secret ballot. The mode and place of exercising this right shall be determined by law.

Article 15

Every citizen who has reached the age of twenty-one years and who is not placed under disability or incapacity by the Constitution or by law shall be eligible to become a member of Dáil Eireann.

Article 16

No person may be at the same time a member both of Dáil Eireann and of Seanad Eireann and if any person who is already a member of either House is elected to be a member of the other House, he shall forthwith be deemed to have vacated his first seat.

Article 17

The oath to be taken by members of the Oireachtas shall be in the following form :—

> I ..... do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established, and that I will be faithful to H.M. King George V, his heirs and successors by law in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Such oath shall be taken and subscribed by every member of the Oireachtas before taking his seat therein before the Representative of the Crown or some person authorised by him.

Article 18

Every member of the Oireachtas shall, except in case of treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest in going to and returning from, and while within the precincts of either House, and shall not, in respect of any utterance in either House, be amenable to any action or proceeding in any Court other than the House itself.

Article 19

All official reports and publications of the Oireachtas or of either House thereof shall be privileged and utterances made in either House wherever published shall be privileged.

Article 20

Each House shall make its own Rules and Standing Orders, with power to attach penalties for their infringement and shall have power to ensure freedom of debate, to protect its official documents and the private papers of its members, and to protect itself and its members against any person or persons interfering with, molesting or attempting to corrupt its members in the exercise of their duties.

Article 21

Each House shall elect its own Chairman and Deputy Chairman and shall prescribe their powers, duties, remuneration, and terms of office.

Article 22

All matters in each House shall, save as otherwise provided by this Constitution, be determined by a majority of the votes of the members present other than the Chairman or presiding member, who shall have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes. The number of members necessary to constitute a meeting of either House for the exercise of its powers shall be determined by its Standing Orders.

Article 23

The Oireachtas shall make provision for the payment of its members and may in addition provide them with free travelling facilities in any part of Ireland.

Article 24

The Oireachtas shall hold at least one session each year. The Oireachtas shall be summoned and dissolved by the Representative of the Crown in the name of the King and subject as aforesaid Dáil Eireann shall fix the date of re-assembly of the Oireachtas and the date of the conclusion of the session of each House: Provided that the sessions of Seanad Eireann shall not be concluded without its own consent.

Article 25

Sittings of each House of the Oireachtas shall be public. In cases of special emergency either House may hold a private sitting with the assent of two-thirds of the members present.

Article 26

Dáil Eireann shall be composed of members who represent constituencies determined by law. The number of members shall be fixed from time to time by the Oireachtas, but the total number of members of Dáil Eireann (exclusive of members for the Universities) shall not be fixed at less than one member for each thirty thousand of the population, or at more than one member for each twenty thousand of the population: Provided that the proportion between the number of members to be elected at any time for each constituency and the population of each constituency, as ascertained at the last preceding census, shall, so far as possible, be identical throughout the country. The members shall be elected upon principles of Proportional Representation. The Oireachtas shall revise the constituencies at least in every ten years, with due regard to changes in distribution of the population, but any alterations in the constituencies shall not take effect during the life of Dáil Eireann sitting when such revision is made.

Article 27

Each University in the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) which was in existence at the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution, shall be entitled to elect three representatives to Dáil Eireann upon a franchise and in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article 28

At a General Election for Dáil Eireann the polls (exclusive of those for members for the Universities) shall be held on the same day throughout the country, and that day shall be a day not later than thirty days after the date of the dissolution and shall be proclaimed a public holiday. Dáil Eireann shall meet within one month of such day, and shall unless earlier dissolved continue for four years from the date of its first meeting, and not longer. Dáil Eireann may not at any time be dissolved except on the advice of the Executive Council.

Article 29

In case of death, resignation or disqualification of a member of Dáil Eireann, the vacancy shall be filled by election in manner to be determined by law.

Article 30

Seanad Eireann shall be composed of citizens who shall be proposed on the grounds that they have done honour to the Nation by reason of useful public service or that, because of special qualifications or attainments, they represent important aspects of the Nation's life.

Article 31

The number of members of Seanad Eireann shall be sixty. A citizen to be eligible for membership of Seanad Eireann must be a person eligible to become a member of Dáil Eireann, and must have reached the age of thirty-five years. Subject to any provision for

the constitution of the first Seanad Eireann the term of office of a member of Seanad Eireann shall be twelve years.

Article 32

One-fourth of the members of Seanad Eireann shall be elected every three years from a panel constituted as hereinafter mentioned at an election at which the area of the jurisdiction of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall form one electoral area, and the elections shall be held on principles of Proportional Representation.

Article 33

Before each election of members of Seanad Eireann a panel shall be formed consisting of :—

(*a*) Three times as many qualified persons as there are members to be elected, of whom two-thirds shall be nominated by Dáil Eireann voting according to principles of Proportional Representation and one-third shall be nominated by Seanad Eireann voting according to principles of Proportional Representation ; and

(*b*) Such persons who have at any time been members of Seanad Eireann (including members about to retire) as signify by notice in writing addressed to the President of the Executive Council their desire to be included in the panel.

The method of proposal and selection for nomination shall be decided by Dáil Eireann and Seanad Eireann respectively, with special reference to the necessity for arranging for the representation of important interests and institutions in the country : Provided that each proposal shall be in writing and shall state the qualifications of the person proposed and that no person shall be proposed without his own consent. As soon as the panel has been formed a list of the names of the members of the panel arranged in alphabetical order with their qualifications shall be published.

Article 34

In case of the death, resignation or disqualification of a member of the Seanad Eireann his place shall be filled by a vote of Seanad Eireann. Any member of Seanad Eireann so chosen shall retire from office at the conclusion of the three years period then running and the vacancy thus created shall be additional to the places to be filled under Article 32 of this Constitution. The term of office of the members chosen at the election after the first fifteen elected shall conclude at the end of the period or periods at which the member or members of Seanad Eireann, by whose death or withdrawal the vacancy or vacancies was or were originally created, would be due to retire : Provided that the sixteenth member shall be deemed to have filled the vacancy first created in order of time and so on.

Article 35

Dáil Eireann shall in relation to the subject matter of Money Bills as hereinafter defined have legislative authority exclusive of Seanad Eireann.

A Money Bill means a Bill which contains only provisions dealing with all or any of the following subjects, namely, the imposition, repeal, remission, alteration or regulation of taxation; the imposition for the payment of debt or other financial purposes of charges on public moneys or the variation or repeal of any such charges; supply; the appropriation, receipt, custody, issue or audit of accounts of public money; the raising or guarantee of any loan or the repayment thereof; subordinate matters incidental to those subjects or any of them. In this definition the expression "taxation," "public money" and "loan" respectively do not include any taxation, money or loan raised by local authorities or bodies for local purposes.

The Chairman of Dáil Eireann shall certify any Bill which in his opinion is a Money Bill to be a Money Bill, but, if within three days after a Bill has been passed by Dáil Eireann, two-fifths of the members of either House by notice in writing addressed to the Chairman of the House of which they are members so require, the question whether the Bill is or is not a Money Bill shall be referred to a Committee of Privileges consisting of three members elected by each House with a Chairman who shall be the senior judge of the Supreme Court able and willing to act, and who, in the case of an equality of votes, but not otherwise, shall be entitled to vote. The decision of the Committee on the question shall be final and conclusive.

Article 36

Dáil Eireann shall as soon as possible after the commencement of each financial year consider the Estimates of receipts and expenditure of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) for that year, and, save in so far as may be provided by specific enactment in each case, the legislation required to give effect to the Financial Resolutions of each year shall be enacted within that year.

Article 37

Money shall not be appropriated by vote, resolution or law, unless the purpose of the appropriation has in the same session been recommended by a message from the Representative of the Crown acting on the advice of the Executive Council.

Article 38

Every Bill initiated in and passed by Dáil Eireann shall be sent to Seanad Eireann and may, unless it be a Money Bill, be amended in Seanad Eireann and Dáil Eireann shall consider any such amendment; but a Bill passed by Dáil Eireann and considered by Seanad Eireann shall, not later than two hundred and seventy days after it shall have been first sent to Seanad Eireann, or such longer period as may be agreed upon by the two Houses, be deemed to be passed by both Houses in the form in which it was last passed by Dáil Eireann: Provided that every Money Bill shall be sent to Seanad Eireann for its recommendations and at a period not longer than twenty-one days after it shall have been sent to Seanad Eireann, it shall be returned to Dáil Eireann which may pass it, accepting or rejecting all or any of the recommendations of Seanad Eireann, and as so passed or if

not returned within such period of twenty-one days shall be deemed to have been passed by both Houses. When a Bill other than a Money Bill has been sent to Seanad Eireann a Joint Sitting of the Members of both Houses may on a resolution passed by Seanad Eireann be convened for the purpose of debating, but not of voting upon, the proposals of the Bill or any amendment of the same.

Article 39

A Bill may be initiated in Seanad Eireann and if passed by Seanad Eireann shall be introduced into Dáil Eireann. If amended by Dáil Eireann the Bill shall be considered as a Bill initiated in Dáil Eireann. If rejected by Dáil Eireann it shall not be introduced again in the same session, but Dáil Eireann may reconsider it on its own motion.

Article 40

A Bill passed by either House and accepted by the other House shall be deemed to be passed by both Houses.

Article 41

So soon as any Bill shall have been passed or deemed to have been passed by both Houses, the Executive Council shall present the same to the Representative of the Crown for the signification by him, in the King's name, of the King's assent, and such Representative may withhold the King's assent or reserve the Bill for the signification of the King's pleasure: Provided that the Representative of the Crown shall in the withholding of such assent to or the reservation of any Bill, act in accordance with the law, practice, and constitutional usage governing the like withholding of assent or reservation in the Dominion of Canada.

A Bill reserved for the signification of the King's Pleasure shall not have any force unless and until within one year from the day on which it was presented to the Representative of the Crown for the King's assent, the Representative of the Crown signifies by speech or message to each of the Houses of the Oireachtas, or by proclamation, that it has received the assent of the King in Council.

An entry of every such speech, message or proclamation shall be made in the Journal of each House and a duplicate thereof duly attested shall be delivered to the proper officer to be kept among the Records of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann).

Article 42

As soon as may be after any law has received the King's assent, the clerk, or such officer as Dáil Eireann may appoint for the purpose, shall cause two fair copies of such law to be made, one being in the Irish language and the other in the English language (one of which copies shall be signed by the Representative of the Crown to be enrolled for record in the office of such officer of the Supreme Court as Dáil Eireann may determine), and such copies shall be conclusive evidence as to the provisions of every such law, and in case of conflict between the two copies so deposited, that signed by the Representative of the Crown shall prevail.

Article 43

The Oireachtas shall have no power to declare acts to be infringements of the law which were not so at the date of their commission.

Article 44

The Oireachtas may create subordinate legislatures with such powers as may be decided by law.

Article 45

The Oireachtas may provide for the establishment of Functional or Vocational Councils representing branches of the social and economic life of the Nation. A law establishing any such Council shall determine its powers, rights and duties, and its relation to the government of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann).

Article 46

The Oireachtas has the exclusive right to regulate the raising and maintaining of such armed forces as are mentioned in the Scheduled Treaty in the territory of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) and every such force shall be subject to the control of the Oireachtas.

Article 47

Any Bill passed or deemed to have been passed by both Houses may be suspended for a period of ninety days on the written demand of two-fifths of the members of Dáil Eireann or of a majority of the members of Seanad Eireann presented to the President of the Executive Council not later than seven days from the day on which such Bill shall have been so passed or deemed to have been passed. Such a Bill shall, in accordance with regulations to be made by the Oireachtas, be submitted by Referendum to the decision of the people if demanded before the expiration of the ninety days either by a resolution of Seanad Eireann assented to by three-fifths of the members of Seanad Eireann, or by a petition signed by not less than one-twentieth of the voters then on the register of voters, and the decision of the people by a majority of the votes recorded on such Referendum shall be conclusive. These provisions shall not apply to Money Bills or to such Bills as shall be declared by both Houses to be necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety.

Article 48

The Oireachtas may provide for the Initiation by the people of proposals for laws or constitutional amendments. Should the Oireachtas fail to make such provision within two years, it shall on the petition of not less than seventy-five thousand voters on the register, of whom not more than fifteen thousand shall be voters in any one constituency, either make such provisions or submit the question to the people for decision in accordance with the ordinary regulations governing the Referendum. Any legislation passed by the Oireachtas providing for such Initiation by the people shall provide (1) that such proposals may be initiated on a petition of fifty thousand

voters on the register, (2) that if the Oireachtas rejects a proposal so initiated it shall be submitted to the people for decision in accordance with the ordinary regulations governing the Referendum ; and (3) that if the Oireachtas enacts a proposal so initiated, such enactment shall be subject to the provisions respecting ordinary legislation or amendments of the Constitution as the case may be.

Article 49

Save in the case of actual invasion, the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall not be committed to active participation in any war without the assent of the Oireachtas.

Article 50

Amendments of this Constitution within the terms of the Scheduled Treaty may be made by the Oireachtas, but no such amendment, passed by both Houses of the Oireachtas, after the expiration of a period of eight years from the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution, shall become law, unless the same shall, after it has been passed or deemed to have been passed by the said two Houses of the Oireachtas, have been submitted to a Referendum of the people, and unless a majority of the voters on the register shall have recorded their votes on such Referendum, and either the votes of a majority of the voters on the register, or two-thirds of the votes recorded, shall have been cast in favour of such amendment. Any such amendment may be made within the said period of eight years by way of ordinary legislation and as such shall be subject to the provisions of Article 47 hereof.

Article 51

The Executive Authority of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) is hereby declared to be vested in the King, and shall be exercisable, in accordance with the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the exercise of the Executive Authority in the case of the Dominion of Canada, by the Representative of the Crown. There shall be a Council to aid and advise in the government of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) to be styled the Executive Council. The Executive Council shall be responsible to the Dáil Eireann, and shall consist of not more than seven nor less than five Ministers appointed by the Representative of the Crown on the nomination of the President of the Executive Council.

Article 52

Those Ministers who form the Executive Council shall all be members of Dáil Eireann and shall include the President of the Council, the Vice-President of the Council and the Minister in charge of the Department of Finance.

Article 53

The President of the Council shall be appointed on the nomination of Dáil Eireann. He shall nominate a Vice-President of the Council, who shall act for all purposes in the place of the President, if the President shall die, resign, or be permanently incapacitated, until a

new President of the Council shall have been elected. The Vice-President shall also act in the place of the President during his temporary absence. The other Ministers who are to hold office as members of the Executive Council shall be appointed on the nomination of the President, with the assent of Dáil Eireann, and he and the Ministers nominated by him shall retire from office should he cease to retain the support of a majority in Dáil Eireann, but the President and such Ministers shall continue to carry on their duties until their successors shall have been appointed: Provided, however, that the Oireachtas shall not be dissolved on the advice of an Executive Council which has ceased to retain the support of a majority in Dáil Eireann.

Article 54

The Executive Council shall be collectively responsible for all matters concerning the Departments of State administered by Members of the Executive Council. The Executive Council shall prepare Estimates of the receipts and expenditure of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) for each financial year, and shall present them to Dáil Eireann before the close of the previous financial year. The Executive Council shall meet and act as a collective authority.

Article 55

Ministers who shall not be members of the Executive Council may be appointed by the Representative of the Crown and shall comply with the provisions of Article 17 of this Constitution. Every such Minister shall be nominated by Dáil Eireann on the recommendation of a Committee of Dáil Eireann chosen by a method to be determined by Dáil Eireann, so as to be impartially representative of Dáil Eireann. Should a recommendation not be acceptable to Dáil Eireann, the Committee may continue to recommend names until one is found acceptable. The total number of Ministers, including the Ministers of the Executive Council, shall not exceed twelve.

Article 56

Every Minister who is not a member of the Executive Council shall be the responsible head of the Department or Departments under his charge, and shall be individually responsible to Dáil Eireann alone for the administration of the Department or Departments of which he is the head: Provided that should arrangements for Functional or Vocational Councils be made by the Oireachtas these Ministers or any of them may, should the Oireachtas so decide, be members of, and be recommended to Dáil Eireann by, such Councils. The term of office of any Minister, not a member of the Executive Council, shall be the term of Dáil Eireann existing at the time of his appointment, but he shall continue in office until his successor shall have been appointed, and no such Minister shall be removed from office during his term otherwise than by Dáil Eireann itself, and by them for stated reasons, and after the proposal to remove him has been submitted to a Committee, chosen by a method to be determined by Dáil Eireann, so as to be impartially representative of Dáil Eireann, and the Committee has reported thereon.

Article 57

Every Minister shall have the right to attend and be heard in Seanad Eireann.

Article 58

The appointment of a member of Dáil Eireann to be a Minister shall not entail upon him any obligation to resign his seat or to submit himself for re-election.

Article 59

Ministers shall receive such remuneration as may from time to time be prescribed by law, but the remuneration of any Minister shall not be diminished during his term of office.

Article 60

The Representative of the Crown, who shall be styled the Governor-General of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall be appointed in like manner as the Governor-General of Canada and in accordance with the practice observed in the making of such appointments. His salary shall be of the like amount as that now payable to the Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia and shall be charged on the public funds of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) and suitable provision shall be made out of those funds for the maintenance of his official residence and establishment.

Article 61

All revenues of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) from whatever source arising, shall, subject to such exception as may be provided by law, form one fund, and shall be appropriated for the purposes of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) in the manner and subject to the charges and liabilities imposed by law.

Article 62

Dáil Eireann shall appoint a Comptroller and Auditor-General to act on behalf of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann). He shall control all disbursements and shall audit all accounts of moneys administered by or under the authority of the Oireachtas and shall report to Dáil Eireann at stated periods to be determined by law.

Article 63

The Comptroller and Auditor-General shall not be removed except for stated misbehaviour or incapacity on resolutions passed by Dáil Eireann and Seanad Eireann. Subject to this provision the terms and conditions of his tenure of office shall be fixed by law. He shall not be a member of the Oireachtas nor shall be hold any other office or position of emolument.

Article 64

The judicial power of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall be exercised and justice administered in the public Courts established by the Oireachtas by judges appointed in manner hereinafter provided.

These Courts shall comprise Courts of First Instance and a Court of Final Appeal to be called the Supreme Court. The Courts of First Instance shall include a High Court, invested with full original jurisdiction in and power to determine all matters and questions whether of law or fact, civil or criminal, and also Courts of local and limited jurisdiction with a right of appeal as determined by law.

Article 65

The judicial power of the High Court shall extend to the question of the validity of any law having regard to the provisions of the Constitution. In all cases in which such matters shall come into question, the High Court alone shall exercise original jurisdiction.

Article 66

The Supreme Court of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall, with such exceptions (not including cases which involve questions as to the validity of any law) and subject to such regulations as may be prescribed by law, have appellate jurisdiction from all decisions of the High Court. The decision of the Supreme Court shall in all cases be final and conclusive, and shall not be reviewed or capable of being reviewed by any other Court, Tribunal or Authority whatsoever:

Provided that nothing in this Constitution shall impair the right of any person to petition His Majesty for special leave to appeal from the Supreme Court to His Majesty in Council or the right of His Majesty to grant such leave.

Article 67

The number of judges, the constitution and organisation of, and distribution of business and jurisdiction among, the said Courts and judges, and all matters of procedure shall be as prescribed by the laws for the time being in force and the regulations made thereunder.

Article 68

The judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Court and of all other Courts established in pursuance of this Constitution shall be appointed by the Representative of the Crown on the advice of the Executive Council. The judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Court shall not be removed except for stated misbehaviour or incapacity, and then only by resolutions passed by both Dáil Eireann and Seanad Eireann. The age of retirement, and the remuneration and the pension of such judges on retirement and the declarations to be taken by them on appointment shall be prescribed by law. Such remuneration may not be diminished during their continuance in office. The terms of appointment of the judges of such other courts as may be created shall be prescribed by law.

Article 69

All judges shall be independent in the exercise of their functions, and subject only to the Constitution and the law. A judge shall not

be eligible to sit in the Oireachtas, and shall not hold any other office or position of emolument.

Article 70

No one shall be tried save in due course of law and extraordinary courts shall not be established, save only such Military Tribunals as may be authorised by law for dealing with military offenders against military law. The jurisdiction of Military Tribunals shall not be extended to or exercised over the civil population save in time of war, or armed rebellion, and for acts committed in time of war or armed rebellion, and in accordance with the regulations to be prescribed by law. Such jurisdiction shall not be exercised in any area in which all civil courts are open or capable of being held, and no person shall be removed from one area to another for the purpose of creating such jurisdiction.

Article 71

A member of the armed forces of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) not on the active service shall not be tried by any Court Martial or other Military Tribunal for an offence cognisable by the Civil Courts, unless such offence shall have been brought expressly within the jurisdiction of Courts Martial or other Military Tribunal by any code of laws or regulations for the enforcement of military discipline which may be hereafter approved by the Oireachtas.

Article 72

No person shall be tried on any criminal charge without a jury save in the case of charges in respect of minor offences triable by law before a Court of Summary Jurisdiction and in the case of charges for offences against military law triable by Court Martial or other Military Tribunal.

TRANSITORY PROVISIONS

Article 73

Subject to this Constitution and to the extent to which they are not inconsistent therewith, the laws in force in the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) at the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution shall continue to be of full force and effect until the same or any of them shall have been repealed or amended by enactment of the Oireachtas.

Article 74

Nothing in this Constitution shall affect any liability to pay any tax or duty payable in respect of the financial year current at the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution or any preceding financial year, or in respect of any period ending on or before the last day of the said current financial year, or payable on any occasion happening within that or any preceding year, or the amount of such liability; and during the said current financial year all taxes and duties and arrears thereof shall continue to be assessed, levied and collected

in like manner in all respects as immediately before this Constitution came into operation, subject to the like adjustments of the proceeds collected as were theretofore applicable; and for that purpose the Executive Council shall have the like powers and be subject to the like liabilities as the Provisional Government.

Goods transported during the said current financial year from or to the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) to or from any part of Great Britain or the Isle of Man shall not, except so far as the Executive Council may otherwise direct, in respect of the forms to be used and the information to be furnished, be treated as goods exported or imported as the case may be.

For the purpose of this Article, the expression "financial year" means, as respects income tax (including super-tax), the year of assessment, and as respects other taxes and duties, the year ending on the thirty-first day of March.

Article 75

Until Courts have been established for the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) in accordance with this Constitution, the Supreme Court of Judicature, County Courts, Courts of Quarter Sessions and Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, as at present existing, shall for the time being continue to exercise the same jurisdiction as heretofore, and any judge or justice, being a member of any such Court, holding office at the time when this Constitution comes into operation, shall for the time being continue to be a member thereof and hold office by the like tenure and upon the like terms as heretofore, unless, in the case of a judge of the said Supreme Court or of a County Court, he signifies to the Representative of the Crown his desire to resign. Any vacancies in any of the said Courts so continued may be filled by appointment made in like manner as appointments to judgeships in the Courts established under this Constitution:

Provided that the provisions of Article 66 of this Constitution as to the decisions of the Supreme Court established under this Constitution shall apply to decisions of the Court of Appeal continued by this Article.

Article 76

If any judge of the said Supreme Court of Judicature or of any of the said County Courts on the establishment of Courts under this Constitution, is not with his consent appointed to be a judge of any such Court, he shall, for the purpose of Article 10 of the Scheduled Treaty, be treated as if he had retired in consequence of the change of Government effected in pursuance of the said Treaty, but the rights so conferred shall be without prejudice to any rights or claims that he may have against the British Government.

Article 77

Every existing officer of the Provisional Government at the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution (not being an officer whose services have been lent by the British Government to the Provisional Government) shall on that date be transferred to and become

an officer of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann), and shall hold office by a tenure corresponding to his previous tenure.

Article 78

Every such existing officer who was transferred from the British Government by virtue of any transfer of services to the Provisional Government shall be entitled to the benefit of Article 10 of the Scheduled Treaty.

Article 79

The transfer of the administration of any public service, the administration of which was not before the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution transferred to the Provisional Government, shall be deferred until the 31st day of March, 1923, or such earlier date as may, after one month's previous notice in the Official Gazette, be fixed by the Executive Council; and such of the officers engaged in the administration of those services at the date of transfer, as may be determined in the manner hereinafter appearing, shall be transferred to and become officers of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann); and Article 77 of this Constitution shall apply as if such officers were existing officers of the Provisional Government who had been transferred to that Government from the British Government. The officers to be so transferred in respect of any services shall be determined in like manner as if the administration of the services had before the coming into operation of the Constitution been transferred to the Provisional Government.

Article 80

As respects departmental property, assets, rights and liabilities, the Government of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall be regarded as the successors of the Provisional Government, and, to the extent to which functions of any department of the British Government become functions of the Government of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann), as the successors of such department of the British Government.

Article 81

After the date on which this constitution comes into operation the House of the Parliament elected in pursuance of the Irish Free State (Agreement) Act, 1922 (being the constituent assembly for the settlement of this Constitution), may, for a period not exceeding one year from that date, but subject to compliance by the Members thereof with the provisions of Article 17 of this Constitution, exercise all the powers and authorities conferred on Dáil Eireann by this Constitution, and the first election for Dáil Eireann under Articles 26, 27 and 28 hereof shall take place as soon as possible after the expiration of such period.

Article 82

Notwithstanding anything contained in Articles 14 and 33 hereof, the first Seanad Eireann shall be constituted immediately after the

coming into operation of this Constitution in the manner following, that is to say:—

(*a*) The first Seanad Eireann shall consist of sixty members, of whom thirty shall be elected and thirty shall be nominated.

(*b*) The thirty nominated members of Seanad Eireann shall be nominated by the President of the Executive Council who shall, in making such nominations, have special regard to the providing of representation for groups or parties not then adequately represented in Dáil Eireann.

(*c*) The thirty elected members of Seanad Eireann shall be elected by Dáil Eireann voting on principles of Proportional Representation.

(*d*) Of the thirty nominated members, fifteen to be selected by lot, shall hold office for the full period of twelve years, the remaining fifteen shall hold office for the period of six years.

(*e*) Of the thirty elected members the first fifteen elected shall hold office for the period of nine years, the remaining fifteen shall hold office for the period of three years.

(*f*) At the termination of the period of office of any such members, members shall be elected in their place in manner provided by Article 32 of this Constitution.

(*g*) Casual vacancies shall be filled in manner provided by Article 34 of this Constitution.

Article 83

The passing and adoption of this Constitution by the Constituent Assembly and the British Parliament shall be announced as soon as may be, and not later than the sixth day of December, nineteen hundred and twenty-two, by Proclamation of His Majesty, and this Constitution shall come into operation on the issue of such Proclamation.

SECOND SCHEDULE ABOVE REFERRED TO

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT FOR A TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

1. Ireland shall have the same constitutional status in the Community of Nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Ireland and an Executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State.

2. Subject to the provisions hereinafter set out the position of the Irish Free State in relation to the Imperial Parliament and Government and otherwise shall be that of the Dominion of Canada, and the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or the representative of the Crown and of the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada shall govern their relationship to the Irish Free State.

3. The representative of the Crown in Ireland shall be appointed

in like manner as the Governor-General of Canada and in accordance with the practice observed in the making of such appointments.

4. The oath to be taken by Members of the Parliament of the Irish Free State shall be in the following form :—

> I ..... do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established and that I will be faithful to H.M. King George V, his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.

5. The Irish Free State shall assume liability for the service of the Public Debt of the United Kingdom as existing at the date hereof and towards the payment of war pensions as existing at that date in such proportion as may be fair and equitable, having regard to any just claims on the part of Ireland by way of set off or counter-claim, the amount of such sums being determined in default of agreement by the arbitration of one or more independent persons being citizens of the British Empire.

6. Until an arrangement has been made between the British and Irish Governments whereby the Irish Free State undertakes her own coastal defence, the defence by sea of Great Britain and Ireland shall be undertaken by His Majesty's Imperial Forces. But this shall not prevent the construction or maintenance by the Government of the Irish Free State of such vessels as are necessary for the protection of the Revenue or the Fisheries.

The foregoing provisions of this article shall be reviewed at a Conference of Representatives of the British and Irish Governments to be held at the expiration of five years from the date hereof with a view to the undertaking by Ireland of a share in her own coastal defence.

7. The Government of the Irish Free State shall afford to His Majesty's Imperial Forces :—

> (*a*) In time of peace such harbour and other facilities as are indicated in the Annex hereto, or such other facilities as may from time to time be agreed between the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State ; and
>
> (*b*) In time of war or of strained relations with a Foreign Power such harbour and other facilities as the British Government may require for the purposes of such defence as aforesaid.

8. With a view to securing the observance of the principle of international limitation of armaments, if the Government of the Irish Free State establishes and maintains a military defence force, the establishments thereof shall not exceed in size such proportion of the military establishments maintained in Great Britain as that which the population of Ireland bears to the population of Great Britain.

9. The ports of Great Britain and the Irish Free State shall be freely open to the ships of the other country on payment of the customary port and other dues.

10. The Government of the Irish Free State agrees to pay fair compensation on terms not less favourable than those accorded by the

Act of 1920 to judges, officials, members of Police Forces and other Public Servants who are discharged by it or who retire in consequence of the change of government effected in pursuance hereof:

Provided that this agreement shall not apply to members of the Auxiliary Police Force or to persons recruited in Great Britain for the Royal Irish Constabulary during the two years next preceding the date hereof. The British Government will assume responsibility for such compensation or pensions as may be payable to any of these excepted persons.

11. Until the expiration of one month from the passing of the Act of Parliament for the ratification of this instrument, the powers of the Parliament and the government of the Irish Free State shall not be exercisable as respects Northern Ireland and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, shall, so far as they relate to Northern Ireland remain of full force and effect, and no election shall be held for the return of members to serve in the Parliament of the Irish Free State for constituencies in Northern Ireland, unless a resolution is passed by both Houses of the Parliament of Northern Ireland in favour of the holding of such elections before the end of the said month.

12. If before the expiration of the said month, an address is presented to His Majesty by both Houses of the Parliament of Northern Ireland to that effect, the powers of the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State shall no longer extend to Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920 (including those relating to the Council of Ireland) shall so far as they relate to Northern Ireland, continue to be of full force and effect, and this instrument shall have effect subject to the necessary modifications.

Provided that if such an address is so presented a Commission consisting of three persons, one to be appointed by the Government of the Irish Free State, one to be appointed by the Government of Northern Ireland and one who shall be Chairman to be appointed by the British Government shall determine in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions, the boundaries between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland, and for the purposes of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and of this instrument, the boundary of Northern Ireland shall be such as may be determined by such Commission.

13. For the purpose of the last foregoing article, the powers of the Parliament of Southern Ireland under the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, to elect members of the Council of Ireland shall after the Parliament of the Irish Free State is constituted be exercised by that Parliament.

14. After the expiration of the said month, if no such address as is mentioned in Article 12 hereof is presented, the Parliament and Government of Northern Ireland shall continue to exercise as respects Northern Ireland the powers conferred on them by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, but the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State shall in Northern Ireland have in relation to matters in respect of which the Parliament of Northern Ireland has not power to make laws under that Act (including matters which under the said Act are within the jurisdiction of the Council of Ireland) the same powers

as in the rest of Ireland, subject to such other provisions as may be agreed in manner hereinafter appearing.

15. At any time after the date hereof the Government of Northern Ireland and the provisional Government of Southern Ireland hereinafter constituted may meet for the purpose of discussing the provisions subject to which the last foregoing Article is to operate in the event of no such address as is therein mentioned being presented and those provisions may include:

(*a*) Safeguards with regard to patronage in Northern Ireland:

(*b*) Safeguards with regard to the collection of revenue in Northern Ireland:

(*c*) Safeguards with regard to import and export duties affecting the trade or industry of Northern Ireland:

(*d*) Safeguards for minorities in Northern Ireland:

(*e*) The settlement of the financial relations between Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State:

(*f*) The establishment and powers of a local militia in Northern Ireland and the relation of the Defence Forces of the Irish Free State and of Northern Ireland respectively:

and if at any such meeting provisions are agreed to, the same shall have effect as if they were included amongst the provisions subject to which the Powers of the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State are to be exercisable in Northern Ireland under Article 14 hereof.

16. Neither the Parliament of the Irish Free State nor the Parliament of Northern Ireland shall make any law so as either directly or indirectly to endow any religion or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof or give any preference or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at the school or make any discrimination as respects state aid between schools under the management of different religious denominations or divert from any religious denomination or any educational institution any of its property except for public utility purposes and on payment of compensation.

17. By way of provisional arrangement for the administration of Southern Ireland during the interval which must elapse between the date hereof and the constitution of a Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State in accordance therewith, steps shall be taken forthwith for summoning a meeting of members of Parliament elected for constituencies in Southern Ireland since the passing of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and for constituting a provisional Government, and the British Government shall take the steps necessary to transfer to such provisional Government the powers and machinery requisite for the discharge of its duties, provided that every member of such provisional Government shall have signified in writing his or her acceptance of this instrument. But this arrangement shall not continue in force beyond the expiration of twelve months from the date hereof.

18. This instrument shall be submitted forthwith by His Majesty's Government for the approval of Parliament and by the Irish signatories to a meeting summoned for the purpose of the members elected

to sit in the House of Commons of Southern Ireland, and if approved shall be ratified by the necessary legislation.

(*Signed*)

On behalf of the British Delegation.	On behalf of the Irish Delegation.
(Signed)	(Signed)
D. LLOYD GEORGE.	ART O GRÍOBHTHA.
AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.	(Arthur Griffith).
BIRKENHEAD.	MÍCHAEL O COILEÁIN.
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.	RIOBÁRD BARTÚN.
L. WORTHINGTON-EVANS.	EUDHMONN S. O'DUGÁIN.
HAMAR GREENWOOD.	SEÓRSA GHABHÁIN UÍ DHUBHTHAIGH.
GORDON HEWART.	

December 6, 1921.

ANNEX

1. The following are the specific facilities required.

DOCKYARD PORT AT BEREHAVEN

(*a*) Admiralty property and rights to be retained as at the date hereof. Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

QUEENSTOWN.

(*b*) Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties. Certain mooring buoys to be retained for use of His Majesty's ships.

BELFAST LOUGH

(*c*) Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

LOUGH SWILLY

(*d*) Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

AVIATION

(*e*) Facilities in the neighbourhood of the above ports for coastal defence by air.

OIL FUEL STORAGE

(*f*) Haulbowline . . } To be offered for sale to commercial companies under guarantee that purchasers shall maintain a certain minimum stock for Admiralty purposes.

Rathmullen . . }

2. A Convention shall be made between the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State to give effect to the following conditions :—

(*a*) That submarine cables shall not be landed or wireless stations for communication with places outside Ireland be established except by agreement with the British Government ; that the existing cable landing rights and wireless concessions shall not be withdrawn except by agreement with the British Government ; and that the British Government shall be entitled to land additional submarine cables or establish additional wireless stations for communication with places outside Ireland.

(*b*) That lighthouses, buoys, beacons, and any navigational marks or navigational aids shall be maintained by the Government of the Irish Free State as at the date hereof and shall not be removed or added to except by agreement with the British Government.

(*c*) That war signal stations shall be closed down and left in charge of care and maintenance parties, the Government of the Irish Free State being offered the option of taking them over and working them for commercial purposes subject to Admiralty inspection, and guaranteeing the upkeep of existing telegraphic communication therewith.

3. A Convention shall be made between the same Governments for the regulation of Civil Communication by Air.

D. Ll. G. B. W. S. C. A. G.
M. O'C.
A. C. E. S. O'D. R. B.
S. G. D.

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