Handbook of the Ulster Question.

Design by Theodora Harrison.

HANDBOOK OF THE ULSTER QUESTION.

ISSUED BY THE NORTH EASTERN BOUNDARY BUREAU.

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PREFACE.

This Handbook, which is issued by the North-Eastern Boundary Bureau, has been compiled from the best and most exact information available. Grateful acknowledgments are due to all those who have assisted in the work, especially to the Registrar General for his help in connection with statistics; to Mr. Seán Milroy, who has permitted the reproduction of tables, etc., relating to economics; and to the Proprietors of the "Manchester Guardian" for permission to use articles from its Irish supplements. It is also desired to thank the Ordnance Survey for the skill and care shown in the reproduction of the maps.

It is hoped that the book will be valuable as a compendium of facts, many of which are not generally realized, for all those interested in the Ulster Question.

(Signed), KEVIN R. O'SHIEL,

Director,

North-Eastern Boundary Bureau.

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Handbook of the Ulster Question.

INTRODUCTION.

The object of this Handbook is to assemble and arrange in a convenient form all the material facts relating to the Ulster question generally, and in particular to that aspect of it which comes within the purview of the Boundary Commission, as provided by Article 12 of the Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland.

Section 1 of the book describes in detail the historical background, ancient and modern, from which the problem emerged. It also discusses the development and application of the policy of Partition in the light of history, reason and the national idea. Section 2 sets forth the wishes of the population, for or against a National Parliament, as shown by the most reliable statistics available for the smallest as well as the largest administrative or territorial units. In Section 3 the geography of the province is examined, and the effects of the policy of Partition on the economic and financial interests of the Six County area, the province of Ulster and the country as a whole, are discussed. Section 4 studies the problem in relation to similar questions elsewhere, with a view to discovering whether a political solution founded on separation accords with international precedents.

The facts and figures contained in the book are derived from authoritative sources which cannot be seriously challenged. The conclusions drawn from those facts and figures, viewed from every angle, are against any form of Partition, and particularly against the form of Partition set up by the Act of 1920.

From the historical section of the book it is clear that the real cause of division in Ulster was not a difference of race but a difference of religion, and that this religious difference was persistently exploited by persons and parties whose interests demanded the frustration of the forces continuously making for national unity. It is clear that towards the end of the eighteenth century the forces making for union had so far triumphed over the forces of division that the Protestants of Ulster led the whole nation in the successful claim for an independent Parliament. It is clear that after the Act of Union redoubled efforts were made to stress the religious difference in the interests of an Ascendancy class, which felt that a union of all creeds would be fatal to its power. There is, therefore, no real ground of division in Ulster except one of religion, and this cause of division has been artificially stimulated in the interests of a class. To found a policy of severance on nothing more substantial than a religious difference is to do violence to the very idea of a nation, for, if generally applied, such a policy would split up most civilised nations in the world into helpless fragments.

Even if it be assumed that religious differences constitute a just ground for separate political treatment, a study of the figures contained in Section 2 of this Handbook is sufficient to prove that the boundary drawn by the 1920 Act is in sharp conflict with the very

principle on which Partition was supported. Apart from the well-known fact that a considerable number of Protestants in the Six Counties are against Partition for national and economic reasons, the boundary as arbitrarily fixed by the 1920 Act removed from the jurisdiction of the Irish Parliament 450,000 people, or 34 per cent. of the whole population of the Six County area, who ardently desire to be with their fellow-countrymen across the border. Most of these people occupy areas adjoining the Free State and should not, therefore, have been included in the jurisdiction of the "Northern" Government. It was to remedy this wrong that the Boundary Commission was provided for in the Treaty.

Section 3 of the Handbook proves that, however much Partition may be defended on the ground of a religious difference or mere political expediency, it is utterly indefensible on geographical and economic grounds. No part of Ulster is separated from the rest of Ireland by a natural barrier even as great as that which separates Clare from Limerick or Galway from Roscommon. If the historic Ulster province of nine counties merged vaguely into the rest of Ireland, the Six County boundary is more nebulous still. As Ireland is an obvious geographical unit, so also it is an obvious economic unit, and it is in the economic field, as Section 3 shows, that the evils of Partition become most apparent. Since the setting up of the Customs frontier, as an inevitable and automatic consequence of political Partition, not even the most enthusiastic supporter of that policy has had the hardihood to defend it on purely economic grounds. There, beyond all denial, it stands self-condemned.

The problem of North-East Ulster is unique in only one respect—it is the only religious minority in the world which has, through the assistance of powerful outside influences, been able to frustrate the organic development of the nation for more than a century, and then to insist on cutting off from the nation not only its own adherents but a large minority whose traditional allegiance was to the nation as a whole. Section 4 shows that the problem of populations with divergent political wishes is by no means unique, and has been solved in many countries without resort to so drastic and injurious an expedient as Partition. The moral to be drawn from similar problems elsewhere is that the legitimate claims of minorities should be satisfied by the creation of machinery which would inflict the minimum of injury on the national organism. In some of the post-war settlements respect for the national organism was carried so far that important minorities received no special treatment. In forming the new state of Czecho-Slovakia, for instance, the Peace Conference included in Bohemia over three million Germans, largely living in districts contiguous to Germany, the reason given being that for geographical reasons they naturally belonged to Bohemia, since they lived within the wall of the mountains which almost surround that country. The range of mountains which nearly encloses Bohemia is not so compelling a symbol of national unity as the four seas which lap the shores of Ireland. Political wisdom dictates, and international examples prove, that the special interests and desires of minorities should be met without injuring or curtailing the organic unity of the nation as a whole. The national organism is strong enough and attractive enough, left to itself, to win to its willing service even the most obdurate of minorities—a fact to which the British Commonwealth of Nations bears witness in the cases of Quebec and Natal.

The Partition of any portion of Irish soil is, therefore, bad in theory and calamitous in practice. The Partition effected against the wishes of the whole of Ireland by the 1920 Act, and re-introduced by the decision of the Belfast Parliament to contract out of the Free State under the first part of Article 12 of the Treaty, created for the first time an Irredentist problem in Ireland and inflicted on the country a wrong which only re-union can completely remedy. Meanwhile, the Boundary Commission provided for by the second part of that Article is required to correct the most obvious aspect of that wrong. In determining the boundary, the Commission is bound by its terms of reference to give priority to " the wishes of the inhabitants "—a phrase consecrated by international usage as the practical expression of the principle of self-determination. In the case of Upper Silesia it was laid down that in fixing the frontier as the result of a plebiscite, " regard will be paid to the wishes of the inhabitants as shown by the vote, and to the geographical and economic conditions of the locality." (Treaty of Versailles, Article 88, Annex 5). In the Anglo-Irish Treaty the words are very similar, except that an even greater emphasis is laid on " the wishes of the inhabitants " as the governing consideration. In Upper Silesia the populations were much more intermingled than in the case of North-East Ulster, and the terms of reference were so applied that a frontier was drawn leaving as few discontented inhabitants as possible on either side.

The settlement of the boundary of " Northern " Ireland in accordance with such a principle would rob Partition of one of the most glaring of its injustices by restoring the maximum number of unwilling citizens to the government of their choice, but many of the evil results of an evil policy would remain. There would still be left in the partitioned area thousands of dissatisfied citizens who yearned for re-union with their fellow-countrymen. The national organism would still be weakened and deprived of its full power of development. The Irish Free State, the newest member of the Commonwealth of Nations, would still have an Irredentist problem comparable to that of Alsace-Lorraine or Italia Irredenta. The new line would be shorter than the old and more in accord with economic and geographic realities, but it would still be an arbitrary line in a small country clearly marked for unity by the sea.

I. HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF ULSTER.

THE GAELIC CONQUEST OF THE PICTS (B.C. 350-A.D. 432).

THE name of Ulster, like that of Munster and Leinster, contains an Irish name with a Norse ending. The corresponding Irish name is Cuigeadh Uladh, anciently Coiced Uloth, meaning the Fifth of the Uluti. This name comes down from the time of the Irish Pentarchy, when Ireland was divided into five principal kingdoms, each of which was called a Fifth. The northern Fifth took its name from the Uluti or Ulaidh who ruled over it. The seat of their kings was Eamhain (Emain, Emania), now called the Navan, close to Armagh city.

Ancient Ulster extended from the river Drowes, which is still part of the boundary of Ulster on the west coast, to the river Boyne on the east coast. The boundary ran from the Drowes and Loch Melvin to the headwaters of the Shannon, then followed the course of the Shannon till it enters Loch Boderg. From this point the boundary struck eastward by Mohill in County Leitrim until it reached Loch Ramor in County Cavan, and from Loch Ramor it followed the river Blackwater to Navan, and the Boyne from Navan to the sea. The ancient Fifth of Ulster thus comprised, in addition to the modern Ulster, a large part of County Leitrim, a small part of County Longford, part of County Meath, and the whole of County Louth.

At the time of the Celtic or Gaelic occupation of Ireland, about 350 B.C., the chief people of this region were those afterwards known as the Picts. Their Celtic name was Qreteni, the Cruithni of Irish literature. In the Celtic of Britain and Gaul, this name became Pretani, from which Julius Cæsar formed the name Brittania; for the Gauls, who were the main source of Cæsar's information, regarded the Pretani as the original and principal inhabitants of both Britain and Ireland. Ptolemy, the celebrated Greek geographer, writing about A.D. 150, still uses the name Pretani, and calls Britain and Ireland the "Pretanic Islands," which really means the Pictish islands.

The great Irish epic tale of Tain Bo Cuailnge, the most celebrated piece of Irish literature, along with its numerous companion tales of the "Ulster Cycle," has been the subject of study by many modern scholars. The principal edition is that of Professor Windisch of Freiburg. There are English translations by Mrs. Hutton of Belfast and Professor Dunne of Washington. This Ulster epic has held the primacy in the national literature of Ireland since the seventh century when it was first written down. It tells of the kings and

heroes of Emain who flourished about the beginning of the Christian era and of their relations, a wonderful blend of war and friendship, with the other four Fifths of Ireland. The chief king of Ulster is Conchobhar MacNessa, its great champion is Cuchulainn, *fortissimus heros Scottorum*, whose stronghold still stands besides Dundalk and has given its name to that town, now outside of the bounds of Ulster. Other heroes of the epic are Bricriu Eviltongue, Conall Cearnach, Celtchar whose fortress of Dun Lethglaise became afterwards Downpatrick, Fergus MacRoigh, and the Sons of Uisne, with whom is linked the tragedy of Deirdre.

Ulster has older legends still. Dun Sobairce, Dunseverick, is one of the two oldest fortresses in Irish story, the other is Dun Cermna, the Old Head of Kinsale.

Hard by Dun Sobairce and now more famous is Clochan na Fomorach, "the Giant's Causeway," named from the "Fomorians," a race of gods of storm and pestilence, who had a stronghold in Toraigh, Tory Island. The siege of this stronghold led to the overthrow of Nemed's people, the second race of colonists of Ireland in ancient legend. The remnant of this colony fled from Ireland, and came back under the name of Fir Bolg. One of their kings was Genann, from whom Dungannon takes its name. Another was Rudraige who gave a name to Loch Rudraige, now called Dundrum Bay. The oldest written history of Ireland says that the first thing certain in Irish tradition is the reign of Cimbaeth, who founded the kingdom of Emain about 300 B.C. His wife was Macha, and from her Armagh, Ard Macha, "Macha's height," is named.

The Uluti or Ulaidh, masters of Ulster in the heroic tales aforesaid, were Celts or Gaels. Their power seems to have declined in the early centuries of the Christian era and the Picts became again the dominant race in Ulster. Against them Conn of the Hundred Battles, endeavouring to consolidate all Ireland under one monarchy, measured his strength, and in the last of his hundred fights, the celebrated Cormac MacAirt, renewed the struggle. At first he was worsted and driven by the Picts from Tara, but he gathered help, returned, and won a decisive victory over the Picts in the battle of Crinna, about A.D. 250. The result of this battle was to push back the bounds of Ulster from the Boyne to somewhere near its present line, and to establish the authority of the kings of Tara over all Ireland.

The Picts, fearing that further loss of territory might follow, now sought to fortify their frontier in imitation of the Roman walls of Northern Britain—for it was about this time, as we learn from Latin writers, that both the Picts and the Gaels or Scots are first told of as joint invaders of the Roman border in Britain. Linking up the natural barriers of lake and river and marsh and forest, they raised a mighty earthwork along the southern border of Ulster from sea to sea. Extensive remains of this great Wall of Ulster are still extant, named in one place the Black Pig's Dyke, in another the Worm Ditch, in another the Dunchladh, "the fortified earthwork." In those days and right down to the seventeenth century, the main highway of Ulster on the eastern side was the Road of Midluachair. This road connected Tara, the capital of Ireland, with Emain, the capital of Ulster. North of Emain, it parted into two branches, one on each side of Lough Neagh. The eastern branch which led to Dunseverick, became known afterwards to the French-speaking Norman colonists of eastern Ulster as "la Route," and this name,

the Route, is still given to the north-western part of County Antrim, traversed by the ancient road. A few miles south of Emain is the long ridge of Sliabh Fuaid, now called the Black Bank. The great road passes through a narrow defile in this ridge. For better safety, the rulers of Emain raised at the southern end of the pass another grand earthwork of rhomboidal plan, probably for occupation as an encampment in imitation of the Roman *castra*. The great road passed through openings in the northern and southern walls of this work, which thus got the name of Doirse Emna, "the Gates of Emain," and is still known as "the Dorsey." Parts of the massive earthwork still remain.

These fortifications were labour in vain. Early in the fourth century the three Collas, sons of a King of Tara, led an army over the frontier, avoiding the pass of Sliabh Fuaid and its guarded gates, and overthrew the last king of Emain and his army. The remnant of the fighting Picts fled eastward into the country now named, from one of their chief septs, Iveagh. Emain and the greater part of Ulster fell to the victors and remained for many centuries afterwards under the rule of their descendants, the Airgialla. The ancient kingdom of Airgialla extended from the bounds of Meath to the banks of Loch Foyle. In it were comprised the present counties of Armagh, Monaghan, Fermanagh, Tyrone, and about half of Derry. The defeated Picts still held sway in Iveagh and Kinelarty and also in the valley of the Lower Bann, north of Lough Neagh. Between the Newry valley and Loch Neagh they raised another earthwork, the remains of which are now called the Dane's Cast. It is likely that long before this time the Irish Picts had abandoned their own language for Gaelic. Bede says that in his time, after A.D. 700, the Picts of Scotland still spoke Pictish.

There is evidence that the Pictish race was widespread in ancient Ireland. The Irish genealogists recognised noble families of Pictish origin in Leinster and Munster and still more numerously in Connacht. In Scotland, the early Celtic invasion still left the Picts in possession of all the country north of the Grampians and also in Galloway.

Of Western Ulster, the northern part, now called County Donegal, was annexed about the year 400 by Conall, Eoghan and Eanna, three sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages, King of Ireland. West Donegal became Tir Conaill ("Tyrconnell"), Conallsland, southeast Donegal Tir Eanna, Eanna's land, and northeast Donegal Tir Eoghain, Eoghan's land, now called Inis Eoghain ("Inishowen"), Eoghan's island or peninsula. Many centuries later, the whole of what is now Donegal county, became subject to the descendants of Conall, Cenel Conaill, but long before that time the descendants of Eoghan, Cenel Eoghain, had pushed out over Mid Ulster and had given their name to a new Tir Eoghain, "Tyrone."

South-western Ulster, the ancient Breifne, comprised in the counties of Leitrim and Cavan, became Tir Briuin, the land of Brion, who was a brother of Niall of the Nine Hostages.

This Niall, like the three Collas above-mentioned, was a descendant of Cormac and Conn. The dynasty to which these princes belonged had ruled over Connacht before it extended its power to Tara. To it belonged all the monarchs or high-kings of Ireland from the fourth to the eleventh century. Other descendants of Niall became dominant in Midhe, the middle region between Ulster on the

North and Munster and Leinster on the south, for the ancient Leinster extended no further northward than Dublin. Niall's descendants in western and middle Ulster were known as the Northern Ui Neill, his descendants in the Midlands as the Southern Ui Neill. Ui Neill is not to be confused with the surname O'Neill, given to the posterity of Niall Glundubh (black knee), King of Ireland, 916-919, who was himself a descendant of Niall of the Nine Hostages.

In the middle of the sixth century, the sept of Eoghan won from the Picts the territory that they had retained to the west of the Lower Bann. The kings of this sept are known to early Irish historians as "kings of Ailech," taking their name from a prehistoric stone fortress now called Grianan Oiligh, on the neck of the Inishowen peninsula near Derry. This fortress remains in a state of excellent preservation and is one of the most celebrated antiquities of Ulster and of Ireland. It was the constant aim of these kings in early Christian times to include in their sphere of influence the ecclesiastical metropolis of Ireland, Armagh, and to dominate the whole of Ulster.

In that early Christian period, the political division of Ulster was as follows. Connacht was held to extend to the Lakes of Erne, Airgialla or "Oriel" from the Erne to Loch Neagh. North of this, from the Bann westwards, were the Northern Ui Neill. Eastern Ulster, now comprised in the counties of Antrim and Down and the northern part of Louth, formed a distinct group of small kingdoms subject only to the King of Ireland, but often striving among themselves for a local supremacy.

The northern part of County Louth was the kingdom of Conaille, under a Pictish dynasty. The western part of County Down between the Mourne mountains and Loch Neagh and also the western part of County Antrim north of Loch Neagh, formed the kingdom of Dal Araidhe, also under a Pictish Dynasty. The eastern or maritime part of County Down, from Carlingford Loch to Belfast Loch, was the kingdom of the Ulaidh, the remnant of the ancient Uluti from whom Ulster has its name. The eastern part of County Antrim, from Larne Loch to the mouth of the river Bush, was the kingdom of Dal Riada, whose kings were of the race of the Erainn, once numerous in most parts of Munster.

Conversion to Christianity. Intercourse between the Peoples of Ulster and those of South-Western Scotland (432-1170).

In the third and fourth centuries, the weakening of the Roman power in Britain tempted the Gaels and Picts to invasion and plunder, and many Irish settlements were made that lasted for centuries on the western coastlands of Britain from Devonshire to Argyleshire. It was in this period that the Irish came to be known in Latin by the name Scotti or Scots, probably an old Celtic word meaning "raiders." Centuries later the Norsemen began to give this name to the Irish colonists in Scotland, distinguishing them by it from the Irish of the mother country.

It was in one of the Irish raids on Britain, about the year 403, that a youth of Roman Britain, afterwards known as Saint Patrick, was carried away captive with many others and became a slave to Miliuc, a chieftain whose lands were in the district of Slinbh Mis, "Slemish" mountain, in County Antrim. He escaped, and afterwards, in 432, returned to Ireland a Christian bishop to convert the Irish from heathenism. He first settled in the land of

the Ulaidh, where, among other churches, he founded the one which afterwards bore his name, Dun Padraig, Downpatrick. Some twenty years later he established his principal see at Armagh. After long and successful missionary labours in various parts of Ireland, he died in 461, and was buried in Downpatrick. It is an unquestionable tradition that in the same tomb with him were afterwards buried the two greatest saints of Irish birth, Brigid and Columba. Ulster thus holds the three places most celebrated in the life of Ireland's Apostle, Slemish, where he first dwelt in Ireland. Armagh, his metropolis, and Downpatrick, his place of burial. Saint Brigid's birthplace, Fochairt, near Dundalk, was within Ulster in her time. Saint Columba's birthplace was Gartan in Tir Conaill.

About the year 470, the King of Dal Riada, Fergus Mac Eirc, having acquired power over the Irish settlements in Scotland, migrated thither with his brothers. The region subject to them comprised only Argyleshire and the neighbouring islands. To this realm their native kingdom of Dal Riada in Ireland remained attached until the Norse invasions between 790 and 800. About the year 700, the dynasty of Fergus extended its power to the eastern coast of Scotland, and about 850 one of his descendants, Cinaeth MacAilpin ("Kenneth MacAlpine") brought all the peoples of Scotland, Picts, Britons and Angles, under his power. From him descended all the later kings of Scotland. Throughout their kingdom, except among the Angles, the prevalence of the Gaelic language attested the spread of Irish colonisation.

In 563, Saint Columba, of the line of the kings of Tir Conaill, set out to establish Christianity among the peoples of western and northern Scotland. He had already founded the monastery of Doire, around which the city of Derry grew, and many other monasteries. The King of Dal Riada granted him the island of I, now called in English Iona, which became the centre and source of religion and learning for all Scotland and a large part of England.

In 574 Aedh Mac Ainmirech, King of Tir Conaill and Monarch of Ireland, held a national assembly at Druim Ceata, near Limavady. This assembly settled the terms upon which Dal Riada was to be subject to the King of Ireland and also to its own King Aedhan, who ruled an independent realm in Scotland.

In 637, Domhnall Breac, King of Dal Riada, invaded Ireland from Scotland, and was joined by the Picts and Ulaidh of East Ulster. He suffered a signal defeat from the King of Ireland, also named Domhnall, son of Aedh aforesaid. The place of the battle was Magh Rath, "Moira," near Lisburn. This event was of great celebrity in later times, and the story of it, highly elaborated, is one of the great pieces of Irish literature.

The battle of Moira fixed the destiny of a famous Ulsterman, Cenn Faeladh the Learned, whose grandfather Baedan, of Cenel Eoghain, had been King of Ireland. Wounded in the battle, Cenn Faeladh was sent for treatment to Tuaim Reagan, "Tomregan," near Ballyconnell, County Cavan, where there were three schools, a Latin school, an Irish school, and a school of Irish law. He became a Latin scholar and a poet and jurist in Irish lore, and was probably the first writer of the ancient laws of Ireland, and the first grammarian of the Irish language. Some of his writings are extant. He lived at Doire Lurain, "Derryloran," near Cookstown. The year of his death was 678. In the same year, another famous Ulsterman, Saint

Adamnan, became Abbot of Iona. His life of the founder, Saint Columba, is considered one of the most remarkable biographies of that age. He is also famed as a reformer of Irish law.

At this time the dynasty of Tir Conaill, from which both Columba and Adamnan sprang, was very powerful and shared with the kings of Ailech the chief power in Ulster and often the monarchy of Ireland. In 733 Flaithbheartach, King of Tir Conaill and Monarch of Ireland, was defeated and deposed by Aedh Allan, King of Ailech, and retired into religious life at Armagh, where he died many years afterwards. Thence forward until the seventeenth century the line of Eoghan, kings of Ailech and of Tir Eoghain, was dominant in Ulster.

The Norsemen, whose attempts on Ireland began in 795, made little headway in Ulster, though of all parts of Ireland it was most exposed to their attacks, for they soon obtained possession of the neighbouring countries of Argyleshire, the Hebrides, Galloway, and the Isle of Man. In 865, Aedh Finnliath, King of Ailech and Monarch of Ireland, expelled them from all their settlements on the Ulster coast. His son Niall Glundubh, King of Ireland, 916-919, ancestor of the O'Neill family, and Niall's son, Muircheartach of the Leathern Cloaks, were among the doughtiest opponents of the Scandinavian invaders, and both fell in battle with the Norsemen.

Domhnall, son of Muircheartach, is the first recorded bearer of the surname O'Neill. After a long and prosperous reign as King of Ailech and Monarch of Ireland, he died in 980, and was buried in Armagh.

About this time the Pictish kingdom north of Loch Neagh gave place to an encroachment of the Airgialla under a line of kings who afterwards took the surname O'Flainn, Englished O'Lynn or Lynn. They ruled in Antrim until De Courcy's invasion under Henry II.

After the battle of Clontarf in 1014, Flaithbheartach O'Neill, King of Ailech, son of Domhnall, helped to restore Mael Sheachlainn ("Malachy") to the monarchy, from which Brian had deposed him. When Mael Sheachlainn died in 1022, Flaithbheartach made an ineffectual effort to secure for himself the monarchy which had been held in alternation by his ancestors and the ancestors of Mael Sheachlainn since 734. For about half a century after this, there was no recognised king of Ireland. During this time the O'Neill family lost their headship in Ulster, yielding place to the nearly related house of Mac Lochlainn (MacLaughlin). Toirdhealbhach, grandson of Brian, and King of Munster, became king of Ireland and was succeeded by his son Muircheartach O Briain. This king met with a stubborn resistance from Domhnall Mac Lochlainn, King of Ailech. To establish his power over Domhnall, O Briain made alliance with the Ulaidh in East Ulster and also with Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, who was then seeking to consolidate his own authority over the Norse settlements in Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man. O Briain bethrothed his daughter to a son of Magnus. In 1103 Mac Lochlainn defeated O Briain and his East-Ulster allies near Banbridge, and Magnus, who no doubt was coming to their aid, was cut off and killed on the Ulster coast. This event was perhaps even more decisive than the battle of Clontarf in preventing the formation of a Norse supremacy in the West. In 1119, when O Briain died, Domhnall Mac Lochlainn became King of Ireland until his own death in 1121.

Three centuries of conflict with the Norsemen left their mark on Ireland, even on Ulster which kept the invaders at bay. The natural

and visible movement towards national consolidation was almost wholly broken. Slavery, which had well nigh disappeared under early Christian influence, again became common. The Norse settlements became slave-marts for captives from other lands, and the foreign slave " without Irish " became a recognised commodity. Laymen took possession of the lands of churches and monasteries. Schools and learning declined and a narrow decadent pedantry, with many affectations, succeeded the brilliant and zealous culture of the seventh and eighth centuries. It was not the decay of age but the sickness of wounded youth. The eleventh and twelfth centuries witnessed a vigorous and widespread movement of reconstruction. This movement is seen in economic and political life, in literature, most of all in religion. The reorganisation of religion occupied the attention of a number of national synods, and in this work Ulstermen were not behindhand. The most illustrious Irishman of his time was Maelmaedhog O Morgair, commonly called St. Malachy. His zeal and virtue earned him the love and admiration of the greatest churchman of that age, Saint Bernard. Malachy twice visited Bernard at Clairvaux with the object of having the Cistercian Order introduced in Ireland. On his second visit he fell ill and died at Clairvaux. His biography, written by Saint Bernard, is extant, as well as two sermons preached in his memory by the great Cistercian. Besides establishing the Cistercians at Mellifont, Malachy succeeded in abolishing the lay succession to the Primacy in Armagh. He became Bishop of Connor, a region which, during the Norse period had sunk into barbarism, and in a short time he restored his flock to the way of Christian ideals. Afterwards he became Bishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland. Another Ulster churchman of note was Flaithbheartach O Brolchain, Abbot of Derry. The various monasteries founded by Saint Columba recognised a certain kinship, but they too had decayed and their bond of unity was ineffective. A synod in 1158 constituted O Brolchain head of all the Columban houses in Ireland. This headship would naturally have led to the building up of a native Irish Order comparable to the great religious Orders of the Continent, but a few years later the Anglo-Norman invasion brought ruin to all the Columban foundations except Derry and Iona. In 1164, Sumarlidi, founder of a new Norse-Gaelic dynasty of the Hebrides and Argyle, sent an embassy to Derry to induce O Brolchain to accept the Abbacy of Iona, but Muircheartach Mac Lochlainn, King of Ireland, and his nobles refused to let him go.

The same Muircheartach Mac Lochlainn or O Lochlainn, for the surnames were interchangeable, King of Ailech, played a prominent part, but not a fortunate part in the national politics of his time. He was successor in the monarchy to Toirdhealbhach O Conchobhuir (O'Conor), King of Connacht, whom, in his lifetime, he had opposed. Toirdhealbhach (" Torlogh ") had ideas of a centralising monarchical policy. He was the first castle-builder in Ireland. In Leinster he first endeavoured to make his own son king and afterwards set up a local king against the famous Diarmaid Mac Murchadha (" Dermot MacMurrough "). Mac Lochlainn saw his advantage in backing Diarmaid, but when he himself succeeded to the monarchy he felt the unsubmissive attitude of the King of the Ulaidh in East Ulster a menace to his authority. In 1166 he captured this king and deprived him of the right to reign by blinding him—a process of incapacitation known then in many countries. Mac Lochlainn had previously sworn

safeguard to his captive, and his oath had been guaranteed by his other sub-kings and nobles. These at once took up arms against him, and, driven to bay with a few followers, Mac Lochlainn fell fighting. Ruaidhri O Conchobhuir (" Roderick O'Connor ") succeeded to the monarchy. Diarmaid was banished from Leinster and the Anglo-Norman invasion followed.

Anglo-Norman Invasion and Subsequent Conquest (1170-1485).

Aedh O Neill who succeeded Mac Lochlainn as King of Tyrone, was the most unyielding opponent of the invaders, and during a reign of more than a quarter of a century, he made no submission and yielded no territory. His stand extorted the admiration of the unfriendly Giraldus Cambrensis, contemporary historian of the invasion, who explained it by saying that in every country the northern people are the staunchest fighters. East Ulster, however, never very submissive to the Ailech supremacy, came off badly. In 1177, John de Courcy, to whom Henry had secretly granted the whole of Ulster—" if he could conquer it "—made a sudden swoop on Downpatrick and fortified himself there. De Courcy could count on the aid of the Norse king of the Isle of Man whose daughter he married. He was perhaps the bravest and most daring of the invaders. All the territory now comprised in the counties of Down and Antrim soon became subject to him, and there is evidence that he planned to make himself independent ruler of Ulster. Again and again he led expeditions against O'Neill, seizing in succession the ancient monasteries of Ardstraw, Raphoe and Derry, for it was a settled military policy of the Normans of that time to occupy monastic sites where the substantial stone buildings and their granaries could be converted into stores to support a garrison. But De Courcy was forced to abandon every such attempt. Once, when he occupied Derry, O'Neill fitted out a fleet and invaded East Ulster by sea, forcing De Courcy to call off his forces to the defence of his territory. De Courcy's independent aims brought down on him the enmity of King John, who brought superior force against him and finally drove him out of Ireland. John granted Ulster to De Lacy, who came into possession of the eastern part, but the De Lacys in turn incurred his hostility and were driven out, their East Ulster territory passing to the great house of De Burgh (now Burke) who also held from John the lordship of Connacht. The head of the De Burghs got the title of Earl of Ulster, claiming to be feudal lord over all Ulster, and making various efforts to give the claim effect. The chief power in Ulster, however, still belonged to the kings of Ailech and Tyrone.

In 1241 Brian O'Neill made himself King of Tyrone, overthrowing the last king of the Mac Lochlainn line, who had been either weak or friendly towards the invaders. Brian adopted the opposite policy and followed it through changing fortunes with such tenacity that he became the centre of a national rally. In 1258 the kings of Thomond and Connacht, hard pressed by the Normans, joined their forces and came to meet Brian O'Neill on the Erne near Belleek, where kings and nobles together chose O'Neill to be King of Ireland.

Two years later O'Neill at the head of the Irish forces of Ulster and Connacht, marched to drive the Normans out of East Ulster, but they were signally defeated in an attack on Downpatrick where Brian O'Neill was slain.

The tide of invasion had turned in nearly every part of Ireland. In Ulster especially a new factor in Irish history appeared. This was the " galloglass " organisation—Gall-oglaich, " foreign soldiers." They got their name because they came from the Norse kingdom established about a century earlier by Sumarlidi in Argyle and the Hebrides. The galloglasses made their first appearance under a king of Tir Conaill, whose queen was a MacDonnell from Islay. Gradually they were introduced by the Irish princes of Tyrone, Fermanagh, Breifne, Connacht, and even Desmond. Everywhere they supplied what the Irish had not possessed for centuries, standing forces of well-trained, well-armed soldiers, ready for either field or garrison duty. The galloglass immigration lasted continuously from about 1250 to 1600, and introduced into Ireland, and especially into Ulster a very large new element, half-Norse in origin. Many surnames, including some of the most frequent, are indicative of Galloglass descent. Mac Domhnaill (MacDonnell or MacConnell), Mac Ruaidhri (MacRory or Rogers), Mac Dubhghaill (MacDowell or Coyle), Mac Suibhne (MacSweeny or Sweeny), Mac Sithigh (MacSheehy, Sheehy, Shee, MacKee), Mac Somhairle (MacSorley, MacCorley, Corley), Mac Caba (MacCabe), are among the commonest. The chief commander of Galloglasses in each territory had the title of Constable. MacSuibhne was Constable of Tir Conaill, Mac Domhnaill Galloglach was Constable of Tyrone, another Mac Suibhne was Constable of Connacht, Mac Caba was Constable of Breifne and Fermanagh. Castle after castle of the Normans fell into Irish hands. Irish princes recovered power over wide territories. The viceroy's authority shrank gradually to the dimensions of " the Pale." The Norman lords beyond the Pale became " more Irish than the Irish themselves," even the most powerful of them adopting the " Brehon Laws."

In 1263, the Norse kingdom of the Hebrides was hard pressed by Alexander II., King of Scotland. Argyle, Arran and Bute fell into his hands, and the Out Islands were invaded. Hakon, King of Norway, made a last effort to maintain Norwegian power in the West. Fitting out a strong fleet he soon recovered the islands and Cantire. An embassy from Ireland, probably from Ulster, met him off Cantire and offered him the Crown of Ireland on condition that he would dispossess the English. Hakon sent a commission of inquiry to Ireland, and on their return he proposed to accept the offer. His followers, tired of stormy seas and scanty fare, opposed him and he headed away to Norway, but fell sick and died in the Orkneys. He was still expected in Ulster, for the *Annals of Ulster*, a contemporary record, say that he died " on his way to Ireland." The Hebrideans yielded an unwilling submission to Alexander, but their eyes were turned to Ireland and the Galloglass immigration was intensified. Very close relations, with many intermarriages, arose between Ulster and the Scottish isles, and lasted until James VI. of Scotland became King of England.

The battle of Bannockburn (1314) reacted at once on Ulster, and the Irish princes under Domhnall O'Neill, King of Tyrone, son of " Brian of the battle of Down," sent an invitation to Robert Bruce to become king of Ireland. Robert, having enough to do in Scotland, sent his brother Edward instead. Edward, joined by his Irish allies, was at once successful (1315). He inflicted a crushing defeat in the Route on the forces of the Earl of Ulster. During the next three

years. Edward, having been formally crowned King of Ireland, gained many successes over the English, but the Feudal lords withdrew their forces and the supplies of the country into their strong castles, and Bruce was compelled to quarter his army on the people to their great discontent. In each of the winters of 1315, 1316, and 1317, he had to fall back on Ulster for winter supplies and quarters. In 1318, marching on Dundalk, he was encountered at Fochairt, Saint Brigid's birthplace, by an Anglo-Irish army under De Bermingham, and fell either in the battle or, according to an Irish account, by a ruse before the battle. His army was routed, among the slain on his side being Mac Domhnaill, King of Argyle, and Mac Ruaidhri, King of the Hebrides. In this war the Irish of Connacht also suffered a crushing defeat at Athenry. The Bruce invasion, on the whole, though it shook the Feudal dominion, was even more disastrous to the Irish.

The Earldom of Ulster before these events had reached the height of its power. The lordship of Connacht belonged to it and the "Red Earl" seemed like to reduce all Ulster to his obedience. To dominate the O'Neills and control the Galloglass inflow, he had built in Inishowen a fortress to which was given the English name Northburgh. On his death in 1326 he was succeeded by his son, the "Brown Earl." A quarrel arose among the De Burghs and the young Earl imprisoned one of his uncles in this northern fortress where he soon died. In 1333 the Earl, as he went to hear Mass at Carrickfergus, was murdered by his uncle's partisans. This murder changed the fortunes of Ulster and Connacht. The Earl left one child, a daughter, who became a ward of Edward III. and in time was married to his son the Duke of Clarence. The earldom of Ulster and the lordship of Connacht thus passed to the English royal family and was held thenceforward by absentees. The De Burghs finding themselves vassals instead of princes, fell away from their English allegiance and their territory in East Ulster, except the great stronghold of Carrickfergus, became virtually free of English control. Once more the O'Neills took up their ancestral policy of bringing this region under their authority. In another battle of Downpatrick in 1378, Niall O'Neill avenged the defeat and death of his ancestor Brian, overthrowing an Anglo-Irish army under the personal command of the viceroy, Sir James Talbot of Malahide. This victory established the supremacy of the O'Neills over all Ulster. One branch of the family called Clann Aedha Buidhe (Englished Clannaboy or Clandeboy) took possession of a territory comprising the southern half of County Antrim and the northern parts of County Down. They were the descendants of Aedh Buidhe O'Neill, King of Tyrone, who died in 1280. It was probably with them that the Connacht families of O'Rorke and O'Hara settled in the Route. Before 1400 the MacDonnells of Islay, whose chiefs, until 1499, still held the title of kings of the Hebrides—though Scottish writers prefer to call them "Lords of the Isles"—took possession of the ancient Irish territory of Dal Riada, and headed a fresh immigration of Norse-Gaelic families from western Scotland. Dunluce became their chief stronghold. The headship of the Route was held by Mac Uighilin (MacQuillan). All Ulster, except at times an O Domhnaill in his western fastness, recognised the rule of the O'Neills, and the kings of Tyrone now took the official title of kings of Ulster—"righ Uladh." Personally, the King of Ulster, like the head of any other Irish family, signed himself by the simple surname.

Letters of Seán a' Diomuis (" Shane of the Pride ") are extant signed always " mise O'Neill," " I am O'Neill."

Plantation Spontaneous and Organised (1485-1603).

The discovery of America gave Ireland a new place in the world. Early writers had often written of Ireland as the uttermost land of the West. Now she became central and her spacious havens marked her out as " the gateway of the Atlantic." In the fierce rivalry between England and Spain for possession of the wealth of the New World, the importance of Ireland's position became apparent, especially to her English neighbours. Soon followed the great disruption of Christendom in which Ireland and England took different sides, and the long agony of modern Ireland began. Henry VIII., though he suppressed the Irish monasteries where he could, and seized their possessions, was less the " jealous, ruthless tyrant " in Ireland than in England. He called the principal Irish nobles to his Dublin parliament, and conferred English titles of nobility on some of them, including O'Neill, who was entitled Earl of Tyrone. The same parliament gave Henry the title of King of Ireland, for till then the English kings claimed no more than the title of " lords of Ireland," bestowed on them by the Popes. It was his daughter, Mary the Catholic, who began the policy of confiscation and plantation, changing Laoighis into Queen's County, Ui Failghe into King's County, Port Laoighse to Maryborough, and Daingean to Philipstown, named after her husband Philip of Spain.

Under Elizabeth an intensified policy of conquest, confiscation and religious oppression began. The later details are familiar to readers of Irish history. There are, however, some points about which wrong notions are entertained. James, in Elizabeth's time the secret ally of the Ulster princes, who regarded him as the head of a Gaelic nation and dynasty, afterwards gave them over to the rapacity of his courtiers. In his confiscation of Ulster, the six " plantation counties " excluded Antrim, Down, and Monaghan. It was an English plantation that Chichester had designed. It was a Scottish plantation that James effected. Only a few of the new proprietors and a mere handful of the new settlers were English. The real colonisation of Ulster was not the plantation according to plan, but a general swarming of the Scots of Galloway into the depopulated land, especially into the unconfiscated counties of Antrim and Down. The remarkable fact of this migration was that the Scottish immigrants differed from the Irish of Ulster only in religion and language, being Presbyterians speaking " braid Scots." In race they were identical, a blend of the same racial elements, Pictish, Gaelic, and Norwegian, that made up the older population of Ulster. Many of them were even Gaelic in language, for Gaelic, in the words of the historian Buchanan, James's tutor, was to a great extent the language of Galloway and continued to be spoken there long after the Plantation of Ulster. Even in our time Ulster Scots have kept duplicate surnames, an old Gaelic name and an anglicised equivalent. Thompson was not a complete stranger in Tir na n-Og, for his father was MacThamais. Wright is MacIntyre —Mac an tSaoir, Robinson is MacRobb, Alexander is Aesner or Elsner, from the Galloway Gaelic Ailsinair, and there are thousands of MacConnells, MacClellans, Kennedys, Agnews, etc., whose names still bear witness to an immemorial Gaelic tradition, among the Ulster Presbyterians. The Anglo-Saxon element in Ulster is of microscopic dimensions.

CHAPTER II.

ULSTER HISTORY FROM THE PLANTATION.

Settlers and Natives.

Modern Ulster history begins with the Jacobean Plantation which followed, in the first decade of the seventeenth century, the flight of O'Neill and O'Donnell, and the forfeiture of their estates. The trouble is that for a good many people Ulster history has never advanced beyond this stage. They persist in seeing it in terms of Tudor and Stuart politicians, and make adherence to the principles underlying the original Plantation the sole test of statesmanship. If this sort of reasoning still appeals to violent partisans, it does so only because they deliberately ignore or pervert the lessons of history. No community, however strictly wedded to old beliefs and deep-rooted prejudices, can stand still for three centuries. Though it may insist on retaining its cherished catchwords unaltered, to apply them to practical problems means at the best failure, at the worst an intensification of the evils which all sections are united in theory in deploring and profess to be eager to eliminate.

To rule twentieth century issues by seventeenth century precedents is to block the road to any hope of progress. Even if it could be shown that Chichester, Cromwell and Castlereagh had devised right remedies for the diseases of their times, this does not prove that their remedies hold good under the altered conditions existing to-day. Their object was to plant a colony, and to establish and maintain an Ascendancy. No responsible politician ventures now to claim Ascendancy or to deny the principle of equal rights for all Irishmen. Sir James Craig insists as strongly as Mr. Cosgrave that he will be no party to setting up a ring-fence round the Six Counties, or of conferring privileges upon one section of the population at the expense of another. The problem of the future is to secure the greatest possible measure of co-operation amongst all Irishmen, and it is in the light of this necessity that the merits or defects of policy in the past can best be weighed and a clearer recognition obtained of the relative significance of factors and forces in Ulster history.

The best defence of the Planters, if not of the Plantation, is that penned by John Mitchell, a man of their own blood, in the preface to his "Life of Aodh O'Neill." "Once more," he writes, "new blood was infused into old Ireland; the very undertakers that planted Ulster grew racy of the soil. . . . Whatever God or demon may have led the first of them to these shores, the Anglo-Irish and Scottish Ulstermen have now far too old a title to be questioned. They were a hardy race, and fought stoutly for the pleasant valleys they live in. And are not Derry and Enniskillen Ireland's as well as Benburb and the Yellow Ford? And have not those men and and their fathers lived and loved, and worshipped God, and died there? Are not their green graves heaped up there?—more generations of them than they have genealogical skill to count. A deep enough root those planters have struck into the soil of Ulster, and it would now be ill-striving to unplant them."

Did modern apologists take their stand on this argument, their position would be impregnable. They choose, however, to base

their case less on established facts than on an interpretation of the facts which, if it were correct, would doom Northern Ireland to an eternity of conflict between different sections of its population, with results fatal to any hope of ordered progress.

It would be absurd to suggest that the Scots and English were all ravening wolves and the Irish mild and inoffensive lambs. The least revengeful of races does not reconcile itself easily to the forfeiture of its possessions and the penalisation of its religion. Though strong and formidable barriers remained, there was nevertheless in the early years of the Plantation an approach towards a working agreement. Resentment, fierce as it was, did not destroy the Irish genius for assimilation, and English politicians were gravely perturbed at the readiness of the Scots to intermarry with the Irish. It is important to remember that, apart from the West countrymen who had been planted by Chichester mainly along the valley of the Lagan and in Armagh, the bulk of the new settlers were Scots, who did not differ in race from the original inhabitants. For centuries Scots had been drifting into North-east Ireland, and it is significant that Antrim and Down, the only two counties in which the Scottish strain dominates to-day, were planted, not as a war-measure, but by a process of peaceful penetration.

One of the shibboleths of latter-day Unionism is that agreement between the two sections in the North-East was impossible because of the devoted loyalty of the Protestants to the British Government. The most cursory knowledge of history disposes of this contention as a pure fallacy. Whatever divided Catholic and Protestant, both found common ground in resistance to English oppression, as may be seen from the record of Ulster in the century that followed the Plantation. Protestants combined with Catholics to compass the downfall of Wentworth in revenge for his imposition of the Black Oath, which demanded unquestioning obedience to the King's Commands. They sided against Charles in the Civil War. When the King fell they opposed the authority of Parliament so furiously that John Milton denounced them with characteristic fury as " a generation of Highland thieves and redshanks." In 1653 the Tory Parliament formulated a scheme to transport all the Ulster Presbyterians to selected districts in Munster, where, in the words of the official proclamation, " they may not be capable of doing that mischief which they give us much cause to believe they only want power and opportunity to practice in the place where they now are."

The Restoration found the Dissenters as hotly in conflict with the Royalists as they had previously been with the Roundheads. There is a curiously familiar ring in the complaints of Jeremy Taylor that the Scottish ministers, in his diocese of Down, " talk of resisting unto blood, and stir up the people to sedition." " They threaten," he wailed, " to murder me."

As a matter of fact, the first gleam of hope for Northern Dissenters was the Declaration of Liberty of Conscience issued by James II., which, as their historian, Seaton Reid, is constrained to admit, " restored peace to Ulster." But, as was to be expected from their traditions, the rule of James was as objectionable in their eyes as that of Charles. In particular, to the Scottish Covenanters, of whom some 50,000 families, according to Archbishop Synge, had found an asylum in Ulster, the new King as one of their fiercest persecutors in the " killing times " was a man outside the pale.

They took their stand with William of Orange in the dispute for the crown, and proved their quality as hard fighters at Derry and Enniskillen.

The triumph of William is still hailed as ushering in a golden age for Ulster Protestants. In truth, as any impartial study of history shows, the penal legislation and the systematic attack on native industries which were in Ireland the main fruits of this victory, pressed at first more intolerably on Dissenters than on Catholics. As a result of wars, confiscations, and persecutions, the Catholics had already been beaten flat. Presbyterians, however, could be pulled down, and Episcopalians, alarmed at the growing menace to their ascendancy, set about the pulling down process in no half-hearted fashion.

Protestant prelates made no concealment of their determination to make the Penal Laws a lash for Presbyterian backs. Were they to be relaxed, Bishop Nicholson declared, "Presbytery would forthwith extirpate Episcopacy in the province of Ulster." Archbishop King disclosed the whole anti-Presbyterian plot in two sentences. "The true point," he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "is whether the Presbyterians and lay elders in every parish shall have the greatest influence over the people to lead them as they please, or the landlords over their tenants. This may help your Grace in some degree to see the reason why the Parliament is so unanimous against taking off the test."

The effect of the first century of Plantation history can be summed up in a few words. If the Northern Catholics had not been extirpated, they had been effectively dispossessed. They were helots without hope and without rights; in the words of an Irish Lord Chancellor of the period, "the law does not suppose any such person to exist as an Irish Roman Catholic." Their lands had passed into the possession of Protestants, and the natural antagonism between new settlers and old Irish was relied upon to keep both sides from uniting against the ruling class which drew its profits from the exploitation of their enmities.

Bleeding Ulster White.

In Ulster the eighteenth century, like its predecessor, was ushered in by a formidable political offensive. But whereas a hundred years earlier the plan had been to uproot Catholicism, the scheme was now to reduce the Protestant Dissenters politically and economically to the level of the old inhabitants of the island. As leases in the North fell in, the landlord imposed impossible fines for their renewal in order to drive out tenants and replace them by cattle. "In some of the finest countries," writes a contemporary, "there was neither house or cornfield to be seen in ten or fifteen miles' travelling." The poorest of the cultivators sank to hopeless beggary or perished by the roadsides; others who had saved a little from the wreck flocked to Belfast to take ships to America. This was the beginning of the great westward flight across the Atlantic which, inside two centuries, was destined in every generation to drain Ireland of her best blood.

Primate Boulter, the most skilful and ruthless of the great Protestant ecclesiastics who mismanaged Ireland in what he believed to be English interests, was scared for a moment by the success of

his policy. "The humour," he wrote of the emigration in 1726, "has spread like a contagious distemper, and the people will hardly hear anyone that tries to cure them of their madness. The worst is that it affects only Protestants, and reigns chiefly in the North, which is the seat of our linen manufacture." It gives an indication of benefits conferred by the Penal Laws on the Protestant democracy that inside a generation the stipends of the poorer Presbyterian clergymen fell from £50 to £15. There was little temptation to any class to stay in Ireland. Writing from Derry in 1720, Bishop Nicholson says: "Our trade of all kinds is at a stand, insomuch as that our most eminent merchants who used to pay bills of £1,000 at sight are hardly able to raise £100 in so many days. Spindles of yarn (our daily bread) are fallen from 2/6 to 1/3, and everything else in proportion."

So passionate was the desire to get clear that it is stated on good authority many Presbyterians bound themselves to serve in America under labour contracts, which reduced them to the level of the serfs whom Cromwell had shipped to the Barbadoes. Exact statistics are not available, but there is no reason to doubt the computation that, in the years between the passing of the Penal Laws and Grattan's resolution of Independence, at least 200,000 people, mainly Protestants, fled from Ulster to America.

The Whiteboy agitation against exclusion in the South had its parallel amongst the Protestants of the North in the Oakboys, so called from the sprigs of oak they wore in their caps. Their main grievance was compulsory labour on the roads, or rather the fact that the landowners so arranged this labour as to benefit the rich at the expense of the poor. "Jobs upon jobs, one more infamous than the other, serve," as was said at the time, "to support the interest of some leading men in the country." Though tithes were lower in Ulster than in other provinces, the Oakboys found them too high, and declared their intention of reducing them. The movement spread like wild-fire through the countries of Armagh, Tyrone, Derry, and Fermanagh in 1761 and 1762. Clarke, the Rector of Armagh, who had taken the lead in exacting a higher tithe, was seized and carried about as a prisoner, while many of his clerical brethren found it prudent to take refuge within the walls of Derry. The Oakboys stopped all labour on the roads, attacked houses, erected gallows before the doors of objectionable parsons and landlords, who were compelled to swear that they would not levy more than a proportion of the tithe, and would reduce county rates. After fierce turmoil, discontent was damped down for the time being by the introduction of a Road Act under which burdens were more equitably distributed.

Ten years later Antrim and Down, which had not been affected by the Oakboy movement, was the scene of a still more formidable outbreak as the result of the clearances of Lord Donegall and his fellow-landlord, Upton of Templepatrick. An official report presented to the Government, and endorsed by the Viceroy, declared: "Should the causes of the present riots be looked into, it will be found that few have had juster foundation. . . . It is well known that over most part of the county the lands are sub-let six deep, so that those who actually labour it are squeezed to the very utmost. It is equally notorious what use is made by grand jurors of the powers given them to levy cess for making roads and bridges."

Advocates of the two nations theory are fond of insisting that a vital difference between North and South is the method adopted by each for redressing undoubted wrongs. This argument finds no confirmation in history. Under the pressure of similar grievances the Presbyterian of the North reacts in exactly the same way as the Catholic of the South. With the Steelboys, in a phrase destined in later days to become grimly familiar, "the tyrant's writ was answered by the tenant's gun." Houses of farmers who had grabbed land were attacked and burned, cattle were maimed, and troops despatched to the disturbed areas were sniped at and ambushed.

One of the most sensational events in the campaign was a march on Belfast in December, 1770, to secure the release of a Steelboy leader, David Douglas, of Templepatrick, Co. Antrim, who had been arrested on the charge of houghing cattle. Some 1,200 men, mobilised from districts all over South Antrim, and armed with guns, pistols, swords, and scythes, took part in the operation. Gathering reinforcements as they advanced, they entered Belfast in military order, and, having surrounded the barracks, sent in a written message demanding the release of Douglas. This was refused, and the Steelboys promptly opened a hot fire on the building. Finding the place too strong to be carried by direct assault, orders were given to wreck and burn the houses of merchants who had been speculating in the Donegall lands. There was grave danger that the whole town would go up in flames, and the magistrates who had taken refuge in the barracks persuaded the military to release the prisoner. Finally, at one o'clock in the morning, the Steelboys, who had lost five killed and nine wounded in the engagement, marched in triumph out of the town, carrying Douglas with them.

This flicker of success had no results. Troops were poured in, the Steelboys were rounded up in batches, and their leaders executed or transported. All who could secure a passage fled to America, and in the first six months of 1773 no fewer than 38 emigrant ships, crammed to the hatches, sailed from Ulster ports. It is estimated that some 30,000 people left the province inside a couple of years.

In their new homes the emigrants found themselves in the thick of an old controversy. The Colonists were at loggerheads with the British Government, and Northern Presbyterians at once took their places in the van of the party, which insisted that only lead and steel could decide the issue. Nor did they content themselves with words. When war broke out they provided Washington with some of his hardest fighters, and, shoulder to shoulder for the first time with Southern Catholics, showed the mettle of their pasture in every battle from Bunker's Hill to Yorktown.

Their fellows who remained in Ireland also learned their lesson. The American example of a people sinking prejudice of class and creed in defence of their common rights, did much to open the eyes of the Ulster majority to consciousness of the folly of sectarian divisions.

A Protestant Revolt.

Politicians and historians of a certain school have used all their influence to suggest that the union of North and South in the last

decades of the eighteenth century was no more than a brief and unaccountable spell of madness. It was a flat contradiction, they would have us believe, of everything that went before, and everything that happened afterwards. Superficially this may be true, not only superficially. The movement towards unity was part of a process which had been at work in Ireland since the day when the Norman invaders became "more Irish than the Irish."

Every new development of eighteenth century politics helped to break down existing barriers, and strengthen opposition to an impossible system of Government. The sons of men who had looked upon Molyneux as a dangerous revolutionary when he proclaimed that the Irish Parliament was not historically dependent upon England, shouldered their muskets as Volunteers to assert the independence of this Parliament, and dragged through the streets of Dublin cannon bearing the inscription: "Open Thou our mouths, O Lord, and our lips shall shew forth Thy praise." Had the Americans remained quiescent, an Irish upheaval might have taken another form, but an upheaval could not have been averted. Washington and his comrades not only set an example; they provided an opportunity. The withdrawal of the British garrisons for service on the other side of the Atlantic cleared the way for the Volunteers, who, having taken up arms to prevent a French invasion, were not long in discovering that there were invaders nearer home with whom it was still more important to deal.

In its inception the crusade, which established in 1782 the right of Ireland to be governed solely by the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, was a Protestant movement designed to advance specifically Protestant interests. But as Grattan told his followers: "The question is now whether we should be a Protestant settlement or an Irish nation . . . . for so long as we exclude Catholics from national liberty and the common rights of man, we are not a people." Unfortunately, as far as legislative action was concerned, his words fell on deaf ears. By a fatal flaw in the Constitution, Executive power in College Green was in the hands of agents not of Ireland but of England; and these found it an easy task to rally to their sides the vested interests threatened with extinction by any scheme of Parliamentary reform. "A monopoly of power as complete as that which was possessed by a small group of borough-owners in Ireland, has never, or scarcely ever," in Lecky's words, "broken down except by measures bordering upon revolution."

The Ulster people divined very early that the reform of Parliament was essential if the grant of independence was to prove of any practical value. And events forced them to the conclusion that the oligarchs of College Green could be brought to reason only by the efforts of a united people. Officially, the Volunteers were a rigidly Protestant body. In the Northern counties, however, the religious ban was not maintained. A contemporary pamphleteer writes: "Volunteering has done what law could not do. The Catholic who wishes to carry arms proposes himself to a Protestant corps. His character is tried by his neighbours. He is admitted to an honour and a privilege; he receives a reward for his good conduct. Thus are the best of the Catholic body happily selected, the whole of the Catholic body satisfied, and the two religions marvellously united."

The movement towards reconciliation was enormously strengthened by the overthrow of the old regime in France, and the proclamation of the gospel of democracy as a solvent for political ills. Northern Presbyterians saw in the fall of the Bastille an omen of the fall of Ascendancy. It is curious to remember that, in 1790, Lord Castlereagh drank at a Belfast banquet to "The Sovereignty of the People," and "The Conquerors of the Bastille." When Wolfe Tone came North a year later he found himself preaching to the converted. "The citizens of Belfast," he wrote, "were the first to raise their heads from the abyss, and to look the situation of their country steadily in the face." Tone, however, preached to some purpose; and his "Argument on behalf of the Catholics," addressed to Ulster Presbyterians, still remains the most vital utterance on the folly of Irish divisions.

Ascendancy historians strive to represent the United Irish movement as a sheer explosion of what nowadays would be called revolutionary Bolshevism, with which it was impossible to make any compromise. It is sufficient to set against this charge the statement of principles formulated by the original United Irishmen. "The weight of English influence in this country is so great," the members of the Society declared, "as to require a cordial union among all the people of Ireland to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties and the extension of our commerce; that the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed is by a complete radical reform of the representation of the people in Parliament; and that no reform is just which does not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion." There is not a phrase in this resolution to which the most reactionary Orangemen could venture to take exception.

The Presbyterian Church had no love for revolution, but it discerned that the only way of averting revolution was to make terms with democracy. At a meeting of the Synod of Ulster at Lurgan in 1793, a resolution was passed in which, while "rejecting with abhorrence every idea of popular tumult or foreign aid," a strong demand was made for "a reform in the representation of the Commons House of Parliament." The resolution concluded with a prayer "that the time may never more return when religious distinctions shall be used as a pretext for disturbing society, or arming man against his neighbour; and that intolerance of every kind may be trodden under foot and every equally good subject shall be equally cherished and protected by the State."

The uprooting of bigotry meant the end of Ascendancy, and Ascendancy was not in the mood to be scrupulous as to the weapons it employed to maintain its supremacy. Having failed with the stable and progressive elements in the community, the ruling faction decided to exploit the passions of a small minority. Faction fights had long been endemic in certain parts of Armagh, and, though not originally inspired by sectarian rancours, they rapidly accentuated denominational lines of cleavage.

Economic greed sharpened the edge of religious bigotry. A systematic clearance of Catholics from their holdings was devised on a plan that was to serve as a model in our day for the Belfast pogroms. "Where," asked Lord Gosford, the governor of Armagh, at a meeting of magistrates in 1795, "where have we heard or in what history of human cruelties have we read of more

than half the inhabitants of a populous country deprived at one blow of the means, as well as of the fruits, of their industry, and driven in the midst of an inclement winter to seek a shelter for themselves and their helpless families where chance may guide them." The only crime charged against these unfortunates was, in Gosford's words, " a profession of the Roman Catholic faith."

A by- product of these Armagh atrocities was the creation of the Orange Society. Organisations of the same kind were not unknown in Northern history, and had died as speedily as they sprang into life. Orangeism came into being at a time when it was to the interest of those in power to feed and fan the new flame by every means in their power.

The real master-stroke, however, was the formation of corps of yeomanry, recruited almost exclusively from the Orange ranks. Inevitably the result was that midnight marauders, instead of confiding their activities to isolated districts, were loosed, in the guise of defenders of the peace, to work havoc throughout the entire province of Ulster. Up till this the Northern Reformers had clung to the belief that their ends could be accomplished by peaceful means. They were now forced to realise that they must either abandon their political hopes, or make ready to defend them by force of arms.

The military officers concerned with the enforcement of the Insurrection Act openly avowed that their real object was not to prevent but to create an upheaval. General Knox wrote from Dungannon outlining measures which would increase hostility between the Orange party and the United Irishmen. " Upon that animostly," he insisted, " depends the safety of the centre counties of the North." Lake, who had been entrusted with the chief command in the province, was equally violent. House-burning was his favourite panacea, and he urged the Government to allow him to threaten the wholesale destruction of Ulster towns if arms were not surrendered. " Belfast," he said, " ought to be proclaimed and severely punished, as it is plain every act of sedition originates in this town." His final verdict was: " Nothing but terror will keep them in order."

No difficulty was made about giving Lake the free hand he desired. " Few things," says Lecky, " are more terrible than martial law when the troops are undisciplined, inadequate in numbers, and involved in the factions of the country they are intended to subdue." This was the visitation to which the hapless Northern counties were now subjected. For months on end the sky was lit at night by the glare of burning houses; men were shot out of hand, flogged until death came as a merciful relief, and handed over to torturers, who specialised in pitch-caps and half hanging. Every jail was packed with prisoners, and hundreds of families, abandoning all their possessions, sought refuge in Great Britain or America. William Orr, with the rope about his neck, proclaiming that he died " in the true faith of a Presbyterian," spoke for all his fellow-martyrs. " If," he said, " to have loved my country, to have known its wrongs, to have felt the injuries of the persecuted Catholics, and to have united with them and all other religious persuasions in the most orderly and least sanguinary means of procuring redress; if these be felonies I am a felon, but not otherwise."

These were the means " taken," in the words of Castlereagh, " to make rebellion explode." And the work was crowned with

success. The Northern leaders would have held their followers if they could, realising as they did that, without foreign aid, they had no hope of military success. When at last the explosion came, though the United Irishmen fought stoutly at Antrim and Ballynahinch, there were never any doubts about the end. Their ill-armed levies went down in ruinous defeat; and savage as was the blood-lust of their opponents, it was satiated by the mad orgy of killing, hanging, and wholesale devastation that in the North, as in the South, followed the collapse of armed resistance.

With rebellion scotched, the way was clear for the Union. Castlereagh had argued many years before that if reform of the Irish Parliament was barred, the only practical alternative was to merge it in that of Great Britain. This was also the conclusion of Fitzgibbon, an abler, and even more unscrupulous politician. To Fitzgibbon, democracy, or Jacobinism, as he preferred to call it, was the supreme evil, and, rampant anti-Catholic as he was, he abominated still more fiercely the Republican Dissenters of the North. With his keen sense of political realities, he discerned that the ruling faction, "this puny and rapacious oligarchy," as he openly described it, could not stand indefinitely on its own feet in College Green. Sooner or later the Irish people, Fitzgibbon foresaw, would break down the barriers which excluded them from any part in the management of their own affairs. The Ascendancy could not have its cake and eat it, too, and its sole hope of maintaining its privileges was to surrender political power into English hands. Where persuasion failed, the lure of coronets and cash was employed on a heroic scale with complete success. There was a fierce splutter of opposition in the North, mainly from the classes which had fought hardest to defeat the reform that would have enabled the Irish Parliament to defy successfully attempts to destroy it by traitors at home in combination with enemies abroad. Orange Yeomen marched in procession of protest; Orange lodges passed fierce resolutions in favour of independence. This change of heart came too late. If victory silenced opposition in high places, terrorism had effectively stifled popular opinion. The one factor the authors of the Act of Union felt themselves completely safe in ignoring was the will of the Irish nation.

Post-Union Politics.

The Act of Union completed and stereotyped the triumph of Ascendancy. Its form was changed a little in that nominal responsibility had passed to Westminster from College Green, but power in practice continued to be wielded by the hands that had exercised it so long. Pitt's measure merely intensified the truth of Burke's words:—"New Ascendancy is old mastership." By ending the Irish Parliament, the Union abolished any hope that it might be mended by popular representation. Presbyterianism was broken as a political force for half a century, and it was not until our own day, and in radically different circumstances, that it emerged once more as a powerful factor in Irish affairs.

Corruption was mobilised to complete the work which terrorism had so ably begun. Of all the gold spent in purchasing support for the Union policy, none paid Castlereagh so well as that allotted to

increasing the royal bounty to Presbyterian ministers. The money was offered not only as "a political bribe," in the words of Latimer, it was intended to make the Church a house divided against itself and thus enable the Government to play off one section against the other. "I am of opinion," Castlereagh wrote to Addington, "that it is only through a considerable internal fermentation of the body, coupled with some change of system, that it will put on a different temper and acquire better habits."

This bartering of spiritual and political independence for a wretched mess of pottage was a real turning-point in Ulster history. Presbyterians speedily became little more than a joint in the Tory tail. Had they been received upon terms of equality, something might have been said for the bargain. As it was, they were treated not as allies but as beggars who were expected to receive with becoming gratitude such crumbs and coppers as were contemptuously flung to them. No Presbyterian candidate was ever selected for Parliamentary honours; their wealthiest members were barred from the magistracy; they were forced like the Catholics to pay tithes to swell the revenues of a Church whose supremacy entailed their degradation. The best of the Dissenters strongly resented this treatment, and endeavoured to maintain the principles which in the days of the Volunteers had made Presbyterianism a dominant factor in Irish affairs.

They found a bold and resolute leader in the Rev. Henry Montgomery of Dunmurry. As a boy Montgomery saw his father's house wrecked and burned by Orange Yeomen for "merely asserting those ordinary human rights and self-evident principles of Government whose advocacy has since commanded the applause of senates." As a man he was one of the stoutest defenders of tenant-right, and his campaign against landlord assaults on the principle made his name a household word amongst farmers of all creeds in the North. As early as 1813 he succeeded in carrying a practically unanimous vote of the Ulster Synod in favour of Catholic Emancipation; and at a meeting held in Donegall Street Catholic Church in 1829, over which the Bishop of the Diocese presided, Montgomery spoke from the altar in defence of the measure.

Montgomery's rival was Dr. Henry Cooke, a supremely able reactionary, who set the seal on the work of Castlereagh and Fitzgibbon, and laid the foundations upon which in other days Lord Carson was to raise so elaborate a structure. Cooke's mission, as he saw it, was "to publish the banns of a sacred marriage" between Presbyterianism and the Established Church in order to defeat the menace of "fierce democracy on the one hand, and more terrible Popery on the other." The liberal tradition established by the pre-Union reformers he described as "leprosy," and declared of those who clung to it, "they must have it scourged out, or burned out, for it will not go out." The Arian controversy which divided Presbyterians at this period could easily have been adjusted by prudent handling, but since the majority of the Arians were Whigs and Radicals Cooke never rested till he had made their position in the Church impossible. They withdrew in 1829 under Montgomery's leadership to form a separate communion, and Cooke was free to make Irish Presbyterianism a pliant instrument in the hands of the Ascendancy.

Meanwhile the Orange Society was beginning to recruit numbers of the poorer Presbyterians. At the outset this movement was inspired largely by an instinct of self-preservation. Though rigid Arms Acts had been placed on the Statute Book no attempt was made to enforce them against Orangemen, who were thus able to hold the whole province at their mercy. Many Presbyterians were coerced into joining the Lodges under penalty of being regarded as traitors to the cause; others, mainly of the poorer classes, welcomed the opportunity of exercising power at the expense of their Catholic neighbours. It was the pleasant habit of Orange Yeomen to attend fairs and markets armed to the teeth, pick a quarrel with a Catholic faction, and meet sticks and stones with a volley of musket bullets. "Murders have been repeatedly perpetrated on such occasions," said Judge Fletcher, in a famous charge, "and though legal prosecutions have ensued, yet such have been the baneful consequences of these factious associations, that, under their influence, petty juries have declined on some occasions to do their duty." "With these Orange associations," Fletcher added, "I connect all commemorations and processions producing embittering recollections, and inflicting wounds upon the feelings of others; and I do emphatically state it as my settled opinion, that, until those associations are effectually put down, and the arms taken from their hands, in vain will the North of Ireland expect tranquility or peace."

So long as Orange activities were confined to Ireland and directed against the minority in the North, little was done to restrain them. But in the fight over the Reform Bill of 1832 Orangeism showed its hand in a fashion which the British Government could not afford to ignore. Lake's Yeomen had introduced Orangeism amongst the British Militia and regulars with whom they were brigaded, and after the Union zealous propagandists established military lodges in most of the existing regiments. Their task was made easier by the fact that the Commander-in-Chief, H.R.H. the Duke of York, was the most violent of Orange partisans. While still head of the Army he was appointed Orange Grand Master in 1821, and though the scandal was too great to permit of his retaining this honour, he was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of Cumberland, an even more prejudiced fanatic.

Cumberland's closest ally was Colonel William Fairman, Grand Secretary and Grand Treasurer of the Society in Great Britain. The evidence that Fairman planned a *coup d'etat* with the object of setting Cumberland upon the English throne in preference to Princess Victoria is not conclusive or quite convincing. But he certainly favoured an attempt to establish Cumberland as Protector should Victoria succeed to the Crown before reaching her majority, and he relied on the Orange Society to provide the physical force necessary to break down opposition to this scheme. Fairman was a Carson born before his time, as this extract from one of his letters proves:—"By a rapid augmentation of our physical force we might be able to assume a boldness of attitude which should command the respect of our Jacobinical rulers. If we prove not too strong for such a Government as the present is, such a Government will soon prove too strong for us; some arbitrary step would be taken in this case for the suspension of our meetings." But while he was willing to play the part of a Mussolini, the Orangemen in Great Britain were not at this date of the stuff of which Fascisti are made. Fairman

found the Lodges "trunks without heads," and as the result of a Parliamentary inquiry held in 1835, King William IV. ordered steps to be taken "for the effectual discouragement of Orange Lodges." The Society was dissolved in Great Britain for ten years, though in Ireland it still continued, in spite of legal prohibitions, as an active and aggressive political force.

Protestant Ulster escaped the worst effects of the Great Famine of the "forties" not because of its Protestantism or its loyalty, as is sometimes argued even to-day, but because it possessed in the Ulster Custom a measure of tenant-right which prevented the Northern agriculturist from sinking into the bog in which the hapless cottier of the South and West was submerged. Meanwhile, landlordism saw in the catastrophe no more than an opportunity of depriving the Ulster tenant of the safeguard which had enabled him to escape complete shipwreck. Under the pretence of legalising tenant-right, a measure granting limited compensation in rigidly defined cases was, in 1850, introduced at Westminster, the effect of which in practice would have been a forfeiture of the general rights as to security of tenure enjoyed by the Ulster tenantry.

The first result of this measure was to turn County Down, in the phrase used in a Parliamentary debate, into a "second Tipperary." "Orangemen and Catholics," said the Marquess of Londonderry, "have united together to obtain a reduction of rents, tenant right, and fixity of tenure, and not only to do that, but to force their landlords by intimidation to accede to those objects." Houses were wrecked and burned, as in the days of the Steelboys, and a Crown Prosecutor dealing with outrages on landlords and their agents in exclusively Protestant areas said: "murders were almost invariably committed in broad daylight" owing to the "sympathy" felt with the assassins.

To safeguard their interests Northern holders had established a Tenants' Association in 1848, and by the exertions of Gavan Duffy this was linked up with the Southern Societies in 1850, in a new all-Ireland organisation which lives in history as the League of the North and South. In many respects it was the most hopeful movement that Ireland had known since the Union. "All the old animosities were forgotten, buried in oblivion," declared a Presbyterian minister, "and whoever attempted to disinter them ought to be considered as the most infamous of resurrectionists."

Unfortunately, resurrectionists were not lacking. The League survived the plot to wreck it by a revival of sectarian enmities, though this plot was manipulated from one side by English politicians in the shape of a "No Popery" campaign, and from the other by factionists like Sadleir and Keogh, who sought to cover their selfish hunt for place and power by an affectation of zeal for Catholic interests. It is a curious fact in Ulster history that the Northern tenant leaders stood in the long run with the "Pope's Brass Band" when its members repudiated their pledges by accepting offers under the Government. In the words of Gavan Duffy: "The estrangement of the Northern delegates did not originate in any hereditary causes of quarrel existing between North and South. It sprang from such a difference of opinion as constantly divides men in England, and in all countries where free institutions exist. The controversy primarily was whether certain persons in accepting offers acted in good faith. No difference of creed was involved, for the

men impeached were not Northern or Protestants but Catholics, and those who impeached them were also Catholics. Still less did a provincial question arise, for none of the deserters were Ulstermen."

The Riddle of Belfast.

Meanwhile a new turn was being given to Ulster complications by the industrial development of Belfast. The orthodox Unionist view is that this development sprang directly from the Union and depended for its maintenance wholly upon the Union settlement. As a matter of historical fact, the conditions which made it possible were produced as a result of the collapse in Belfast of one of the fundamental principles of Ascendancy rule. This rule presupposed the perpetuation of landlord ascendancy in the towns no less than in the rural areas. By the bankruptcy of the Donegall family Belfast was freed from an incubus which made progress impossible in other centres of population. The property passed in the main into the hands of merchants and manufacturers who had none of the bias that marked the attitude of the territorial aristocracy to commerce. By a stroke of good fortune the new owners entered into possession at a time when the industrial revolution was rapidly transforming popular conceptions and opening up on every side royal roads to wealth for men who had the insight and energy to break out of old ruts and adapt themselves to the requirements of an age of progress. The collapse of the Donegalls was a more important factor in the growth of Belfast than the passing of the Act of Union, and the maintenance of Protestant supremacy mattered a good deal less to her than the invention of the steam engine and the power loom. That she was free to make the most of her opportunities was not due, as is so loudly asserted nowadays, to Orangeism but to a happy accident which brought about conditions that the whole strength of Orangeism was mobilised to prevent in other parts of the province.

Industrial development led naturally to a rapid increase in the population of urban areas. But the gain to the towns did not balance the loss to the country districts. In spite of the record growth of Belfast, Antrim and Down can claim to-day fewer people than in pre-famine times. There is obviously something wrong with an economic system under which, notwithstanding the vast production of wealth, the flower of every new generation is forced to seek a living on foreign soil. Until the industrial North has solved the problem of making provision at home for its surplus population it is in no position to throw stones at the other provinces.

The men who first realised the possibilities of Belfast as a manufacturing centre had few prejudices in favour of landlordism. But they speedily discovered that it would pay them to play the landlord's game of keeping the workers divided into hostile camps. The task was only too easy. Under the existing social system Catholics were condemned to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water, and it did not require much skill to presuade a suspicious Protestant democracy that the raising of the ban upon Catholics entailed their own degradation. Unfortunately for themselves, the mass of the Protestants failed to see that this attempt to maintain impossible Ascendancy barriers meant in the long run that the common interests of members of both creeds as workers must go to the wall. A century ago one finds Belfast labour leaders bewailing the fact

that wages were cut to the bone because sectarian differences between the workers destroyed any hope of united action. To-day the same causes produce exactly the same effects, and any attempt to bridge the gap between different sections can rely on finding marshalled against it all the forces of reaction.

In theory the demand for Ascendancy powers no longer exists; in practice it survives in the assumption that the assertion of a claim to equality by the minority is an intolerable invasion of majority rights. This denial of equality lies at the root of most of the upheavals that have blackened the good name of Belfast; and, ironically enough, attempts to stereotype it by violence, while they may have prevented Catholics from rising, depressed Protestants as a whole to a lower level. Capitalism, like landlordism, exploits political prejudices purely for its own benefit as Orange workers themselves freely admit. Practically every outbreak of disorder on a large scale has been followed by reductions of wages at the expense of Protestants and Catholics alike.

Orange politicians displayed sound judgment in making Belfast the central citadel of their cause. In the rural districts of Ulster the land was the main question, and even Orange tenants who denounced in public the Land League and all its works realised clearly enough that the success of its programme meant for them the opening of a new era. Michael Davitt found Orange Worshipful Masters eager to preside at his meetings when he went north in the early eighties to preach the new gospel. Parnell's campaign startled the Tory leaders by its revelation of a new spirit of reform in Ulster rural constituencies. Belfast, however, took no interest in the land, and with admirable strategical insight the opponents of self-government made it their main battle front.

The campaign against the Gladstone Home Rule Bills would have lost half its vigour had issue been joined merely on the grievances of owners of the soil. It was the cry that self-government meant the confiscation of Belfast industries and the ruin of its workers that proved the best asset of Unionists in the struggle. Fierce oratorical incitements from English politicians of the standing of Randolph Churchill led to the 1886 riots, a bloody outbreak of sectarian violence in which the butcher's bill was larger than that of many of Britain's little wars. This was followed by desperate conflicts in 1893 and 1898, and the rankling memories of these struggles survived in a tradition of enmity which in later years Sir Edward Carson was destined to exploit with sinister and deplorable results.

CHAPTER III.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLICY OF PARTITION.

The preceding sections have sufficiently dealt with the historical causes and background of the Ulster question. The present section will treat briefly of the more recent attempts to reach a settlement of the question, and especially of the steps which led up to the partition policy embodied in the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. In actual fact, partition has never been a policy, but merely a makeshift. It has never been put forward by any party on its merits, or as a satisfactory solution of the real problem, but as a

temporary expedient, by which pressing difficulties and dangers might be averted, and opportunity given for a real settlement in the future. We have to describe, not the deliberate adoption of a clear-cut policy, but rather how, in the face of a difficult situation and encumbered by mistakes, men gradually drifted into the acceptance of a solution which was desired by none, and which a few years previously had been universally regarded as both ludicrous and intolerable.

During the various controversies of the nineteenth century, two policies with regard to Ireland held the field, self-government or union with Great Britain. The exact character of the Irish demand indeed varied, as did the various plans put forward to meet it by English Parties, but it was always a demand for the whole country. Similarly, the constant Unionist demand was for the retention of the whole country with England. During the controversies which arose over the Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1893, it never appears to have been questioned that the country should be regarded as a unit, whichever way its fate should be decided. This was also taken for granted during the early stages of the controversy which commenced with the introduction of the Home Rule Bill of 1912. That Bill embodied a very limited form of self-government, but it was self-government for the whole country. The Unionists, in opposing it, also attacked it as a whole.

Opposition to Irish self-government from 1912 onwards was, however, of a twofold character. There was first the root and branch opposition to the whole policy for Imperialist reasons and as breaking up the United Kingdom, these weighing principally with English Unionists. There was, secondly, the Ulster Unionist opposition, directed indeed against the whole policy, but more especially concerned to prevent its application to the North of Ireland. In the earlier stages the former were given much greater prominence, the localised Ulster opposition being indeed encouraged and fomented by the Unionist Party in England, but mainly with the intention of thereby wrecking the measure as a whole.

No suggestion of separate treatment for any part of the North of Ireland was put forward during the earlier stages of the discussions in the British Parliament, nor was the suggestion, in fact, ever put forward as a constructive proposal of the Unionist Party. It came in the first instance from an English supporter of the Liberal Government, Mr. Agar-Robartes, who, on July 11th, 1912, moved an amendment to exclude from the scope of the Bill the Counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down and Londonderry. The reason put forward by him was that this was the most practicable means of avoiding the difficulties and possible dangers arising from the bitter opposition of the Ulster Unionists. A confused debate followed. The Unionist spokesmen refused to express any satisfaction with the proposal, and declared that even its acceptance by the Government would not lessen in any degree their opposition to the Bill as a whole. The Unionist Party, however, voted for the amendment, but only because they considered it likely to wreck the whole Bill.

It is unnecessary to trace in detail the varied proposals for the exclusion of the whole or part of Ulster suggested in the course of the following two years. It was made clear on all occasions by the Unionist leaders that the exclusion policy was not put forward

on its merits, but either in order to wreck the Bill or as the sole means of avoiding bloodshed. The proposal first took concrete shape in the Amending Bill, foreshadowed in a speech by Mr. Asquith on March 9th, 1914. It was proposed that any County or County Borough in Ulster should be permitted to vote as to whether it desired exclusion from the scope of the Home Rule Act, such exclusion to last for six years. This meant, in effect, the temporary exclusion of the Counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down and Londonderry, with the Borough of Belfast and possibly of Derry. The proposal was, on its introduction, immediately rejected by the Unionist Party. Some criticism was devoted to the suggested area to be excluded, but the chief weight of the opposition was directed against the time limit, Sir Edward Carson characterising the proposal as "sentence of death with stay of execution for six years." The Unionists also refused to regard exclusion as in any degree calculated to abate their hostility and opposition to the Home Rule Bill as a whole, or to lead to an agreed settlement.

The Liberal Government, however, decided to proceed with its proposals, and the Amending Bill was introduced in the House of Lords on June 23rd. Here it met with vigorous criticism, and was amended almost out of recognition. The time-limit of six years was struck out, the area of exclusion was made the whole Province of Ulster, and other provisions were inserted further whittling down the powers of the Irish Parliament. In this form the Amending Bill was sent on to the Commons.

Matters then seemed to have reached a deadlock between the English Parties. A final attempt to reach a compromise was made at the Buckingham Palace Conference, which met under the chairmanship of the Speaker of the House of Commons from July 21st to 24th. It consisted of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd-George, Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon, Sir Edward Carson and Captain Craig. Only the briefest report was issued as to the deliberations of the Conference, but it was made plain that its endeavour was to reach a settlement on the basis of the exclusion of part or of the whole of Ulster. The report states that "the possibility of defining an area for exclusion from the operations of the Government of Ireland Act was considered, and the conference being unable to agree either in principle or detail upon such an area, it brought its meetings to a conclusion." It has since been stated that the breakdown occurred in connection with the claim of both Irish Parties to the Counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh.

It is useless to surmise what might have taken place had the dispute been continued from this point, for the outbreak of the European War, which occurred immediately afterwards, was made a reason for the postponement of any attempt to deal with Irish affairs for the space of nearly two years. Partition was next put forward during the negotiations undertaken by Mr. Lloyd-George in the summer of 1916. These negotiations were the direct result of the Rising of Easter Week, which made it plain that Ireland could be no longer ignored. Mr. Lloyd-George, acting for the British Government, then proposed that the Home Rule Act should be brought into operation at once, six Ulster Counties (including Tyrone and Fermanagh) to be left outside its scope. The whole proposal was put forward expressly as a war measure, not as a final

settlement. In this sense it was accepted unwillingly by the Irish Parliamentary Party, and, after great difficulty, a Convention of Nationalists of the Six Counties, held in Belfast on June 23rd, was brought to give its assent, this being on the express understanding that exclusion of those counties was merely temporary, the whole matter to come up for reconsideration at the end of the war. On the Unionist side also assent to the proposal was with difficulty secured, Sir Edward Carson himself admitting the hard task he had in persuading the Ulster Unionist Council. But if such grudging consent was obtained from the official bodies concerned, popular opinion in the country showed itself intensely hostile to the proposal. By Unionists the establishment of Home Rule during the war was regarded as a betrayal; by the rest of the country partition was regarded as an outrage. In view of this gathering hostility, it became increasingly difficult to carry the plan, but it might have been put into effect had it not been for new proposals put forward by the British Government altering, to the Unionist advantage, the terms originally assented to by the Irish Parliamentary leaders. Amid mutual recriminations the whole scheme was then dropped. Its main result was to deal an almost fatal blow to the position in Ireland of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and to confirm the country's belief in the trickery and untrustworthiness of British statesmen.

Again matters were allowed to drift for nearly nine months. In March, 1917, Mr. Lloyd-George, then Prime Minister, put forward, in letters to Mr. Redmond and Sir Edward Carson, a fresh offer of settlement. He suggested two alternative plans—either immediate application of Home Rule, excluding six counties, or else a Convention of representative Irishmen to work out a settlement of the whole problem. Mr. Redmond immediately rejected the first suggestion, and agreed to the second. Any description of the Convention may here be omitted, since it was not really representative (Sinn Fein, now the largest Irish party, holding aloof), and since it proved unsuccessful in the attempt to reach a solution of its main problem. But its deliberations made still more plain the repugnance of any body of Irishmen to the partition policy, and the readiness of Nationalist opinion to go to extreme lengths of concession in order to avoid it, the Unionists being actually offered a guaranteed representation of forty per cent. of the House of Commons in an all-Ireland Parliament, as well as large representation in a nominated Senate.

The chief lesson to be drawn from all the foregoing attempts to settle the question is, in fact, the great repugnance with which partition was viewed in Ireland throughout the period described. By Nationalist opinion of all shades the proposal was at first scarcely taken seriously, as being too ridiculous to be carried into effect. When it became plain that the proposal was seriously intended, ridicule gave place to loathing. By Southern Unionists partition was viewed with scarcely less dislike, both because it left themselves in a tiny minority apart from their co-religionists in the North, and as being altogether against the economic interests of the country. Among Ulster Unionists there was never any enthusiasm for the plan, it being assented to purely as a means of escaping from what they believed would be a worse disaster. It was

never an Irish proposal, but an English compromise, which could under no circumstances meet the real situation.

Apart from this repugnance towards the policy as a whole, its practical application gave rise to two difficulties, one or other of which led to the breakdown of all the negotiations described. Agreement could not be reached as to the area to be excluded. Tyrone and Fermanagh, not to speak of other territories, were in every case claimed by both parties. Again Nationalist opinion insisted that any exclusion could be merely a temporary expedient, while Ulster Unionists insisted on permanence. Even among them, however, and among their English allies, it is interesting to note many expressions of the hope that in the future the unity of the country would somehow be secured. Few seem to have supposed that the final settlement could take any other form.

Since these were the opinions which prevailed in Ireland, it is not surprising to find that partition was eventually carried into effect purely as a British policy, supported solely by British votes. This was accomplished by the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, passed at a time when the vast bulk of the Irish representatives were withdrawn from the House of Commons; passed against the most vehement protests of the small remnant of the Nationalist Party which remained; passed, moreover, not by the desire, but merely with the sullen acquiescence of the Ulster Unionist Party, none of whose members voted for the Bill. But if this measure was not desired by the Ulster Unionists, it was at least the work of a House in which their close ally—the British Unionist Party—held a considerable majority. It was thus designed to meet their susceptibilities and buttress their position. On matters of detail they were able to influence its character, and so it came to pass that not merely was partition carried, but carried in such a form as meant that practically all the questions previously disputed were now decided to the advantage of one party.

To begin with, the principle underlying the measure was expressly stated by Mr. Lloyd-George (in his introductory speech of December 22nd, 1919), to be the so-called two-nation theory. The fundamental fact was the existence of two Irelands, distinct and violently opposed. Hence the necessity of partition; as there were two Irelands, it followed as a corollery that there must be two Irish Parliaments.

Next, the Act gave to the six Counties of Northern Ireland a status and powers equal to that of the other twenty-six. No longer were they to remain directly under the British Parliament (as was proposed in earlier proposals for exclusion), but to have a Parliament of their own. This was proposed and accepted expressly in order to give them a stronger position in case any proposal should be made at a later date to induce them to unite with the rest of the country. Moreover, as regards those few powers which were under the Act conferred on a central authority, the six counties were given equal control with the twenty-six, since each Parliament was to have the same representation on the Council of Ireland.

Most important of all, the area to be excluded (which, as has been pointed out, was a chief matter of dispute in every previous attempt at partition), was now decided entirely in favour of the Ulster Unionists. This was not the intention of the Bill as originally contemplated. In his speech on December 22nd, 1919,

previously referred to, Mr. Lloyd-George mentioned four possible ways of dealing with the question of area:—

(1) That the "whole of Ulster should form one unit."

(2) County option. This "would leave solid communities of Protestants outside."

(3) "These North-Eastern Counties (i.e., the six counties), should form a unit. There is the same objection to that, because there are solid Catholic communities in at least two of these counties which are co-terminous with the Southern population."

(4) The fourth suggestion is "that we should ascertain what is the homogeneous North-Eastern section, and constitute it into a separate area, taking the six counties as a basis, eliminating, where practicable, the Catholic communities, while including Protestant communities from the co-terminous Catholic counties of Ireland, in order to produce an area as homogeneous as it is possible to produce under these circumstances."

Mr. Lloyd-George indicated that this last plan was to be adopted, but when the Bill appeared in print it was found that the area had been fixed as the six counties. What had happened meanwhile? The Ulster Unionist Council had met, and (after a heated debate, in which the delegates of Donegal, Cavan, and Monaghan made strong protests) decided to claim the six county area. This claim was accepted by the British Government and embodied in the Bill. It was explained with complete frankness by Captain C. Craig, in the Second Reading Debate on March 29th, 1920. The problem was simply that the Northern Parliament should secure as much territory as it could hold. "We quite frankly admit," he said, "that we cannot hold the nine counties." The six counties could and would be held.

Thus the area of Northern Ireland was fixed at the wish of the Ulster Unionists, not the Province of Ulster (an amendment by Sir P. Lloyd-Greame to make the Province the unit was rejected on May 18th), not the four counties which had a Unionist majority, not an area to be fixed in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants (as indicated by Mr. Lloyd-George in December), but just the six counties which the Ulster Unionists thought they could hold, and two of which had an anti-Unionist majority.

Such was the measure by which Ireland was partitioned, a measure both based on wrong principles, dividing where any division was disastrous, and also unjust and unfair in its details. And yet, even in this measure are to be found signs of a realisation that partition could not provide a real settlement. It still looked forward to a united Ireland as the desirable settlement of the future.

CHAPTER IV.

NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE TREATY OF 1921.

The Partition Act was carried in disregard of the wishes of Ireland at a time when a state of war existed in the country. When negotiations were opened in July, 1921, with a view to bringing that war to an end it was obvious that the situation created by the Act could not be ignored by either the British or Irish negotiators. The question of the position of Ulster was raised on several occasions in the course of the correspondence between Mr. Lloyd-George and Mr.

De Valera which led up to the appointment of plenipotentiaries; and when the plenipotentiaries embarked upon the detailed work of negotiating a Treaty it became one of the most important questions at issue. It is plain from what has transpired as to the negotiations that the Irish plenipotentiaries urged with all their strength the justice and the necessity of a United Ireland.

Not only did they urge it, but they succeeded in bringing the British plenipotentiaries to their point of view. This is made clear from a study of the correspondence which passed in November between Mr. Lloyd-George and Sir James Craig, published in a White Paper (Cmd. 1561 of 1921).

The first letter from Mr. Lloyd-George, dated November 10th, is so important as showing the deliberate opinion of the British Government that it must be quoted in full:—

10 Downing Street,
London, S.W.1,
10th November, 1921.

My Dear Prime Minister,

(1) The time has arrived when formal consultation between His His Majesty's Government and the Government of Northern Ireland is necessary for the further progress of the Irish negotiations. The settlement towards which His Majesty's Ministers have been working, and which they believe is not unattainable, is closely based upon the proposals made by His Majesty's Government on the 20th July last.

(2) Such a settlement would comprise the following main principles:—

(a) Ireland would give her allegiance to the Throne and would take her place in the partnership of Free States comprised in the British Empire.

(b) Provision would be made for those naval securities which His Majesty's Government deem indispensable for Great Britain and her oversea communications.

(c) The Government of Northern Ireland would retain all the powers conferred upon her by the Government of Ireland Act.

(d) The unity of Ireland would be recognised by the establishment of an all-Ireland Parliament, upon which would be devolved the further powers necessary to form the self-governing Irish State.

(3) Northern Ireland will, no doubt, see many dangers in a settlement on these lines. It may be objected, for instance, that the patronage involved in the various common Departments, such as the Post Office, Customs and Excise, might be unfairly exercised on religious and other grounds: or again, that though Ulster would retain control of its own education and kindred subjects, the Irish Government would be in a position to withhold the funds necessary to defray the administrative cost. Moreover, it might be feared that if the all-Ireland Parliament were to control import and export trade, the industries of Ulster would be imperilled.

(4) His Majestys' Government recognise the force of these objections, and desire to consider, in consultation with yourself and your Cabinet, how they can best be met. They invite your Cabinet to discuss with them the best means of dealing with these and similar matters; in particular (a) the appointment of officials within the area of Northern Ireland in Departments subject to the all-Ireland Parliament; (b) the collection of revenue within the area of Northern Ireland; (c) measures for safeguarding the exports and imports of Northern Ireland against the impositions of discriminating duties and its citizens from invidious taxation.

His Majesty's Ministers believe that arrangements can be embodied in the Agreement now in view, whereby these diffiuelties can be met.

(5) The question of the area within the special jurisdiction of the Northern Parliament we have reserved for discussion with you. The creation of an all-Ireland Parliament would clearly further an amicable settlement of this problem.

(6) His Majesty's Government are fully aware of the objections which the people of Northern Ireland may feel to participation on any terms in an all-Ireland Parliament. They have, therefore, been examining some of the alternatives, and their consequences. Their study has convinced them that grave difficulties would be raised for both parts of Ireland, if

the jurisdiction over the reserved subjects were not conferred upon a common authority.

In the first place Customs barriers would have to be established between Northern and Southern Ireland over a jagged line of frontier. The inconvenience of this arrangement would be considerabl enhanced by the fact that there must of necessity be large elements of the population on both sides whose sympathies will lie across the border. The natural channels of trade would be arbitrarily obstructed. The difficulty of working any such arrangement would be unceasing, the cost considerable, and the vexation to traders continuous.

In the second place the finance of the Government of Ireland Act would necessarily have to be re-cast. It is the essence of Dominion status that the contribution of a Dominion towards Imperial charges is voluntary. If Northern Ireland were part of the Irish State its contribution would be voluntary like those of the Dominions. On the other hand, if Southern Ireland became a Dominion while Northern Ireland remained a part United Kingdom, with the essential corollary of representation in the Imperial Parliament, it is clear that the people of Northern Ireland would have to bear their proportionate share of all Imperial burdens, such as the Army, Navy and other Imperial Services, in common with the taxpayers of the United Kingdom. The Members for Northern Ireland would otherwise be voting for policies in Parliament, the expense of which they would not share. It would be inevitable, if Northern Ireland were to remain a part of the United Kingdom, for Belfast to bear the same burdens as Liverpool, Glasgow or London.

These illustrations are by no means exhaustive, but they are sufficient to show the kind of difficulties which must arise from the grant of Dominion powers to a part of Ireland only.

(7) It will be evident that the people of Great Britain are making important sacrifices for the sake of a settlement. Heavily burdened though Great Britain is, the Government, with the full consent of public opinion at home and throughout the Empire, is offering to forego her right to exact from Ireland any contribution to future Imperial expenses. Single handed, the British nation assumes responsibility for Imperial Defence, except in so far as Ireland and the Dominions may resolve of their own free will to contribute to the cost.

(8) His Majesty's Government have purposely reviewed the problem in broad outline only. The details of any settlement cannot be satisfactorily approached except by discussion between all parties concerned. It is not possible by correspondence to deal adequately with even the main features of the question as it now stands, and His Majesty's Government cordially invite the Ministers of Northern Ireland to meet them in conference with a view to a full and frank exchange of views.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) D. LLOYD-GEORGE.

The Right Hon. Sir James Craig, Bart.

To this letter Sir James Craig replied on November 11th. He refused to consider the proposal for an All-Ireland Parliament, declaring that:—

"The possible unity of Ireland is provided for by the establishment of the Council of Ireland under the Act of 1920, together with the machinery for creating a Parliament for all-Ireland should Northern and Southern Ireland mutually agree to do so. The proposal now made to establish an all-Ireland Parliament by other means, presupposes that such agreement is not necessary. An all-Ireland Parliament cannot under existing circumstances be accepted by Northern Ireland.

"Such a Parliament is precisely what Ulster has for many years resisted by all the means at her disposal, and her detestation of it is in no degree diminished by the local institutions conferred upon her by the Act of 1920. The Government of Northern Ireland deem it unnecessary to enumerate here the reasons for this repugnance of which, as stated in paragraph 6 of your communication, His Majesty's Government are fully aware; but they must observe that the objection of Northern Ireland to participation in an all-Ireland Parliament, so far from being weakened,

has been materially strengthened by recent events in other parts of Ireland to which it is unnecessary more particularly to refer.

" It is an objection that goes deeper than the consideration referred to in paragraph 3 of your communication.

" The Government of Northern Ireland consider it their duty in order to avoid misunderstanding to say that their inability to accept an all-Ireland Parliament does not depend merely on the question of safeguards in regard to administrative details such as those referred to in paragraphs 3 and 4 of your communication. They are certain that no paper safeguards could protect them against maladministration. The feelings of the loyal population of Ulster are so pronounced and so universal on this point that no Government representing that population could enter into any Conference where this point is open to discussion. For these reasons, therefore, they feel compelled to state that any discussion would be fruitless unless His Majesty's Ministers consent to the withdrawal of the proposal for an all-Ireland Parliament."

He also protested against any revision of the area of Northern Ireland, since " the area finally decided upon is defined in the Act " of 1920. He stated that the difficulties referred to in paragraph 6 of Mr. Lloyd George's letter might be obviated by handing over the reserved powers to the Government of Northern Ireland.

Mr. Lloyd George, in a further letter of November 14th, begins by rejecting this last proposal, and proceeds to point out the difficulties and dangers of partition :—

" All experience proves, moreover, that so complete a partition of Ireland as you propose must militate with increasing force against that ultimate unity which you yourself hope will one day be possible. The existing state of Central and South-Eastern Europe is a terrible example of the evils which spring from the creation of new frontiers, cutting the natural circuits of commercial activity; but when once such frontiers are established, they harden into permanence. Your proposal would stereotype a frontier based neither upon natural features nor broad geographical considerations by giving it the character of an international boundary. Partition on these lines the majority of the Irish people will never accept, nor could we conscientiously attempt to enforce it. It would be fatal to that purpose of a lasting settlement on which these negotiations from the very outset have been steadily directed.

" We cannot, finally, overlook the effect of your proposal upon the welfare of the minorities both in Southern and Northern Ireland. In both parts of Ireland there are considerable communities cut off from the majority of those to whom they are bound by faith, tradition and natural affinity. The majority in Southern Ireland have a strong sense of responsibility for their co-religionists in the six counties. The minority there have an equal interest in your sympathy and support."

On November 17th Sir James Craig again declares against an All-Ireland Parliament, and reiterates his arguments in favour of Dominion status for Northern Ireland.

These letters make clear that, in the opinion of the British Government at this period, an all-Ireland Parliament was intrinsically the best settlement. In consequence, however, of its flat rejection by the Government of Northern Ireland, the plenipotentiaries were driven to consider another policy, that of the revision of the boundary of Northern Ireland. It is to be kept in mind always that this was not put forward by the Irish plenipotentiaries as the best settlement, or in fact as any real settlement of the Ulster difficulty. It was not even presented as an alternative policy to that of an All-Ireland Parliament. At best it was a palliative, intended to remove some of the more glaring faults and injustices of an arrangement which was in any case bound to be unsatisfactory. Here again the views of the British and Irish plenipotentiaries appear to have coincided, as is plain from a study of the Treaty.

The Treaty presented to Northern Ireland a choice between two courses, either to remain in the Irish Free State (in which she was included by the Treaty in the first instance), or else to exclude herself from the Free State, in which case a revision of her boundary was to take place. The precise character of each of the offers thus made to her requires to be closely examined.

If Northern Ireland elected to remain in the Free State, she was to retain all the powers conferred on her by the Act of 1920. Her Government and Parliament would still function and her individuality would be maintained. Also she would in that case retain the whole of the area allotted to her by the Act of 1920. No boundary revision was provided for, unless she should vote for exclusion.

The powers reserved to the Imperial Government under the Act of 1920, as well as those powers allotted by that Act to the Council of Ireland were, however, to be transferred to the All-Ireland Parliament of the Free State, which meant in effect that the Northern Ireland Parliament would become subordinate to it. In order, however, to obviate any fears or suspicions which might be held in the North as to the dangers of this course, the Treaty leaves a wide range of subjects open for negotiations between the two Irish Governments. Article 15 of the Treaty runs as follows:—

> "At any time from 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 relations 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 subejct 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."

This Article means in effect that the whole question of the reserved powers, and of the relations between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland under a unified system, were left open to negotiations. In such negotiations the Northern Government would have held an extremely favourable position, and would have been able to insist on strong safeguards as the price of her agreeing to union. It is to be noted that such negotiations were to take place prior to the date when Northern Ireland was to vote on the question of exclusion. She would, therefore have entered them with her hands free, with liberty still to determine her whole future course of action.

What then did the proposal that Northern Ireland should remain in the Free State really mean? It did not mean, as many seem to

have supposed, that her individuality would be merged without her consent with that of the rest of the country. It meant that she would retain her Parliament and her Government, and the area already placed under her jurisdiction; and that with regard to the questions which the interests of the country demanded should be placed under a single authority, she should have full powers to negotiate and secure safeguards, and those not mere paper safeguards but definite arrangements which her Government would be well able to maintain in the future. It is difficult to imagine how any Province could be given a better or a fairer offer in order to secure her consent to remain part of the country to which she was by nature united.

The second course left open to Northern Ireland by the Treaty was to vote for exclusion from the Free State and retain her position under the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 (Article 12). If this course was adopted, however, the latter part of Article 12 was to come into operation, namely:—

> "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."

The motive underlying Article 12 is plain. Northern Ireland had been offered many inducements to remain in the Free State, including that of retaining an area larger than that to which she was in justice entitled. If, however, she decided for exclusion, then strict justice must be done as regards her area, on the recognised principle of self-determination by the inhabitants. The position is well summed up in a final letter from Mr. Lloyd George to Sir James Craig, dated December 5th, 1921, enclosing a copy of the Treaty:—

> "You will observe that there are two alternatives between which the Government of Northern Ireland is invited to choose. Under the first, retaining all her existing powers, she will enter the Irish Free State with such additional guarantees as may be arranged in Conference. Under the second alternative she will still retain her present powers, but in respect of all matters not already delegated to her will share the rights and obligations of Great Britain. In the latter case, however, we should feel unable to defend the existing boundary, which must be subject to revision on one side and the other by a Boundary Commission under the terms of the Instrument."

On December 7th, 1922, the Northern Ireland Parliament voted for exclusion. The Boundary Clause of the Treaty thus became operative.

CHAPTER V.

THE TWO NATIONS THEORY.

A Favourite Weapon.

When a strong nation is engaged in holding a weaker one in subjection two arguments are always advanced to obscure the true facts of the situation. One argument is that the subject country cannot rightly be regarded as a nation at all. The other argument, closely related to the first, is that the subject country is not one but two or more nations which would fly at one another's throats were it not for the impartial and unifying influence of outside government. It was thus that Russia justified her subjection of Finland and the Baltic nations, Germany her subjection of the Poles, Austria her subjection of Bohemia, and Great Britain her subjection of Ireland. When the subject people was quiescent it suited the conqueror to stress the first argument; the second argument was always available when national forces became too explosive to be denied.

Both arguments have been used from time to time against the national claims of Ireland, but since the Treaty the first has had to be abandoned. The opponents of Irish nationalism now fall back on the second argument, that Ireland is not one but two nations, and that the Six Counties, at present within the jurisdiction of the Belfast Parliament, are a homogeneous community differing in race, religion, temperament and outlook from the people of the twenty-six counties. The Belfast Parliament is held to be at once the result and the evidence of the separate national consciousness of the Six Counties. The differences of race, religion, and character inevitably led to a separate Parliament; the separate Parliament is in itself conclusive proof of a distinct national consciousness. So the argument runs, resting on nothing more substantial than mere *ex parte* assertions unsupported by any real evidence. Those who use the argument rely on the ignorance of outsiders for its acceptance; in their own innermost hearts they know it to be unsound.

Belfast Parliament not a National Parliament.

In the first place, the Belfast Parliament did not come into existence, as national Parliaments have always done, in response to forces persistently demanding expression in that Parliament. It came into existence at a time when the right of Great Britain to legislate for Ireland was being contested by the vast majority of the Irish people, including 450,000 people now unwillingly held within the jurisdiction of the Belfast Parliament. The Act of 1920 which established that Parliament was a purely British Act passed in the British Parliament by British votes, not a single Irish representative having voted for it. A separate Parliament for the Six Counties was never demanded by the people of those counties, their Press or their political leaders. It was passed by the British Government of the day as a strategic manœuvre against the national claim which was then being asserted by the overwhelming majority of the Irish people. It was reluctantly accepted by the representatives of the privileged minority in the North-East as "the best that could be done in the circumstances." That privileged minority had, since the Act of Union, taken up an attitude of resistance to the demand of the Irish people for an All-

Ireland Parliament. In that attitude of resistance they had the support of those powerful influences in Great Britain which desired the permanent subjection of Ireland to British interests. When it became clear to British politicians that the Irish national demand could not much longer be resisted, the Act of 1920 was passed with the object of giving the minority a privileged position when a settlement of Ireland's claim could no longer be postponed. The Treaty was made between the representatives of Great Britain and Ireland as a whole, and though it had necessarily to take cognisance of the 1920 Act and of the small minority in the North-East whose spokesmen had declared against an All-Ireland Parliament, the fact remains that the Treaty gave international sanction to the basic reality of a single Irish nation. Not only so, but the Treaty provided that if the Six County Parliament elected to secede from the Free State, the boundary of what is known as " Northern " Ireland should be redrawn " in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants," thus indicating that the Belfast Parliament exercised control over a large number of unwilling citizens, and that the 1920 Act was not regarded as sacrosanct.

From this brief summary of the manner in which the Belfast Parliament came into being it is clear that that Parliament is not a national Parliament in any real sense. Rather does it represent the last form taken by the resistance of a privileged minority to the national movement for an All-Ireland Parliament. National Parliaments in all countries and at all times have come into being in response to dynamic forces acting from within ; the Belfast Parliament is probably the only assembly in the world which owes its existence to an attitude of negation and to pressure from without. Such a Parliament may express a mood, a temper, a prejudice, a fear or a denial, but it certainly is not the expression of a national will. Had it been so it would have come in response to a popular and irresistible movement from within, and it would not have been satisfied with powers so limited as those conferred on the Belfast Parliament. The measure of a status of a Parliament is the measure of the organic forces behind it, and the Belfast Parliament is the product not of organic forces but of mere political expediency. It is probably the only Parliament in the world whose whole *raison d'être* is a negation. It is the result, not of an organic need, but of the resistance of a minority to a real organic need on the part of the Irish nation. It is the only Parliament in the world which has no genuine opposition, because it is itself an opposition to the will of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people.

A Homogeneous Community.

Apart from the existence of a separate Parliament for the Six County area, the claim is made that the Six Counties constitute a homogeneous community different in race, religion, character and ideals from the rest of Ireland, and are, accordingly, entitled to regard themselves as a separate nation. The first comment to be made on this contention is that it is not in accordance with the facts ; the second is that it is in flat contradiction to the true idea of a nation.

First, as to the facts. We have seen that the Treaty provides for the re-drawing of the boundaries of " Northern " Ireland " in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants." Even a person unfamiliar with the facts would infer from this provision of the Treaty

that the Six Counties contain a number of people whose real allegiance is to the Free State Parliament. He would, however, be surprised to know that this area, which is claimed to be homogeneous, contains 450,000 people, or 34 per cent. of the whole population, who ardently desire to be restored to the Irish Free State. He would be surprised to know that not a single one of the Six Counties is without a strong minority who favour inclusion in the Free State, and that the two largest Counties, Tyrone and Fermanagh, which together occupy more than one-third of the whole Six County area, contain substantial majorities in favour of such inclusion. He would be surprised to know that in one of the two County Boroughs in the Six County area at least 56 per cent. of the inhabitants are in favour of inclusion in the Free State, and that one-fourth of the inhabitants of Belfast itself have the same preference. He would be surprised to know that Co. Antrim, which approaches most nearly to political homogeneity, contains a large minority in the north-east whose sympathies have always been with the national claim for an All-Ireland Parliament. A study of the surnames in the Six Counties goes flat against the theory of homogeneity. In Matheson's "Special Report on Surnames," it is shown that of the thirteen principal surnames in Co. Armagh seven are Irish Celtic and six Scottish or English. Of the thirteen principal surnames in Co. Derry, ten are Irish Celtic and three Scottish or English. Of the fourteen principal surnames in Co. Tyrone, ten are Irish Celtic and four Scottish or English. Of the seventeen principal surnames in Co. Fermanagh, twelve are Irish Celtic and five Scottish or English. Down and Antrim are the only counties in which the principal surnames are not preponderatingly Irish.

Reductio ad Absurdum.

The contention that the Six Counties as such constitute a homogeneous entity thus falls to the ground on their first contact with facts and figures, readily available in official records, and well known to anyone with even a casual knowledge of conditions in those counties. The argument would stand a better chance of being sustained if its protagonists limited their claim to Antrim (minus the north-east), Down (minus the south and east), Derry (minus the south), and Armagh (minus the south). It might be contended with some show of plausibility that the area so curtailed contains within it a homogeneous population different in race, religion, character and ideals from the remainder of their fellow-countrymen. The contention would still be open to grave criticism, but it would not be so hopelessly and obviously untenable as when applied to the Six Counties. But in adhering to the strict facts of the situation the opponents of Irish nationalism would have to surrender not only the two-nation theory but their claim to a separate Parliament, for there is everywhere a limit to the area which can be permitted to call itself a nation or claim a separate Parliament. To call portions of four counties a nation and bestow a separate Parliament on them on the ground of their distinct character would be too preposterous for practical politics, and would create too dangerous a precedent in a highly complex world, in which homogeneity nowhere exists, but in which national minorities exist everywhere. If portions of four counties in a country of thirty-two, all of which are enclosed within the unity of the sea, could assert their claim to nationality and a

separate Parliament, then the world would become a multi-coloured patchwork of feeble and futile entities, and the very idea of a nation would be slain. The apostles of the theory of a homogeneous Six County area, with a separate national consciousness, are forced to distort and obscure the facts, because adherence to the facts would destroy their theory.

The Idea of a Nation.

The truth is that the two-nation theory as applied to Ireland rests not only on a misrepresentation of the known facts but on a complete misunderstanding of what a nation really is. It is worth while, therefore, to inquire what is the true nature and function of a nation and to apply the results of our inquiry to the two-nation theory as applied to Ireland.

It is easier to say what a nation is not than to say what precisely it is. We feel that the word describes a very vital and significant expression of corporate life, but as soon as we have made the attempt to define it we feel that something of the truth has been lost. "Though no term in politics is of more frequent use than nation," said Lord Bryce, "it is not easy to define. There are almost as many accounts of it as we have found in other terms of the political dialect." Professor Ramsay Muir expressed the same difficulty when he wrote: "Nationality is an elusive idea, difficult to define. It cannot be tested or analysed by formulæ." Nevertheless, many thinkers have attempted to give satisfying definitions of the term, and though the words used to define it vary, their central thought is the same. According to one thinker "it is about consciousness of kind, as a determining principle, that all other motives organise themselves in the evolution of social choice, social volition or social policy." Another expands this definition to "a social group, bound together by a consciousness of kind which springs from the tradition evoked by the group's historic past, and is directly related to a definite home-country." Still another defines it as "a form of corporate consciousness of peculiar intensity, intimacy, and dignity, related to a definite home-country." Renan's well-known definition is more flexible than those given above by more modern thinkers, but it runs parallel with them. "A nation is a living soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul, this principle. One is in the past; the other is in the present. One is the common possession of a rich heritage of memories; the other is the actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to preserve worthily the individual inheritance which has been handed down. To have common glories in the past, a common will in the present, to have done great things together; to will to do the like again—such are the essential conditions for the making of a people."

A Living Organism.

Now, all these definitions, however variously worded, are in fundamental agreement. A nation is a living organism growing out of a conscious identity of country, memories and interests. It is shaped first by geographical conditions, then by history, then by a sense of common interests and purposes. People living together in a well-marked geographical area evolve a sense of kinship. Historical happenings, not always against an outside enemy, become the com-

mon inheritance of all. A living organism, capable of continuous development, springs from these things and the nation is born.

It is noteworthy that none of the definitions quoted makes mention of race, religion, character, or even political institutions as a necessary feature of the national idea. To have done so would have been to contradict concrete experience. England is mixed Danish, Celtic, Norman and Anglo-Saxon. Switzerland is mixed German, French and Italian. France itself, the most conscious nation in the world, is a mixture of Germans, Celts and Romans. Belgium is made up of Flemings, Walloons and other racial elements. In the words of Mazzini, himself a great apostle of the national idea, "there is not a single spot in Europe where an unmixed race can be detected," and he might safely have extended his dictum to include America and Australia. Similarly, there is not a single European nation where an absolute uniformity of religion and character prevails. No modern nation makes religious differences the pretext for special political arrangements. Thirty-two per cent. of the people of the province of Posen are Protestants, yet the province as a whole was handed back to Catholic Poland after the war without a plebiscite being taken. In Switzerland Catholics constitute 41 per cent. of the population, and are the majority in ten cantons, yet Swiss national unity is not endangered. The French Catholics of Quebec are a source of strength rather than of weakness to the Canadian Commonwealth. The Catholics of Protestant England, like the Protestants of Catholic France, are the most patriotic sections of those nations. In the same way, no modern nation exacts from its people a uniformity of character, temperament, or ideals. Indeed, the tendency is for each nation to develop within it the widest possible variety of character and aptitude compatible with the national idea. The northern Englishman is progressive, industrial and energetic; the southern Englishman is conservative, agricultural and lethargic. There is a very wide difference between the Frenchman of Lille and the Frenchman of Marseilles, between the German of Berlin and the German of Wurtemburg, between the Swiss of the Italian and of the German cantons. These differences of character and outlook do no more injury to the nation than the differences of race and religion to which reference has been made. Rather do they strengthen the national unit by bringing to its service the widest possible variety of character, temperament, aptitude and ideals.

Differences Reconciled.

The truth is that the nation is a comparatively recent synthesis in which differences of race, religion, character and ideals are resolved in the fellowship of people living on the same soil, inheriting the same memories, responding to the same environment, and conscious of common interests and a common destiny.

We are now in a position to appraise more justly the claim of North-East Ulster to be regarded as a national entity apart from the rest of Ireland. We have already been driven by an examination of the facts to the conclusion that the claim to homogeneity cannot be made for the Six Counties as a whole. It has also been pointed out that even if the homogeneity of the greater portion of the four counties was established, it could not be held to justify a breach of the obvious national unity of Ireland, for there is a limit to the privileges which can be extended to national minorities. An examina-

tion of the elements which go to the making of a nation has shown us that uniformity of race, religion, character and ideals is found in no modern nation whatsoever. Therefore, in arguing that there are two nations in Ireland because North-East Ulster possesses this uniformity, the supporters of the theory merely convict themselves of ignorance of the meaning of the national idea. A nation is the reconciliation of differences not the assertion of uniformity, and if North-East Ulster has qualities and aptitudes different from the rest of Ireland, those qualities and aptitudes should be developed within and not without the national organism.

As a matter of fact, those differences, where they really exist, are not nearly so great as the exaggerated language of enemies of Irish national unity have wished the world to believe. As will be seen from the historical portion of this volume, the alleged racial difference is a mere fiction without warrant in history. The vast majority of the Colonists who supplanted the ancient Irish were Scots descended from the Irish Colonists of Scotland in the third and fourth centuries. In returning to Ireland the Scots were, in a very real sense, merely returning to the land of their fathers. It is on record that many of the Planters spoke Gaelic hardly distinguishable from that on the lips of the old Irish. North-East Ulster prides itself, and justly, on its great commercial and industrial progress, which it attributes solely to qualities inherent in its own people but absent in the rest of Ireland.

North-East Prosperity Explained.

It was a North-East Ulster man and a great captain of industry who pointed out that such a belief does not represent the whole truth. "One of the heads of the Irish linen trade," said Mr. A. G. Wilson, in a pamphlet entitled "Recent History in Ireland," "protested against the idea that our staple industry had gained anything from the Protective system which lasted off and on from the time of Strafford down to the period just previous to the introduction of machinery, say, roughly, about 200 years. I venture respectfully to disagree with this view, not because the modern linen trade really owes anything, directly, to the Protective bounties, but because those bounties had kept alive in Ulster, as in England, an industrial spirit strong enough to survive the mechanical revolution of the nineteenth century. And if the question be asked why the linen trade has died out over most of the other areas where it once flourished under the bounties, I think a sufficient answer is the effect of the Penal Laws upon the immense Roman Catholic majority outside of Ulster. It is our boast that Ulster is prosperous largely because of her intermixture of Scotch blood; and it is true; but if the claim be examined historically, we learn that the Scotch immigration is merely the return of Irish Colonists to their original home, minus the two great industrial disabilities of which I have spoken. It is as if England were overrun by, say, Germany for several centuries, and then revived by the return of her Australian or Canadian Colonists, who had retained something of the language, dress, customs and industrial spirit of the motherland, while these had been abolished by force in their place of origin. These, then, the commercial restrictions and the Penal Laws, were among the main causes of the miserable industrial situation in all except our own corner of Ireland up to about twenty years ago."

The people of North-East Ulster are not, therefore, really different in race from the rest of their countrymen, and their greater industrial aptitude has an explanation, not in racial differences, but in the facts of history.

Religious Differences.

There is a clear religious distinction between North-East Ulster and the rest of Ireland, and it was the persistent stressing of that distinction by interested parties and persons inside and outside Ireland which alone prevented the full acceptance of the Irish nation by North-East Ulster. We have seen that both in theory and practice religious differences can easily be reconciled and even made a source of strength in a normal nation. But in a nation deprived of a national Parliament there are always classes and vested interests whose power depends on the subjection of the nation, and who, by persistently playing on a difference of religion, hope to prevent the nation taking shape in a national Parliament. When Ireland had a national Parliament its stoutest defenders were the ancestors of the men who to-day stand for secession. On the 14th July, 1791, the Belfast Protestant Volunteers celebrated the success of the French Revolution, and, in the course of an address to the National Assembly, used the following words:—"We, too, have a country, and we hold it very dear; so dear to us its interest that we wish all civil and religious intolerance annihilated in this land; so dear to us its honour that we wish an eternal stop to the traffic of public liberty which is bought by one and sold to another; so dear to us its freedom that we wish for nothing so much as a real representative of the national will, the surest guide and guardian of national happiness." It is apparent from these words that the North-East Ulster of the end of the eighteenth century regarded Ireland as a nation, one and indivisible, entitled to the loyal service of all its sons. At that time, too, the people of North-East Ulster were the strongest advocates of religious freedom for the great majority of their fellow-country men. It was a Convention of Ulster Protestants which, in 1782, passed the following resolution:—"Resolved, that we hold the right of private judgment in matters of religion to be equally sacred in others as well as in ourselves; that we rejoice in the relaxation of the Penal Laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland." If that spirit of nationalism and religious freedom was not maintained in North-East Ulster, as it has been maintained and developed in every other civilised nation, the explanation is that during the nineteenth century interested persons and parties inside and outside Ireland persistently exaggerated and distorted religious differences and historical happenings in the hope of preventing Irish national unity and all that that implied.

Ireland a Nation.

We have seen that the idea of a nation is based on the reconciliation of differences of race, religion, language, character, temperament and aptitudes in the consciousness of common aims and a common destiny. We have seen that the small minority in the North-East, which for the moment holds aloof from the national idea, justifies its action on grounds which would destroy every

organised nation in the world. We have seen that over a century ago North-East Ulster stood in the van of the movement for national and religious freedom. What has been can be and will be again, for the unifying forces of geography, environment, common interests and a common destiny are too strong to be long resisted by an insistence on religious differences and a distortion of historical happenings. The greatest merit of the national idea is that it makes even ancient schisms a source of pride to all the people. Within the nation the heroisms of Limerick and Derry would be the common property of the Irish people, and the victory of the Boyne would be a common inspiration as much as the victory of Benburb. All Frenchmen are heirs of the French Revolution and the wars of Napoleon, just as all Americans are heirs of Washington and the battles of the Civil War. The national idea reconciles not only differences of race, religion, character and ideals, but even bitter domestic feuds, so that from the widest range of differences is evolved an enfolding and stimulating unity.

Ireland as a whole is a nation, and North-East Ulster is merely a small portion of Ireland which for the moment refuses to assent to the political implications of that nationhood. The forces making for union have been temporarily frustrated, but in the long run they are bound to prevail, as they have prevailed in every other country which has the attributes of nationhood.

WISHES OF THE INHABITANTS

II. WISHES OF THE INHABITANTS.

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS.

The division of Ireland into four Provinces has only a geographical significance and for many generations the Province has never been made use of as an administrative area.

The counties into which the Provinces are divided have, however, always been administrative areas since their formation. Previous to the Local Government Act of 1898, the countries were divided into the older territorial divisions of baronies and parishes, and these divisions were used as administrative areas for many purposes.

The Irish Poor Law which came into operation in 1838 divided the country into Poor Law Unions. These divisions were quite independent of both counties, baronies, and parishes, being convenient economic areas grouped around a central institution, the Poorhouse. Each Union was sub-divided into Dispensary Districts.

By the Local Government Act of 1898 the administrative functions based on the baronies and parishes were, together with other and wider powers, transferred to *Counties* and *County* Districts. The *County Districts* were entitled *Urban and Rural Districts* respectively. *County Electoral Divisions* were also constituted, being divisions of the county for the purpose of the election of members of the County Council. These three latter divisions consist of groups of *District Electoral Divisions*. The basic unit of which the District Electoral Division, and all other areas, both ancient and modern, are built up is the *Townland*.

The existing *Parliamentary Divisions* consist of entire counties or boroughs, or sub-divisions of entire counties or boroughs.

The County Rural District is the same in extent as the Poor Law Union, except in those cases in which the latter extends into one or more counties, and in these cases each portion of the Union in a county is constituted a separate Rural District. The Poor Law Union also includes any Urban District within its borders. It is, therefore a more representative area than the Rural District as it includes the large town with its hinterland and thus forms an economic unit.

The Parish is an obsolete unit except for ecclesiastical purposes and varies greatly in area and population. For example in the Co. Down, it varies from Ballykinler Parish with 216 inhabitants to Newtownards Parish with 12,007 inhabitants. It frequently extends into two or more counties.

"WISHES OF THE INHABITANTS."

The "wishes of the inhabitants" of Ulster by population as regards inclusion in the Free State, or within the territory subject to the Belfast Parliament, are here shown in accordance with the census of their religious opinions, "Catholics" being regarded as on the side of the Free State, and "All Others" as on the side of the Belfast Parliament. Such a classification is only approximately accurate, since it is known that a considerable number of Protestants are in favour of the Free State, and very few Catholics, if any, are in favour of the Belfast Parliament. The figures are those of the Census of Ireland, 1911.

GENERAL.

From the following Tables it will be seen:

(a) That the population of Ulster is not homogeneous, that there is a large minority spread over the whole nine counties of the province who wish to be included in the Free State.

(b) That the present boundary line of the Six Counties under the Belfast Parliament includes large areas in which a substantial majority of the inhabitants wish to be included in the Free State.

PROVINCE AND COUNTIES.

The following Table shows the wishes of the population of the Province of Ulster, the "North-East Ulster" Area, and each of the Counties and County Boroughs in Ulster, with percentages in each case.

No. 1.

TABLE SHOWING FOR THE PROVINCE OF ULSTER, THE NORTH-EAST ULSTER AREA, AND THE COUNTIES AND BOROUGHS OF ULSTER, THE WISHES OF THE INHABITANTS FOR THE FREE STATE AND FOR THE BELFAST PARLIAMENT.

Province and Counties	Total Population	Population		Majority of Population	
		In favour of Free State	In favour of of Belfast Parliament	In favour of Free State	In favour of Belfast Parliament
		per cent.	per cent.		
Ulster	1,581,696	690,816 (43.67)	890,880 (56.33)	—	200,064
Six Counties and Boroughs in North East Ulster Area	1,250,531	430,161 (34.40)	820,370 (65.60)	—	390,209
Antrim	193,864	39,751 (20.50)	154,113 (79.50)	—	114,362
Armagh	120,291	54,526 (45.33)	65,765 (54.67)	—	11,239
Belfast County Borough	386,947	93,243 (24.10)	293,704 (75.90)	—	200,461
Cavan	91,173	74,271 (81.46)	16,902 (18.54)	57,369	—
Derry	99,845	41,478 (41.54)	58,367 (58.46)	—	16,889
Derry County Borough	40,780	22,923 (56.21)	17,857 (43.79)	5,066	—
Donegal	168,537	133,021 (78.93)	35,516 (21.07)	97,505	—
Down	204,303	64,485 (31.56)	139,818 (68.44)	—	75,333
Fermanagh	61,836	34,740 (56.18)	27,096 (43.82)	7,644	—
Monaghan	71,455	53,363 (74.68)	18,092 (25.32)	35,271	—
Tyrone	142,665	79,015 (55.39)	63,650 (44.61)	15,365	—

It will be seen that supporters of an Ireland united under the Free State range from 21 per cent. of the inhabitants of County Antrim to 81 per cent. in the County Cavan, and that out of 1,581,696 persons in the Province of Ulster, 690,816 are in favour of the Free State, and out of 1,250,531 persons in the North-East Ulster area, 430,161 are in favour of the Free State.

PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS, 1918.

The following Table shows the wishes of the population of the North-East Ulster Area according to the Parliamentary Divisions as determined by the Act of 1918, under which the General Election of that year was contested.

No. 2.

PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCIES.

N.B.—The following alterations in the Parliamentary Constituencies of the North-East Ulster Area were made by the Redistribution of Seats (Ireland) Act, 1918 :—

1. The Parliamentary Borough of Belfast was divided into nine new divisions as shown in Schedule annexed, comprising the County Borough of Belfast.

2. The County of Down was divided into five new divisions as shown.

3. The County of Tyrone was divided into three new divisions as shown.

4. The Parliamentary Division of South Antrim was extended to include all South County Antrim.

5. The Parliamentary Division of South Armagh was extended to include all South County Armagh.

6. The Parliamentary Borough of Newry was abolished.

POPULATION IN THE NORTH-EAST ULSTER AREA OF PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS UNDER 1918 ACT FOR AND AGAINST AN ALL IRELAND PARLIAMENT.

Division	Total Population	For an All-Ireland Parliament	Against an All-Ireland Parliament
North Antrim	43,487	10,657	32,830
Mid Antrim	44,405	9,512	34,893
East Antrim	53,700	6,626	47,074
South Antrim	52,272	12,956	39,316
North Armagh	46,048	13,957	32,091
Mid Armagh	39,495	16,937	22,558
South Armagh	34,748	23,632	11,116
North Down	38,713	2,724	35,989
East Down	39,944	21,901	18,043
Mid Down	40,284	4,322	35,962
South Down	43,578	26,748	16,830
West Down	41,784	8,790	32,994
North Fermanagh	31,104	15,782	15,322
South Fermanagh	30,732	18,958	11,774
North Derry	52,957	18,523	34,434
South Derry	46,888	22,955	23,933
Derry County Borough ...	40,780	22,923	17,857
North West Tyrone ...	47,240	26,868	20,372
South Tyrone	48,067	23,037	25,030
North East Tyrone ...	47,358	29,110	18,248

PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS, 1918—Continued.

BELFAST PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGH.

Division	Ward	Total Population	For an All-Ireland Parliament	Against an All-Ireland Parliament
Cromac ...	Cromac ...	24,970	5,422	19,548
„ ...	Windsor ...	23,567	3,501	20,066
Total ...		48,537	8,923	39,614
Duncairn ...	Duncairn ...	30,351	5,257	25,094
	*Clifton (part of)	—	—	—
Total ...		44,080	—	—
Falls ...	Falls ...	25,795	21,120	4,675
	Smithfield ...	11,954	10,715	1,239
Total ...		37,749	31,835	5,914
Ormeau ...	Ormeau ...	35,257	5,088	30,169
Pottinger ...	Pottinger ...	39,173	6,572	32,601
St. Anne's ...	St. Anne's ...	21,107	7,077	14,030
	St. George's ...	19,323	1,808	17,515
Total ...		40,430	8,885	31,545
Shankill ...	Shankill ...	32,711	2,326	30,385
	*Clifton (part of)	—	—	—
Total ...		50,467	—	—
Victoria ...	Dock ...	20,895	8,104	12,791
	Victoria ...	26,365	2,333	24,032
Total ...		47,260	10,437	36,823
Woodvale ...	Court ...	18,992	4,414	14,578
	Woodvale ...	25,002	2,472	22,530
Total ...		43,994	6,886	37,108

* The Clifton Ward is divided between the Divisions of Duncairn and Shankill. The population by religion of each portion has not been separately ascertained. The following Table gives the figures by Religion for the two Divisions of Duncairn and Shankill which constitute the Constituency of North Belfast under the 1920 Act :—

Duncairn	Duncairn ...	30,351	5,257	25,094
and	Clifton ...	31,485	7,034	24,451
Shankill ...	Shankill ...	32,711	2,326	30,385
Total ...		94,547	14,617	79,930

Out of 29 parliamentary divisions there are 9 with majorities in favour of the Free State, and in the remaining 20 divisions there are pro-Free State minorities ranging from 2,742 persons in North Down to 23,037 in South Tyrone.

PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS, 1920.

The following Table shows the wishes of the population of the North-East Ulster Area according to the Parliamentary Divisions as determined by the Act of 1920, under which the General Election for the Parliament of North-East Ulster in 1921 was contested.

No. 3.

TABLE SHOWING THE POPULATION IN THE NORTH-EAST ULSTER AREA OF PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS UNDER ACT OF 1920 FOR AND AGAINST AN ALL-IRELAND PARLIAMENT :—

Constituency	Division	Total Population	For an All-Ireland Parliament	Against an All-Ireland Parliament
East Belfast ...	Pottinger ...	39,173	6,572	32,601
	Victoria ...	47,260	10,437	36,823
Total ...		86,433	17,009	69,424
North Belfast ...	Duncairn & Shankill ...	94,547	14,617	79,930
South Belfast ...	Cromac ...	48,537	8,923	39,614
	Ormeau ...	35,257	5,088	30,169
Total ...		83,794	14,011	69,783
West Belfast ...	Falls ...	37,749	31,835	5,914
	St Anne's ...	40,430	8,885	31,545
	Woodvale ...	43,994	6,886	37,108
Total ...		122,173	47,606	74,567
Antrim ...		193,864	39,751	154,113
Armagh ...		120,291	54,526	65,765
Fermanagh ...		61,836	34,740	27,096
Tyrone ...		142,665	79,015	63,650
Londonderry (Co. and Borough)		140,625	64,401	76,224
Down ...		204,303	64,485	139,818

Out of the nine Parliamentary Constituencies (as arranged for the purposes of Proportional Representation), one has a majority in favour of the Free State, and in the remaining eight constituencies there are pro-Free State minorities ranging from 14,011 persons in South Belfast Constituency to 64,485 persons in Co. Down Constituency.

POOR LAW UNIONS.

Having taken the County, and the Parliamentary Division, which is based on the County and County Borough, as the basis of setting forth the wishes of the Inhabitants, the next convenient area to be considered is that of the Poor Law Union.

The following Table and Diagram show the Poor Law Unions in the North-East Ulster Area having majorities for the Free State and for the Belfast Parliament :—

No. 4.

TABLE SHOWING THE WISHES OF THE INHABITANTS, BY POOR LAW UNIONS, IN THE NORTH EAST ULSTER AREA HAVING MAJORITIES FOR THE FREE STATE AND FOR THE BELFAST PARLIAMENT.

Unions for the Free State	Average Valuation per head	Area	Poor Law Valuation	Population	
				For Free State	For Belfast Parliament
	£ s. d.	Acres	£	per cent.	per cent.
Crossmaglen ...	2 9 8	35,793	23,454	7,754 (82.1)	1,687 (17.9)
Kilkeel	2 19 1	81,954	53,440	10,001 (55.3)	8,076 (44.7)
Newry	3 11 9	138,029	177,205	32,969 (66.7)	16,425 (33.3)
Irvinestown ...	3 12 5	116,360	53,705	8,077 (54.4)	6,762 (45.6)
Enniskillen ...	4 4 6	157,143	100,389	12,501 (52.6)	11,256 (47.4)
Lisnaskea ...	3 16 3	144,409	88,590	14,162 (60.9)	9,078 (39.1)
Londonderry ...	2 19 11	85,988	165,379	29,838 (54.1)	25,355 (45.9)
Magherafelt ...	2 12 4	157,233	94,505	19,139 (53.0)	16,968 (47.0)
Castlederg ...	2 8 6	91,833	27,059	5,668 (50.8)	5,493 (49.2)
Gortin	3 15 1	89,336	51,577	6,982 (50.8)	6,762 (49.2)
Cookstown ...	3 0 8	96,943	68,264	11,489 (51.0)	11,027 (49.0)
Dungannon ...	3 14 0	110,375	111,980	15,868 (52.5)	14,382 (47.5)
Omagh	3 6 5	254,014	134,018	24,672 (61.1)	15,683 (38.9)
Strabane ...	2 18 10	137,062	72,503	14,336 (58.2)	10,303 (41.8)
Total ...	£3 5 7	1,696,472	1,222,068	213,456 (57.3)	159.257 (42.7)

Unions for the Belfast Parliament	Average Valuation per head	Area	Poor Law Valuation	Population	
				For Free State	For Belfast Parliament
	£ s. d.	Acres	£	per cent.	per cent.
Antrim	4 9 9	117,225	134,843	4,901 (16.3)	25,149 (83.7)
Ballycastle ...	3 19 1	102,643	48,207	5,717 (46.9)	6,476 (53.1)
Ballymena ...	2 19 0	161,301	142,896	8,212 (17.0)	40,203 (83.0)
Ballymoney ...	3 14 9	121,510	102,482	5,294 (19.3)	22,130 (80.7)
Belfast	3 17 3	49,658	1,579,420	97,096 (23.8)	311,457 (76.2)
Larne	4 1 3	118,040	139,801	6,196 (18.0)	28,218 (82.0)
Lisburn	4 6 0	131,371	212,166	8,100 (16.4)	41,246 (83.6)
Lurgan	3 1 7	67,603	155,786	14,023 (27.7)	36,568 (72.3)
Armagh	4 12 7	146,624	204,183	19,249 (43.6)	24,860 (56.4)
Banbridge ...	4 2 6	125,205	165,536	10,115 (25.2)	30,016 (74.8)
Downpatrick ...	4 13 8	148,114	183,584	19,229 (49.1)	19,967 (50.9)
Newtownards ...	4 3 5	94,352	184,921	3.164 (7.1)	41,176 (92.9)
Coleraine ...	3 10 5	118,894	105,437	6,486 (21.7)	23,469 (78.3)
Limavady ...	3 13 4	152,958	70,023	8,923 (46.7)	10,178 (53.3)
Total ...	£3 18 2	1,655,498	3,429,285	216,705 (24.6)	661,113 (75.3)

It will be seen from the above Table, and from the Diagram No. 1, that fourteen out of the twenty-eight Poor Law Unions in the North-East Ulster Area have majorities in favour of the Free State, and that of the remaining fourteen Unions there are Free State minorities, ranging from 7.1 per cent. in Newtownards to 49.1 per cent. in Downpatrick.

Map showing the areas in the Six Counties for and against inclusion in the Irish Free State on the basis of the population of Poor Law Unions.

NOTE.—Of the Poor Law Unions included in the Six County Area, **14 are in favour of inclusion in the Free State** and 14 are in favour of the Belfast Parliament.

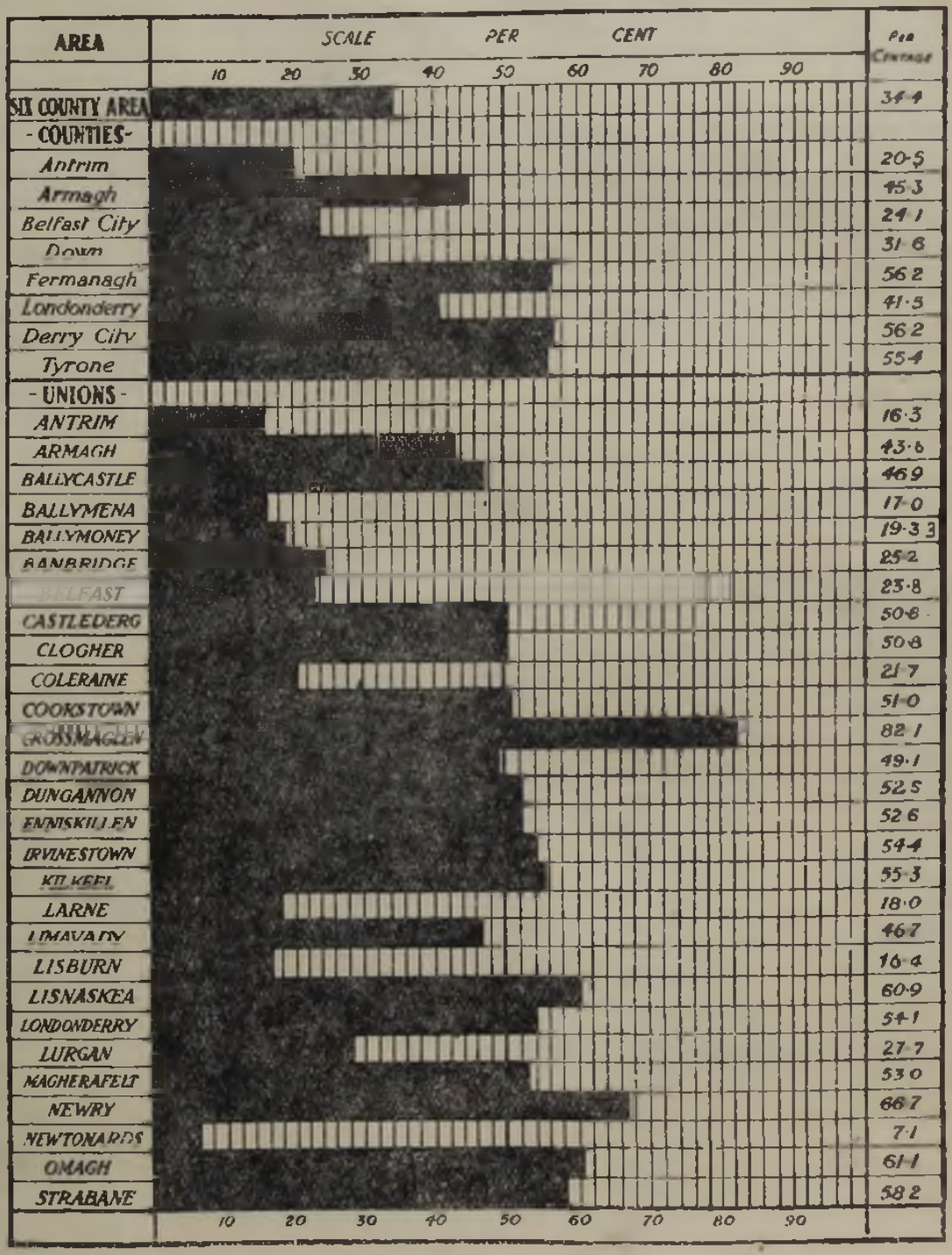
The relative territorial areas of the Unions in the Six County Area in favour of the Free State and in favour of the Belfast Parliament are as follows:—Pro-Free State, 1,696,472 acres; Pro-Belfast Parliament, 1,655,498 acres.

The area of the Unions in favour of the Free State is, therefore, more than one-half of the total Six County area.

WISHES OF THE INHABITANTS.

DIAGRAM No. 1.

Diagram showing the proportion per cent. of the **Total Inhabitants in favour of the Free State** in each County and Poor Law Union in the North-East Ulster Area.



Out of the Counties and County Boroughs in the North-East Ulster Area **three have majorities in favour of the Free State.**

Out of 28 Poor Law Unions in the North-East Ulster Area **14 have majorities in favour of the Free State.**

POOR LAW UNIONS—Continued.

No. 5.

TABLE SHOWING THE WISHES OF THE INHABITANTS IN THE POOR LAW UNIONS IN THE COUNTIES OF CAVAN, DONEGAL, AND MONAGHAN, FOR THE FREE STATE AND FOR THE BELFAST PARLIAMENT.

Unions	Average Valuation per head	Area	Poor Law Valuation	Total Population	Population	
					For Free State	For Belfast Parliament
	£ s. d.	Acres	£			
Bailieborough... ...	3 1 8	71,952	44,488	14,757	11,529	3,228
Bawnboy (part of) ...	2 11 6	61,908	23,040	8,944	7,270	1,674
Cavan	3 8 1	161,074	117,749	34,573	27,216	7,357
Cootehill	3 13 5	105,858	74,601	20,324	13,877	6,447
Manorhamilton (part of)	1 14 2	40,507	8,399	4,913	4,606	307
Granard (part of) ...	2 14 0	20,280	11,986	4,437	4,286	151
Oldcastle (part of) ...	3 0 1	41,921	27,277	9,080	8,291	789
Ballyshannon (part of)	2 13 11	41,627	26,644	9,888	7,652	2,236
Donegal	1 16 10	160,445	36,117	19,616	14,029	5,587
Dunfanaghy	0 15 9	126,165	12,206	15,471	14,021	1,450
Glenties	0 13 11	258,498	22,835	32,800	31,109	1,691
Inishowen	1 10 9	160,049	42,400	27,576	23,875	3,701
*Letterkenny ...	3 7 6	160,379	68,463	20,290	12,005	8,285
Millford	1 12 2	112,088	31,163	19,393	15,150	4,243
Stranorlar	3 3 5	174,389	74,539	23,503	15,180	8,323
Carrickmacross ...	3 13 3	65,687	55,352	15,108	14,252	856
Castleblayney... ...	3 11 1	63,835	55,708	15,668	11,957	3,711
Clones	4 4 5	27,813	34,170	8,098	5,202	2,896
Monaghan	3 16 9	125,180	102,530	26,726	19,148	7,578
	£2 12 6	1,979,655	869,667	331,165	260,655	70,510

*Including Londonderry No. 2, or Killea R.D.

URBAN AND RURAL DISTRICTS.

In the following Tables the Wishes of the Inhabitants for the Irish Free State, and for the Belfast Parliament, as grouped in Urban and Rural Districts, are shown :—

No. 6.

WISHES OF THE INHABITANTS.—TABLE SHOWING THE URBAN DISTRICTS IN THE SIX COUNTY AREA HAVING MAJORITIES FOR THE FREE STATE AND FOR THE BELFAST PARLIAMENT.

Urban Districts for the Free State	County	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
			per cent.	per cent.
Armagh	Armagh ...	7,356	3,965 (53.9)	3,391 (46.1)
Keady	,, ...	1,434	1,082 (75.5)	352 (24.5)
Newry	Down ...	11,963	8,924 (74.6)	3,039 (25.4)
Warrenpoint	,, ...	1,938	1,081 (55.8)	857 (44.2)
Enniskillen	Fermanagh ...	4,847	2,688 (55.5)	2,159 (44.5)
Dungannon	Tyrone ...	3,830	2,120 (55.4)	1,710 (44.6)
Omagh	,, ...	4,836	2,818 (58.3)	2,018 (41.7)
Strabane	,, ...	5,107	3,750 (73.4)	1,357 (26.6)
(8) Total ...		41,311	26,428 (64.0)	14,883 (36.0)
Derry City		40,780	22,923 (56.2)	17,857 (43.8)
Total of Urban Districts and City of Derry ...		82,091	49,351 (60.1)	32,740 (39.9)
For the Belfast Parliament				
Ballycastle	Antrim ...	1,729	* 833 (48.2)	* 896 (51.8)
Ballyclare	,, ...	3,369	344 (10.2)	3,025 (89.8)
Ballymena	,, ...	11,381	2,049 (18.0)	9,332 (82.0)
Ballymoney	,, ...	3,100	725 (23.4)	2,375 (76.6)
Carrickfergus ...	,, ...	4,608	672 (14.6)	3,936 (85.4)
Larne	,, ...	8,036	1,880 (23.4)	6,156 (76.6)
Lisburn	,, ...	12,388	2,979 (24.0)	9,409 (76.0)
Portrush	,, ...	2,434	* 294 (12.1)	*2,140 (87.9)
Lurgan	Armagh ...	12,553	4,603 (36.7)	7,950 (63.3)
Portadown	,, ...	11,727	2,575 (22.0)	9,152 (78.0)
Tanderagee	,, ...	1,409	400 (28.4)	1,009 (71.6)
Banbridge	Down ...	5,101	1,176 (23.1)	3,925 (76.9)
Bangor	,, ...	7,776	680 (8.7)	7,096 (91.3)
Donaghadee ...	,, ...	2,213	105 (4.7)	2,108 (95.3)
Dromore	,, ...	2,364	398 (16.8)	1,966 (83.2)
Hollywood	,, ...	4,035	708 (17.5)	3,327 (82.5)
Newcastle	,, ...	1,765	720 (40.8)	1,045 (59.2)
Newtownards ...	,, ...	9,587	885 (9.2)	8,702 (90.8)
Coleraine	Derry ...	7,785	1,499 (19.3)	6,286 (80.7)
Limavady	,, ...	2,667	1,018 (38.2)	1,649 (61.8)
Portstewart	,, ...	1,685	* 189 (11.2)	*1,496 (88.8)
Cookstown	Tyrone ...	3,685	1,523 (41.3)	2,162 (58.7)
(22) Total ...		121,397	26,255 (21.6)	95,142 (78.4)
Belfast City		386,947	93,243 (24.1)	293,704 (75.9)
Grand Total ...		508,344	119,498 (23.5)	388,846 (76.5)
Total Cities and Urban Districts		590,435	168,849 (28.6)	421,586 (71.4)

* Estimated.

URBAN AND RURAL DISTRICTS—Continued.

WISHES OF THE INHABITANTS.—TABLE SHOWING THE RURAL DISTRICTS IN THE SIX COUNTY AREA HAVING MAJORITIES FOR THE FREE STATE AND FOR THE BELFAST PARLIAMENT.

Rural Districts for the Free State	County	Total Population	Population for the Free State	Population for the Belfast Parliament
			per cent.	per cent.
Crossmaglen	Armagh ...	9,441	7,754 (82.1)	1,687 (17.9)
Newry No. 2 ...	,, ...	20,950	14,143 (67.5)	6,807 (32.5)
Kilkeel	Down ...	16,312	9,281 (56.9)	7,031 (43.1)
Newry No. 1 ...	,, ...	14,543	8,821 (60.7)	5,722 (39.3)
Irvinestown	Fermanagh ...	14,839	8,077 (54.4)	6,762 (45.6)
Lisnaskea	,, ...	23,240	14,162 (60.9)	9,078 (39.1)
Enniskillen	,, ...	18,910	9,813 (51.9)	9,097 (48.1)
Magherafelt	Derry ...	36,107	19,139 (53.0)	16,968 (47.0)
Castlederg	Tyrone ...	11,161	5,668 (50.8)	5,493 (49.2)
Clogher	,, ...	13,744	6,982 (50.8)	6,762 (49.2)
Cookstown	,, ...	18,831	9,966 (52.9)	8,865 (47.1)
Dungannon	,, ...	26,420	13,748 (52.0)	12,672 (48.0)
Omagh	,, ...	35,519	21,854 (61.5)	13,665 (38.5)
Strabane	,, ...	19,532	10,586 (54.2)	8,946 (45.8)
(14) Total ...		279,549	159,994 (57.2)	119,555 (42.8)
For the Belfast Parliament				
Antrim	Antrim ...	26,681	4,557 (17.1)	22,124 (83.0)
Ballycastle	,, ...	10,464	4,884 (46.7)	5,580 (53.3)
Ballymena	,, ...	37,034	6,163 (16.6)	30,871 (83.4)
Ballymoney	,, ...	21,890	4,275 (19.5)	17,615 (80.5)
Belfast	,, ...	12,361	2,681 (21.7)	9,680 (78.3)
Larne	,, ...	21,770	3,644 (16.7)	18,126 (83.3)
Lisburn	,, ...	16,888	3,786 (22.4)	13,102 (77.6)
Armagh	Armagh ...	35,319	14,202 (40.2)	21,117 (59.8)
Lurgan	,, ...	15,761	5,269 (33.4)	10,492 (66.6)
Tanderagee	,, ...	4,341	533 (12.3)	3,808 (87.7)
Banbridge	Down ...	26,916	7,608 (28.3)	19,308 (71.7)
Castlereagh	,, ...	5,210	464 (8.9)	4,746 (91.1)
Downpatrick	,, ...	39,196	19,229 (49.1)	19,967 (50.9)
Hillsborough	,, ...	20,070	1,335 (6.7)	18,735 (93.3)
Moira	,, ...	10,550	1,576 (14.9)	8,974 (85.1)
Newtownards ...	,, ...	24,764	1,494 (6.0)	23,270 (94.0)
Coleraine	Derry ...	20,485	4,798 (23.4)	15,687 (76.6)
Limavady	,, ...	16,434	7,905 (48.1)	8,529 (51.9)
Derry	,, ...	14,413	6,915 (48.0)	7,498 (52.0)
(19) Total for Belfast Parliament ...		380,547	101,318 (26.6)	279,229 (73.4)
Total for Free State		279,549	159,994 (57.2)	119,555 (42.8)
Total of Urban Districts for Belfast Parliament with Belfast City ...		508,344	119,498	388,846
Total of Urban Districts for Free State with Derry City		82,091	49,351	32,740
Grand Total for Six County Area		1,250,531	430,161	820,370

URBAN AND RURAL DISTRICTS—Continued.

TABLE SHOWING THE WISHES OF THE INHABITANTS OF URBAN DISTRICTS IN THE COUNTIES OF CAVAN, DONEGAL AND MONAGHAN, FOR THE FREE STATE AND FOR THE BELFAST PARLIAMENT.

Urban Districts	County	Total Population	Population for the Free State	Population for the Belfast Parliament
Belturbet	Cavan ...	1,371	956	415
Cavan	,, ...	2,961	2,310	651
Cootehill	,, ...	1,550	1,200	350
Buncrana	Donegal ...	1,874	1,471	403
Bundoran	,, ...	2,116	1,741	375
Letterkenny	,, ...	2,194	1,550	644
Carrickmacross ...	Monaghan ...	2,064	1,897	167
Castleblayney ...	,, ...	1,692	1,262	430
Clones	,, ...	2,401	1,517	884
Monaghan	,, ...	4,272	3,256	1,016
Total		22,495	17,160	5,335

TABLE SHOWING THE WISHES OF THE INHABITANTS IN THE RURAL DISTRICTS IN THE COUNTIES OF CAVAN, DONEGAL AND MONAGHAN FOR THE FREE STATE AND FOR THE BELFAST PARLIAMENT.

Rural Districts	County	Total Population	Population for the Free State	Population for the Belfast Parliament
Bailieborough ...	Cavan ...	14,757	11,529	3,228
Bawnboy	,, ...	8,944	7,270	1,674
Castlerahan	,, ...	9,080	8,291	789
Cavan	,, ...	30,241	23,950	6,291
Cootehill No. 1 ...	,, ...	12,919	9,873	3,046
Enniskillen No. 2 ...	,, ...	4,913	4,606	307
Mullaghhoran... ...	,, ...	4,437	4,286	151
Ballyshannon ...	Donegal ...	7,772	5,911	1,861
Donegal	,, ...	19,616	14,029	5,587
Dunfanaghy	,, ...	15,471	14,021	1,450
Glenties	,, ...	32,800	31,109	1,691
Inishowen	,, ...	25,702	22,404	3,298
Letterkenny	,, ...	9,961	6,307	3,654
Londonderry No. 2 ...	,, ...	8,135	4,148	3,987
Milford	,, ...	19,393	15,150	4,243
Strabane No. 2 ...	,, ...	10,332	5,376	4,956
Stranorlar	,, ...	13,171	9,804	3,367
Carrickmacross ...	Monaghan ...	13,044	12,355	689
Castleblayney ...	,, ...	13,976	10,695	3,281
Clones No. 1 ...	,, ...	5,697	3,685	2,012
Cootehill No. 2 ...	,, ...	5,855	2,804	3,051
Monaghan	,, ...	22,454	15,892	6,562
Total of Rural Districts		308,670	243,495	65,175
Total of Urban Districts		22,495	17,160	5,335
Grand Total ...		331,165	260,655	70,510

COUNTY ELECTORAL DIVISIONS.

The following Table shows he Wishes of the Inhabitants for the Free State and for the Belfast Parliament, according to the County Electoral Divisions as existing at the Census of Ireland, 1911.

No. 7.

TABLE SHOWING THE WISHES OF THE INHABITANTS FOR THE FREE STATE AND FOR THE BELFAST PARLIAMENT, ACCORDING TO THE COUNTY ELECTORAL DIVISIONS (AS EXISTING IN 1911) IN THE COUNTIES OF THE PROVINCE OF ULSTER.

County Electoral Divisions (as existing in 1911).	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
(CO. ANTRIM)			
Ahoghill	7,137	1,351	5,586
Antrim	10,706	1,224	9,482
Ballinderry	7,978	2,197	5,781
Ballycastle...	8,966	4,333	4,633
Ballyclare	10,269	532	9,737
Ballymena	11,381	2,049	9,332
Ballymoney	8,928	2,035	6,893
Carrickfergus	10,250	911	9,339
Crumlin	11,878	2,400	9,478
Cushendall	8,649	5,477	3,172
Dervock	7,599	461	7,138
Galgorm	8,689	642	8,047
Glenarm	7,821	1,521	6,300
Island Magee	9,582	404	9,178
Kells	7,583	978	6,605
Killoquin	6,839	1,584	5,255
Larne	12,080	2,493	9,587
Lisburn	12,388	2,979	9,409
Portrush	6,861	416	6,445
Randalstown	7,521	3,158	4,363
Whitehouse	10,759	2,406	8,353
Total	193,864	39,751	154,113
(CO. ARMAGH)			
Annaghmore	4,621	1,258	3,363
Armagh	7,356	3,781	3,575
Camlough	6,443	4,378	2,065
Charlemont	5,033	2,231	2,802
Crossmaglen	5,014	4,414	600
Crossmore	4,619	1,781	2,838
Drumcree	3,941	1,435	2,506
Forkhill	4,737	4,493	244
Hamiltons Bawn	5,155	1,629	3,526
Keady	5,115	3,630	1,485
Kernan	4,446	485	3,961
Killeevy	4,965	4,884	81
Lurgan	12,553	4,603	7,950
Markethill	5,382	1,964	3,418
Middletown	4,945	2,440	2,505
Montiaghs	4,500	2,903	1,597
Newtown Hamilton... ...	4,412	2,145	2,267
Poyntzpass	5,262	1,977	3,285
Portadown...	11,727	2,575	9,152
Rich Hill	4,996	651	4,345
Tanderagee	5,069	885	4,184
Total	120,291	54,542	65,749

COUNTY ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

County Electoral Divisions (as existing in 1911).	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
(CO. CAVAN)			
Arvagh	4,407	3,487	920
Bailieborough	4,456	2,907	1,549
Ballyconnell	4,644	3,501	1,143
Ballyjamesduff	4,555	4,250	305
Ballyhaise	4,370	3,393	977
Ballymachugh	4,593	4,195	398
Bellananagh	4,919	3,905	1,014
Belturbet	4,211	2,852	1,359
Cavan	5,385	4,162	1,223
Cootehill	4,834	3,354	1,480
Dowra	4,536	4,235	301
Killeshandra	4,566	3,044	1,522
Killinkere	4,687	3,659	1,028
Killnaleck	4,773	4,216	557
Kingscourt	3,650	3,137	513
Larah	4,050	3,613	437
Shercock	4,762	3,567	1,195
Stradone	4,243	4,058	185
Swanlinbar	4,456	4,057	399
Virginia	5,076	4,669	407
Total	91,173	74,261	16,912
(CO. DONEGAL)			
Annagarry	11,433	11,264	169
Ballyshannon	7,969	6,622	1,347
Buncrana	10,326	9,544	782
Burt	8,135	4,148	3,987
Carndonagh	8,791	7,578	1,213
Castlefin	8,243	5,294	2,949
Church Hill	7,462	5,807	1,655
Donegal	7,411	5,450	1,961
Dunfanaghy	9,470	8,687	783
Dungloe	7,517	7,281	236
Dunkineely	7,568	5,983	1,585
Glenties	8,594	7,884	710
Killybegs	8,493	7,877	616
Letterkenny	8,445	5,253	3,192
Millford	8,581	6,735	1,846
Moville	8,459	6,753	1,706
Pettigo	6,556	3,626	2,930
Raphoe	8,418	3,939	4,479
Rathmullen	7,983	6,482	1,501
Stranorlar	8,683	6,814	1,869
Total	168,537	133,021	35,516
(CO. DOWN)			
Ballynahinch	8,930	3,655	5,275
Banbridge	10,579	3,030	7,549
Bangor	16,393	924	15,469
Bryansford	9,985	5,562	4,423
Castlewellan	9,378	5,344	4,034
Comber	9,960	527	9,433
Downpatrick	10,569	6,326	4,243
Dromore	9,307	1,535	7,772
Garvagh	7,841	1,115	6,726
Gilford	9,006	1,820	7,186
Hillsboro'	7,908	427	7,481
Hollywood	11,213	1,233	9,980

COUNTY ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

County Electoral Divisions (as existing in 1911)	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
CO. DOWN—Continued.			
Kilkeel	11,319	5,745	5,574
Killyleagh	8,639	1,917	6,722
Newry	11,963	8,924	3,039
Newtownards	11,453	917	10,536
Portaferry	10,700	3,524	7,176
Rathfriland	9,857	3,593	6,264
Saintfield	8,155	770	7,385
Warrenpoint	11,148	7,597	3,551
Total	204,303	64,485	139,818
(CO. FERMANAGH)			
Belleek	2,652	1,584	1,068
Cross	2,839	972	1,867
Crum	3,194	2,299	895
Derrylea	3,201	2,001	1,200
Derrylester	3,179	2,427	752
Enniskillen	4,847	2,688	2,159
Florencecourt	2,875	1,458	1,417
Garrison	3,215	2,684	531
Inishmacsaint	2,868	2,247	621
Irvinestown	3,040	1,153	1,887
Kesh	3,211	1,106	2,105
Lack	2,851	1,257	1,594
Laragh	2,792	1,218	1,574
Lisbellaw	3,102	1,270	1,832
Lisnaskea	2,849	1,501	1,348
Magheraveeley	2,953	1,812	1,141
Maguiresbridge	3,226	1,184	2,042
Monea	2,940	1,565	1,375
Newtownbutler	3,051	1,908	1,143
Rosslea	2,951	2,406	545
Total	61,836	34,740	27,096
(CO. LONDONDERRY)			
Aghadowey	4,786	2,148	2,638
Articlave	4,924	1,013	3,911
Ballykelly	5,133	1,802	3,331
Bellaghy	5,151	3,181	1,970
Castle Dawson	4,962	2,419	2,543
Coleraine	7,785	1,499	6,286
Draperstown	4,910	4,201	709
Dungiven	4,440	2,604	1,836
Feeney	4,689	3,569	1,120
Garvagh	4,316	1,085	3,231
Glendermot	5,116	2,021	3,095
Kilrea	4,844	2,028	2,816
Liberties	5,924	2,556	3,368
Limavady	5,584	2,053	3,531
Maghera	5,344	2,296	3,048
Magherafelt	4,524	1,731	2,793
Moneymore	5,304	1,969	3,335
Portstewart	6,843	542	6,301
Tobermore	5,266	2,761	2,505
Total	99,845	41,478	58,367

COUNTY ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

County Electoral Divisions (as existing in 1911)	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
(CO. MONAGHAN)			
Aghabog	2,693	1,392	1,301
Ballybay	3,186	2,057	1,129
Bellatrain	3,327	3,028	299
Broomfield...	2,932	2,831	101
Carrickmacross	3,894	3,642	252
Castleblayney	4,041	2,810	1,231
Clones	4,572	2,815	1,757
Clontibret	3,348	2,542	806
Creeve	2,821	2,293	528
Cremartin	3,347	2,449	898
Drum	3,458	1,685	1,773
Emyvale	3,392	2,624	768
Glasslough	3,558	2,078	1,480
Inniskeen	3,954	3,876	78
Killeevan	3,752	2,695	1,057
Loughfea	3,527	3,244	283
Monaghan	5,678	3,977	1,701
Newbliss	3,336	2,044	1,292
Scottstown	3,250	2,638	612
Tedavnet	3,389	2,643	746
Total	71,455	53,363	18,092
(CO. TYRONE)			
Aughnacloy	6,316	2,352	3,964
Ballygawley	6,213	3,856	2,357
Castlecaulfield	6,185	3,938	2,247
Castlederg	7,466	4,057	3,409
Clogher	7,389	3,428	3,961
Coagh	7,385	3,992	3,393
Cookstown	7,197	2,870	4,327
Drumquin	6,660	3,307	3,353
Dungannon	8,113	3,791	4,322
Dunnamannagh	7,363	3,758	3,605
Fintona	6,520	3,305	3,215
Moy	6,180	3,733	2,447
Newtownstewart	7,011	3,355	3,656
Omagh	8,336	4,408	3,928
Pomeroy	6,972	4,700	2,272
Plumb Bridge	6,338	5,323	1,015
Six Mile Cross	7,474	4,583	2,891
Stewartstown	7,649	4,075	3,574
Strabane	9,168	6,035	3,133
Trillick	6,730	4,149	2,581
Total	142,665	79,015	63,650

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS.

No. 8.

TABLE SHOWING THE WISHES OF THE INHABITANTS IN THE PROVINCE OF ULSTER FOR THE FREE STATE AND FOR THE BELFAST PARLIAMENT, ACCORDING TO DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS (THE SMALLEST UNIT FOR WHICH SUCH STATISTICS ARE AVAILABLE).

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
CO. ANTRIM.			
ANTRIM R.D.	26,681	4,557	22,124
D. E. D.'s			
Antrim Rural	3,158	436	2,722
Antrim Urban	1,979	354	1,625
Ballyclare Rural	2,098	77	2,021
Ballylinny	1,581	96	1,485
Ballynadrentagh	779	159	620
Ballyrobin	739	44	695
Cargin	765	634	131
Connor	1,333	11	1,322
Craigarogan	1,225	30	1,195
Cranfield	782	428	354
Crumlin	1,431	385	1,046
Donegore	1,588	69	1,519
Dundesart	841	22	819
Kilbride	995	19	976
Randalstown	2,505	759	1,746
Rashee	886	12	874
Seacash	838	278	560
Sharvogues	1,107	507	600
Shilvoden	969	185	784
Templepatrick	1,082	52	1,030
BALLYCASTLE R.D. ...	10,464	4,884	5,580
D. E. D.'s			
Armoy	1,066	533	533
Ballintoy	860	207	653
Ballycastle...	240	114	126
Croagh	1,098	142	956
Cushendall	1,143	972	171
Cushleake	392	361	31
Drumtullagh	992	47	945
Dunseverick	798	4	794
Glendun	306	284	22
Glenmakeeran	506	450	56
Glenshesk	288	218	70
Ramoan	954	160	794
Rathlin	351	256	95
Red Bay	900	686	214
The Fair Head	570	450	120
BALLYMENA R.D.	37,034	6,163	30,871
D. E. D.'s			
Ahoghill	2,413	213	2,200
Ballyclug	1,678	509	1,169
Ballyconnelly	1,220	8	1,212
Ballyscullion	1,616	717	899
Broughshane	2,324	82	2,242
Clogh	1,589	126	1,463
Cloghogue	1,499	159	1,340
Drumanaway	1,191	51	1,140
Dundermot	563	48	515
Dunminning	1,714	12	1,702
Galgorm	3,397	67	3,330
Glenbuck	1,156	472	684

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
(CO. ANTRIM—Continued).			
BALLYMENA R.D.—Continued.			
D. E. D.'s			
Glenravill	1,009	329	680
Glenwhirry	910	28	882
Kells	3,437	125	3,312
Kirkinriola	2,131	72	2,059
Lisnagarran	1,702	340	1,362
Longmore	1,127	147	980
Newtown Crommelin ...	1,466	945	521
Portglenone	1,888	613	1,275
Slemish	1,833	321	1,512
Toome	1,171	779	392
BALLYMONEY R.D.	21,890	4,275	17,615
D. E. D.'s			
Ballycreagagh	830	179	651
Ballyhoe	717	604	113
Beardiville	1,057	25	1,032
Benvardin	851	21	830
Bushmills	1,707	40	1,667
Carnmoon	840	24	816
Castlequarter	855	329	526
Corkey	693	424	269
Dervock	1,180	51	1,129
Dirraw	1,161	258	903
Dunloy	971	484	487
Enagh	1,811	209	1,602
Killagan	1,293	264	1,029
Killoquin, Lower	1,232	388	844
Killoquin, Upper	1,035	372	663
Kilraghts	779	97	682
Portrush Rural	1,134	68	1,066
Seacon	1,369	128	1,241
Stranocum	1,269	48	1,221
The Vow	1,106	262	844
BELFAST R.D.	12,361	2,681	9,680
D. E. D.'s			
Ballygomartin	1,537	426	1,111
Ballysillan	1,219	28	1,191
Carnmoney	2,523	308	2,215
Monkstown	1,912	92	1,820
White Abbey	2,300	886	1,414
Whitehouse	2,870	941	1,929
LARNE R.D.	21,770	3,644	18,126
D. E. D.'s			
Ardclinis	1,551	1,114	437
Ballycor	726	23	703
Ballynure	1,904	87	1,817
Carncastle	1,258	321	937
Carrickfergus Rural... ...	1,627	80	1,547
Eden	2,434	63	2,371
Glenarm	2,537	971	1,566
Glencloy	905	427	478
Glynn	1,369	61	1,308
Island Magee	2,085	51	2,034
Kilwaughter	1,876	264	1,612
Raloo	987	37	950
Templecorran	2,511	145	2,366

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
CO. ANTRIM—Continued.			
LISBURN R.D.	16,888	3,786	13,102
D. E. D.'s			
Ballyscolly...	775	116	659
Derryaghy	3,373	554	2,819
Glenavy	1,151	476	675
Island Kelly	1,207	248	959
Knocknadon	785	70	715
Legatirriff	703	208	495
Lissue	990	148	842
Magheragall	569	33	536
Magheramesk	1,138	130	1,008
Malone	2,679	177	2,502
Tullyrusk	500	134	366
Aghagallon	1,583	1,090	493
Aghalee	726	89	637
Ballinderry	709	313	396
CO. ARMAGH			
ARMAGH R.D.	35,319	14,202	21,117
D. E. D.'s			
Aghory	1,064	52	1,012
Annaghmore	1,532	412	1,120
Armaghbrague	1,406	610	796
Armagh Rural	2,381	1,260	1,121
Ballyards	2,102	859	1,243
Ballymartrim	888	382	506
Brootally	1,031	449	582
Charlemont	1,275	803	472
Clady	1,247	632	615
Crossmore	1,486	473	1,013
Derrynoose	1,487	1,178	309
Glenanne	1,041	161	880
Glenaul	1,332	667	665
Grange	1,249	821	428
Hamilton's Bawn	1,224	189	1,035
Hockley	886	171	715
Keady Rural	2,194	1,370	824
Killeen	869	132	737
Killyman	927	188	739
Kilmore	1,166	364	802
Lisnadill	942	620	322
Loughgall	1,343	243	1,100
Markethill	1,188	335	853
Middletown	1,516	1,123	393
Rich Hill	1,151	45	1,106
Tullyroan	1,183	395	788
Tynan	1,209	268	941
CROSSMAGLEN R.D. ...	9,441	7,754	1,687
D. E. D.'s			
Camly	474	360	114
Cloghoge	685	530	155
Creggan, Lower	1,274	1,245	29
Crossmaglen	2,044	1,931	113
Cullyhanna	656	630	26
Dorsy	1,310	1,257	53
Lisleitrim	765	469	296
Moybane	864	854	10
Newtown Hamilton... ...	1,369	478	891

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
CO. ARMAGH—Continued.			
LURGAN R.D.	15,761	5,269	10,492
D. E. D.'s			
Breagh	979	263	716
Brownlows, Derry	1,234	754	480
Carrowbrack	1,222	82	1,140
Cornakinnegar	955	679	276
Drumcree	1,260	327	933
Kernan	2,275	237	2,038
Lurgan Rural	949	166	783
Montiaghs	2,311	1,470	841
Portadown Rural	1,895	383	1,512
Tartaraghan	2,681	908	1,773
NEWRY No. 2 R.D. ...	20,950	14,143	6,807
D. E. D.'s			
Ballybot	2,508	1,735	773
Ballymyre	1,163	697	466
Belleek	1,087	796	291
Camlough	3,935	2,643	1,292
Forkhill	1,621	1,507	114
Jonesborough	1,842	1,741	101
Killevy	2,305	2,283	22
Latbirget	1,350	1,344	6
Mountnorris	964	216	748
Mullaghglass	1,582	329	1,253
Poyntzpass	1,624	532	1,092
Tullyhappy	969	320	649
TANDERAGEE R.D.	4,341	533	3,808
D. E. D.'s			
Ballyshiel	743	128	615
Mullaghbrack	681	48	633
Mullahead	2,067	273	1,794
Tanderagee Rural	850	84	766
BELFAST CO. BOROUGH	386,947	93,243	293,704
D. E. D.'s			
Clifton	31,485	7,034	24,451
Court	18,992	4,414	14,578
Cromac	24,970	5,422	19,548
Dock	20,895	8,104	12,791
Duncairn	30,351	5,257	25,094
Falls	25,795	21,120	4,675
Ormeau	35,257	5,088	30,169
Pottinger	39,173	6,572	32,601
St. Anne's	21,107	7,077	14,030
St. George's	19,323	1,808	17,515
Shankill	32,711	2,326	30,385
Smithfield	11,954	10,715	1,239
Victoria	26,365	2,333	24,032
Windsor	23,567	3,501	20,066
Woodvale	25,002	2,472	22,530

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
CO. CAVAN.			
BAILIEBOROUGH R.D. ...	14,757	11,529	3,228
D. E. D.'s			
Bailieborough	2,878	1,777	1,101
Carnagarve	987	699	288
Crossbane	988	962	26
Drumanespick	716	639	77
Enniskeen	644	575	69
Killinkere	1,020	756	264
King's Court	1,286	1,046	240
Lisagoan	664	621	43
Mullagh	1,231	1,208	23
Shercock	1,413	1,198	215
Skeagh	862	491	371
Taghart	1,056	895	161
Termon	1,012	662	350
BAWNBOY R.D.	8,944	7,270	1,674
D. E. D.'s			
Ballyconnell	1,245	905	340
Ballymagauran	646	491	155
Bawnboy	1,103	967	136
Benbrack	665	665	—
Bilberry	351	144	207
Carn	424	259	165
Diamond	221	83	138
Doogary	324	230	94
Kinawley	514	447	67
Lisanover	551	505	46
Pedara Vohers	562	486	76
Swanlinbar	714	544	170
Templeport	1,153	1,147	6
Tirchan	471	397	74
CASTLERAHAN R.D. ...	9,080	8,291	789
D. E. D.'s			
Ballyjamesduff	1,684	1,512	172
Castlerahan	1,577	1,528	49
Kilbride	1,294	1,210	84
Lurgan	680	580	100
Munterconnaught	1,123	988	135
Virginia	2,722	2,473	249
CAVAN R.D.	30,241	23,950	6,291
D. E. D.'s			
Ardue	793	558	235
Arvagh	1,846	1,240	606
Ballintemple	726	676	150
Ballyhaise	859	634	225
Ballymachugh	1,084	752	332
Bellananagh	1,115	1,011	104
Bruce Hall	472	374	98
Butlersbridge	448	384	64
Carrafin	794	634	160
Castlesaunderson	653	263	390
Cavan Rural	1,618	1,149	469
Clonervy	806	703	103
Corr	515	358	157

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
CO. CAVAN—Continued.			
Cavan R.D.—Contd. D. E. D.'s			
Crossdoney	831	620	211
Crosskeys	1,040	1,030	10
Cuttragh	541	515	26
Denn	1,139	1,009	130
Derrins	840	745	95
Drumcarbon	1,161	1,030	131
Graddum	1,045	805	240
Grilly	738	566	172
Kilconny	656	509	147
Kill	822	818	4
Killeshandra	1,624	1,216	408
Killykeen	685	290	395
Kilnaleck	1,340	1,272	68
Milltown	738	608	130
Moynehall	1,149	975	174
Redhill	827	648	179
Springfield	674	145	529
Stradone	1,195	1,074	121
Waterloo	1,467	1,439	28
COOTEHILL No. 1 R.D. ... D. E. D.'s	12,919	9,873	3,046
Ashfield	704	222	482
Canningstown	1,188	814	374
Cootehill Rural	1,706	1,343	363
Corraneary	1,119	701	418
Drumcarn	1,124	873	251
Drung	1,022	800	222
Knappagh	1,042	854	188
Larah, North	1,112	1,067	45
Larah, South	1,108	1,035	73
Rakenny	1,112	864	248
Tullyvin, East	874	589	285
Tullyvin, West	808	711	97
ENNISKILLEN No. 2 R.D. ... D. E. D.'s	4,913	4,606	307
Derrylahan	627	626	1
Derrynananta	377	371	6
Dowra	920	888	32
Dunmakeever	684	684	—
Esky	436	358	78
Killinagh	702	668	34
Teebane	419	403	16
Tuam	748	608	140
MULLAGHHORAN R.D. ... D. E. D.'s	4,437	4,286	151
Drumlumman	908	903	5
Kilcogy	952	940	12
Kilgolagh	822	782	40
Loughdawan	827	818	9
Scrabby	928	843	85

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
CO. DONEGAL.			
BALLYSHANNON R.D. ...	7,772	5,911	1,861
D. E. D.'s			
Ballintra	1,234	610	624
Ballyshannon Rural ...	1,500	1,284	216
Ballyshannon Urban ...	2,170	1,719	451
Bundoran	854	703	151
Carrickboy...	759	622	137
Cavangarden	685	420	265
Cliff	570	553	17
DONEGAL R.D.	19,616	14,029	5,587
D. E. D.'s			
Ballintra	1,256	570	686
Binbane	983	979	4
Bonnyglen	788	669	119
Clogher	829	555	274
Corkermore	928	680	248
Donegal	2,647	1,763	884
Dunkineely	1,385	925	460
Eanymore	1,325	1,325	—
Grousehall	481	225	256
Haugh	426	311	115
Inver	1,317	1,184	133
Laghy	1,225	884	341
Lougheask	434	278	156
Mountcharles	2,167	1,546	621
Pettigo	1,081	466	615
Tawnawully	670	628	42
Templecarn	594	451	143
Tullynaught	1,080	590	490
DUNFANAGHY R.D. ...	15,471	14,021	1,450
D. E. D.'s			
Ards	660	365	295
Creenasmear	669	573	96
Creeslough	954	837	117
Crossroads	2,173	2,045	128
Doecastle	481	362	119
Dunfanaghy	1,562	936	626
Dunlewy	1,369	1,361	8
Gortahork	2,399	2,383	16
Magheraclogher	3,237	3,197	40
Meenaclady	1,967	1,962	5
GLENTIES R.D.	32,800	31,109	1,691
D. E. D.'s			
Annagary	3,405	3,343	62
Arran	1,650	1,644	6
Ardara	1,536	1,393	143
Crovehy	486	486	—
Crawkeeragh	471	471	—
Crownarad	405	375	30
Dawros	1,116	957	159
Doocharry	331	328	3
Dungloe	1,360	1,295	65
Fintown	764	764	—
Glencolumbkille	1,496	1,446	50
Glengesh	1,313	1,108	205

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
CO. DONEGAL—Continued.			
Glenties R.D.—Continued.			
D. E. D.'s			
Glenleheen	860	860	—
Glenties	2,110	2,010	100
Graffy	1,017	1,016	1
Innishkeel	494	491	3
Kilcar	1,161	1,131	30
Kilgoly	1,076	1,055	21
Killybegs	1,968	1,638	330
Largymore...	868	832	36
Lettermacaward	1,675	1,567	108
Maas	508	447	61
Maghery	2,041	1,981	60
Mallinbeg	693	598	95
Mulmoosog	500	462	38
Rutland	3,141	3,080	61
Tieveskeeta	355	331	24
INNISHOWEN R.D.	25,702	22,404	3,298
D. E. D.'s			
Ardmalin	1,743	1,563	180
Ballyliffin	1,294	1,278	16
Buncrana Rural	839	658	181
Carndonagh	1,931	1,694	237
Cartagh	1,286	1,226	60
Castlecary	849	613	236
Culdaff	1,311	1,103	208
Desertegney	1,213	1,129	84
Dunaff	1,678	1,641	37
Glenagannon	681	603	78
Gleneely	1,171	984	187
Glentogher...	794	664	130
Greencastle	1,340	1,149	191
Illies	1,173	1,173	—
Malin	1,045	725	320
Mintiaghs	875	817	58
Moville	2,002	1,566	436
Redcastle	1,097	934	163
Straid	1,380	1,377	3
Turmone	837	756	81
Whitecastle	1,163	751	412
LETTERKENNY R.D. ...	9,961	6,307	3,654
D. E. D.'s			
Ballymacool	486	275	211
Castlewray...	533	201	332
Church Hill	649	595	54
Corravaddy	678	470	208
Edenacarnan	666	301	365
Gartan	330	213	117
Gortnavern	404	240	164
Killymasny	604	510	94
Kincraighy	994	432	562
Letterkenny Rural	1,497	1,090	407
Magheraboy	892	507	385
Manorcunningham	847	435	412
Seacor	265	262	3
Templedouglas	1,116	776	340

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
CO. Donegal—Continued.			
LONDONDERRY No. 2 ...	8,135	4,148	3,987
D. E. D.'s			
Birdstown	673	307	366
Burt	1,142	646	496
Castleforward	847	378	469
Fahan	1,164	663	501
Inch Island	466	331	135
Kilderry	872	395	477
Killea	1,408	555	853
Newtown Cunningham ...	790	385	405
Three Trees	773	488	285
MILLFORD R.D.	19,393	15,150	4,243
D. E. D.'s			
Ballyarr	482	323	159
Carrickart	1,403	1,236	167
Carrowkeel	878	665	213
Cranford	1,280	1,092	188
Fanad, North	1,563	1,465	98
Fanad, West	1,344	1,109	235
Glen	694	654	40
Glenalla	716	302	414
Greenfort	681	598	83
Killygarvan	441	437	4
Kilmacrenan	801	528	273
Knockalla	809	787	22
Loughkeel	718	538	180
Millford	1,301	855	446
Rathmelton	2,165	1,160	1,005
Rathmullen	1,080	768	312
Rosguill	1,498	1,269	229
Rosnakill	471	351	120
Termon	1,068	1,013	55
STRABANE No. 2 R.D. ...	10,332	5,376	4,956
D. E. D.'s			
Castlefinn	1,323	707	616
Cloghard	859	560	299
Clonleigh, North	1,289	834	455
Clonleigh, South	1,481	876	605
Feddyglass	737	299	438
Figart	680	237	443
Raphoe	1,187	562	625
St. Johnstown	1,276	587	689
Treantaghmucklagh ...	818	304	514
Urney, West	682	410	272
STRANORLAR R.D.	13,171	9,804	3,367
D. E. D.'s			
Altnapaste	1,173	930	243
Cloghan	2,262	1,966	296
Convoy	1,879	1,083	796
Dooish	603	486	117
Gleneely	1,594	1,300	294
Goland	368	241	127
Killygordon	1,015	607	408
Knock	635	582	53
Lettermore	714	559	155
Meencargagh	313	308	5
Stranorlar	2,615	1,742	873

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
COUNTY OF DOWN			
BANBRIDGE R.D.	26,916	7,608	19,308
D. E. D.'s			
Annaclone	1,024	509	515
Ardtanagh	1,006	238	768
Ballyoolymore	984	429	555
Ballybrick	1,247	282	965
Ballyward	1,384	793	591
Banbridge Rural	2,487	571	1,916
Crossgar	675	454	221
Dromore Rural	1,748	248	1,500
Garvaghy	968	170	798
Gilford	1,117	356	761
Glaskermore	870	326	544
Leitrim	1,088	721	367
Loughbrickland	925	339	586
Magherally	1,453	175	1,278
Moneyslane	1,623	305	1,318
Quilly	1,370	124	1,246
Scarva	1,042	435	607
Skeagh	1,084	21	1,063
Tirkelly	1,539	167	1,372
Tullylish	3,282	945	2,337
CASTLEREAGH R.D. ...	5,210	464	4,746
D. E. D.'s			
Ballyhackamore	1,222	175	1,047
Castlereagh	1,344	94	1,250
Dundonald	930	34	896
Holywood Rural	1,714	161	1,553
DOWNPATRICK R.D. ...	39,196	19,229	19,967
D. E. D.'s			
Ardglass	1,294	837	457
Ardkeen	1,420	712	708
Ballynahinch	2,966	860	2,106
Castlewellan	2,347	1,360	987
Clough	872	445	427
Crossgar	1,566	338	1,228
Downpatrick Rural ...	1,919	1,045	874
Downpatrick Urban ...	3,199	1,676	1,523
Dundrum	2,070	1,056	1,014
Dunmore	1,659	887	772
Dunsfort	1,016	842	174
Hollymount	804	328	476
Inch	961	316	645
Killinchy	1,213	28	1,185
Killough	1,443	969	474
Killyleagh	3,484	1,036	2,448
Kilmore	1,104	154	950
Leggygowan	1,272	361	911
Portaferry	2,303	1,558	745
Quintin	781	525	256
Raholp	875	716	159
Rosconnor	1,481	1,100	381
Seaforde	981	662	319
Strangford	1,305	894	411
Tyrella	861	524	337

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
CO. DOWN—Continued.			
HILLSBOROUGH R.D. ...	20,070	1,335	18,735
D. E. D.'s			
Annahilt	1,264	29	1,235
Ballykeel	1,234	28	1,206
Ballymacbrennan	936	37	899
Ballyworfy	729	29	700
Blaris	1,011	108	903
Breda	3,158	313	2,845
Dromara	1,143	116	1,027
Drumbeg	2,024	90	1,934
Drumbo	1,419	44	1,375
Glasdrumman	1,046	120	926
Hillsborough	1,557	104	1,453
Killaney	666	16	650
Maze	1,710	92	1,618
Ouley	883	19	864
Saintfield	1,290	190	1,100
KILKEEL R. D.	16,312	9,281	7,031
D. E. D.'s			
Ballykeel	1,764	724	1,040
Bryansford	1,063	735	328
Fofanny	1,218	981	237
Greencastle	1,644	1,143	501
Kilkeel	3,208	1,311	1,897
Killowen	509	445	64
Maghera	662	363	299
Mourne Park	1,566	924	642
Mullartown	2,628	1,198	1,430
Rosstrevor	2,050	1,457	593
MOIRA R.D.	10,550	1,576	8,974
D. E. D.'s			
Ballyleny	699	100	599
Donaghcloney	1,283	96	1,187
Kilmore	390	180	210
Magheralin	1,733	276	1,457
Moira	1,838	405	1,433
Tullylish	2,260	426	1,834
Waringstown	2,347	93	2,254
NEWRY No. 1 R.D. ...	14,543	8,821	5,722
D. E. D.'s			
Clonallan	1,586	1,479	107
Clonduff	1,182	944	238
Crobane	1,183	615	568
Donaghmore	678	238	440
Drumgath	1,073	673	400
Glen	733	532	201
Hilltown	1,144	952	192
Newry Rural	1,895	1,129	766
Ouley	1,019	436	583
Rathfryland	2,698	939	1,759
Warrenpoint Rural ...	1,352	884	468

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
CO. DONEGAL—Continued.			
NEWTOWNARDS R.D. ...	24,764	1,494	23,270
D. E. D.'s			
Ballygowan	1,528	319	1,209
Ballyhalbert	2,266	180	2,086
Ballymaglaff	1,047	41	1,006
Ballywalter	1,108	25	1,083
Bangor Rural	3,739	122	3,617
Carrowdore	1,664	7	1,657
Comber	3,750	134	3,616
Donaghadee Rural	1,001	10	991
Grey Abbey	1,269	60	1,209
Kilmood	1,099	70	1,029
Kircubbin	1,553	464	1,089
Moneyreagh	1,090	8	1,082
Mount Stewart	753	5	748
Newtownards, North ...	1,113	27	1,086
Newtownards, South ...	921	20	901
Tullynakill...	863	2	861
COUNTY OF FERMANAGH			
ENNISKILLEN R.D.	18,910	9,813	9,097
D. E. D.'s			
Aghanaglack	136	93	43
Ballycassidy	351	100	251
Ballydoolagh	451	210	241
Ballyreagh	404	152	252
Castlecoole...	663	307	356
Clabby	498	63	435
Coolyermer	399	121	278
Cuilcagh	267	128	139
Derrybrusk	375	121	254
Derrylester	804	602	202
Doagh	349	210	139
Drumane	571	409	162
Ely	632	220	412
Enniskillen Rural	1,308	653	655
Florence Court	1,129	337	792
Gardenhill	229	209	20
Glenkeel	358	330	28
Gortahurk	607	406	201
Holywell	623	585	38
Imeroo	649	439	210
Innishmore	284	142	142
Killesher	301	178	123
Kinawley	593	466	127
Kinglass	337	208	129
Laragh	517	267	250
Lisbellaw	1,103	258	845
Lisbofin	568	177	391
Monea	656	437	219
Newporton...	1,006	358	648
Old Barr	295	279	16
Rahalton	824	398	426
Ross	479	300	179
Tempo	1,144	650	494

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
CO. FERMANAGH—Contd.			
IRVINESTOWN R.D. ...	14,839	8,077	6,762
D. E. D.'s			
Bellanamallard	453	33	420
Brookhill	456	191	265
Clonelly	483	212	271
Drumkeeran	504	288	216
Drumrush	437	93	344
Ederny	629	377	252
Glenvannan	467	155	312
Irvinestown	1,581	762	819
Kesh	664	197	467
Lack	550	236	314
Lisnarrick	305	95	210
Magheraculmoney	752	339	413
Milltown	842	235	607
Rockfield and Killadeas ...	420	102	318
Tirmacspird	578	239	339
Belleek	690	610	80
Castlecaldwell	443	405	38
Church Hill	832	442	390
Garrison	703	377	326
Innishmacsaint	2,036	1,805	231
Lattone	540	524	16
Mallybreen	143	73	70
Roogagh	331	287	44
LISNASKEA R.D.	23,240	14,162	9,078
D. E. D.'s			
Aghakillymaud	644	480	164
Aghyoule	904	738	166
Armagh Manor	284	197	87
Belle Isle	727	348	379
Brookeborough	793	237	556
Carrickmacosker	376	274	102
Corralongford ...	729	161	568
Cross	963	309	654
Crum	1,545	909	636
Deerpark	793	368	425
Derrylea	839	537	302
Doon	745	652	93
Drummully	439	329	110
Greenhill	500	101	399
Grogey	748	430	318
Kilmore	691	503	188
Lisnaskea	2,056	1,133	923
Maguiresbridge	895	418	477
Mullaghfad	425	271	154
Springtown	362	342	20
Carnmore	348	273	75
Clonkeelan	633	401	232
Coolnamarrow	678	455	223
Derrysteaton	802	629	173
Dresternan	793	525	268
Kilturk	165	64	101
Magheraveely	754	383	371
Mullynagowan	427	200	227
Newtown Butler	1,024	614	410
Rosslea	2,158	1,881	277

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
CO. OF LONDONDERRY.			
COLERAINE R.D.	20,485	4,798	15,687
D. E. D.'s			
Aghadowey	1,180	25	1,155
Agivey	956	306	650
Articlave	1,103	149	954
Ballylagan	1,107	62	1,045
Bannbrook	787	103	684
Bovagh	691	59	632
Downhill	946	193	753
Drumcroon	1,153	42	1,111
Garvagh	1,538	280	1,258
Glenkeen	917	613	304
Hervey Hill	1,131	440	691
Kilrea	1,666	657	1,009
Knockantern	1,451	65	1,386
Letterloan	660	106	554
Portstewart	644	72	572
Ringsend	432	259	173
Slaght	691	541	150
Somerset	900	36	864
Tamlaght	1,494	371	1,123
The Grove...	1,038	419	619
LIMAVADY R.D.	16,434	7,905	8,529
D. E. D's.			
Aghanloo	667	215	452
Ballykelly	1,240	555	685
Bellarena	788	511	277
Benone	650	404	246
Drum	1,282	909	373
Dungiven	1,392	874	518
Faughanvale	1,342	884	458
Feeny	899	611	288
Fore Glen	820	328	492
Fruithill, ...	1,462	309	1,153
Gelvin	800	369	431
Glenshane	771	715	56
Keady	412	119	293
Lislane	766	341	425
Myroe	751	102	649
Owenreagh	592	398	194
Straw	841	84	757
The Highlands	959	177	782
LONDONDERRY R.D. ...	14,413	6,915	7,498
D. E. D.'s			
Ardmore	1,064	503	561
Ballymullins	1,338	1,070	268
Banagher	1,089	775	314
Bondsglen	872	233	639
Claudy	946	493	453
Eglinton	1,369	669	700
Glendermot	1,019	316	703
Liberties, Lower	2,371	897	1,474
Liberties, Upper	776	319	457
Lough Enagh	1,408	671	737
Tamnaherin	1,226	633	593
Waterside	935	336	599

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
CO. LONDONDERRY—Contd.			
MAGHERAFELT R.D. ...	36,107	19,139	16,968
D. E. D.'s			
Ballymoghan	976	128	848
Ballyronan	1,079	271	808
Bancran	1,287	1,256	31
Bellaghy	2,409	1,371	1,038
Brackagh Slieve-Gallion ...	878	445	433
Carnamoney	1,146	954	192
Castle Dawson	2,786	1,568	1,218
Clady	1,684	1,000	684
Desertmartin	1,440	515	925
Draperstown	1,848	1,496	352
Gulladuff	1,165	742	423
Inniscarn	932	716	216
Lissan, Upper	1,338	604	734
Maghera	2,399	786	1,613
Magherafelt	2,637	1,137	1,500
Moneyhaw	963	311	652
Moneymore	1,248	339	909
Rocktown	1,577	1,068	509
Salterstown	1,097	580	517
Springhill	877	270	607
Swatragh	1,907	1,091	816
The Loop	911	466	445
The Six Towns	629	495	134
Tobermore	1,480	236	1,244
Tullykeeran	1,414	1,294	120
CO. OF MONAGHAN.			
CARRICKMACROSS R.D. ...	13,044	12,355	689
D. E. D.'s			
Ballymackney	809	774	35
Bocks	910	909	1
Carrickmacross Rural ...	943	861	82
Corracharra	625	577	48
Crossalare	840	819	21
Donaghmoyne	678	624	54
Drumboory	672	646	26
Drumcarrow	887	884	3
Drumgurra	1,102	964	138
Enagh	715	595	120
Inniskeen	1,179	1,157	22
Kilmurray	1,010	981	29
Kiltybegs	925	919	6
Loughfea	653	605	48
Raferagh	1,096	1,040	56
CASTLEBLAYNEY R.D. ...	13,976	10,695	3,281
D. E. D.'S			
Annayalla	1,043	934	109
Ballybay Rural	715	297	418
Ballybay Urban	1,175	805	370
Bellatrain	504	447	57
Broomfield...	1,100	1,028	72
Carrickaslane	896	633	263
Carrickatee	757	542	215

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
CO. MONAGHAN—Contd.			
Castleblayney R.D.—Contd. D. E. D.'s			
Castleblayney Rural ...	1,320	956	364
Church Hill	1,029	592	437
Creeve	1,322	1,130	192
Cremartin	1,619	1,544	75
Greagh	742	621	121
Laragh	922	894	28
Mullyash	832	272	560
CLONES No. 1 R.D. ... D. E. D.'s	5,697	3,685	2,012
Clones Rural	1,621	988	633
Currin	1,144	848	296
Drummully	449	264	185
Killeevin	877	524	353
Newbliss	1,056	751	305
St. Tierney	550	310	240
COOTEHILL No. 2 R.D. ... D. E. D.'s	5,855	2,804	3,051
Aghabog	830	369	461
Anny	829	444	385
Cormeen	1,063	783	280
Dawsongrove	919	330	589
Drum	647	128	519
Killynenagh	687	181	506
Lisnaveane	880	569	311
MONAGHAN R.D. ... ... D. E. D.'s	22,454	15,892	6,562
Anketell Grove	1,023	753	270
Bellanode	990	412	578
Bragan	559	550	9
Caddagh	983	454	529
Castleshane	1,114	914	200
Clones	967	674	293
Clontibret	1,191	694	497
Derrygorry	491	385	106
Drumhillagh	1,218	841	377
Drumsnat	892	698	194
Emyvale	796	554	242
Enagh	616	321	295
Figullar	627	504	123
Glaslough	812	374	438
Killylough	796	786	10
Kilmore	765	632	133
Monaghan Rural	1,406	721	685
Rackwallace	1,221	733	488
Scotstown	1,127	848	279
Shanmullagh	455	428	27
Sheskin	1,156	1,116	40
Tedavnet	1,044	895	149
Tehallan	909	650	259
Tullycorbet	1,296	955	341

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
COUNTY OF TYRONE.			
CASTLEDERG R.D.	11,161	5,668	5,493
D. E. D.'s			
Bomackatall ...	598	221	377
Castlebane	760	241	519
Castlederg	1,563	574	989
Clare	676	248	428
Clunahill	674	532	142
Corgary	894	728	166
Drumquin	436	239	197
Killen	1,009	399	610
Killeter	893	688	205
Lisnacloon	844	323	521
Listymore	584	191	393
Magheracreggan	643	187	456
Magheranageeragh	1,128	842	286
West Longfield	459	255	204
CLOGHER R.D.	13,744	6,982	6,762
D. E. D.'s			
Aghintain	730	432	298
Augher	911	513	398
Aughnacloy Rural	546	138	408
Aughnacloy Urban ...	1,010	500	510
Ballagh	571	215	356
Ballygawley	1,289	809	480
Cecil	1,251	598	653
Clogher	1,038	517	521
Cole	594	193	401
Cullamore	597	560	37
Errigal	731	500	231
Favour Royal	791	306	485
Fivemiletown	1,359	464	895
Foremass	688	570	118
Killyfaddy	840	439	401
Tullyvar	798	228	570
COOKSTOWN R.D.	18,831	9,966	8,865
D. E. D.'s			
Ballyclog	863	277	586
Ballynasollus	728	540	188
Beaghmore	798	797	1
Coagh	1,330	302	1,028
Cookstown Rural	906	245	661
Killeenan	1,088	987	101
Killycolpy	1,284	754	530
Lissan, Lower	766	336	430
Munterevlin	2,480	2,271	209
Oaklands	958	418	540
Oritor	1,112	226	886
Pomeroy	1,780	1,139	641
Stewartstown	1,561	509	1,052
The Rock	959	645	314
The Sandholes	790	132	658
Tullaghoge	1,428	388	1,040

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
CO. TYRONE—Continued.			
DUNGANNON R.D.	26,420	13,748	12,672
D. E. D.'s			
Aghnahoe	1,248	481	767
Altmore	1,211	946	265
Ballymagran	862	176	686
Benburb	1,459	558	901
Bernagh	1,267	407	860
Brantry	801	395	406
Caledon	1,470	502	968
Castlecaulfield	1,706	909	797
Clonaneese	1,012	459	553
Clonavaddy	944	728	216
Crossdernnot	962	379	583
Derrygortrevy	1,557	706	851
Donaghmore	1,974	1,200	774
Drumaspil	1,735	482	1,253
Meenagh	1,415	1,273	142
Minterburn	615	182	433
Mountjoy	1,326	1,204	122
Moy	1,704	774	930
Tullyniskane	3,152	1,987	1,165
OMAGH R.D.	35,519	21,854	13,665
D. E. D.'s			
Athenree	1,076	874	202
Beragh	1,203	609	594
Camderry	569	316	253
Camowen	735	261	474
Carrickmore	988	917	71
Carryglass	324	274	50
Clanabogan	948	593	355
Creggan	599	582	17
Crockanboy	1,096	991	105
Derrybard	325	200	125
Dervaghroy	781	311	470
Draughton	534	339	195
Dromore	1,279	786	493
Drumnakilly	519	299	220
Drumquin	1,044	731	313
Dunbreen	785	350	435
Fallagh	672	672	—
Fallaghearn	647	252	395
Fintona	1,611	839	772
Glenlark	749	661	88
Gortgranagh	488	246	242
Gortin	1,043	561	482
Greenan	822	615	207
Killyclogher	1,500	970	530
Lisnacreaght	379	305	74
Loughmacrory	839	742	97
Loughmuck	743	367	376
Mountfield	382	207	175
Mountjoy Forest, East ...	784	344	440
Mountjoy Forest, West ...	444	127	317
Moyle	920	395	525
Mullagharn	850	375	475
Mullaghslin	927	584	343
Omagh Rural	999	523	476

DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Continued.

AREA	Total Population	Population for Free State	Population for Belfast Parliament
CO. TYRONE—Continued.			
Omagh No. 1 R.D.—Contd. D. E. D.'s			
Seskinore	896	427	469
Six Mile Cross	1,220	736	484
Tattymoyle	556	327	229
Trinamadan	614	398	216
Tullyclunagh	714	446	268
Drumharvey	890	331	559
Kilskeery	959	670	289
Moorfield	1,123	802	321
Trillick	943	499	444
STRABANE No. 1 R.D. ... D. E. D.'s	19,532	10,586	8,946
Altaclady	2,184	1,005	1,179
Ballymagorry	1,367	565	802
Ballyneaner	719	281	438
Baronscourt	692	285	407
Camus	1,153	612	541
Churchlands	1,103	382	721
Douglasburn	761	378	383
Dunnalong...	1,185	401	784
Dunnamannagh	996	371	625
Glenchiel	759	736	23
Glenmornan	792	650	142
Glenroan	483	402	81
Lislea	718	450	268
Loughash	751	585	166
Mountcastle	818	184	634
Mount Hamilton	357	357	—
Newtown Stewart	1,313	577	736
Plumb Bridge	769	364	405
Stranagalwilly	735	721	14
Urney, East	1,877	1,280	597

WISHES OF THE INHABITANTS VOTING AT RECENT PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS.

Additional evidence as to the Wishes of the Inhabitants, for and against inclusion in the Free State, may be found in the results of the Parliamentary Elections held in the years 1918, 1921, and 1922. The elections of 1918 and 1922 were for the British Parliament, that of 1921 was for the Belfast Parliament.

VOTING IN 1918.

The following Table, and Diagram (No. 2), show the Wishes of the Inhabitants as indicated in the North East Ulster Area in the General Election of 1918. The Sinn Fein and Nationalist vote is taken together as being the vote for an All-Ireland Parliament, the Independent Labour Vote is dealt with separately, and the total Unionist Vote (including Labour Unionists) is taken as the vote against an All-Ireland Parliament.

No. 9.

TABLE SHOWING THE WISHES OF THE INHABITANTS AS INDICATED IN THE NORTH EAST ULSTER AREA IN THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1918.

Constituency	All-Ireland Parliament Vote	Independent and Labour Vote	Against All-Ireland Parliament Vote
	per cent.	per cent.	per cent.
Antrim, East	861 (5.4)	——	15,206 (94.6)
,, Mid	2,791 (20.7)	——	10,711 (79.3)
,, North	2,673 (21.8)	——	9,621 (78.2)
,, South	2,318 (14.8)	——	13,270 (85.2)
Armagh, Mid	5,688 (42.9)	——	8,431 (57.1)
,, North	2,860 (21.8)	——	10,239 (78.2)
,, South	4,424(100.0)	——	——
Belfast Cromac ...	997 (6.7)	2,508 (16.7)	11,459 (76.6)
,, Duncairn ...	2,720 (18.9)	——	11,637 (81.1)
,, Falls	11,733(100.0)	——	——
,, Ormeau ...	338 (2.7)	——	12,293 (97.3)
,, Pottinger ...	393 (3.2)	3,172 (26.0)	8,574 (70.8)
,, St. Anne's ...	1,341 (10.9)	1,752 (14.3)	9,155 (74.8)
,, Shankill ...	534 (3.3)	3,674 (22.9)	11,840 (73.8)
,, Victoria ...	395 (3.0)	3,469 (26.4)	9,309 (70.6)
,, Woodvale ...	1,247 (9.3)	——	12,232 (90.7)
Derry, City	7,455 (51.5)	——	7,020 (48.5)
,, North	3,951 (27.3)	——	10,530 (72.7)
,, South	7,406 (45.3)	——	8,942 (54.7)
Down, East	8,188 (57.7)	——	6,007 (42.3)
,, Mid.	707 (6.2)	——	10,639 (93.8)
,, North	——	2,153 (18.9)	9,200 (81.1)
,, South	8,789 (59.4)	436 (2.9)	5,573 (37.7)
,, West	1,725 (14.0)	——	10,559 (86.0)
Fermanagh, North ...	6,236 (48.0)	——	6,768 (52.0)
,, South ...	6,805 (60.1)	——	4,524 (39.9)
Tyrone, North-East ...	11,661 (63.6)	——	6,681 (36.4)
,, North-West ...	10,442 (57.6)	——	7,696 (42.4)
,, South	8,039 (43.1)	——	10,616 (56.9)
Total	122,717 (30.8)	17,164 (4.3)	258,732 (64.9)

VOTING IN 1918.

RESULT.

County	Number of Members Elected				
	Unionist	Sinn Fein	Nationalist	Labour and Independent	Total
Antrim	4	—	—	—	4
Armagh	2	—	1	—	3
Belfast Borough ...	8	—	1	—	9
Derry Borough ...	—	1	—	—	1
Derry	2	—	—	—	2
Down	4	—	1	—	5
Fermanagh ...	1	1	—	—	2
Tyrone	1	1	1	—	3
Total ...	22	3	4	—	29

The total vote in favour of an All-Ireland Parliament was 122,717, or 30.8 per cent. of the total vote, as against an Unionist vote of 258,732. If to this be added the Labour and Independent Vote of 17,164, or 4.3 per cent. of the total, it will be found that **35 per cent. of the voters dissented from the policy of Unionism.** This agrees with the percentage of the total anti-Unionist population, viz., 34.4.

VOTING IN 1921.

No. 10.

TABLE SHOWING THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION FOR THE PARLIAMENT OF NORTH EAST ULSTER, 1921.

Constituency	Unionist	Sinn Fein	Nationalist	Total
Antrim	6	—	1	7
Armagh	2	1	1	4
Belfast, East	4	—	—	4
,, North	4	—	—	4
,, South	4	—	—	4
,, West	3	—	1	4
Down	6	1	1	8
Derry County and City ...	3	1	1	5
Tyrone and Fermanagh ...	4	3	1	8
Total	36	6	6	48

12 Anti-Partionists (25 per cent.)

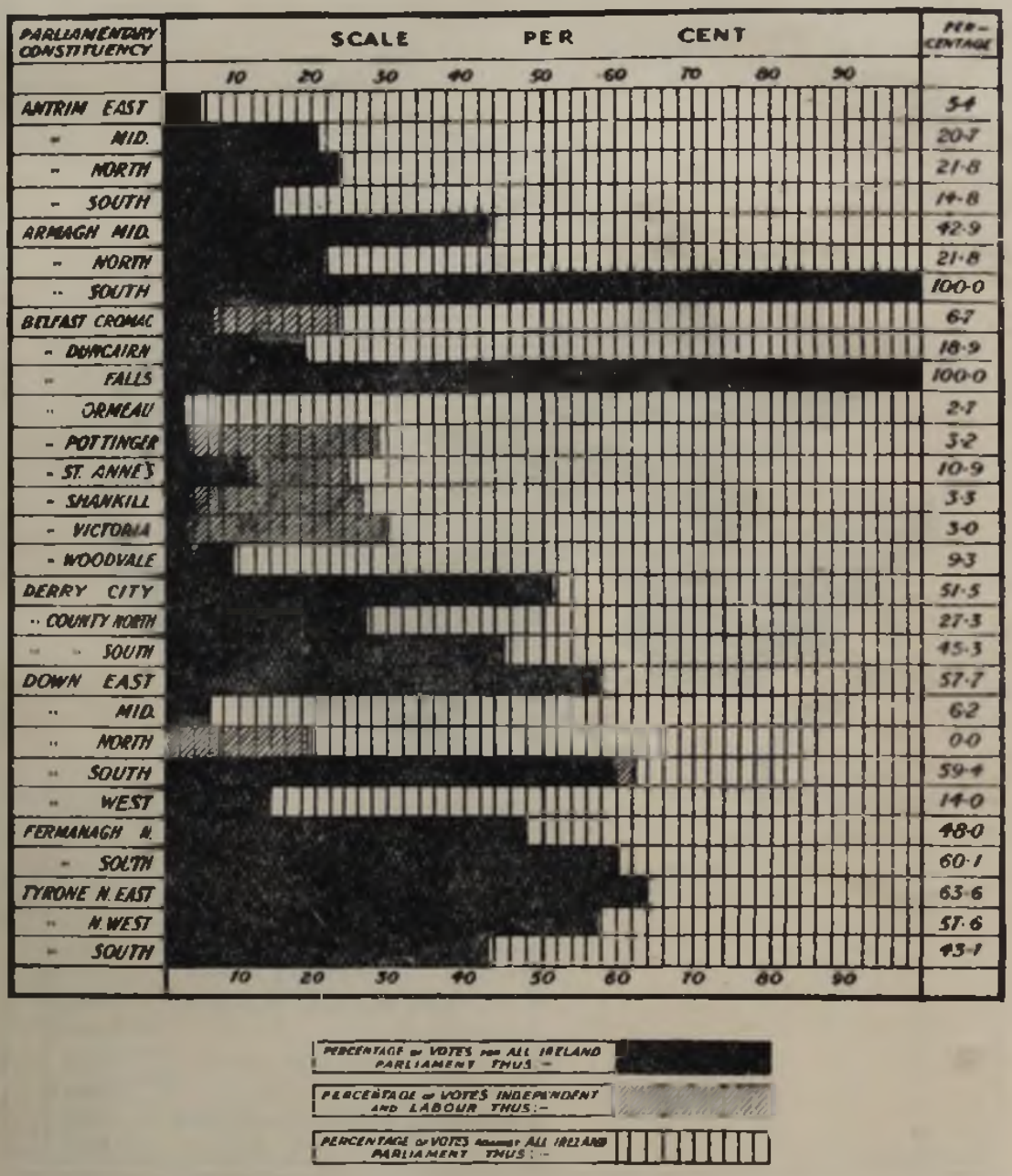
Map showing the areas for the Free State (Anti-Partition) and for the Belfast Parliament (Partition) according to voting results in the constituencies in 1918.

NOTE.—Of the 29 members elected for the County and Borough Constituencies in the Six County area in 1918, **seven were in favour of an All-Ireland Parliament.** The minority representation was, therefore, only 24.2 per cent. although the total minority vote was 30.8 per cent. of the whole. On a population basis the percentage in favour of an All-Ireland Parliament is 34.4 per cent. of the whole.

WISHES OF THE INHABITANTS.

DIAGRAM No. 2.

Diagram showing the proportion per cent. of the **Total Votes cast** in the North-East Ulster Area at the General Election of 1918 **in favour of** an all-Ireland Parliament.



The total votes cast in the North-East Ulster Area at the General Election of 1918 numbered 398,613. Of these **122,717, or 30.8 per cent., were for an all-Ireland Parliament,** 258,732, or 64.9 per cent., were against an all-Ireland Parliament, and 17,164, or 4.3 per cent, were for Labour and Independent candidates.

The all-Ireland Parliament vote of 30.8 per cent. secured only 24.2 per cent. of the seats for the North-East Ulster Area.

VOTING IN 1922.

No. 11.

TABLE SHOWING THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION FOR THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT, 1922.

Constituency	No. of Members in favour of Partition	No. of Members against Partition	Total
Antrim	2	—	2
Armagh	1	—	1
Belfast, East	1	—	1
,, North	1	—	1
,, South	1	—	1
,, West	1	—	1
Fermanagh and Tyrone ...	—	2	2
Derry County and City ...	1	—	1
Down	2	—	2
Total	10	2	12

Owing to the absence of Proportional Representation the only Constituency adequately contested at the 1922 Election, for North-East Ulster representation in the British Parliament, was the Tyrone-Fermanagh Constituency. For this reason only two of the twelve members elected were Anti-Patritionists, that is, only about 17 per cent. of the representation was anti-partitionist. The voting in the Tyrone-Fermanagh Constituency was as follows!—

Anti-Partitionist	votes.	Partitionist	votes
Harbison	45,236	Allen	38,589
Healy	44,817	Pringle	38,640

The voting in these **two border counties,** which together constitute more than one-third of the total area of the Six Counties, clearly shows the wishes of the inhabitants to be **overwhelmingly in favour of inclusion in the Irish Free State.**

ECONOMIC AND GEOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS

III. ECONOMIC AND GEOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS.

It is proposed in this section to review briefly some of the principal features of the economic situation created by the decision of the Parliament of Northern Ireland to cut itself off from the Irish Free State. This situation is very largely dependent on the fact that Ireland, as a geographical unit, is incapable of satisfactory partition.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS.

The Province of Ulster, which includes the four maritime counties of Donegal, Derry, Antrim and Down, and the five inland counties of Armagh, Monaghan, Cavan, Fermanagh and Tyrone, is part of the basin-like surface which Ireland as a whole presents. The mountains for the most part lie on or near the coast line, but as the island north of a line from Donegal Bay to Dundalk Bay contracts considerably in width there is no great central plain corresponding to that lying between Dublin and Galway.

Mountain Ranges.

The principal mountain ranges are:—The Mourne Mountains of South Co. Down, running from Carlingford Lough to Dundrum Bay; the hilly district known as the "Glens of Antrim," in Co. Antrim; the Sperrin Mountains in the Counties of Tyrone and Derry; the Donegal Mountains, which form a mass in the centre of the county and throw out arms in several directions to the coast; the Slievebeagh Mountains, whose summits divide the Counties of Cavan, Fermanagh and Monaghan, and the South Armagh range, with Slieve Gullion as its focus, the sentinel of the Gap of the North.

River Systems.

The main river systems of Ulster are those of the Bann, Erne and Foyle. The Bann rises in the Mourne Mountains and flows north-westward through Banbridge and Portadown into Lough Neagh. This lake, which is one of the great fresh-water lakes of Europe, has an area of 153 square miles and is bordered by five Ulster counties. The lake is also supplied further to the west by the River Blackwater, which drains a large part of Monaghan and Tyrone, and many other smaller streams. The Bann re-issues from its north-western corner and, passing Coleraine, enters the sea east of Lough Foyle. The next largest river to the Bann is the Erne, which, rising in Lough Gowna, in Co. Cavan, pursues an extraordinary course of lake-like extensions, studded with innumerable islands, through the Co. Fermanagh, and, draining the south-west of the Province, enters the sea at Ballyshannon in Co. Donegal. The Foyle, the third most important river,

which, in contrast to the Erne, is a rapid stream with many important tributaries, rises near Fintona in Co. Tyrone, and flowing northward enters Lough Foyle 18 miles past the City of Derry. Another short stream, but of great commercial importance, is the Lagan, which flows into Belfast Lough, and carries the sea-borne commerce of the great Northern City. Ulster also has the honour to have in the Cuilceagh Mountains, in Cavan, the source of the River Shannon, the one Irish river which unites the four provinces in its flow. The province is well supplied with lakes, in addition to the Erne lakes, especially in the Counties of Cavan and Donegal.

Beauty Spots.

The diversity of mountain river and lake gives rise in many districts throughout Ulster to scenes of great natural beauty. The southern and eastern shores of the County Down, the glens of Antrim and its fine tourist road right round the coast, the Giant's Causeway, and the whole mountainous region and sea coast of Donegal are natural playgrounds, while the Erne lakes and Donegal rivers are the delight of the fisherman.

The Sea Coast—Loughs, Bays and Harbours.

The coast of Ulster from Carlingford Lough, a beautiful "fjord," to Donegal Bay is deeply indented, particularly in the north-west, with splendid bays and sea loughs. Carlingford Lough is the entrance to the important port of Newry, and has on the extremity of its southern shore, but within the Province of Leinster, the modern port of Greenore, built for cross-channel traffic by the London, Midland and Scottish Railway Company, and serving as the outport for both Newry and Dundalk. The large intake of Strangford Lough has little commercial importance. Belfast Lough, between Antrim and Down, is, of course, the highway from the sea to Belfast, and has had launched on its waters some of the mightiest vessels afloat. On the Antrim coast are the old historic port of Carrickfergus and the modern harbour of Larne, the terminus of the cross-channel Larne and Stranraer route. The great Bay of Lough Foyle, between Donegal and Derry contains Derry, the only port of importance on the northern coast, and beyond the peninsula of Inishowen is the splendid natural harbour of Lough Swilly, which can float the largest vessels but as yet has no port corresponding with its excellence as a safe and spacious harbour. There are many other safe harbours to be found in the sea loughs around the Donegal Coast but none has been developed hitherto to any extent.

Traffic Routes—Railways and Canals.

The configuration of Ulster presents few obstacles to the development of an adequate railway system, with the important exception that the highlands of Derry, together with Lough Neagh, compel circuitous routes for the two lines which connect the principal centres of trade, Derry and Belfast. The Province is served by the following principal railway systems:—The Great Northern, whose main line connects Dublin with Drogheda, Dundalk, Portadown, Lisburn and Belfast, and Dundalk, Clones, Enniskillen, Omagh and Strabane with Derry, while shorter connecting lines link Portadown with Cookstown and Omagh, and also with Armagh and Castleblayney; and Lisburn with Antrim. This system cuts the Six-county frontier at

15 points. The system known as the Northern Counties Railway, now owned by the London, Midland and Scottish Company, serves the Counties of Antrim and Derry, and connects Belfast with Antrim, Ballymena, and Coleraine, and, skirting the shore of Lough Foyle, with Derry and Strabane, where it meets the Great Northern Line, its other points of contact with the latter system being Belfast and Cookstown. North-east Down is served by the Belfast and Co. Down Railway, which runs from Newcastle, connecting the principal coast towns with Belfast. It has connections with the Great Northern line at Belfast and at Castlewellan. Co. Donegal is served by two light railway systems, the Londonderry and Lough Swilly Railway running from Derry through Letterkenny and the North of the county to Burtonport, with a branch tapping the Inishowen peninsula, and the Donegal Railways Joint Committee, with headquarters at Strabane, and lines to Glenties and through Donegal town to Killybegs and Ballyshannon.

A reference to the railway map (p. 88) will indicate the interference with the normal traffic of the country caused by the Customs land Frontier of the Six-County Area. It has already been shown that the Great Northern system cuts the frontier at 15 points, the line being almost shattered by the frontier between Clones and Redhills, where it is crossed six times in seven miles. The Londonderry and Lough Swilly system is cut off from its headquarters at Derry, and the Southern Donegal system from its main focus at Strabane. Co. Donegal is connected with the rest of the Free State by a neck of land only five miles wide at one point. This is not traversed by any line of railway, although a line of about 25 miles in length, from Sligo to Ballyshannon, would link up Sligo with the light railway system of Co. Donegal. The Sligo, Leitrim and Northern Counties Railway, between Enniskillen and Sligo, is divided in two by the frontier,, and the line connecting the port of Greenore with Newry is also cut by it a few miles from Newry.

Canals and Navigable Rivers.

The Canal system of Ulster is centred in Lough Neagh. Belfast is connected with the Lough by a waterway from the River Lagan, and Newry by the Newry Canal, from the inner extremity of Carlingford Lough, which joins the Upper Bann south of Portadown; Coleraine is connected with it by the Lower Bann, and the Erne Navigation system by the Ulster Canal and the River Blackwater. The Six County frontier cuts the Erne Navigation system a few miles east of Ballyshannon, and the Ulster Canal at two points on the border of County Monaghan.

Seaports.

The ocean borne traffic of Ulster is handled at three main seaports—Belfast, Derry and Newry, which are linked by lines of steamships with the important ports on the western coast of England and Scotland, and to a lesser extent with the American Continent. There are many commodious small harbours around the coast of great importance to the fishing industry, and many of these are capable of development for ordinary traffic.

The Frontiers.

The Province of Ulster has a land frontier of about 170 miles, running from a point on the Sligo coast, south of the town of Bun-

doran, in a semicircular sweep to a point opposite the town of Warrenpoint on the shore of Carlingford Bay. The frontier is solely of a historic and not of a physical origin. For a very small portion of its course only does it pass along natural lines of division, such as mountain ranges, lakes or rivers. In many cases it passes along valleys and cuts through watersheds quite arbitrarily. This lack of natural features accounts for the many fluctuations of the frontier in early times, and it was only with the introduction of accurate maps that the present frontier became fixed.

From the historic Province of Ulster there has been carved a new temporary political area, which has been named by its authors "Northern Ireland." It consists of the six Counties of Antrim, Armagh, Derry, Down, Fermanagh and Tyrone, and includes the two Cities, or County Boroughs, of Belfast and Derry. "Northern Ireland" accordingly does not include the County Donegal, the most northerly county in Ireland. The land frontier of this new area has a length of about 240 miles, and runs from the south-western corner of Lough Foyle in a south-westerly direction to a point west of Lough Erne, and thence in an easterly direction, with large fluctuations north and south, to the Ulster frontier, running into Carlingford Lough. In its path it ignores in a manner even more arbitrary than the frontier of the province any natural features that might tend to constitute a barrier. It divides the basins of the River Foyle, Derg, Erne, Blackwater, Fane and Castletown. It cuts longitudinally the fertile valleys of the Foyle and Blackwater. It separates the Eastern and Western shores of Lough Foyle, leaving Moville the outport of Derry under the control of the Free State and Derry itself under the authority of "Northern Ireland." Similarly the control of the Bay of Carlingford, the entrance to the port of Newry, is divided between two authorities. It almost isolates Tyrconnell (Co. Donegal) geographically leaving at its southern extremity a neck of only five miles in width connecting it with the Free State, which is not traversed by any railway. Thus Donegal is cut off from all direct railway connection with the rest of the Free State.

As regards the delineation of the frontier, no barrier has ever pursued a more tortuous or irregular path. For very few miles at a time does it follow a reasonably straight course. It projects for many miles into the mountainous region of Donegal. It almost encloses the District Electoral Division of Drummully in the Co. Monaghan. This latter county itself breaks the southern level of the line for more than a third of its extent by stretching far into the north like a spear head.

The whole course of the frontier is repugnant to both the natural and historic features of the county. The Grianán of Aileach, the ancient seat of Ulster's political life, lies outside the new frontier, although the upholders of "Northern Ireland" show a tendency to claim the title "Ulster" for their truncated area. On the other hand the national shrines of Armagh, the ecclesiastical metropolis, Downpatrick, the grave of Patrick, Brigid and Colmcille, and Tullaghoge, the place of inauguration of the O'Neill kings, are cut off territorially from the natural entity which venerates their memory.

All Ireland has an area of 20,371,125 acres, or 31,830 square miles. Ulster 5,331,626 acres, or 8,331 square miles; and "Northern Ireland" 3,351,970 acres, or 5,237 square miles, exclusive in each case of the larger rivers, lakes and tideways.

Ireland is by natural design a complete geographical entity, and there is no better instance in either hemisphere of a country all of whose parts are bound closely together, and which has no area throughout its whole extent separated by natural barriers from the main body of the country. This natural design enforced on the political life of Ireland at a very early date the ideal of national unity, and it is doing violence, not only to nature, but to the whole trend of the political life of the island to divorce politically at this late date in her national existence a considerable section of the northern part of the country from the motherland.

CHAPTER II.

THE FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF NORTHERN IRELAND.

The features of the economic situation created by the partition of Ireland which are here briefly reviewed, fall under two main heads—first, the respective financial positions and relations of the Governments concerned; and second, the general effects on the economic life of the country.

The Parliament of the area known as "Northern Ireland" was created by a British Statue of 1920 known as "The Government of Ireland Act." It is a subordinate legislature to that of Great Britain, but has wide powers of legislation and administration. It is, however, severely restricted in the exercise of these powers by its very limited power of raising revenue.

The taxes, control of which has been reserved to the Imperial Parliament, and which are referred to in the Act of 1920 as "reserved taxes," include Customs, Excise, Income Tax, Super Tax and Corporation Profits Tax. All reserved taxes are imposed and collected under the authority of the British Parliament.

The sole important source of reserved non-tax revenue is the revenue derived from the Post Office. The Post Office, which is a reserved service still under the control of the British Parliament, shows a loss of over £100,000 per annum in Northern Ireland, and is consequently quite non-productive from a revenue point of view.

The only important source of non-tax revenue transferred to the Northern Government is the Land Purchase Annuities.

The Joint Exchequer Board constituted under the Act of 1920, as modified by the Free State (Consequential Provisions) Act, 1922, and consisting of representatives of the British Government and the Government of Northern Ireland, but on which the latter are in a minority, exercises the very important functions of determining first, what share of the yield of indirect taxation should be attributed to Northern Ireland, and, secondly, what share Northern Ireland should bear of Imperial liabilities and expenditure by way of Imperial contribution, the amount payable by Northern Ireland as Imperial contribution to be subject to revision every five years.

The reserved taxes are collected by the British authorities and paid direct to the British Treasury. After deducting the cost of their collection, the cost of other services reserved from the control of the Northern Parliament, and the Imperial contribution, the balance is payable by the British Treasury to the Exchequer of Northern Ireland.

The solvency of the Northern Government, its ability to adjust expenditure to revenue, its ability to frame a reasonable budget estimate of total revenues of all kinds, depend on factors outside its control. The Northern Parliament cannot increase or diminish any of the really productive taxes, and if the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, for his own reasons, decides to reduce Customs and Excise or Income Tax, the Northern Exchequer may find itself in serious financial difficulties.

National Insurance is controlled by the Belfast Government within its area. This fund, however, is at present in a very embarrassed condition. For the year 1922-23 it was estimated that it would require an advance of £700,000. Actually in the course of that year, as it now appears, an advance of £812,000 in round figures was made, which, with £160,000 brought forward from the previous year, makes £972,000. There is no normal source of revenue from which this drain may be met. In the special account in which this liability is shown in the Estimates for 1922-23 the only important countervailing items are receipts from Ulster Saving Certificates, £350,000, "and a further amount to be raised," £495,000. Actually in the year under review Ulster Saving Certificates came to £487,500, and "temporary borrowing for the purpose of making loans" came to £433,000.

It is interesting to observe that whereas the Northern Government had to make a loan of £972,000 to the Unemployment Insurance Fund in 1922-23, in the same year the Government of the Free State had to advance only £536,700 to the corresponding fund in the Saorstat.

The fact is that the Northern Irish Government has no credit of its own. It is financially in a straight waistcoat. Its transferred tax revenue only yields about one million pounds in a normal year, while its transferred non-tax revenue can only be counted on for about three-quarters of a million. On the other hand, the services actually controlled by the Norhern Government cost in 1922-23 about 4¾ millions sterling, apart from the Criminal Injuries and Constabulary.

The Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Special Constabulary together cost about 3½ millions in the year 1922-23. There is a reduction of about a million and a quarter sterling in the Estimates for the "Specials" for 1923-24. It should be noted that although the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Special Constabulary are now "transferred services" the cost of them has hitherto for the most part been defrayed by grants from the Imperial Exchequer.

In 1922-23 the services reserved from the control of the Northern Government, and still under the authority of the British Parliament, cost rather over one million pounds, apart from the Post Office. Reserved tax and non-tax revenue brought in nearly 11½ millions. The appended Balance Sheet shows clearly how this sum was disbursed, and how the year's expenditure resulted in a payment by Northern Ireland as its actual Imperial contribution of a sum of £2,128,000 instead of £5,940,000.

The transferred services include Labour and National Insurance, Education, Agriculture and Commerce, and these are services which in any progressive community ought to be objects of growing expenditure. But the Northern Government does not control any elastic source of revenue.

The irresistible force of the growing expenditure on these objects, meeting the impenetrable mass of a petrified revenue would before

long create an insoluble problem unless the Imperial Government directly, or through the Joint Exchequer Board, continues its policy of meeting the financial difficulties of the Northern Government by grants from the Imperial Exchequer.

In the accounts presented for the year under review the Northern Government was able to show a surplus on income account of £32,000 only because it was able to obtain, mainly by way of Imperial grants, over 3½ millions sterling from what cannot be regarded as normal sources of revenue. Of the Imperial contribution contemplated in the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, £1,980,000 was forgiven. Nominally, a contribution of £5,940,000 was paid by Northern Ireland, but as against this Imperial grants were made of £57,000 for unemployment relief, £53,000 for provision of public buildings, £150,000 in aid of initial expenses, £750,000 for malicious injuries, and £2,690.000 for Special Constabulary.

Ulster Saving Certificates realised £488,000 and temporary borrowings £434,000 in round figures. The latter two sums were evidently used mainly for making loans to the Unemployment Fund, which, it will be remembered, amounted to £972,000. If these advances prove to be loans and not grants the transaction is financially sound, but if there is no source of revenue from which these loans can ultimately be refunded these sums ought to appear as an expenditure in the Balance Sheet for 1922-23, and as such would diminish the real Imperial contribution by £972,000.

Imperial Contribution.

It appears from the accompanying Balance Sheet that the Real Imperial Contribution of Northern Ireland for the year 1922-23 was £2,128,000.

The principles governing this contribution and the method of calculating it are laid down in the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, Section 23, as modified by the First Schedule of the Irish Free State (Consequential Provisions) Act, 1922. The "Northern Ireland contribution" is a contribution towards the Imperial liabilities and expenditure mentioned in the Sixth Schedule to the Government of Ireland Act, 1920. Turning to the Sixth Schedule in question we find that Imperial liabilities and expenditure include:—

(1) National Debt Charges.
(2) Naval, Military and Air Force expenditure (including pensions and allowances to ex-service men or their dependants).
(3) Civil List and Royal Family.
(4) Foreign and Diplomatic Services.
(5) Trade with any place out of the United Kingdom.
(6) Such expenditure in connection with any other Government Department as the Joint Exchequer Board may determine to be Imperial expenditure.

Sums received otherwise than by way of taxation, which the Joint Exchequer Board may determine to be of the nature of Imperial receipts, are to be deducted.

Under Section 23 of the Government of Ireland Act the Joint Exchequer Board is to have, after the end of the second financial year, the function of determining in each financial year "the amount for the preceding financial year of the said liabilities and expenditure." This will give a figure amounting perhaps to £600,000,000 in an £800,000,000 British Budget.

The Joint Exchequer Board has also the function of determining what proportion of this immense burden is to be borne by the inhabitants of Northern Ireland. According to Section 23 of the 1920 Act, " the proportion of Imperial liabilities and expenditure to be so contributed shall be such as the Joint Exchequer Board may, having regard to the relative taxable capacities of (Northern) Ireland and the United Kingdom, determine to be just." This proportion is to be determined " after the end of the second financial year." The proportion once arrived at is to be revised at the end of every fifth financial year after its first determination.

Thus as soon as the Joint Exchequer Board has satisfactorily estimated the relative taxable capacities of Northern Ireland and Great Britain a ratio will be arrived at which will automatically calculate the Imperial contribution of Northern Ireland. In each financial year the people of Northern Ireland will pay a proportion, for example one fortieth or one fiftieth, " of the amount which the Joint Exchequer Board certify to have been the amount for the preceding year of the said (Imperial) liabilities and expenditure."

The estimation of relative taxable capacity is no easy matter. In view of the claim made on behalf of the citizens of Northern Ireland to be in all respects on the same footing as those of Great Britain, equal with them in industry and in material prosperity, a ratio based simply on population might seem to be indicated. This would give a proportion of about one thirty-fifth, which applied to " Imperial liabilities and expenditure " of, say, £600,000,000, would automatically result in an Imperial contribution of about £17,000,000.

The Imperial contribution fixed by the Act of 1920 was £7,920,000, which was to have been paid until the Joint Exchequer Board began to function. This was reduced to the nominal figure of £5,940,000 for the year 1922-23. As has been shown by the appended Balance Sheet, the real Imperial contribution actually paid was £2,128,000.

It must be remembered that taxation in Northern Ireland is identical with that of Great Britain. The question is, what becomes of the proceeds. It is clear from the foregoing figures that they have been expended on keeping up the partitionist Government in Belfast contrary to the wishes of the Irish people, and that only *a little more than two millions sterling* has been contributed towards Imperial expenditure. This position of affairs is not satisfactory from an Irish point of view or from the point of view of the British taxpayer. It is satisfactory only to the partitionist party in the six north-eastern counties.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF NORTHERN IRELAND, 1922-23.

Transferred Revenue and Services.

Receipts.	£	Expenditure.	£
Tax Revenue:		Consolidated Fund Services	78,000
Transferred Taxes, Stamps, Estate Duty, &c.	924,000	Road Fund	204,000
Motor Vehicle Duties	204,000	Other Transferred Services	4,397,000
Non-Tax Revenue:		Royal Ulster Constabulary and Special Constabulary	778,000
Land Purchase Annuities	647,000		
Church Temporalities, Rent Charges, &c	26,000		
Miscellaneous, Interest on Investments, &c.	132,000		
Deficit	3,524,000		
	5,457,000		5,457,000

Receipts and Expenditure, Reserved Revenue and Services.

	£		£
Reserved Taxes (Income Tax, Customs and Excise Duties, &c.)	10,562,000	Post Office	887,000
Post Office	775,000	Other Reserved Services	1,109,000
Fee Stamps	11,000	*Public Buildings	53,000
		†Miscellaneous Initial Expenses	150,000
		†Unemployment Relief	57,000
		†Malicious Injuries	750,000
		†Royal Ulster Constabulary and Special Constabulary	2,690,000
		Balance	5,652,000
	11,348,000		11,348,000

Summary.

	£
Balance on Reserved Receipts less Expenditure	5,652,000
Deficit on Transferred Receipts less Expenditure	3,524,000
Real Imperial Contribution, 1922-23	2,128,000

* Imperial Grant under Section 34 (1) of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920.

† Special Imperial Grants.

[Note.—The figures are rounded off to the nearest thousand—following the example of the White Paper H.C. 29, in which the final Balance Sheet for 1922-23 is published by the Northern Government.]

BALANCE SHEET OF NORTHERN IRELAND AS PUBLISHED BY THE NORTHERN GOVERNMENT ON APRIL 2ND, 1923.

EXCHEQUER RECEIPTS.	£	EXCHEQUER ISSUES.	£
TAX REVENUE:			
Transferred Taxes (Stamps, Estate Duty, &c.)	923,508	Consolidated Fund Services (other than Sinking Fund)	14,828
Motor Vehicle Duties	204,157	Road Fund (Motor Vehicle Duties)	204,157
Reserved Taxes (Income Tax, Customs and Excise Duties, etc.)	10,573,542	Other Transferred Services	4,396,571
Surplus of Revenue over Expenditure, 1921-22	47,418	Reserved Services other than Post Office (including the Contribution)	7,052,239
Post Office	774,850	Disposal of Surplus, 1921-22— Sinking Fund £16,500 Reserve Fund 30,918	47,418
Land Purchase Annuities—existing (including Grant-in-Aid under the Labourers' Cottages Act, 1906)	644,324	Post Office	887,200
Church Temporalities Rent Charges, etc.	26,011	Consolidated Sinking Fund Charge (1922-23) in respect of—Land Purchase and Church Temporalities, etc.; Terminable Annuities	63,735
Annuities under Landlord and Tenant Act, 1870	2,780	Public Buidings	55,000
Provision, &c., of Public Buildings	53,000	Unemployment Relief (Imperial Grant)	56,665
Imperial Grant (in aid of miscellaneous Initial Expenses)	150,000	Malicious Injuries (Imperial Grant)	750,000
Imperial Grants:		Royal Ulster Constabulary and Special Constabulary	3,468,391
(a) Unemployment Relief	56,665	Total Expenditure Chargeable against Revenue	16,996,204
(b) Malicious Injuries	750,000	Surpus of Revenue over Expenditure	32,042
Imperial Grant-in-Aid (Special Constabulary)	2,690,000		
Miscellaneous (Interest on Investments, Apportioned Local Taxation A/c. &c.)	131,991		
Total Revenue	£17,028,246		£17,028,246

MISCELLANEOUS ACCOUNT.

OTHER RECEIPTS.	£	OTHER ISSUES.	£
Balance of Income A/c (above)	32,042	Ulster Savings Certificates repaid	12,000
Ulster Savings Certificates	487,500	Loans to Local Authorities (on N.I. A/c)	13,500
Local Loans Repayments (for Northern Ireland A/c)	293	Loans Repayments remitted to British Treasury	100,000
Loans Repayments (for British Treasury A/c)	126,913	Land Purchase Annuities (New) remitted to British Treasury	687
Land Purchase Annuities (New) for British Treasury A/c)	791	Loans to the Unemployment Insurance Fund	972,000
Sanatorium Grant (Finance Act, 1911)	28,409	Balance in Exchequer on 31st March, 1923	11,263
Temporary Borrowings for the the purpose of making Loans	433,502		
	£1,109,450		£1,109,450

SUMMARY OF INCOME ACCOUNT.

NORMAL BUDGET.

Revenues of Northern Ireland (Tax and Non-Tax)	£13,531,581	Expenditure Chargeable against Northern Revenues	£13,458,298

SPECIAL BUDGET.

Imperial Grants in Aid to meet abnormal Expenditure (Special Constabulary, &c.)	£3,496,665	Expenditure (Special Constabulary, etc.), Chargeable against Grants in aid	£3,537,906

CHAPTER III.

IRELAND'S FINANCIAL POSITION UNDER THE TREATY.

Before the Act of Union, in spite of restrictions imposed on the Irish Parliament by the nomination of the Executive by Great Britain, Ireland possessed fiscal independence and a separate Exchequer. By that measure, however, Ireland was reluctantly compelled to join in a financial partnership with Great Britain, greatly to the financial benefit of the predominant partner, and since that date has been dragged reluctantly at her heels. The Irish Treaty of 1921 may be regarded as a dissolution of this inequitable financial partnership. Ireland, in asserting a claim to segregation of assets, agreed necessarily to a segregation of the liabilities of the partnership, subject to credit being given for such sums by way of set-off or counterclaim as the terms of the partnership deed might warrant. As there had been controversy regarding the exact nature of these liabilities, care was taken in the Treaty to limit and define the categories of joint expenditure for a determinable proportion of which Ireland was to undertake responsibility. Article V. of the Treaty is as follows:—

> **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.**

When this article has been carried into effect and the agreement or arbitration has decided the amount, if any, of Ireland's liability, the financial relationship of the two countries will be finally simplified, and will rest on a basis of mutual independence and complete disentanglement of all quarrel-breeding engagements.

The partnership dissolved and the respective responsibilities of the ex-partners for joint liabilities being on the way to definite ascertainment, the assets of each are at their own sole and untrammelled disposal. Ireland will impose her own taxes, devise her own fiscal system, and collect her own revenue. A serious result, a fact historically of major importance, ensues. Where the boundaries of the Irish Free State lie, there her Customs officers must needs levy the duties and collect the statistical data which her Parliament decrees, and, so long as certain of those boundaries lie upon the land, there, hard by the Irish Customs officers, will be found the Customs officers of Great Britain performing the identical duties under the direction of the British Parliament. Each must collect the revenue of their respective countries within their own respective boundaries. It is not a question of tariff war; the incidence and amount of the duties may be the same: it is simply that each must collect its own. And thus, if the secession of the Six Counties of North-east Ulster from Ireland under the terms of the Treaty remains unmodified by further negotiation and agreement, there will have been created within the British Isles, for the first time in their history, a territorial Customs barrier in lieu of the simpler and much less costly system of maritime Customs to which both islands, as well in pre-Union as in post-Union times, have been always accustomed. The existing boundary line—which is subject to

revision under Article XII. of the Treaty—is about two hundred and forty miles in length. It runs through and divides fourteen hundred agricultural holdings. It cuts across twenty or more railway tracks, and across roads, lanes, and paths almost innumerable. It is a deeply indented line—so much so that a train in one locality crosses it six times in seven miles. A Customs barrier so situate must prove immensely expensive and intolerably inconvenient to all concerned—to none more so than North-east Ulster, with its highly-organised industrial focus, its narrow and restricted hinterland, and its large distributing trade.

The financial relations of North-east Ulster with Great Britain are in a wholly different category from those of Ireland. They are regulated by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, which in the result became operative only in North-east Ulster, and they involve an increased and a continuing liability for British Imperial indebtedness and expenditure from which Ireland has successfully freed herself. This is undoubtedly the logical corollary to the passionate desire of North-east Ulster for British citizenship and to its strenuous repudiation of Irish nationhood. For British citizenship must be British citizenship for all purposes, while the relief which Ireland obtained on the financial and economic side was based upon and was conceded in virtue of her separate nationhood and upon the historical case of the Irish nation as a distinct economic and financial unit, whether in treaty with, or in subjection to, the British nation. From that unit a fraction has subtracted itself. Admiration and respect will always be accorded to a devotion to ideals pressed to the point of a definite sacrifice of wealth, or wealth's equivalent, but it is obvious that he who disclaims his reputed parentage thereby renounces the birthright which it would have conferred.

The foregoing paragraphs have sketched in bold outline the new financial relations of Ireland and Great Britain. It is convenient at this stage, therefore, to review in similar bold outline the previous arrangements, so that the nature of the retrospective account to be taken between the two countries may be made clear, as well as the historical development of events which have left the North-east Ulster offshoot so much less favourably situated as to financial arrangements than is the parent stem of Ireland upon the appeasement of its long conflict with England.

Before the year 1780 the Kingdom of Ireland—such was its status in those days—had its own separate Exchequer and a Parliament whose legislative independence, long claimed, was finally recognised in the most solemn and binding form by the British Statute of 1783; and although the Irish Executive was controlled by the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary appointed by the King on the advice of his British Ministers, Ireland was financially independent, and was under no obligation to contribute to what is now known as Imperial expenditure. It is true, however, that the Irish Parliament made voluntary contributions, from time to time, of men and money to sustain in time of war the naval and military forces of the British King, who was also the King of Ireland. These contributions, if not very large, were substantial relatively to the scale of Irish revenue and expenditure: they may even be regarded nowadays as handsome, seeing that Ireland was by British law almost entirely excluded until the close of the American War from the advantages of foreign and colonial trade, and after 1780

was only gradually admitted to them. In 1793 the French wars began, and, coincident with them, political disturbances, culminating in the Rebellion of 1798. Irish expenditure and Irish debt increased. The total funded and unfunded debt, amounting in 1783 to £1,917,784, had swelled early in 1801 to £28,541,157; nay, more, so slender were Irish financial resources, so onerous were the terms exacted from the borrower, that this increase of debt, amounting to £26,623,373, represented an aggregate deficit for the full period of little more than £16,500,000.

In the year 1800 the Act of Union was passed. It has now passed into the lumber-room of history—a subject for the curiosity of virtuosi, of research for the student, of reference by publicists whose duty involves them in the treatment of its sequelæ. The political conceptions, motives, and aims of its framers and of its opponents have little materiality to-day. The question is: What did it do, what were its provisions relating to the future financial relationship between Ireland and Great Britain, and what is their true construction?

The answer is that it provided for, and indicated as a desirable consummation, a time when the unification of finance should be completed by the amalgamation of the separate debts and the establishment of a uniform system of taxation. It fixed for a period of twenty years the ratio of contribution of Ireland to the future expenditure of the United Kingdom at 2 to 15. Inasmuch as the British debt exceeded the Irish debt in the ratio not of 15 to 2 but of 17 to 1, the immediate amalgamation of the two debts was impossible, and it was enacted that each country should provide interest and sinking fund for its own respective debt. The two conditions which, under the terms of Article VII. of the Act of Union, had to be satisfied before complete unification of the two financial systems could take place, were:—

(a) Either that the separate debts of both countries should be liquidated, or that their values should be to each other in the same proportion as the annual contributions—viz., 2 to 15; and

(b) That it should appear to Parliament that "the respective circumstances of the two countries" would "thenceforward admit of their contributing indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, for the future expenditure of the United Kingdom."

With dramatic—it would not be altogether inappropriate to say with tragic—completeness, the former condition was fulfilled in 1816. Lord Castlereagh's ratio of 2 to 15 had been bitterly challenged in the Irish Parliament and had been supported by estimates and forecasts which were completely falsified in the result. For the period 5th January, 1802, to 5th January, 1817, Ireland's total revenue under the control of the new United Parliament fell short by nearly £22,000,000 of her share (at the 2 to 15 ratio) of the joint expenditure of the United Kingdom, without making any provision for the service of her own separate debt. Ireland entered the Union with a National Debt of some £28½ millions. After 16 years her separate National Debt had increased to £110 millions. The separate British National Debt increased in the same period from £489 millions to £863 millions. The point had been reached where increased taxation produced a diminished yield. Ireland's debt having nearly quadrupled while the British Debt had only increased by about 75

per centum during the same period, the proportion between the two was found to be approximately in the ratio of 2 to 15, as required by condition (a) above referred to. Accordingly, as from the 5th January, 1817, the two systems were unified and the two Exchequers amalgamated. By this brilliant paradox the demonstrated annual insolvency of Ireland under the United Kingdom for a period of fifteen years was utilised to qualify her to share thenceforward in the much higher scale of taxation and expenditure of her richer neighbour.

With the amalgamation of the two Exchequers in 1817 we are brought into direct contact with the legal provisions and general circumstances which are relevant at once to Ireland's "set-off or counterclaim," and which cast a light upon the unfortunate present predicament of North-east Ulster.

From 1817 to 1922 the financial relations between Ireland and Great Britain have been governed by Article II. of the Act of Union, which provided that, in the events which happened:

> it shall be competent to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to declare that all future expense thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand;
>
> That from the period of such declaration it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future expenditure of the United Kingdom according to any specific proportion, or according to any of the rules hereinbefore prescribed; Provided . . . . that from and after the 1st day of January, 1801, all public revenue arising to the United Kingdom from the territorial dependencies thereof, and applied to the general expenditure of the United Kingdom, shall be so applied in the proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

The provisions of this enactment appear to warrant the following inferences:—

1. Revenue.—There was to be no specific ratio for Ireland's contribution, but there was to be identical taxation moderated by such particular exemptions and abatements as her circumstances might appear from time to time to demand, or in popular language, taxation (*i.e.*, gross taxation) in the ratio of relative taxable capacity.

2. Expenditure.—No specific ratio for expenditure on Ireland save in regard to "public revenue arising to the United Kingdom from the territorial dependencies thereof." Expenditure was to be made indiscriminately out of the common purse according to the requirements of the public service of the United Kingdom. This is also made quite clear in the Act of 1816 amalgamating the two Exchequers.

3. Imperial Expenditure.—No obligation, legal or moral, was created or contemplated binding Ireland to contribute to Imperial expenditure unless, until, and to such extent as her revenue raised on the conditions above described might exceed the cost of the Irish administration discharged out of the common purse.

4. Ireland's Share of Imperial Assets.—Ireland's beneficial interest in Imperial receipts from the territorial dependencies of the United Kingdom was to be measured in the ratio of the two partners' contri-

butions to the common purse *and not* by any ratio of net contributions to Imperial expenditure after providing for the cost of domestic administration.

5. Ireland a Financial Unit.—Separate accounts of the two countries were to be kept—probably for the purpose, amongst others, of examining the particular circumstances of Ireland—a distinct organism or unit for the purpose of economic or financial consideration—which might from time to time appear to require special exemptions and abatements.

Now a political and financial system on the foregoing lines, if accompanied and supplemented by suitable economic policies, might have had a reasonable chance of success. At any rate it would not, *prima facie*, have been inequitable as between two countries, one rich and the other impoverished, linked together by a common Exchequer and Parliament. It is not too much to say that the British Treasury and British Chancellors of the Exchequer—and not least amongst them the late Mr. Gladstone—have tended to ignore the considerations of relative taxable capacity, to emphasise the identity of taxation and of its incidence, and to assume a corresponding equitable identity of burden. Others, again, scarcely less eminent, have sought to spell out obligations binding on Ireland regarding Imperial expenditure for which no justification could be found in the text or purport of the Act of Union. And others sought to deny that Ireland was a financial unit or entity whose circumstances, as such, could be considered with a view to her being accorded special treatment. This is not a suitable occasion for entering into details—of which there are abundant masses ripe for controversial discussion. They would only tend to blur the broad outlines. Two minor examples may be given by way of illustration. There existed in England, particularly in the early stages, certain taxes that were not imposed on Ireland. The answer was that there should have been more rather than less of such exemptions for Ireland, as British taxation was being lessened while Irish taxation was being increased to an extent which proved ruinous. On the other hand, admitting identical rates of duty in both countries for whiskey and for beer respectively, the alcohol in the whiskey was much more highly taxed than the alcohol in the beer, and thus the incidence and burden were not identical for the two countries. For whiskey and water was the national beverage in the one and beer was the national beverage in the other country. The principles involved in these two cases are, of course, of wide application. Suffice it, on the major issues, to record certain conclusions of the Royal Commission on the Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland which, presided over by the late Right Hon. Hugh E. C. Childers up to the time of his death, reported in 1896. For a clear understanding of the nature of the inquiry which was directed, and the amount of light upon certain controversial issues afforded by the practically unanimous conclusions of the Commissioners, it is necessary to transcribe bodily the 9th, 10th, and 11th paragraphs of their joint Final Report. They are as follows:—

9. The terms of reference to our Commission are as follows:—

To inquire into the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland, and their relative taxable capacity, and to report:

1. Upon what principles of comparison, and by the application of what specific standards, the relative capacity of Great

Britain and Ireland to bear taxation may be most equitably determined.

2. What, so far as can be ascertained, is the true proportion, under the principles and specific standards so determined, between the taxable capacity of Great Britain and Ireland.

3. The history of the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland at and after the Legislative Union, the charge for Irish purposes on the Imperial Exchequer during that period, and the amount of Irish taxation remaining available for contribution to Imperial expenditure; also the Imperial expenditure to which it is considered equitable that Ireland should contribute.

10. In carrying out the inquiry we have ascertained that there are certain questions upon which we are practically unanimous, and we think it expedient to set them out in this joint report.

Our conclusions on these questions are as follows:—

I. That Great Britain and Ireland must, for the purpose of this inquiry, be considered as separate entities.

II. That the Act of Union imposed upon Ireland a burden which, as events showed, she was unable to bear.

III. That the increase of taxation laid upon Ireland between 1853 and 1860 was not justified by the then existing circumstances.

IV. That identity of rates of taxation does not necessarily involve equality of burden.

V. That, whilst the actual tax revenue of Ireland is about one-eleventh of that of Great Britain, the relative taxable capacity of Ireland is very much smaller, and is not estimated by any of us as exceeding one-twentieth.

11. There are points on which we differ. For these, a more complete account of our several views on the subjects dealt with by the above conclusions, and for our views on the whole question we beg to refer to our separate reports.

The report contains a great mass of valuable information bearing upon all the various issues which students of the subject will find most illuminating and suggestive. About the same date the Treasury began an annual issue of White Papers giving in considerable detail a statement of the revenue, as collected, and of the " true " or adjusted revenue of Ireland, of the expenditure on Ireland, and of the balance, if any, available for imperial expenditure, with corresponding figures for England and Scotland. By the aid of these White Papers many of the calculations contained in the Report of the Royal Commission can be brought up to date, but it must be noted that the bases upon which they have been prepared are by no means in accordance with the bases laid down by the Act of Union as above described.

The magnitude of Ireland's case by way of set-off or counter-claim when the final settlement of accounts ensues under the treaty may be illustrated by a single figure for a single year out of the total period from 1817 to 1922. Mr. Childers in his draft report estimated that out of £7,568,649 the total revenue of Ireland for 1893-4 no less a sum than £2,725,868—or, in round numbers, 2¾ millions sterling—represented the excess of her contribution to the common purse over and above what it should have been on the basis of her relative taxable capacity (p. 183). The claim of Ireland will be that (after allow-

ing certain substantial credits claimed by the Treasury experts on behalf of Great Britain) many hundreds of millions sterling have been extracted from her in taxation during the whole period in contravention of the terms laid down in the Act of Union, and that but for these exactions her gross taxation seldom, if ever, produced any margin available for her to contribute to Imperial expenditure. And in proof of the crushing effect upon her national welfare of this over-taxation—and apart from all criticisms of the general and fiscal policy of the United Parliament as causes contributory to these results—she will point to the following figures, which are of indisputably tragic significance:—In 1841 the population of Ireland—a virile and prolific race—was 8,175,124, but in 1911 (the last Irish census) it had fallen to 4,390,219; and in the same year—1841—the population of North-East Ulster was 1,641,464, but in 1911 it had fallen to 1,250,531, notwithstanding the increase in the population of Belfast in the same period from 70,447 to 386,947. During the same period the population of Great Britain had risen from 18,534,332 to 40,831,396. In 1819-20 the " true " revenue derived from Ireland was £5,256,564, which increased in 1909-10 to £9,931,000. During the same period the British figure increased from £51,445,764 to £155,217,000.

What will be Ireland's proportionate liability " for the service of the Public Debt of the United Kingdom " and " towards the payment of war pensions " at the date of the Peace Treaty when the terms of the Act of Union are the basis upon which the liability rests? What will it work out at when regard has been had " to any just claims on the part of Ireland by way of set-off or counterclaim "? One thing alone is clear. It cannot be much. Amidst all the complexities of intricate financial computations, amidst the bewildering controversial vistas where Treasury pundits and political gladiators wage interminable bloodless battles, the seeing eye can descry a broad perspective and the coming of a necessary simplification of many tangled issues. The principle of relative taxable capacity is the governing factor. Ireland could never afford, and therefore is under no contractual or honourable obligation to pay, the past or prospective outlays on Imperial developments from which her thwarted and aborted economic life derived no benefit. The liability, as admitted and rendered assessable under the Peace Treaty, must perish when the counterclaim develops its offensive.

And what of North-east Ulster in all this? It is truly a factor of modification, if not of disturbance, in regard to the great adjustment of outstanding accounts between Ireland and Great Britain. For North-east Ulster has dissociated itself from Ireland not merely politically but financially. Its position, now that it has seceded from Ireland, is regulated by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and the Irish Free State (Consequential Provisions) Act, 1922, and it has accepted that position and has displayed enthusiasm for its retention of its British citizenship, for its right to representation at Westminster, and for its right to participate in the financial burdens of Empire. By the combined effect of the two enactments North-east Ulster's share of the Imperial burden is provisionally assessed at £7,920,000 per annum, and it is to be re-assessed from time to time by the Joint Exchequer Board, having regard to the relative taxable capacity of " Northern Ireland on the one hand and Great Britain and Ireland on the other." (Sec. 4 (1) of the latter Act.) It must be noted in passing that the mention of Ireland in this section is most

remarkable if it be not a draftsman's error. For even if Ireland under Article V. of the Treaty is assessable (subject to set-off, &c.) for a certain liability, as has been seen, her liability is in respect of a much narrower category of Imperial expenditure that that which North-east Ulster has cheerfully shouldered. Ireland's liability, such as it is, is limited to Public Debt and pensions. North-east Ulster's liability is for "Imperial liabilities and expenditure," which include Public Debt and pensions, army, navy and air force expenditure, Civil List and Royal Family, and expenditure in connection with the Foreign and Colonial Offices and the Diplomatic and Consular Services, with the Parliament of the United Kingdom, the National Debt Commissioners, with trade outside the United Kingdom, with the Mint, &c., and such other expenditure as the Joint Exchequer Board may determine to be Imperial expenditure (see Act of 1920, schedule 6)—truly a most formidable list. The account, therefore, as prescribed by the section, if it is really meant to include Ireland, which is *not* represented upon the Joint Exchequer Board, is well-nigh foundered at the outset by what the philosophers term "the incomparability of incommensurables."

And, again, Ireland's liability (restricted, as has been seen, and also subject to set-off) must clearly be in the priority prescribed by the Act of Union financial arrangements, and subject to the resulting standards and conditions. The liability of North-east Ulster on the other hand, comes first in priority against its revenue, or at least against that large portion of it known as the "reserved taxes," which are collectable by the Imperial tax-gatherers (section 24 (1) Government of Ireland Act, 1920). There is no mystery as to how this came about, and the "Ulster" representatives at Westminster must have been fully alive to the fact during the debates in 1920. It was pointed out at the time that the Bill, which all Irish Nationalists utterly rejected, and from which Ireland has since finally freed herself, proposed to alter the Act of Union to Ireland's manifest detriment. Ireland, under the Bill, was to be bound (after the first two years, during which she was to pay £30,000,000 net) to contribute towards payment of "Imperial liabilities and expenditure" an annual sum to be assessed in the ratio of her relative taxable capacity to that of Great Britain; and this contribution was to be deducted from Irish revenues collected by the Imperial tax-gatherers in priority, and without reference to the requirements of the two new Irish Exchequers for domestic expenditure. *By this simple expedient the Irish contribution to Imperial expenditure changed its place on the list of claims against the gross Irish revenue from the bottom to the top; it became a first mortgage to England instead of an unsecured contingent residue.* And Ireland was made to lose the benefit of all provisions for the protection of the impoverished contributor to the common purse, and was arbitrarily saddled with a full rateable liability for all Imperial expenditure such as the Act of Union never imposed upon her. The standard of taxation in ratio of relative taxable capacity, which was designed as the safeguard for the impoverished partner, was shifted from its application to gross taxation, where it did tend to check the rapacity of the tax-gatherer. It was transferred to a substantive contribution or annual tribute over and above and apart from all domestic expenditure, and was thus converted into an instrument for the extortion by the wealthy from the powerless and impoverished partner of a full rateable proportion

of an expenditure which he could not afford, which he did not approve and from which he solemnly declared he did not benefit. It was a unilateral insertion in the articles of partnership of a " pound of flesh " clause binding the junior partner, and it provided the knife and scales for its exaction. Such were the amazing provisions in this regard which were slipped into the Act by the British Treasury experts and were passed unchallenged by the naïve enthusiasm of the North-east Ulster Unionist representatives, flushed with their political triumph. *The one element of the Union finance beneficial to Ireland perished at the hands of Irish Unionism, in the name of Unionism and in the moment of Unionist triumph.*

It is in this way that it comes about that North-east Ulster finds itself to-day deprived of the benefit of Ireland's historic case for financial justice under the Act of Union. By its secession from the Irish Free State it disclaimed all benefit under the Treaty of Peace of December, 1921. By its rejection of Irish nationhood it renounces all claims based upon that nationhood and its contractual and inherent rights. And if and when it comes, as come it must, before the Joint Exchequer Board to seek to fine down its annual tribute of £7,920,000 towards Imperial liabilities and expenditure, it will find itself tied, as the Act of Union never tied it, to a liability to a full contribution to Imperial liabilities and expenditure in the full ratio which its taxable wealth bears to that of Great Britain. Doubtless it has counted the cost. But if it had not fully counted the cost when its leaders charted down its course in these grave matters, we may yet see, when order is restored in the South, a strong movement in the North-east towards reunion with Ireland.

For Ireland herself the financial path is clear. Mistress unquestioned of her own resources for the present and for the future, she will proceed to dispose of past matters. She will approach the adjustment of the Imperial claim with her counterclaim in the same spirit of high policy and reasoned firmness which produced the Treaty of Peace. Assured of the principles upon which her case rests, and confident that British statesmanship will not repudiate their substantial confirmation in the Childers Report and the logical implications which proceed from it, she anticipates with calmness a final settlement which may embrace still wider issues and which by composing all outstanding controversies simultaneously may serve to round off and complete the final appeasement of the Anglo-Irish conflict.

CHAPTER IV.

SOME NORTHERN COMMERCIAL CENTRES.

The Lough Neagh Basin is one of the most important features of the economic geography of Ulster. From it a series of rivers and river valleys radiate outwards, like spokes from the hub of a wheel. The upper valleys of those issuing from the mountains of Antrim, Derry and Tyrone are rocky mountain gorges, but the valley of the Upper Bann affords easy communication over a low watershed with the valley of the River Lagan, which flows into Belfast Lough, and with the Valley of the Newry River, which enters the sea at Carlingford Lough. The valley of the Blackwater extends in a south-westerly direction to meet the upper valley of the Erne, from which it is separated by a watershed which is very low indeed. The waters

of Lough Neagh flow northwards by the Lower Bann and obtain their outlet to the sea at Coleraine.

The land contained in the Lough Neagh Valley system—from Monaghan to Belfast and from Newry to Coleraine—is fertile and is highly cultivated by a population whose industry is proverbial. It has alternative outlets to the sea—at Belfast, at Newry, and at Coleraine. As far as natural geographical conditions are concerned we should expect the commerce of the Lower Bann Valley to pass through the port of Coleraine, that of the Newry River Valley to pass through Newry, and that of the Lagan Valley to pass through Belfast, while each of these ports would compete with the others for the commerce of the central plain that surrounds Lough Neagh, and of the south-western valley of the Blackwater, which connects so easily with the upper valley of the River Erne. But natural conditions are modified by harbour and transport developments.

The natural hinterland of Dundalk would correspond roughly to the area of the County Louth, a county noted among "Southern" Irish counties for the efficiency and intensity of its tillage farming. The natural hinterland of Derry would include the Foyle Valley system and the Valley of the River Roe in the north of County Derry. The port of Sligo is intended by nature to serve the Counties of Sligo and North Leitrim.

Enniskillen is situated at the one point where, for a distance of about forty miles, the River Erne can be bridged, and this must always be the chief commercial centre for those portions of County Fermanagh which are not under water.

Railway Communications and Harbour Facilities.

The character of Ireland's economic life is such that her chief commercial centres inevitably grew up around her more important seaports. And as most of Ireland's trade is with the neighbouring island the seaports on the east coast, notably Dublin and Belfast, had an enormous natural advantage. In 1913 the imports per head of population in Ireland amounted to £16 2s. 10d., as compared with £14 6s. 4d. for the United Kingdom as a whole. Exports per head were, for Ireland, £16 3s. 9d., as against £11 8s. 2d. for the United Kingdom.

The growth of railway communications has modified in various ways what have been called the natural hinterlands of the various ports indicated. The Belfast and County Down Railway, and the Midland Railway of England (Northern Counties Committee) have consolidated the position of Belfast as the natural commercial centre of the Counties Antrim and Down. The Great Northern Railway system connecting Belfast *via* Portadown with Dublin and Enniskillen, and *via* Clones with Cavan, where it meets the Midland Railway system of Ireland, has extended the effective hinterland of the Port of Belfast far to the south, where it overlaps the hinterland of Dublin, and far to the west, where it similarly overlaps the hinterlands of Derry and Sligo, and surrounds the hinterland of Enniskillen. It will also be observed that the hinterlands of Newry and Dundalk follow more or less the general direction of the railway line from Dundalk to Enniskillen. The railway has thus enabled these two centres to surmount the natural barriers by which they are bounded on the west. Enniskillen is situated at a most important railway junction and has direct railway communication over the lines

of three different railway companies with no less than six important ports—Sligo, Derry, Belfast, Newry, Dundalk and Dublin. This goes far to explain its position as a kind of sub-distributing centre deriving its goods from some or all of these rival ports, and sending out the return produce which it collects to each or any of these as occasion serves. The light railway system of Donegal means a great deal to the Port of Derry; and Derry also distributes widely over the broad gauge railway which runs through Omagh and Enniskillen to Cavan, Sligo and the west.

RESPECTIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE DIFFERENT COMMERCIAL CENTRES.

It should be explained that the accompanying map is based on railway returns of the traffic across the present political boundary in *dutiable* goods during the six months ended 30th September, 1922. Odd lots of dutiable goods emanating from Belfast go much further than the line that has been drawn to indicate the hinterland of Belfast, but probably 95 per cent. of such dutiable goods are distributed to points within that line. And the same is true of the other hinterlands shown. Commercial conditions in the Free State were somewhat disturbed during part of the period for which these railway returns have been obtained: the after-effects of the Belfast boycott had not quite disappeared, and so it is probable that the area shown as the hinterland of Belfast for the distribution of *dutiable* goods represents a considerable contraction as compared to the area that a similar map would have shown four years ago. It is probable that Belfast as a centre for the distribution of coal, meal, flour, and artificial manures covers a much smaller area than the area shown. As regards such heavy goods, distance from the port of landing is an important factor. The smaller ports, such as Dundalk, Newry and Coleraine can compete effectively with Belfast in such goods in their own natural hinterlands.

The bulk of the return traffic to Belfast in live stock and agricultural produce probably comes from the area included in the hinterland line shown. As regards perishable produce, *e.g.*, eggs, and as regards live stock, railway and port facilities are more important than geographical distance or even freight. Cattle bought in County Donegal or County Mayo will go *via* Derry, Belfast, Newry, Dundalk or Dublin, according as the dealer can obtain the necessary waggons and steamer accommodation. On the other hand, the area served by Belfast as a distributing centre for drapery and piece goods is probably much wider than that indicated by the hinterland line shown.

The following statistics, based on the railway returns for the six months ended September 30th, 1922, will enable a comparison to be made of the trade of Derry, Belfast and Newry *in dutiable goods* with the *Free State Area*:—

Derry—Exports over G.N.R.:—

	Tons		Tons
Tea	24	Tobacco	5
Sugar	69	Table Waters ...	12

Derry—Exports over Londonderry and Lough Swilly Railway to North Co. Donegal:—

	Tons		Tons
Tea	72	Tobacco	16
Sugar	283	Table Waters ...	44

Derry—Exports over Co. Donegal Railway to South Co. Donegal :—

	Tons		Tons
Tea	70	Tobacco	14
Sugar	482	Table Waters ...	38

Derry—Total Exports to Co. Donegal over the Donegal Light Railway System :—

	Tons		Tons
Tea	142	Tobacco	30
Sugar	765	Table Waters ...	82

Derry—Total Exports to whole Free State Area :—

	Tons		Tons
Tea	166	Tobacco	35
Sugar	834	Table Waters ...	94

Belfast—Exports to whole Free State Area over G.N.R. :—

	Tons		Tons
Tea	86	Tobacco	43
Sugar 475		Table Waters ...	41

Newry—Exports to whole Free State Area over G.N.R. :—

	Tons		Tons
Tea	6½	Tobacco	22
Sugar	81	Table Waters ...	20

From these it will be seen that except in one item (tobacco) the trade of Derry in *dutiable goods* is about twice as great in actual volume as the trade of Belfast *with the Free State Area*.

The figures for Newry are considerable. As regards the import of coal and grain, and the export of live stock, the volume of trade done by the Port of Newry will bear comparison with that done over the Great Northern Railway through Belfast. It is quite clear from evidence given before the Irish Sub-Commitee of the Select Committee on Transport in 1918, that the smaller ports, such as Dundalk, Newry and Coleraine, have certain natural advantages in the traffic in live stock and heavy goods, and that, assuming regularity of sailings, adequate equipment at the quays, and adequate provision of railway transport facilities, the whole traffic in such goods of their respective natural hinterlands would pass exclusively through these ports.

A casual glance at the figures given above might convey the totally false impression that the total trade of Derry was actually greater in volume than the total trade of Belfast, and that Newry makes a very respectable third. Certain important facts have to be borne in mind. The total population of the Six Counties is one and a quarter millions. Over three quarters of a million live in the two counties, Antrim and Down, and in the County Borough of Belfast. The population of the Lough Neagh Basin is roughly about a million. The figures given above take no account of the trade of Belfast with the Six County Area, of which Belfast enjoys the lion's share, nor of the trade of Belfast as a cross-channel and coastal distributing centre for goods received from overseas. As regards *dutiable goods*, the volume of Belfast's trade with the Free State is only a small fraction of her total trade in such commodities. The Lough Neagh

Basin is bounded on the west by the mountains of Co. Tyrone and Derry. This is a geographical and also a commercial watershed; for to the west of the line the competition of Derry and Sligo becomes the dominating factor. On the southern side the ports of Newry and Dundalk begin to compete effectively along the line from Dundalk to Enniskillen, and also, though less effectively, along the line from Portadown to Clones. It seems probable, therefore, that more than half of the total trade of Belfast in *dutiable goods* is with the very large population that lives east of the Derry-Tyrone Mountains. This area, though mainly agricultural, contains important industrial centres, notably in Lisburn, Lurgan, Portadown, Banbridge and Armagh.

On the other hand the trade of Newry with the Free State is probably by far the greater part of her total trade. And this applies not only to dutiable articles, but to articles of general merchandise, notably coal, grain and agricultural produce. The withering north-east blast of Belfast's competition, aided by up-to-date port and harbour equipment, and abundant railway facilities, effectively prevents the Newry merchant from extending his trade very far to the north.

At least seventy-five per cent. of the trade of Derry, both in dutiable and non-dutiable articles, is with the Free State, and about five-sixths of this trade is with the County Donegal alone. One of the after effects of the Belfast boycott was that it enabled Derry to extend her hinterland in Sligo, Leitrim, Mayo and the west generally at the expense of Belfast. Actually in the period for which returns are available, Derry sent 24 tons of tea and 69 tons of sugar over the Great Northern Railway system, and much of this was unloaded at stations in the Free State area other than in Co. Donegal.

Sligo.

As regards Sligo Port, its actual hinterland is determined more by its admirable railway communications than by the natural features of the adjacent country. There is an out-harbour with a mooring buoy berth at Rosses Point, near Sligo, which at low water can accommodate vessels drawing 23 feet. The inner harbour is four miles up the river. The deep-water berth of this harbour has a depth of 18 feet at low water. Vessels of up to 5,000 tons come up on the tide and discharge at this berth. There is a railway line along the quays. It was claimed in evidence given before the Irish Sub-Committee of the Select Committee on Transport that an expenditure of £200,000 in making four additional miles of railway to Rosses Point and deepening the river channel would enable Sligo to develop an overseas direct import traffic in grain and other merchandise, and enormously increase the usefulness of the port. Even under present conditions the inner harbour of Sligo can deal quite effectively with boats of 500 to 1,000 tons. And the railway returns indicate that as regards dutiable goods the greater part of the sugar consumed within the hinterland line marked on the map is imported at Sligo, but little or none of the tea, tobacco, cocoa and other dutiable articles of general consumption. There are important corn mills in Sligo district, also slag mills, and bacon and ham curing factories. And the products of these mills and factories are distributed over a wide area, more particularly the Indian meal. The hinterland for this traffic is said to include the Counties Sligo, Leitrim and portion of Galway, Mayo, Fermanagh and Tyrone.

Return Traffic in Live Stock and Agricultural Produce.

It is quite certain that Derry, Belfast, and Newry export a large volume of live stock and agricultural produce which are produced in the Free State area. Mr. Sean Milroy, T.D., in his book "The Case of Ulster," has shown that whereas only about 14 per cent. of the cattle of Ireland are produced in the Six County area about 34 per cent. are exported through Six County ports.

Effect of Fiscal Separation.

It is quite clear from the accompanying map that the one thing which the commercial hinterlands ignore altogether is the present artificial political boundary line. It is sometimes assumed that fiscal separation will completely destroy the existing commercial intercourse between the north and the south. It may be pointed out that in spite of fiscal separation a great deal of Canadian grown wheat is exported from the port of New York, and a great deal of Brazilian coffee and Spanish ore is, or was, imported to Germany through the port of Rotterdam. Speaking broadly, it may be stated that inasmuch as it adds to the expense of transit of *all* goods fiscal separation will involve a slight diminution in the total volume of traffic, but so long as the goods are sent in wholesale lots, apart from prohibitive tariffs, there can be no question of the total cessation of commercial intercourse.

The Rivalry of Ports and their Foreign Policies.

The diplomacy of commercial centres in their relations with railway companies, inland navigations, and the State reminds one of the City States of Ancient Greece, and the constant bickerings that went on in that nursery of European civilization.

Dundalk, Newry and Greenore ought to form a single system of ports, Greenore being the outport of both. The London and North Western Railway, now the London, Midland and Scottish Railway, owns the port of Greenore and owns the Dundalk, Newry and Greenore Railway. There is a nightly service of quick passenger steamers between Greenore and Holyhead, and this route is eminently suitable for the despatch of perishable produce and goods requiring quick transport. It would seem natural that Greenore should specialise in this kind of traffic, whereas Dundalk and Newry should specalise in the traffic in heavy goods. The development of the Greenore route was looked on askance by the cross-channel services carrying passengers and goods from Belfast, which were owned by rival English Railway Companies or independent Belfast Companies. It is stated that the Great Northern Railway, under pressure from Belfast interests, did not encourage travellers to go *via* Greenore, although it is the quicker route. Moreover, there appears to be friction between the Dundalk and Newry Steam Packet Company, which conveys goods direct to Dundalk and Newry, and the Dundalk, Newry and Greenore Railway. It was stated in evidence at the Sub-Commitee referred to above that to get goods by rail from Dundalk Quay to the Great Northern Railway Station in Dundalk town it was necessary to use the Dundalk, Newry and Greenore Railway, and that the owners, the London and North Western Railway Company, made the Dundalk merchants pay

" through the nose " for the use of about 300 yards of their line. On the other hand, the Great Northern Railway Company has its rolling stock and permanent way repair shops situated in Dundalk. It imports thousands of tons of coal, sleepers, and other materials and stores, direct to Dundalk, and would welcome any improvement of the harbour which would make it possible to use steamers of 15 feet draft. At present, owing to the shallowness of the channel, only 500 ton boats can be used, and these can only cross the bar within two hours of high water.

Newry Harbour is connected by a ship canal with Carlingford Lough. At present only boats of 300-400 tons, and drawing not more than 13½ feet of water, can enter the ship canal, and then only at or about high tide. Newry Port, however, enjoys better quay and railway facilities than Dundalk, and the volume of traffic handled is decidedly larger. Newry Port is also connected by an inland navigation with Lough Neagh, from which centre water communication is available by the Lower Bann to Coleraine, by the Coalisland Canal to Coalisland, by the Ulster Canal Navigation to Monaghan, and by the Lagan Navigation to Belfast. The Lagan Navigation Company is a Belfast concern, and is devoted to the interests of the port of Belfast. It owns the Coalisland Canal and the Ulster Canal but finds the latter a " white elephant."

The foreign policies of these several ports, navigations, and railway companies may now be briefly summarised and illustrated.

The London, Midland and Scottish Railway loves its offspring the Greenore Harbour, and owns the Dundalk, Newry and Greenore Railway. Whether that love will continue now that the London, Midland and Scottish Railway owns the Heysham route from Belfast, formerly owned by the Midland Railway Company, in addition to the Greenore route, remains to be seen. The Great Northern Railway of Ireland loves the Port of Dundalk, but is said to prefer the interests of Belfast Harbour to those of Newry. The Dundalk and Newry Steampacket Company, an independent Irish firm, is equally devoted to the interests of Newry Harbour and Dundalk Harbour, which are also its own, and apparently has no reason to love the British owners of the Dundalk, Newry and Greenore Railway. There seems to be no hostility between Newry and Dundalk Harbours, although actually their hinterlands overlap.

As regards the Inland Navigations meeting in Lough Neagh, the Lagan Navigation interests own the tugs which draw the lighters across Lough Neagh, and Newry interests complain that their lighters are charged more than the standard towage rates by the Lagan concern, whose spiritual home is the Port of Belfast. Similarly, the Chairman of this concern, in giving evidence before the Irish Sub-Committee on Transport, referred to above, is reported to have said that they had no interest in sending their barges down the Lower Bann Navigation to Coleraine. Any aditional use of the Lower Bann Navigation would tend to encourage the use of the Port of Coleraine. It was also stated in evidence, when this Sub-Committee sat at Coleraine, that during the war the Port of Coleraine had suffered seriously owing to the withdrawal of boats, that the harbour had deteriorated owing to the consequent diminution of revenue, and that traffic had been diverted to Derry and Belfast and could not be got back unless external assistance were forthcoming to enable the Coleraine Harbour authorities to restore and improve their harbour facilities.

Belfast Harbour and the Smaller Ports.

When all allowance is made for local rivalries between the smaller ports, the broad fact emerges that all the smaller ports—Derry, Coleraine, Newry and Dundalk—irrespective of politics, religion, and no matter on which side of the political boundary any of them happens to be situated, all alike have a common antipathy to Belfast. Their spokesmen are inclined to assume that the railway interests, particularly the Great Northern Railway, are in alliance with Belfast interests. No doubt, Belfast exercises a powerful pull with the railway interests but the evidence, so far as revealed, goes to show that the railway companies are not averse to the development of the smaller ports. It might even be argued that from a purely railway point of view it would be advantageous if greater use were made of the small ports, especially for local traffic in heavy goods.

The attitude of Belfast Harbour interests to the development of the smaller ports comes out clearly in the evidence given on their behalf before the Irish Sub-Committee on Transport. Belfast Harbour, alone of all the harbours visited, made no request for any assistance from the State whether by way of grant or loan. In fact, the Secretary of the Belfast Harbour Commissioners laid down the general principle that "Dock and Harbour undertakings should be self-supporting." In existing circumstances the policy involved in that principle, the policy of *laissez-faire*, means the rapid extinction of Coleraine and Newry, and the gradual extinction of Derry and Dundalk. In which case the monopoly of Belfast will be complete.

Transport Facilities and State Policy.

It may be accepted as a general principle that no harbour should be developed, no matter at whose expense, unless it is reasonably probable that the dues collected in respect of traffic accruing will eventually meet interest and sinking fund on the capital invested. There is a speculative risk about the development of any particular small harbour, which will deter the local private investor, who alone is directly interested, but there is no speculative risk about the development of a number of well chosen small harbours as part of a general policy of transport development. Moreover, it is a national and not merely a local interest that the trade in any particular district in the country should flow by the easiest and most economical route. In other words, it is a national interest to see that the inhabitants of no locality are fleeced in order to support harbour interests in another.

The question for the inhabitants of the smaller Six County ports, and of the districts which could be economically served by them, is whether there is any probability of the Belfast Government taking a broad national view of their development. Were it not for the Boundary Commission, Derry and Newry would remain under the control of that Government. There can be no doubt that the Northern Government is likely to be influenced by the economic interests of Belfast City, and would naturally find it very difficult to take any action which would arouse the jealousy of Belfast Harbour interests. As we have seen above, the policy of doing nothing must result in the complete victory of Belfast over any of the smaller Six County ports which are not rescued from its jurisdiction. Such a policy is particularly attractive to a Government with very restricted powers of raising money. The area served by the Port of

Coleraine is inhabited by an agricultural community which in this, as in other matters, is certain to be overwhelmed in the Belfast Parliament by commercial interests.

In this way the policy of partition, which was supposed to be devised for the benefit of the Six Northern Counties, and which has received support from the Unionist population in that area, must eventually result in the extinction of a number of different commercial centres in the Six County area in the interests of Belfast. This result, which seems inevitable in the nature of things, appears never to have been considered by the business men of the commercial centres affected, or by the people of the agricultural areas who must suffer as a result of this policy. It is probable that the gradual operation of economic law will prove to the former Unionists of Northern Ireland, a fact which is well recognised by all other inhabitants of the country, that political unity is necessary to the welfare of Ireland.

CHAPTER V.

THE ECONOMY OF DONEGAL.

The economic position of County Donegal deserves special attention on account of the curious position in which the county has been placed by the arbitrary and unnatural partition of Ireland. The name of Donegal means "the fort of the stranger," but it is nevertheless the most Irish of all Irish counties. It contains the most northerly point on the mainland of Ireland, and yet it forms part of the area described in the Act which introduced partition as "Southern Ireland."

This most northerly county of the Free State, although two-thirds of its area consists of rock, bog, marsh and poor mountain pasture, sustains a human being on every seven acres, whereas in the rich plains of fertile Meath the ratio is one to every nine acres. The county itself is divided by its mountain and river system into two well-defined economic regions. The rivers that flow north-east and empty themselves into Lough Foyle or Lough Swilly drain valleys of as fertile and well cultivated land as there is to be found anywhere in all Ireland. The rivers that flow west to a rock-bound coast, deeply indented by the waves of the Atlantic, are rapid mountain torrents. They pass through a country which is one vast expanse of brown bog, plentifully strewn with boulders, with here and there a few patches of green and a cluster of thatched cottages, where human beings greatly daring and much enduring have made habitations unto themselves, and carry on an unending struggle with a niggardly soil for the means of a bare subsistence

The Economic Problem and State Policy.

These are the slums of rural Ireland. They obtained a legal definition in the Congested Districts Act of 1891, when the Congested Districts Board, or as it is called by its beneficiaries with unconscious humour the "Congested Board," was constituted in order to operate for the social and economic improvement of people in areas where the poor law valuation per head of the population is less than 30/-. Out of a total acreage of some 1,200,000 in County Donegal, 820,000 were scheduled as congested within the meaning of the Act. In this particular county the average valuation of the Congested Districts

was only 18s. per head at the time the Act was passed. Of the total population of County Donegal, at that time 186,000, about 110,000 lived in these districts.

It should be mentioned that neither then nor now was it possible for the inhabitants to live on their four or five acre patches of arable land. Those on the sea coast practised fishing as a subsidiary industry. Those further inland were partly dependent on the earnings of their wives and daughters, who took in knitting or shirt-making, or carried on the traditional homespun woollen industry under domestic conditions far from favourable to the health of the workers, and under commercial conditions which gave the domestic worker a very inadequate return for her labour. In addition, vast numbers of the young men and women migrated during the summer months. The women stood in the hiring fairs of the Ulster lowlands; the men went off to work on the farms of Northern England or Scotland, and the few pounds that they brought home helped to keep their families from starvation.

About 1892 it was calculated that a family in ordinary circumstances was obtaining about £15 a year from the sale of agricultural produce, about £4 10s. from the domestic manufacture of tweed and from knitting, and about £8 per year from fish. The produce directly consumed by the family was about equal to the cost of agricultural requirements, rent and county cess. The only articles of grocery bought by such a family were tea, sugar, meal and flour. Another family in ordinary circumstances which derived its receipts from agriculture, migratory labour and home industries, obtained £16 for migratory labour, £7 10s. from sewing or knitting, and about £17 from the sale of agricultural produce.

From a purely economic standpoint it might seem absurd to attempt to improve their economic position so long as they remain "in situ." While the rich plains of central Ireland are capable of yielding two or three times their present output of agricultural wealth, if only the labour were available and such relations between farmers and labourers as would give both an interest in increasing production, it might be asked why create and maintain an elaborate and expensive administrative machinery in order to make two blades of grass or two potato stocks grow where it seems like flying in the face of Providence to expect anything to grow at all? Is not migration, or emigration, or the slow starvation of the surplus population the time honoured orthodox method of solving the problem of the Congested Districts in Donegal and elsewhere? But the economic standpoint is not the only one, and even the economic resources of the Donegal highlands and coast lands are capable of considerable development, especially those of a non-agricultural character.

Certain historical and other facts have to be remembered. The problem which the British policy inaugurated by Arthur Balfour as Chief Secretary in 1891, attempted to solve was itself the creation of the British policy of his forbears and predecessors. The ancestors of the people who now cling to the rocks of Donegal were driven from the lowlands of Ulster in order to make room for the ancestors of a people who now constitute a problem of a different order.

The economic question in Donegal was not primarily a question between landlord and tenant. And consequently when landlordism was rendered more or less innocous by the Act of 1881, which gave the tenant the right to have a fair rent fixed, the right of free sale.

and security of tenure, the position of the Donegal uneconomic landholder was not materially improved. The burden of a judicial rent was one of the least of his burdens, and even the consummation of the land purchase policy, which substituted a terminable annuity for the former judicial rent, was not an important factor in the relative improvement of his position which has taken place in the last 30 years.

In the circumstances of the Donegal peasant no exertions he and his family were capable of making could possibly raise their income up to a decent subsistence level. Agriculture, domestic industries, fishing and migratory labour—these were the sources from some or all of which each family derived its precarious livelihood. Thirty years ago, when the " Congested Districts Board " started its work, the agriculture was of the most primitive description—stock had degenerated through in-breeding, there was no knowledge of the most suitable seeds and manures, or of up-to-date methods and implements of cultivation. In the various domestic industries there was the same lack of training in modern methods of production. The fishing industry, as a result of similar causes, was in a perilous condition. Owing to lack of capital and credit the fishermen were unable to procure the large fishing yawls that were at that time replacing the small boat. Harbour facilities for such larger vessels were non-existent, curing stations had not yet been provided, and as for transport, the railway from Derry at that time only reached Letterkenny, and the fishing grounds extended from the Downings to Burtonport, the nearest point to Letterkenny involving cartage over twenty miles of bad hilly road.

Since then, also as part of the Balfour policy, the Donegal Light Railway system has been extended, mostly at the expense of the taxpayer, until it now reaches the most distant parts of the county. Only one or two slight modifications of the transport system are now needed in order to enable it to serve all the requirements of the greatly improved economic life of Donegal.

The Congested Districts Board has been steadily at work and has removed or diminished most of the obstacles to economic improvement. A main part of its policy has been the acquisition of land suitable for small holdings in less congested parts of Ireland, and the transfer thither of part of the surplus poplation of County Donegal. It has trained the agricultural population, both those transferred and those who remained, in the methods of a more modern agriculture. This part of its work was afterwards handed over to the Department of Agriculture after the constitution of the latter body in 1900, and it has been attended by a notable success. The Congested Districts Board opened schools of cookery and domestic economy, and schools for teaching crocheting, lacemaking, knitting, sewing, and weaving, with a view to the technical education of the young girls who make their living by domestic industry. It has subsidised the growth of local small scale industries and endeavoured to ensure their commercial success. It has encouraged British firms to establish factories in Donegal—for example, the carpet factory at Killybegs.

In order to develop the fishing industry it provided, by way of loan, the capital necessary for the acquisition of the large sailing " yawls " that began to come into use elsewhere about 30 years ago. It built piers and landing slips, established curing stations and

arranged for the marketing of the fish. Its methods have been criticised on the ground that they tended to pauperise and destroy the initiative of the people. But in fairness to the Congested Districts Board, it may be said that it has done as much as any State organisation could do to remove obstacles to economic improvement, and even if its success has been more notable in some aspects of its work than in others, its work has immensely simplified the problem of the present and the future. The complete economic and social regeneration of Donegal will come about as a result of the oranised self-reliance of a people who take kindly to co-operative methods, and who already, notably in Templecrone, under the able leadership of a local man, Patrick Gallagher by name, have shown what a miracle of social and economic transformation can be effected when a number of people living together take their destinies into their own hands and seek to improve their own lot by the method of "self-help through mutual help."

The Example of Templecrone.

Commercial Re-Organisation.

Since Derry has been cut off from Donegal by the temporary boundary between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland a movement has begun among the people of Donegal towards opening new centres of distribution inside the Customs Frontier. This movement is tending to show in practice what general geographical conditions would lead us to expect, namely, that Derry is not the most economic distributing centre for West Donegal. It will be possible for a considerable portion of Derry's trade to be retained by her if she decides to come into the Free State, as she can hardly fail to do. Her temporary exclusion, however, has given ordinary economic laws time to operate in a way which the merchants of Derry had long feared, and from which there is no turning back.

The efforts which are being made by the Templecrone Co.operative Society are the best example of the activity which the exclusion of Derry from the Free State has produced The Society has its headquarters at the village of Dungloe, which is situated some three or four miles from Burtonport, the terminus of the light railway that runs from Derry through Letterkenny and opens up the whole of North Donegal. Twenty years ago there was no difference between the condition of Dungloe district and that of any other district in North or West Donegal. To-day Dungloe is the centre of a thriving Co-operative Agricultural Society, whose Manager, the Patrick Gallagher referred to above, is known familiarly as "Paddy the Cope." The Society sells groceries and provisions, tea, sugar, meal and flour. They are sold at a price which merely covers the cost of distribution and something over, which goes to reserve or is distributed to customers by way of dividends on purchases. This seems a small thing, but it has meant and still means an enormous reduction in the prices charged throughout the Donegal highlands even by those who retail for a maximum private profit.

The Society buys in the eggs of its members at a price which compares favourably with the prices formerly paid by the middleman. The Society buys the members' pigs and turns them into bacon, much of which is sold for local consumption. It also maintains a bakery—the only bakery in the district. It sells boots, clothes, hardware,

agricultural manures, seeds, implements, and one hundred and one articles of domestic or agricultural use. Its turnover now approaches £100.000 per year. Of its working capital over £20,000 is supplied by members in the form of shares or deposits.

About ten years ago the Society added a knitting factory to its other activities. It provided up-to-date machines, and in a building lighted by electric light it accommodates upwards of 200 girls, who at present earn from 25s. to 40s. per week for an eight hour day, whereas under the " gombeen " man's regime they knitted their lives away for five or ten shillings a week in the form of an entry in that recording angel's ledger.

The Society, which had on different occasions shipped goods direct to England, had just completed a new pier built with a loan from the White Cross Society. It had also acquired a mill at the pier with abundant water power. The mill was recently fitted with machinery for grinding Indian corn and the Society was accordingly in a position to expand its business as soon as the opportunity arose.

No sooner was Derry cut off by the Customs Frontier than fortnightly direct sailings were arranged between Liverpool and Dungloe. The boats carry a general cargo for the Templecrone stores, Indian corn to be ground at the mill, and goods for the neighbourhood generally. Other districts along the coast with better harbour accommodation will certainly follow the example of Dungloe and effect a saving on the price which would have to be paid for the same goods if bought from Derry, even if no customs barrier existed.

Railway Economics under the Balfour Regime.

Looking at the map one is struck by the fact that the railway to Burtonport proceeds by a roundabout route from Derry *via* Letterkenny and passes over a most difficult country, whereas it would have been quite easy to continue the line that runs from Stranorlar to Glenties round the coast through Burtonport to Falcarragh and the Downings. It is also a curious fact that the north-west coast from Burtonport to the Downings is the main centre of the Donegal herring fishing and is consequently rather thickly populated, whereas the country between the Downings and Letterkenny is infertile and mountainous with hardly any population at all. Yet the Letterkenny Burtonport extension of the Londonderry and Lough Swilly Railway was made through this difficult desert country in order to reach a thickly-populated agricultural and fishing region which could more easily have been reached by continuing the line from Stranorlar to Burtonport and the North-west coast.

When Earl Balfour was Chief Secretary and the policy of light railway development in Donegal was being incubated, there is reason to think that the more obvious and economical extension of the line from Stranorlar was in contemplation. But one day in the year 1890 he happened to pay a visit to Letterkenny and the Derry merchants seized the opportunity of forming a deputation to wait on him. They pointed out that the Stranorlar extension would bring the trade of North-west Donegal through Stranorlar and Strabane, which would not specially benefit Derry, whereas if the line from Letterkenny was extended Derry would benefit considerably. Mr. Balfour, while mainly preoccupied with the desirability of improving the lot of the " congests " sensed the position at once, and as a result of this interview decided to promote the extension favoured by the Derry

people, a city which he described as " dear to the hearts of Her Majesty's Government." This interview cost the British taxpayer, at a moderate estimate, £150,000. The consequence is that Derry has hitherto had an almost complete monopoly of the trade of North-west Donegal, whereas she must compete with Belfast and Dublin for the trade of the rest of Donegal which passes through Strabane and Enniskillen. It is Derry's monopoly of the trade of North-west Donegal which is now being lost to her for ever by the partition of the country.

Re-adjustment of the Railway System.

A slight readjustment of the railway system would enable Burtonport, or a port at Dungloe or Kincasslagh, to compete with Derry for the trade of South Donegal and East Donegal. It is only necessary to continue the present line from Glenties, a distance of seventeen miles to Burtonport. Additional lines connecting Stranorlar with Raphoe, and Sligo with Ballyshannon, would link up the hinterland of Sligo with the hinterland of Killybegs and Burtonport, and enable each port to play its part in a frequent service of small cargo steamers from Glasgow, Liverpool, or Cardiff, calling at Burtonport, Killybegs, and Sligo, from which centres the whole of the Sligo-Donegal area could be quite conveniently and economically supplied, while the frequency of the service would enable return cargoes of eggs and other agricultural produce to be given.

Improved Transport and the Fishing Industry.

The enormous wealth of the North-west Donegal coast in herrings and other fish is now being exploited mainly by non-Irish steam trawlers and motor boats.

The large sailing " yawls " which the Congested Districts Board was the means of procuring for the Donegal fishermen are now out of date, and the harbour facilities, which were good enough for the former yawls, are not good enough for the new power motor boats. It is recorded in the Report of a Commission appointed by the second Dail to enquire into the fishing industry, that fish caught off the Donegal coast by a Scotch trawler were brought to Aberdeen, thence to Billingsgate, that thence some of them found their way to Dublin, and from there to Derry, where they were finally consumed. Derry is within about 30 miles of the fishing ground where they were caught, but there were no adequate landing facilities on that part of the Donegal coast, and no means of cold storage or quick transport on refrigerating railway cars. Obviously, if it pays Scotch and other non-Irish trawlers to fish, and sometimes to poach, off the Donegal coast, there is an enormous field for possible development as soon as the requirements of the fishing industry in the way of suitable boats and gear, harbourage, cold storage, and transport by rail or road in refrigerating cars can be attended to.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COMMERCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF PARTITION.

It has been shown how the commercial hinterlands of the various Northren Irish commercial centres have grown up, and how completely they ignore the line which is now the political boundary separating the Free State from Northern Ireland.

It would be impossible, even if it were desirable, to draw any line of political separation without interfering more or less with commercial hinterlands. For these hinterlands overlap one another as well as overlapping the present political boundary. At the same time it is desirable, more so for the sake of the commercial centre than for the sake of the hinterland, that, wherever possible, the former should be in the same political area as the latter. From this point of view there are overwhelming reasons why Derry, for example, and Newry should be brought into the Free State, for the trade of these centres is for the most part with the present Free State area.

The fiscal separation, which took place on the first of April, 1923, did not involve any differentiation of fiscal policy. The same taxes, with one or two unimportant exceptions resulting from recent changes in the British Budget, are still imposed in the two fiscal areas. The difference is that whereas Great Britain and Ireland formerly constituted a single fiscal area, they now constitute two fiscal areas, and each Government has the appropriate administrative machinery for the collection of taxes in its own area.

There have been certain incidental consequences of this separation, notably in connection with the taxes on motor cars and on manufactured tobacco. But, generally speaking, the mere fact of fiscal separation, apart from differentiation of taxation, has the following effects:—

(1) The volume of commerce of all kinds tends to be diminished owing to the increased charges imposed by the carrying companies to meet the additional cost of passing goods through the Customs examination.

(2) Wholesale trade, which cannot adjust itself to the requirements of the Custom's authorities, for example, the trade in small lots of duty-paid whiskey, must cease.

(3) Retail trade in dutiable goods across the border, since it cannot possibly adjust itself to these requirements, must cease

Otherwise the character and direction of trade will remain unchanged.

(1) There are perhaps certain compensating advantages to set against the increased cost of passing goods through a Customs Barrier. The particulars which must be given in respect of all goods, whether dutiable or not, will afford a solid foundation for the building up of the statistics of our import and export trade. It ought to be possible henceforth to publish the Report that includes these Statistical Returns after a much shorter interval than has hitherto been usual.

The cost of the Customs examination will penalise small consignments. If this has the effect of inducing consignors to bulk their consignments wherever possible, and to co-operate with one another for that purpose, it may eventually make cheaper railway transport possible.

(2) Wholesale trade in large lots has been adjusted quite easily to the requirements of the Customs authorities. There appears to have been no particular dislocation in the transport of Guinness's Stout, for example, to Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Firms which formerly were in the habit of sending out, say from Derry or Newry, boxes containing mixed groceries—tea, sugar, jams, biscuits, &c.—some of these being articles which must be imported " under bond " and others being subject to drawback, have had to alter their

methods of doing business. Even in the case of road traffic, the Customs authorities on both sides have co-operated in adopting regulations designed to minimise commercial dislocation. For example, firms manufacturing mineral waters in Derry and hawking them on carts for sale in Co. Donegal, merely have their stocks checked by the Free State Customs authorities on crossing the Border, and they pay duty in respect of the quantities actually sold when they recross the Border on the homeward journey.

The work of the Customs authorities, both British and Irish, in adapting regulations hitherto applied only to a sea-borne traffic to the conditions of a land customs frontier deserves a word of commendation. They have performed miracles of adjustment and adaptation with the praiseworthy object of minimising economic loss and commercial inconvenience to the business communities in both States. Except in the single case of manufactured tobacco, where the British schedule of rates and drawback, taken over by the Free State, is in effect a tariff protecting the manufacture of tobacco at home, it is doubtful whether there has been any serious interruption or cessation of wholesale traffic in either dutiable or non-dutiable goods, for which the decision to effect fiscal separation can be held responsible.

The case of motor cars is also rather a special one. The automatic imposition of a Colonial Preference duty of 22 2/9ths per cent. *ad valorem* on British cars, while non-British cars continue to pay duty at the old rate of 33 1/3rd per cent, may indeed divert a portion of the demand to the foreign made car, but British cars continue to enjoy a substantial " Preference " in the Free State market, and will doubtless continue to be bought in large numbers.

So far the psychological consequences of fiscal separation on the trading community, as regards wholesale trade, have probably been the most important. For a time it possessed all the terrors of the unknown. The minds of the business communities in both States received a general awakening. Custom impedes the working of ordinary economic law. Sometimes when men's minds are stirred old habits are reviewed, some of them discarded, and economic considerations begin to dominate. The direct import of dutiable goods from the Continent, which would always have been more economic than obtaining them indirectly through England, is likely to be a growing feature of our trade. New trade centres are beginning to develop, and people are beginning to ask how they can best use their fiscal freedom to build the economic life of the country. It has been shown elsewhere how the shadow of fiscal separation was causing the minds of men in Donegal to think about the possibility of opening up direct trade with British ports instead of importing and exporting through Derry, the customary centre of their trade. The more they thought about it the more they realised that economic considerations dictated such a policy, at least as regards the western portion of the county, quite apart from fiscal separation altogether. Direct trade between Dungloe and Liverpool is now an accomplished fact, and is a rapidly increasing feature of the economic life of the county. The effect has been that, so far from the Derry merchants being able to pass on the costs of the Customs examination to the Donegal consumer, the latter, at all events in West Donegal, is now able to obtain goods, especially heavy goods, like Indian meal, substantially *cheaper* than before.

(2) Fiscal separation has acted as an absolute barrier preventing retail trade in dutiable goods across the border. And undoubtedly it has caused serious local inconvenience and economic loss to border towns on both sides. This is entirely due to the fact that the present temporary boundary line cuts off large portions of the market areas formerly served by important market towns in the border region. An important part of the duty of the Boundary Commission will be to restore these market areas to their respective economic centres, from which the present boundary unnaturally separates them. Its paramount duty will, of course, be to give effect to the wishes of the inhabitants. But its dual task is rendered easier by the economic and geographic facts of the case. *For a boundary giving effect substantially to the wishes of the inhabitants can easily be drawn which will also be a boundary of minimum economic inconvenience.*

The accompanying map shows in different colours the market areas served by some twenty marketing centres in Northern Ireland. These are not the only market towns in those districts, but they happen to be the most important. They owe their importance in the first instance to their geographical situation. Strabane is at or near the junction of three fertile river valleys. Enniskillen is at the only point where the middle reaches of the River Erne can be bridged. The growth of road and railway communications has consolidated these advantages of geographical situation. For example, Enniskillen, Omagh and Strabane are important railway junctions, and Limavady and Dungiven are on a branch line of the Midland Railway (N.C.C.).

The size and shape of market areas depends very much on geographical conditions. The farmer will go extraordinary distances to market if he has anything important to sell. Enniskillen was frequented by peasants from the Counties Leitrim and Cavan, some of whom had to travel upwards of twenty miles. But generally speaking, ten miles may be regarded as the normal limit. Omagh is distant from Dungannon about 25 miles. A district situated at a distance of from 10 to 15 miles from either of these towns would use both towns as occasion might serve, but such a marginal district would tend to have smaller marketing centres within itself. And, as a matter of fact, Pomeroy and Beragh are market towns in which the neighbouring farmers sell their weekly supplies of eggs, and buy their weekly requirements of groceries. But if any such farmer has pork or flax for sale he will take it all the way to Omagh, Dungannon or Cookstown.

The position is much the same with regard to Newtown Stewart (between Omagh and Strabane), Irvinestown (between Omagh and Enniskillen), and Lisnaskea (between Enniskillen and Clones).

Even within the area coloured so as to represent the market area of a particular town, there are subordinate marketing centres; for example, Fintona, within the Omagh area, and Derrygonnelly, within the Enniskillen area.

On the other hand, between the Draperstown and the Strabane market areas there is no marginal district in which subordinate centres could grow up, for this is a wild mountainous region without railway communication and practically uninhabited. The same is true of the country separating the Cookstown from the Omagh market area.

It will be noted that in certain cases a number of different market towns are shown on the map as belonging to a single market area. For example, Limavady-Dungiven and Augher-Clogher-Fivemiletown. The valley of the Roe, in which the former two towns are situated, is in its southern end a geographical *cul de sac*. Its geographical situation and its railway communications, in fact, make it a single economic region, and it seems desirable to show it as a single market area, though doubtless the inhabitants of the upper valley market in Dungiven, those of the lower valley in Limavady (if not in Derry), and those of the middle valley, in both.

Again, the unity of the Augher-Clogher-Fivemiletown area is more important than any differentiation that exists between the respective areas of these three towns. The Clogher Valley is a rather narrow valley running more or less east and west, and bounded on the north by mountains in Tyrone, and on the south by mountains in North Monaghan. There is easy communication through the valley by road, and also by the Clogher Valley Light Railway. On the other hand, the valley as a whole may be regarded as a marginal district separating the Omagh market area from those of Clones and Monaghan. Thus there is no particular reason why one of these towns should develop in importance as a market town more than another, and there are very definite geographical conditions limiting the expansion of all together.

The case of Strabane-Lifford is different. These two are geographically one town separated only by a river, which is crossed both by a railway bridge and a road bridge. Incidentally, Lifford is in the Free State and Strabane in the Six Counties, so the line of fiscal separation now runs between them.

With regard to the market areas map in general, while absolute accuracy is impossible from the nature of the case, it is claimed that it gives a substantially accurate representation of the economic facts it is sought to illustrate. Different portions of the map have been arrived at in different ways. For the most part it is based on local knowledge and on information derived from local sources. This has been supplemented by a study of maps showing railway and road communications and geographical contours. It is possible that too small a portion of the present Free State area is attributed to Derry and too large a portion to Enniskillen. But the broad outstanding facts are clear, and these are that the present line of fiscal separation cuts vitally into the heart of the Derry, the Lifford-Strabane, the Enniskillen, and the Clones market areas. And in view of the fact that the peasant will tend to cease buying and selling altogether in a market town where he can no longer buy the ordinary dutiable articles of domestic consumption the situation is intolerable for these particular market towns and ought to be remedied by the Boundary Commission.

Statistics of Certain Market Areas.

If we take it that the Donegal side of the Derry market area corresponds roughly to the district formerly known as the Derry No. 2 Rural District, and similarly with regard to the Strabane market area, and the Clones market area, and that in the case of the Enniskillen market area the Free State portion of it includes the Bawnboy Rural District as well as the (former) Enniskillen No. 2 Rural District, and if we ignore any overlapping of what is now the boundary

that may have taken place elsewhere the following figures may be arrived at:

Population of Free State Districts formerly marketing in Six County Towns.

Derry No. 2 (Co. Donegal)	8,135
Strabane No. 2 (Co. Donegal)	10,332
Enniskillen No. 2 (Co. Cavan)	4,913
Bawnboy (Co. Cavan)	8,944
Total	32,324

Population of Six County Districts formerly marketing in Free State Towns.

Clones No. 2 (Co. Fermanagh)	7,782
Total	7,782

Market Areas and Boundary Revision.

Apart from railways, the most important economic considerations that need to be taken into account by the Boundary Commission are those affecting the market areas of border towns. There can be no question of drawing the boundary farther west and south, for that would conflict with the "wishes of the inhabitants," and this is the paramount condition laid down in Article 12 of the Treaty. Consequently, the boundary, if it is to conform with economic conditions, must be drawn further east and north, and drawn in such a way that market towns and the whole of the regions which they severally serve are in the same fiscal area.

CHAPTER VII.

POSSIBLE DIFFERENTIATION OF FISCAL POLICY.

For the first year of fiscal separation between the Irish Free State and Great Britain, the consequences have so far been merely the mechanical consequences of dividing what was formerly one fiscal area. There has been no differentiation of fiscal policy. The British rates of taxation and schedule of articles taxed for the year 1922-23 has been taken over by the Free State without modification. Colonial preference rates have been reciprocally granted by each Government to dutiable articles imported from the territory of the other.

The consequence which has resulted from this arrangement was merely the inevitable consequence of the change, and has never yet been considered or voted upon by the legislature of either country as part of its fiscal policy in relation to the other. By the purely mechanical process of dividing what was once one fiscal area without legislative adjustment of taxation, Ireland and Great Britain are at present imposing protective tariffs against certain goods manufactured by the other. The legislatures of the two States have not yet had an opportunity of deciding whether they approved of these protective tariffs as between Ireland and Great Britain. The goods on which they are imposed are the goods which happened to be subject to an import duty on coming into the United Kingdom before the division, and were either subject to no duty if manufac-

tured at home, or to a duty less in amount than the corresponding Import duty.

In this way motor-cars or parts of motor-cars manufactured in either country are subject to an import duty when entering the other. There is no Excise duty on motor-cars, and consequently they are sold in the country of their origin without having paid any tax, and have accordingly a considerable advantage in competition with imported rivals.

Irish-manufactured tobacco coming into Great Britain, or British-manufactured tobacco coming into the Free State now pays a higher duty than raw tobacco, and consequently competes at a disadvantage with home-manufactured produce.

Taxes which have been imposed in this way merely as a consequence of separating the fiscal system of the two countries are certain to be modified when they come to be considered by the respective legislative assemblies. The question which arises with regard to the North of Ireland is whether this modification, so far as it is effected by the Free State, is likely to be prejudicial to its interests. There is a widespread belief among the partitionists of the North-east that any separation from the British fiscal system would be disastrous to their commerce and industries.

In 1919 Belfast exported ships to the value of 10 millions, linen yarn and linen goods valued at 35 millions, machinery valued for 2 millions, and manufactured tobacco to the value of 2 million pounds, apart from Excise duty. The tobacco trade of the North is mostly with the British fiscal area, and would certainly be injured if Belfast came within the fiscal area of the Free State, and no modification was made in the rates of duty at present imposed in the former area. No one can seriously suggest that this point is incapable of arrangement, and it is difficult to see how inclusion in the Free State fiscal area is likely to affect adversely any of the Northern industries, examples of which have been given above, through the form of taxation likely to be adopted.

From the economic conditions of Ireland as a whole, it is clear that any fiscal policy which does not aim at developing agriculture and urban industry side by side is foredoomed to failure, and could not long have the support of the people as a whole.

Ireland has long been faced with the problem of emigration which Irish economists have always believed could only be met by the development of industries at home. In this way it was intended to absorb the surplus population of agricultural districts, and at the same time to create a home market for Irish agricultural products. If there was one fact which the European War demonstrated more clearly than another, it was the insecurity of countries which were not food-producing. Ireland's future will be rendered more secure if the proportion which her internal commerce bears to her commerce as a whole can be increased.

A fiscal policy dictated by these considerations could have none but beneficial effects on the trade of Northern Ireland. The commerce of the Six Counties is in danger from the instability of world markets, and cannot afford to ignore a growing market for machinery and other commodities among the agricultural population of the country as a whole. The agriculture of the Six Counties, if it is to remain dissociated from the agricultural interests of

the rest of the country, will be certain to suffer in the way in which agricultural populations have suffered in all countries which focussed their attention on urban industry.

Belfast has an important over-seas commerce arising out of local industries, notably linen and shipbuilding. It is also a centre for distribution throughout Ireland by rail and by sea coastwise of imported commodities. The overseas trade of Belfast need not be in any way interfered with by coming inside the fiscal area of the Free State, while remaining outside will render her trade with the rest of the country more and more difficult as differences in taxation tend to grow.

There are, of course, no figures available to show the value of Belfast's trade with the Free State, but by making certain deductions from figures which are accessible we can arrive at an estimate which shows that it is not inconsiderable.

As we have seen before in the year 1919, Belfast exported in ships, linen, machinery and tobacco, about 50 million pounds' worth of goods. In that year the total value of Irish exports was 176 millions. If we deduct from this sum the 50 millions which may be regarded as representing the characteristic exports of Belfast, we arrive at a figure of 126 millions, representing the value of Irish exports exclusive of Belfast. The total value of Irish imports for that year was 159 millions. If we deduct from this sum 20 millions, representing the estimated cost of raw materials used in the characteristic Belfast industries, we arrive at a figure of 139 millions, representing the value of Irish imports apart from the requirements of Belfast industry.

A considerable portion of the domestic trade of Belfast is, of course, with the agricultural population of the present Six County area. We may take it that about one-third of the import and export trade of Ireland as a whole, apart from the characteristic Belfast industries, has hitherto passed through Belfast, and, therefore, paid toll by way of profits, commissions and transport charges to various Belfast interests, and thus we can arrive, on a population basis, at a good rough estimate of the value of Free State trade to Belfast.

The population of Ireland as a whole was, in 1911, roughly, 4,310,000; that of Belfast was 387,000; of the Six Counties as a whole, 1,251,000. Consequently, the population of the Six County area is nearly 29 per cent. of the population of Ireland as a whole. If we make allowance for the trade of the smaller Six County ports, the trade of Belfast with the Six County area would represent perhaps 22 per cent. of the trade of Ireland as a whole. Belfast appears to have handled 33⅓ per cent. of the import and export trade of Ireland as a whole, apart from the characteristic Belfast industries. From this it would follow that Belfast actually handled exports from the 32 counties, apart from those industries, to the value of 42 millions, and that two-thirds of these came from the Six County area. In other words, Belfast handled goods exported from the present Free State area to the value of 14 millions.

Similarly, in the case of imports, Belfast would have handled 33⅓ per cent. of the total of 139 millions, that is about 46⅓ millions. One-third of this amount, or about 15½ millions, would

have been goods imported through Belfast for consumption in the present Free State area.

Thus the trade of Belfast in both directions with the Free State area would have amounted for the year under consideration to about £30 millions in round figures.

From the table printed in Appendix V., it appears that in the year 1920 Belfast imported goods to the value of some 61 millions, out of a total value of £124 millions, in respect of the particular commodities shown in that table. The total value of imports of all commodities into Ireland in that year was 204 millions. And some proportion of the balance most certainly was imported at Belfast. On the other hand, some proportion of the 61 millions shown represented imports, for example, cotton yarn or goods, which were subsequently manufactured and exported abroad, and, therefore, belong to what we may call the international trade of Belfast. But, taking everything into consideration, it seems reasonable to suppose that the total value of Belfast's import trade in commodities of all kinds for distribution through the 32 counties was in or about £60 millions. One-third of this would represent her import trade in respect of goods distributed through the Free State area. And her export trade in respect of goods originating in the Free State area would also be in or about £20 millions. This gives a total of 40 millions for the trade of Belfast with the Free State area in 1920, as compared to £30 millions for the year 1919—an increase of 33 per cent. The value of Irish imports as a whole increased from £159 millions in 1919 to £204 millions in 1920 (an increase of much the same proportion), and of Irish exports a whole from £176 millions in 1919 to £205 millions in 1920—an increase of about 17 per cent. Perhaps some allowance should be made for the smaller percentage increase in exports, but in any case the figures for 1920 help to confirm the calculation that the total trade of Belfast with the Free State area for 1919 was not far off £30 millions. And for reasons shortly to be given it is convenient to regard 1919 as a standard post-war year.

Before these figures can be applied to the present condition of affairs, allowance must be made for the fact that the years 1921 and 1922 were years of commercial depression and diminished monetary values. Besides this, the boycott of Belfast, which became effective towards the end of 1920 and continued until early in 1922, and subsequently Irregular activities in the South, brought about a serious diminution in the volume of Belfast's trade with the present Free State area. Consequently, even if the figures for 1921 or 1922 were obtainable, they would not represent a normal condition of affairs. On the other hand, although prices were high in 1919, they were by no means as high as they became in 1920, and on that account the figures for 1919 require less qualification.

As against that, it must be remembered that if the commercial depression has affected the volume and value of Belfast's trade with the South, it has affected still more the volume and value of what we have called the international trade of Belfast. Linen and shipbuilding in particular have suffered very seriously, and, although the worst is over, those industries are still far removed from the level of prosperity they enjoyed in 1919 and 1920. If, then, we take the 1919 figures of the export values of the

characteristic Belfast industries, and compare them with the figures we have estimated to represent the value of Belfast's trade in that year with the present Free State area, the relative importance to Belfast of the various economic activities carried on there may be estimated. The assumption involved in this calculation is not unfavourable to the contention of political Belfast, for it is probable that, in spite of Irregularism and agricultural depression, the volume and value of Belfast's trade with the South have decreased relatively less since 1919 than those of her linen and shipbuilding trade.

We cannot, of course, claim that the importance to Belfast of her various economic activities is in direct proportion to the export and import values shown. The real test is the amount of employment afforded. It was estimated that in 1917 the linen industry in the North of Ireland afforded employment to about 50,000 people in Belfast alone, and to about 25,000 in other parts of the Six County area. Shipbuilding in Belfast is said to have employed as many as 50,000, and in a normal year would employ at least 30,000 men. A large proportion of the value of ships and linen represents expenditure in respect of wages, salaries and profits. On the other hand, a very small proportion of the turnover in the wholesale distributing trade, even if we make allowance for the great variety of its auxiliary industries, such as flour milling, dressmaking, and mineral water manufacture, would represent wages, salaries, profits, transport and handling charges, and therefore serve as an index of employment given.

If we take the figure of 30 millions, representing the total estimated value of the trade of Belfast in 1919 with the present Free State area in both directions, and if we assume that five per cent. of this represents salaries, wages, profits, transport and handling charges, and if we also assume that all persons employed in whatever capacity received each an income on the average of £150 per annum, the inference is that 10,000 people in Belfast derived their employment from economic activities depending directly on the trade of Belfast with the present Free State area.

The Fiscal Interests of Northern Ireland.

It is true that the economic position of the industrial and commercial North depends more largely on trade with Great Britain and overseas countries than it does on trade with the present Free State area. And if they could only save their trade with the Free State area (now separated from them by a Customs barrier) by abandoning their trade with the rest of the world they could have no possible hesitation in deciding to abandon the former. But no such dilemma in fact exists. Fiscal separation, and even a differentiation of fiscal policy, do not mean an end of international trade. The economic position of agricultural Ireland depends very largely on trade with industrial England. And fiscal separation has by no means put an end to that trade. The real question is whether the fiscal policy which the Free State is likely to adopt is likely to be more or less suitable to the economic needs of Northern Ireland as a whole than the fiscal policy which Great Britain pursues at present, or is likely to pursue in the future.

The export trade of Belfast and Northern Ireland is, apart from tobacco, almost altogether an export trade in articles which are not dutiable, and are not likely to become dutiable in the British fiscal area. Great Britain is not going to impose a duty on ships, linen, machinery, or ropes manufactured in Belfast and imported into Great Britain.

At the present moment perhaps 4 per cent. of the cross-channel and overseas export trade of Belfast is an export trade in dutiable goods (mainly tobacco). And it is safe to say that her export trade to the present Free State area in respect of dutiable goods represents a larger value, and is also a higher percentage of her total trade with the Free State. From this it would seem to follow that the trade of Belfast as a whole would experience less inconvenience from a line of fiscal separation drawn round the coast of Ireland than it does from the present jagged and indented land Customs frontier. There is also the well known fact that a coastal Customs frontier is administratively more convenient to all concerned and more economic than a land Customs frontier.

HOW THE BRITISH FISCAL SYSTEM INJURES "NORTHERN IRELAND."

(a) Linen.

Apart from agriculture, the linen industry constitutes the primary economic interest of Belfast and Northern Ireland. It is safe to say that in a united Ireland the interests concerned in the linen industry would exercise a powerful influence in determining the national fiscal policy. As one of a very large number of important industrial interests in the present British fiscal area, it is lost in the crowd; and the present fiscal policy of Great Britain, so far from specially favouring the linen industry, can be proved to be most definitely injurious to it.

Apart from the general commercial depression, which is a world-wide phenomenon, the chief specific problems of the linen industry are:—

(1) To procure the lowering of the American tariff.
(2) To secure an adequate supply of reliable dyes at a reasonable price.
(3) Prospectively to secure an adequate supply of raw material at a reasonable price.

American Tariff on Linen.

It is fully realised that the American tariff has not put an end to the purchase of Northern Irish linen by the American public. But it has admittedly lessened the demand, and therefore diminished the volume of employment in the linen industry in Ireland. There are certain interests in America which are in favour of a high tariff on imported linen, and Great Britain is unable to procure any modification of it. The National Government of a United Ireland might possibly be able to make a fiscal bargain with America that would be favourable to the Irish linen industry, and, even apart from all fiscal bargaining, there are powerful non-economic forces in America which might be mobilised in favour of making a concession to the fiscal interests of a **united** Ireland.

The Dye Question.

The question of dyes is perhaps of greater importance to the cotton than it is to the linen industry. But even here there are certain kinds of linen fabrics which can be sold in America and elsewhere if they are dyed in fast colours, and cannot be sold at all otherwise.

Under the Dyestuffs (Import Regulation) Act of 1920, the British Government has prohibited the import from foreign countries of "all synthetic, organic dyestuffs, colours and colouring matters, and all organic intermediate products used in the manufacture of any such dyestuffs, colours or colouring matters." Under that Act the textile industry in Belfast and the British fiscal area generally is legally condemned to use expensive, inferior, and unreliable dyes. It cannot, therefore, be pretended that this particular aspect of Britain's fiscal policy is favourable to the specific interests of Belfast and Northern Ireland.

The Question of an Adequate Supply of Flax.

The linen industry of Northern Ireland has hitherto depended for seven-eighths of its raw material on the import of flax from abroad (mainly from Russia). The quantity of flax grown in Ireland doubled during the war, but since 1917 the much greater quantity imported from abroad has diminished by about two-thirds. It is admitted on all hands that if there were any real revival of the linen trade, present and prospective supplies of flax would not suffice to keep going more than half of the spindles available in the Six County area. The economic rehabilitation of Russia may take years. There can be no substantial increase in the area of flax sown in the Six Counties, as already 74 per cent. of the flax grown in Ireland as a whole is grown in those counties. There is room for a vast increase in the quantity of flax grown in the Free State area. During the war flax was grown in the Counties Meath, Wicklow, Cork and elsewhere, and it was proved that those portions of Ireland were capable of growing a crop equal in quality and of better yield than any that could be grown in the Northern counties. But, except in the border Free State Counties of Cavan, Monaghan and Donegal, the cultivation of flax in the Free State can hardly be said to have become a permanent part of our post-war agricultural economy. The Government of a united Ireland, if confronted with this problem, would naturally first ascertain whether the linen manufacturing interests preferred to await the event of Russia's recovery, or that steps should be taken meanwhile to assure an adequate supply of flax from the resources of the national agriculture. And in view of the importance of the interests concerned, such a government would probably think it well worth while to take very definite and drastic steps to meet the emergency. But, under Partition, the Free State Government has no interest in the flax-linen problem as a whole, and the solution of the raw material aspect of that problem is quite beyond the resources of Northern Ireland and the Northern linen interests.

(b) Shipbuilding and Engineering.

The Safeguarding of Industries Act, 1921, was passed "with a view to the safeguarding of certain special industries, and the

safeguarding of employment in the United Kingdom" against various dangers, real or imaginary. The Act is, in fact, a Protectionist Act, but, as it happens, none of the industries protected is situated in that part of the British fiscal area called Northern Ireland, or, for that matter, in the Free State area either. Under Part I. of this Act, a Customs duty of 33⅓ per cent. ad valorem is imposed on a list of articles, including optical glass and scientific instruments, instruments of precision used in engineering machine shops, and a host of others. In fact, the list extends to some 70 pages of a closely-printed White Book, and includes some 7,000 odd articles. Now, it is a matter of elementary economic knowledge that a Protective duty, while it benefits the particular industry protected, is, in fact, injurious to all industries other than the one protected. The aggregate injury to the general interests may, in fact, far exceed the specific benefit to the particular interest. Only, the general injury is diffused, the particular benefit is concentrated; and this is why so many people can see the latter and cannot see the former.

Since none of the staple Belfast industries is benefited by the Safeguarding of Industries Act, it follows that they are all more or less injured by it. The articles, the cost of which is increased by this Act, are in use in every engineering and machine shop, and the tax therefore adds to the cost of production in the most important industries of the North. The troublesome import Regulations in connection with this tax make it difficult, if not impossible sometimes, to procure some badly wanted article of reliable quality, in which case the indirect economic loss will far exceed the direct financial burden.

(c) Scientific Education.

The scientific and optical instruments which the Safeguarding of Industries Act attempts to exclude have reached their present high level of quality as a result of a high level of scientific education being maintained for a generation or more in Central Europe, and also because of the success with which scientific knowledge has been continuously associated with problems of manufacturing technique in the production of these instruments. If rival industries of that class are to be established in Great Britain, the Six Counties, or elsewhere, it will be necessary, first of all, to raise scientific education to an equal level of efficiency, and concurrently to develop a method of industrial organisation which will make possible a fertile intercourse between scientific knowledge and industrial production.

The policy involved in the Safeguarding of Industries Act contributes nothing to the solution of the second half of the problem, while it contributes a great deal to make the first half of it insoluble. It is doubtful whether the manufacture of spectroscopes, arc-lamp carbons, or hosiery latch needles exists, or is likely to be undertaken in any part of Ireland, but it is certain that both the Queen's University and other Universities, Technical Schools and Colleges throughout Ireland want to be in a position to turn out properly-trained chemists, physicists, and bacteriologists. They cannot do so if they are condemned to the use of test tubes and beakers that break on the slightest provocation, thermometers the scales of which disappear in the steam, and metre rules that are not straight and are inaccurately graduated.

In practice, of course, such institutions buy reliable equipment from abroad, if the tax-free article is unreliable, and thus, so far as scientific education is concerned, the Safeguarding of Industries Act is a very unscientific tax on education. It would seem, then, that this particular aspect of British fiscal policy is not suited to the requirements of Belfast and the Six Counties, either industrial or educational.

It is true that the taxes involved in the Safeguarding of Industries Act still cumber the tariff list of the Free State, having been inherited along with much other legislation. But the Free State has the power to abolish any or all of these taxes, and may reasonably be expected to abolish those of them which do not prove on examination to have any economic or financial justification.

On the other hand, the Act was passed " with a view to the safeguarding of certain special industries " existing only in Great Britain, and important interests in the Six Counties will continue to suffer more or less injury from it so long as this Act lasts and the Six Counties remain in the British fiscal area.

Thus, even as regards the staple industries of Belfast and her world-trade, the economic facts would suggest that fiscal unity with the Free State is likely to be beneficial, whereas fiscal unity with Great Britain is definitely injurious. And, of course, as regards the very important Belfast distributing trade with the Free State, which gives employment to 10,000 people, the advantage of being on the Free State side of the fiscal boundary requires no demonstration.

APPENDICES TO THE ECONOMIC AND GEOGRAPHIC SECTION.

APPENDIX I.

Table showing the population, agricultural area, and relative agricultural production of the Six-County Area as compared with Ireland as a whole.*

	Ireland (1)	The Six Counties (2)	Col. 2 as a percentage of col. 1.
Population	4,390,219	1,250,530	28.7
Milch cows ... ... No.	1,577,465	281,761	17.8
Other cattle (two years old and upwards) ... ... ,,	1,098,236	89,385	8.1
Sheep (one year old and over) † ,,	635,118	41,181	6.5
Pigs † ... ... ,,	878,856	90,449	10.3
Poultry ... ... ,,	24,424,230	5,771,886	23.6
Agricultural area ... acres	‡14,707,000	†2,525,758	17.2
Wheat ... ... ,,	50,252	7,356	14.6
Barley ... ... ,,	206,888	3,358	1.6
Oats ... ... ,,	1,332,050	409,818	30.1
Turnips ... ... ,,	276,507	50,721	18.3
Mangels ... ... ,,	77,447	1,595	2.1
Hay ... ... ,,	2,518,320	493,712	19.6
Potatoes... ... ... ,,	584,316	166,847	28.5
Flax ... ... ,,	127,198	92,980	73.6

† Exclusive of animals kept for breeding.
‡ Excluding grazed mountain.
* Taken from *The Case of Ulster*, by Seán Milroy, published by The Talbot Press, Dublin.

APPENDIX II.

Table showing the exports of cattle, sheep and pigs from Belfast and Six-County ports, respectively, as compared with the exports from Ireland as a whole.*

	Cattle	Sheep and Lambs	Pigs
Exports from Belfast	167,177	26,316	9,747†
Exports from Six County Ports ...	315,162	63,546	22,357
Exports from Ireland	926,838	586,968	166,869

† In addition to the pigs exported, 32,947 cwts. of pork, 96,650 cwts. of bacon, and 41,805 cwts. of hams were exported through Belfast in 1920.

* Taken from *The Case of Ulster*, by Seán Milroy, published by The Talbot Press, Dublin."

APPENDIX III.

Table showing quantity and value of certain articles of agricultural produce exported from Belfast in 1920.*

		Quantity	Value
			£
Cattle	No.	167,177	6,495,000
Fat Sheep and Lambs	,,	26,316	174,000
Wool	lbs.	543,088	40,000
Pigs	No.	9,747	130,000
Pork	cwts.	32,947	320,000
Bacon	,,	96,650	1,190,000
Hams	,,	41,805	515,000
Other Meats	,,	51,464	302,000
Butter	,,	35,758	577,000
Condensed Milk	,,	1,594	6,000
Cheese	,,	3,437	33,000
Poultry	No.	29,541	241,000
Eggs	Great Hundreds	2,326,619	3,626,000
Barley	cwts.	38,520	53,000
Oats	,,	75,049	70,000
Potatoes...	tons	138,772	1,400,000
Hay	,,	17,561	160,000

* Taken from *The Case of Ulster*, by Seán Milroy, published by The Talbot Press, Dublin.

APPENDIX IV.

Table showing quantity and value of flax imported into, and grown in Ireland, respectively, from years 1908 to 1920.

	IMPORTED		GROWN IN IRELAND	
Year	Tons	Value £	Tons	Value £
1908	29,582	1,381,479	7,922	404,022
1909	39,194	1,912,667	7,179	409,203
1910	35,911	1,867,372	8,876	618,361
1911	32,055	1,955,355	11,240	769,940
1912	42,144	2,416,956	12,956	842,140
1913	40,982	2,300,115	12,652	727,490
1914	36,727	2,031,003	8,126	602,678
1915	30,114	2,430,200	9,664	1,265,845
1916	32,576	3,047,484	14,492	2,685,851
1917	28,735	4,278,642	15,362	3,277,227
1918	6,442	966,300	15,703	3,873,407
1919	9,577	3,798,432	13,720	4,170,000
1920	8 350	4,212,323	17,020	4,039,413

APPENDIX V.

Table showing quantity and value of certain commodities imported into Belfast during the year 1920, and corresponding figures for the whole of Ireland.*

QUANTITY AND VALUE OF CERTAIN COMMODITIES IMPORTED INTO BELFAST DURING THE YEAR 1920, AND CORRESPONDING FIGURES FOR THE WHOLE OF IRELAND.

Commodity Imported	Unit of Quantity	Quantity		Estimated Value		Belfast's Imports as percentage of Total
		Ireland	Belfast	Ireland	Belfast	
				£	£	
Tea	lbs.	38,775,408	11,879,504	2,423,463	742,466	30.6
Sugar	cwts.	1,753,090	510,662	5,697,543	1,659,652	29.1
Confectionery ...	cwts.	199,865	78,695	1,689,859	665,973	33.4
Indian Meal ...	cwts.	303,425	180,487	288,254	171,463	59.4
Other Meal	cwts.	1,812,541	754,507	1,576,651	656,312	41.6
Maize	cwts.	8,881,887	2,490,241	7,438,580	2,086,703	28'0
Wheat	cwts.	9,039,318	2,260,442	9,717,267	2,429,975	25.0
Flour	cwts.	5,632,701	1,991,958	9,998,044	3,535,725	35.4
Wines	gals.	1,660,315	201,341	1,196,805	146,133	12.1
Home-made Spirits ...	gals.	376,354	217,363	376,354	217,363	57.2
Foreign Spirits ...	gals.	609,326	290,914	415,103	198,185	47.7
Hardware	cwts.	252,230	112,581	1,828,668	816,212	44.6
Seeds	cwts.	306,151	197,501	1,259,057	812,230	64.4
Furniture	cwts.	103,813	47,516	1,676,580	767,383	45.8
Drapery and Apparel	cwts.	339,528	150,330	13,978,470	6,189,131	44.3
Cotton Goods ...	cwts.	613,485	505,368	27,396,179	22,568,137	82.4
Bags and Bagging ...	cwts.	132,352	39,794	1,171,315	352,176	30.0
Leather	cwts.	55,625	20,770	973,438	363,475	37.3
Boots and Shoes ...	cwts.	155,956	64,119	6,758,743	2,778,686	41.1
Machinery and Implements, Agricultural and other ...	tons	99,185	48,765	7,688,753	3,780,229	49.2
Paper, Stationery, etc.	cwts.	1,467,631	746,727	4,523,845	2,301,721	50.9
Earthenware and Chinaware	cwts.	492,604	262,357	415,117	221,088	53.3
Cocoa	lbs.	7,836,752	3,058,608	604,083	235,767	39.0
Fruit :—						
Oranges	cwts.	125,362	63,760	175,507	89,264	52.0
Dried Fruit ...	cwts.	71,890	65,043	230,048	208,138	90.0
Preserved Fruit ...	cwts.	31,540	16,694	132,468	74,314	56.0
Glass and Glassware ...	cwts.	159,639	64,632	658,511	266,607	40.5
India Rubber Goods	cwts.	46,984	23,681	2,689,834	1,298,487	48.3
Motor Spirit, Petroleum and Paraffin ...	gals.	24,065,704	10,730,707	2,068,871	921,247	44.5
Other Oils	cwts.	546,984	208,584	1,644,067	626,940	38.1
Matches	cwts.	34,910	15,611	253,098	113,180	44.7
Tobacco, Manufactured	lbs.	7,622,580	2,212,140	2,350,296	721,433	30.7
Unmanufactured	lbs.	11,258,480	8,898,883	1,336,944	1,056,742	79.0
Wood, Timber, and Manufactures thereof	loads	203,862	109,523	2,992,411	1,607,645	53.7
	cwts.	40,030	24,959	255,294	159,178	62.3
	tons	5,833	1,238	139,992	29,677	21.2
Total ...	—	—	—	124,019,512	60,869,037	49.1

* Taken from *The Case of Ulster*, by Seán Milroy, published by the Talbot Press, Dublin.

ANALOGOUS PROBLEMS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

IV. ANALOGOUS PROBLEMS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROBLEM OF MIXED POPULATIONS.

In the preceding sections the main features of the situation to be dealt with have been laid bare. It contains indeed many elements of difficulty, but the fundamental problem is by no means obscure. It may be stated briefly as follows:—How can a satisfactory and durable peace be established amongst a population inhabiting a certain area, the members of which—at present at any rate—disagree as to their choice of government? Stripped of technicalities, and seen in its actual bearing on the lives of human beings, that is the basic problem confronting us.

It is a problem which has sprung from historical factors which cannot be controlled retrospectively however much they may be argued about, and from geographic and economic reasons which the actions of men can but slightly modify. But as it faces us to-day, it is a problem affecting the life of every man and woman in Ireland, and has to be dealt with within the limits which history, geography and economics prescribe. Failure to face it, in a case of this kind, often leads to worse results than even unwise handling.

In being compelled to deal with a situation of this kind Ireland is by no means unique. Similar areas, inhabited by mixed and disagreeing populations, are to be found in many parts of the world. The problem has most frequently arisen in cases where an area inhabited by people of mixed race or nationality or religion lies between larger areas containing homogeneous masses akin to one or other of the classes in the mixed areas. Such mixed areas claimed by two or more larger States have proved again and again to be among the most likely causes of war. The problem of how to treat them has been dealt with in many countries, especially in the years since the Great War. Opinions differ as to whether the solutions attempted or carried through have been wise or unwise, but a study of them will at least show that a solution can be attempted and will give some indications as to the best lines of settlement.

Methods of Dealing with a Mixed Area.

(1) *Transportation.*

The most drastic method is that of the expulsion or transportation of minorities so as to secure to each party a homogeneous population of its own adherents in its own area. This, which had been considered an anachronism in modern times, has been recently revived in the expulsion by the Turks of large numbers of Greeks and other Christian inhabitants from Asia Minor, and by the arrangements sanctioned at the Lausanne Conference for the exchange of further Greeks in return for Turks living in Greek territory. Such a method may possibly be defended on the ground that it means a final settlement of the problem. But in view of the discontent and probable

suffering involved, and of its offence against so many human instincts, such as love of home (this applying particularly among an agricultural population) it cannot be regarded as in any sense a satisfactory solution. It is, in fact, an intolerable solution, unless it should be inevitable.

(2) *Assignment to one Party.*

Leaving on one side this method of removing populations, we have then to see how an area of mixed population is to be dealt with. One method is to leave the entire area under the rule of that section which is numerically or physically the stronger. The question is thus settled in the interests of one party. Where that party is in a fairly substantial majority over the whole area much may be said for such a plan. But, where, as is more usual, the proportions vary the injustice is obvious. This was the situation which existed in many parts of Europe, notably Austria-Hungary, prior to the war. In Transylvania, for example, the status of the mixed Hungarian and Rumanian population was settled by placing the whole territory under the rule of the stronger—that is the Hungarian—party. Even worse was the situation in Alsace-Lorraine, where a population definitely desirous of union with one State, to which it was contiguous, was kept by forcible means united to another State. The injustice of such arrangements was recognised clearly during the war, and their reversal was put forward as one of the principal Allied war aims. In Alsace-Lorraine a better settlement was easily made at the Peace Conference, but unfortunately, in other regions where populations were much mixed the removal of one injustice was carried out by establishing a counter-injustice. For example, in Transylvania practically the whole mixed and disputed area, formerly belonging to Hungary, was now assigned to Rumania. A mere turning of the former servants into masters and of the former masters into servants, is no just settlement. Its result is merely to replace one set of irredentist tendencies by another set, and the effect is plain in the very precarious state of European politics which still exists.

In Ireland it may be said that just such a situation as this was created by the Act of 1920. By that Act practically the whole of the area which was mixed and which had been claimed for years by both parties was allotted in its entirety to one of them. The dominant party in Ulster claimed and was given not merely all the areas in which its majority was undisputed, but also practically all those in which populations were fairly evenly divided, and many in which it possessed merely a small minority. Thus, as a glance at the statistics will show, while there are many areas included in the territory of Northern Ireland which are overwhelmingly Nationalist, there is only one small area in the three Free State Counties of Ulster (a portion of East Donegal) which can show a Unionist majority of any kind. The settlement of 1920 is a settlement under which one party secures all and the other nothing of the territory under dispute.

(3) *Division of the Area.*

A more just solution of the problem of mixed areas was attempted in other cases dealt with by the Peace Conference and later, namely to divide the area in such a way as to satisfy as many of the in-

habitants as possible. This was the plan adopted in, for example, Upper Silesia, and other plebiscite areas. Granting that there must be separation, it is plainly the right plan. The division of the area in such a way as will accord most nearly with the wishes of the inhabitants can do much to allay discontent. When the body of people who thereby are brought under the Government of their choice is large, and when those transferred against their will are comparatively few, a general appeasement may result. But it is merely an appeasement, a lessening of the disadvantages of a bad situation. Those who are left behind under a Government they dislike, and still more those who are transferred against their will, find but scanty satisfaction and small grounds for contentment in the knowledge that others of their race or party have now been satisfied. In some cases those who have been left behind may find their position actually worsened, especially if the process of transference has aroused bitterness among the members of the population concerned. Thus, while it is an obvious advantage, granting the necessity of division, that the frontier should be drawn as equitably as possible, it will often prove a more genuine advantage to the inhabitants to secure union or federation rather than a boundary revision.

The policy of a just boundary is that which underlies the Irish Boundary Commission. It may prove to be the only way of removing the more obvious injustices of an unfair settlement; but it cannot be regarded as the best solution of the main problem.

(4) *Special Treatment of the Area.*

This brings us to the fourth method of settlement, namely, to put the mixed area under a special regime intended to preserve the rights of both sets of inhabitants. This was attempted before the war in Macedonia, and such post-war arrangements as the setting up of Danzig as a Free City under the League of Nations (in order to meet the rival claims of Germans and Poles) are analogous. Such a plan, however, demands that final power should be in the hands of an external authority superior to both the parties, which have to be kept in a sort of tutelage. To this neither section in Ireland would be likely to agree, for any part of the disputed area.

(5) *Union.*

The remaining course open is that the parties to the dispute should arrange some form of union or federation. This may be considered either from the point of view of the inhabitants of the disputed area, or from that of the two States or Communities by which the area is claimed. Here we are concerned merely with the former. From their point of view there can be little doubt that union possesses very great advantages. Even granting that the union formed may not be complete, but that each party which claims the territory may retain its own individuality, yet the fact that the parties are no longer completely apart will greatly help the interests of the inhabitants and conduce to their welfare. To be the citizen of a State entirely separate from or even hostile to the State to which you wish to belong may be a very difficult and sometimes an intolerable position. To be the citizen of a State which is closely bound to the State of your choice is far more pleasant and advantageous. Federations or unions are, in fact, found to be the best means of protecting and serving the interests of minorities.

Some description of the reasons which have brought about union in other countries, and of the actual frameworks of union established by them, is given in the following section. Here it is only necessary to point out the almost infinite variety of shapes which such schemes of union or federation may take. No one scheme exactly copies another; each has its own particular features devised to meet its own circumstances. It appears, indeed, from the history of various countries (and especially from that of members of the British Commonwealth of Nations) that there is no form of government intrinsically best which each community should adopt, but that it is necessary for each community to work out its own best form in accordance with its own circumstances and needs.

If this task of devising a suitable form of Government is to be accomplished, it must be undertaken by the people of the country themselves. There appears to be no record of a successful scheme of federation imposed by an external authority. It requires a strong belief in the advantages to be attained by all parties through the securing of friendly united action; and a genuine and thorough effort to devise the best possible form of Government in accordance with the actual wishes of the people and their historical, geographic and economic circumstances. It requires, also, on all sides a readiness to accept compromise in non-essentials with a view to securing a greater good.

CHAPTER II.

THE ATTAINMENT OF NATIONAL UNIONS.

The attaining of national union is a process which can be traced under varying conditions in many parts of the world. It is the purpose of this article to describe briefly the causes which have brought about such union, and the steps by which it was attained, in countries whose circumstances were in many respects similar to those prevailing in Ireland. History, indeed, never exactly repeats itself; the arguments used and methods employed in other countries cannot be used in precisely the same way in Ireland. And yet the study of these other countries can be instructive as revealing the general tendencies and atmosphere in which union has been brought about, and the considerations by which men's minds have been inclined towards it. The examples given are in the main of countries where union was brought about by the desire of the inhabitants, not by conquest or by the pressure of the stronger party. They are mainly countries of the British Commonwealth.

The reasons for union have been of two main kinds. There are firstly the more idealistic reasons, such as the desire to build up a worthy national life and the belief that this will be attained more surely by union than in separation. There are, secondly, the more practical reasons, the concrete and tangible advantages which it has been felt union would bring to each part of the country. Union has come most quickly when sentiment and interest pointed in the same direction. But on the whole the practical reasons were the more powerful, and in several of the examples given below it will be seen how the practical advantages of union—recognised at the outset by merely a few men of outstanding knowledge and foresight—triumphed over strong popular prejudices and sectional antagonisms.

(1) The United States of America.

At the conclusion of the War of Independence the former American Colonies found themselves in the position of practically independent States. The former authority of the British Government had been thrown off; and the Continental Congress, which had directed policy during the war, possessed no more than a shadowy and ineffective control. Notwithstanding the small size of the thirteen colonies (their total population being only about three millions), each was intensely jealous of its rights and autonomy. As soon as the external danger of the war was removed, extreme centrifugal tendencies asserted themselves. Each State conducted its policy in disregard of its neighbours, and no effective means existed of securing united action or settling differences. The Continental Congress was merely a collection of delegates from the States. It could pass resolutions and recommend policies to the States, but had no means of securing that its recommendations should be carried out.

The chief difficulties arose with regard to three problems: tariffs, finance and the territorial extension of the States. Tariff wars were frequent for several years, each State being apparently as concerned to injure its neighbours as to benefit itself. On several occasions several of the States came to the very verge of open war. The financial condition of many of the States was precarious, still bearing large debts due to the war and to extravagant expenditure, and aggravated by the reckless issue of paper money. Over the territorial rights of the States bitter disputes took place, each claiming its Western hinterland—an area of indefinite extent—and these claims constantly overlapping.

No authority was in existence which could deal with these inevitable disputes between the States or their citizens, and the same lask of a central authority meant weakness in external affairs. The Congress could have no settled policy in dealing with foreign countries, since it could not ensure that the States would fall in with any agreement it might reach, nor could it ensure any adequate measures for the defence of the country, which, though its independence was now recognised, was faced with possible danger from England, France or Spain, the last of which had still large possessions on the North American Continent.

It was the recognition of these and other disadvantages and dangers arising out of the division of the country which led some of the more far-seeing statemen—notably Alexander Hamilton and Washington himself—to work for organic union of the States as being the one safe and wise system of Government. They believed such union also to be a necessity if a great nation was to be built up by the gradual extension and development of a number of small settlements then practically confined to the Atlantic seaboard. These men could see that the great task in front was the opening up of the inland regions. For its accomplishment concerted and well-planned action was essential.

It was the intrinsic strength of these reasons for union, and the sheer weight of argument which was brought in their support which eventually carried the States in the face of local prejudice and misrepresentation. The task of the advocates of union was by no means easy. At first they could get little support, but support began to grow as the drawbacks and dangers of disunion became more and more obvious. The first definite step forward was taken at a meeting of representatives of Maryland and Virginia held at Washington's

house in 1785. It was concerned with the single practical question of securing concerted action with regard to the development of waterways to the West. Other practical matters, such as a uniform currency, came into consideration, and, in the discussion of these, representatives of the neighbouring States of Pennsylvania and Delaware were asked to join. It was eventually decided to invite all the thirteen States to take part in a convention on the whole commercial situation, to be held in the following year.

This convention turned out indeed to be unrepresentative, only five States sending their delegates. But it proved the turning point in the struggle for union. Meeting to consider commercial questions the delegates soon discovered that these could not be adequately dealt with apart from large constitutional changes affecting all the relations of the States. The Convention, therefore, decided not to attempt to devise a scheme of commercial organisation, but to endeavour to bring about a larger Convention on the constitutional questions, to meet at Philadelphia in the following spring (1787).

At the Convention of Philadelphia the Constitution of the United States was drawn up. Into the history of the Convention and the nature of the Constitution it is unnecessary here to enter. There remained the task of securing acceptance of the Constitution by the inhabitants of the States. The chief struggle was in New York, which was eventually carried by the immense efforts of Hamilton, backed by others like Madison and Jay. Eventually the Union was agreed upon by all the States save Vermont, which came in later, and the United States of America began.

(2) Germany and Italy.

The unifications of these two countries are among the outstanding events of the last century of European history. In both cases union was brought about in part by force and conquest, but other factors were present and deserve emphasis. In Germany the ambition of Prussia and the Hohenzollerns, with the policy of Bismarck, played indeed a decisive part; but it must not be forgotten that the union thus accomplished was also in a measure the fulfilment of the hopes and ideals of a number of earlier German writers and statesmen, and of the desires of the liberal-minded National Assembly of Frankfort of 1848. German union may have been brought about by wrong methods, but was in accordance with the peoples' desires and the requirements of her situation. We must recognise the existence of the same motives as brought about the union of the States of America—the desire to construct a worthy and secure national State, and to obtain the economic and other advantages of unification. In Germany the former motive predominated. Her division into a number of artificial petty States, with their continual rivalries and jealousies, had kept Germany weak and backward for centuries. Their unification was a necessity for her advance. Economic factors, however, also played a part, as was shown by the gradual establishment of a Customs Union—the preliminary to constitutional union.

In Italy national security was the prime factor. Parcelled out for centuries between a number of foreign rulers, and shaking them off in a national enthusiasm during the War of Independence, she came to regard union both as a necessity for success in the struggle, and as one vital safeguard against aggression in the future. In order to secure it large sections of her population consented to drop their

claim to a Republic and to accept the Monarchy of the House of Savoy as the best means of consolidating the entire country. The wishes of her people, shown in a series of popular plebiscites, were decisive for unity, which was thus brought about with remarkable rapidity considering the length and completeness of the former divisions.

(3) Canada.

Two large portions of the British Commonwealth—Canada and Australia—attained union during the course of the last century, by processes somewhat akin to those of the United States. Prior to Union in 1867, there existed in Canada six Provinces—Ontario and Quebec (known as the "two Canadas"), Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island (the Maritime Provinces) and British Columbia. Of these the two first were far the most important and populous, and the history of the first half of the century is largely concerned with their rivalry. Ontario was mainly of British origin and Protestant; Quebec overwhelmingly French and Catholic. In 1840 the Union Act based on Lord Durham's famous Report brought about the Union of the two Provinces. This, however was a forced union imposed from outside and gave little satisfaction to either party, friction and ill-feeling continuing for over a decade.

The first steps to a federation were taken by the three Maritime Provinces, which sent delegates to a Conference in 1864 to discuss the question of union among themselves. Quebec and Ontario then came forward with proposals for a more complete union, and eventually, by the Quebec Resolutions of 1865, a complete scheme of federation for the five Provinces was drawn up. These provided for the re-division of Ontario and Quebec, and for the federation of these two with the maritime Provinces. The Resolutions formed the basis of the British North America Act of 1867, by which the Dominion of Canada was brought into existence. This included originally only Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Prince Edward Island, after taking part in the Conference, refused to join till 1871. The Dominion was completed by the purchase of the North-West Territories and the gradual formation of further Provinces.

In Canada federation was brought about from many motives. There were the obvious practical advantages of the federation of communities so small as, for example, the Maritime Provinces. There was the desire to dissolve the union of Quebec and Ontario in one Province —a union unnatural and forced—and to create instead a larger federation in which friction would be less likely and more easily avoided in the presence of larger issues. There was the need of a concerted policy for the whole country in dealing with such matters as railways and the opening up of the vast undeveloped territories to the North and West. There was also the growth of a national spirit, a desire to see a powerful Canada in the future, an end only attainable if Canada was one.

(4) Australia.

In Australia union was long delayed. Owing to the immense size of the Continent and the lack of communications, each colony was able to develop independently with little concern for the interests of

its neighbours, and in the absence of any external danger there was no reason for union for purposes of defence. Towards the end of nineteenth century, however, the need of joint action on various matters, especially fiscal policy, became gradually more plain, and the development of the colonising activities of other countries in the Islands near to Australia showed the necessity for a systematic scheme of defence, both naval and military. Various plans were put forward and discussed for an Australian Federation, but no decisive action was taken till a Constituent Convention met in 1897. At this all the Colonies were represented, with the exception of Queensland, which joined at a later stage. After long deliberations it worked out a scheme of Federation, which after considerable controversy and amendment, and Referenda in New South Wales and Western Australia, was finally accepted by all the Colonies. This formed the basis of an Act of the British Parliament by which finally the Commonwealth of Australia was brought into existence on 1st January, 1901.

The motives for federation were similar to those in Canada, necessity of united action in a large variety of questions, and the national feeling which desired the growth of a strong Australian Commonwealth.

(5) South Africa.

The case of South Africa provides a nearer parallel to Ireland, and may be treated at greater length. In South Africa there was not, indeed, a marked religious cleavage, but there existed a deep racial cleavage, which had led to many years of strife, much bitterness, oppression or alleged oppression first of Dutch by British in Cape Colony, and later of British by Dutch in the Transvaal. Then had come the South African War, in which the races fought on opposite sides, ending in the complete defeat of the Dutch and the loss of their independence. There followed, indeed, some years of gradual amelioration and then the grant of full responsible government to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony in 1906; but it must be remembered that when federation began to be put forward as a practical policy only four years had elapsed since the war, and that responsible government in the Boer States, though passed, was not yet in actual operation.

The advocates of union had to face strong opposition due both to the memories of these past quarrels, and also to the strong sectional feelings and prejudices which were natural in a country so large as South Africa, and inhabited by so scanty and scattered a white population. The average inhabitant of Cape Town or Durban might well feel that he had small interests in common with a miner on the Rand or a farmer on the Backvelt in the Transvaal. Towns were few, distances great, communications poor. On a superficial view there might have seemed to be far less reason for union in South Africa than in many another country.

Nevertheless the drawbacks and dangers of disunion were grave, and gradually became manifest. To those men who were concerned with the larger issues facing the country it was plain that disunion was not merely causing inconvenience and hindering development in economic and other spheres, but also imperilling peace, since friction would inevitably occur with regard to certain questions, and no machinery existed by which they could be satisfactorily settled.

On one question, indeed, frequent efforts had been made to secure uniformity, though with but partial success. A Customs Union for all the Colonies was established in 1903, and renewed and improved in 1906. It was, however, established with great difficulty, the actual arrangements made being in many respects unsatisfactory, and was adhered to merely from a sense of the still greater disadvantages and dangers which would arise from a breakdown of the agreement. But while on this subject there was a measure of uniformity, there was no uniformity whatever, and no means of united action, on other vital questions equally pressing and equally dangerous.

The importance of these issues gradually became clearer in the years following the war, and various efforts were made to enlighten the country with regard to them, and to work towards union. The best description of the situation and of the reasons for a united South Africa are to be found in the "Selborne Memorandum" of 1907. This document (Cd. 3564 of July, 1907) was drawn up in response to the request of the Cape Colony Government to the High Commissioner, Lord Selborne, that he would lay before the country a review of the existing situation and of the reasons for federation. The Memorandum contains an exhaustive treatment of the chief questions facing South Africa, with regard to which united action was a necessity, and on which united action could not be secured except by constitutional changes such as would bring about an organic union of the whole country. The chief questions dealt with were the following:—

Railways,
Fiscal policy.
Native and Labour Questions,
Economic development.

Of these the most pressing was the railway problem. All railways were State-owned, each Colony deriving a considerable part of its revenue from this source, and each, therefore, profiting by the amount of traffic which passed across its territory. Friction chiefly arose with regard to the large volume of traffic passing between the sea-ports and the Rand. There was hot competition between the ports of Cape Colony and those of Natal, and again between both of these and the Portuguese port of Delagoa Bay. For a long period it had been the policy of the Transvaal to favour the latter port, not merely in order to possess a line of communication outside the British sphere, but also because a larger proportion of the line to Delagoa Bay lay within Transvaal territory than in the case of lines to the other ports, and the Transvaal Government could, therefore, draw a larger share of the freights. Various attempts were made prior to the war to effect adjustments of these competing interests but without great success, and after the war a *modus vivendi* was arranged with the Portuguese Government by which a certain proportion of the traffic to the Transvaal was definitely allotted to Delagoa Bay. By this the Cape and Natal were severely hit, while a foreign port and, to a lesser extent, the Transvaal benefitted. It had been proved on numerous occasions impossible to devise a really satisfactory settlement of this question, since each Colony acted simply in its own interests. The memorandum urged that only by a uniform system of railway management, working in a United South Africa, could any satisfactory settlement be reached.

With regard to fiscal policy, a somewhat similar situation prevailed Although, as previously mentioned, a Customs Union had been established it was regarded on all hands as unsatisfactory, and all attempts to adjust the divergent interests and claims of the various Colonies had to be carried out by cumbrous and often unsuccessful negotiations. The real requirement of the situation was a central authority drawing up Custom and other Fiscal regulations, not in the interests of any one Colony or with the purpose of adjusting conflicting interests, but with a view to the well-being of the country as a whole.

The most important of all South African problems was that of dealing with the native races. With regard to them, each Colony pursued its own policy in disregard of the rest, notwithstanding the fact that they were in part dependent on each other with regard to labour for their industres and agriculture. The Rand, for example, drew negro labour from many areas outside the Transvaal. No settled policy existed as to the rights and status of the black man, and the divergencies gave cause for much discontent. Akin to this was the question of the employment of Asiatic labour. The Transvaal had decided it in one way, Natal in another. Faced with the extraordinarily difficult task of maintaining a white civilisation among a much larger non-white population, and at the same time helping forward the education and progress of the latter, a concerted and so far as possible uniform policy was essential.

The fourth problem dealt with in the Memorandum was the economic development and expansion of the country. With this all the foregoing problems were closely bound up. Without continuity and uniformity in railway policy, fiscal policy, and native and labour policy the development of the country would be indefinitely retarded. But the same need for concerted action appeared with regard to many other matters—weights and measures, commercial laws, diseases of animals and plants. Still more important was concerted action with a view to the development of the vast and sparsely inhabited regions lying to the North of the four Colonies.

The situation may be summed up in the words of the Memorandum:—

"It will now be seen that the disunion of South Africa means an absence of control in every part of her common affairs. One section of the people can dominate the rest by means of their railway policy, and dislocate their interests by a stroke of the pen without reference or responsibility to those affected. Railway rates are used for the protection of local industries and cannot be fixed in accordance with the general demands of trade. The Customs Convention is a compromise framed in accordance with no clear principles in such fashion that public opinion never willingly accepts its provisions. A continuous supply of labour required to maintain the principal sources of wealth depends on questions which cannot be settled piecemeal, and cannot therefore be settled at all. As a consequence, business rests on shifting foundations and inclines to speculation rather than to enterprise, a tendency which is further increased by a complex, variable and discordant law. Native policies so different as to defeat each other's intention complicate the problem as a whole, and paralyse any movement towards its solution. The various Governments endeavouring to deal with the questions between them by negotia-

tion waste their strength and often fail; while the weightier matters left unsettled drift to worse disorder."

Such were the disadvantages of disunion. But the Memorandum also emphasises the loftier reasons for union—the building up of a great South African nation, composed indeed of diverse racial elements, showing many differences of local institutions and character throughout its vast territory, but united under one central Government and welded into an harmonious whole.

It was the combination of such practical arguments for union, with the growth of South African national sentiment, which gradually turned men's minds in its favour. The years following the issue of the Selborne Memorandum saw the break-down of several attempts to settle the railway question, which made it more clear than ever that the lesser problems could not be solved while the constitutional problem remained in suspense. As in the United States, failure to handle small issues finally drove men to a resolute attempt to deal with the large one.

It was then decided to summon a South African Convention to "consider and report on the most desirable form of South African Union, and to prepare a draft Constitution." It met in October, 1908, at Durban, and continued in its deliberations there and at Cape Town till February, 1909. The four Colonies were represented, also Rhodesia, which finally did not join the Union. After many difficulties, and some occasions when a deadlock appeared inevitable, the Convention finally issued an agreed Draft Constitution. This was only accomplished by considerable concessions from all parties. No party and no Colony secured the whole of its objects, but the delegates from each were ready to forego much of their claims in view of the greater ends to be gained by union and the disasters which might result from failure of the Convention. It is noteworthy that when this body of men came actually to face the concrete problem of devising the most suitable framework of government, the result was a far closer and intimate form of union than had been anticipated, or even desired by most of those whom had seen union of some kind to be necessary. A loose Federation might have seemed most natural in so large and so diverse a country; but once the initial prejudices against union had been overcome the advantages of a close Union over a loose Federation were clearly seen.

The Draft Constitution drawn up by the Convention was then laid before the Parliaments of the four Colonies. Certain amendments were proposed by Cape Colony, the Orange River Colony and Natal, those of Natal being far the most serious. The Convention, therefore, met again and certain alterations in accordance with the amendments were made in the Draft. In its new form it was accepted without difficulty by all except Natal, which still showed an inclination to stand out. Natal was the most purely British of the Colonies, imperialist sentiment was strongest there, and it still looked with intense suspicion on the Boers, and was reluctant to join in a union where they would possess a numerical preponderance. Certain of the clauses of the Draft Constitution rankled. Moreover, Natal was in some respects apart from the rest of the country, shut off between its mountains and the sea. It was not unnatural that a strong agitation against the Union was set on foot in the Colony, leading politicians and almost the entire Press taking their stand against it. The amendments inserted in the revised draft did something to allay

this opposition, but it still continued, and a demand was put forward and granted for the submission of the question to a Referendum. Right up to the time of voting the result appeared to be in doubt, but when the Referendum was held it resulted in an emphatic verdict in favour of union.

Thus the Union of South Africa was founded by the endeavours of her own people, and the Constitution was finally ratified by an Act of the British Parliament in the autumn of 1909.

Conclusion.

This brief sketch will have served its purpose if it has shown the motives which have inspired and the processes which have brought about national unions. In most of the instances given, union was at first the dream of a few, who had to overcome much misrepresentation and prejudice. But it was much more than a dream. The policy of union or federation might appear unpractical in the eyes of small men who could not see beyond their personal and local interests, and who could form no conception of the larger forces influencing their country's development and the larger problems with which it had to deal. But to those who understood those forces and who sought to grapple with those problems, it was plain that union accorded with the requirements of the situation and, indeed, was a veritable necessity. That they were right is proved by the results of their work. In each of the countries described the attainment of union was followed by a period of successful national development, which, if it must be in part attributed to other causes, can be seen to have been largely due to the fact of union. There is discernible a larger and more comprehensive handling of national problems, and a greater success in dealing with them, now that they can be regarded not from the standpoint of a province or a section but from that of the nation as a whole.

The disadvantages and dangers of the opposite tendency—disunion and particularism—can be seen not merely in the earlier histories of the countries described above, but more glaringly in areas which have up to the present remained disunited. Thus the petty States of Central and parts of South America appear condemned to backwardness and political impotence owing to their failure to unify, while the same failure to reach any kind of accommodation results in the chronic condition of strife which prevails in the Balkans. In these and similar cases disunion is not merely the result of rancour, jealousy and ill-feeling, but it is also one of the most potent causes by which they are maintained. Any kind of federation, involving the necessity of working together, would tend to allay antagonism.

But if there were evils attendant on failure to unite, still greater disasters are likely to result from the break-up of a natural political and economic unit. Of this Europe has had many terrible lessons since the end of the Great War. Disunion and division, in a country naturally one, is in fact an almost inevitable cause of strife, as union is the most potent means of securing peace and the opportunity for national advancement.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIXING OF BOUNDARIES.

The two preceding chapters have shown the advantages of union in countries faced with problems similar to those of Ireland. Where, however, union is for some cause impracticable or not immediately attainable a chief necessity is to fix a boundary which will be both equitable and convenient. With regard to the question of boundary-fixing, many precedents may be adduced, especially from the treatment of boundary problems during the re-settlement of Europe since the Great War.

According to the Fourteen Points and other statements of President Wilson, and to various declarations made by other framers of the Peace Treaties of Paris, the governing principle of the territorial settlement was to be "self-determination." The wishes and desires of the inhabitants of the various regions were to be the primary consideration in deciding their future allegiance. It is unnecessary for the present purpose to investigate how far this principle was actually carried into effect by the Treaties, or to comment on the justice or wisdom of the settlements arrived at of the numerous or very complicated problems which were dealt with. Attention can be concentrated on a single class of these problems, in which a genuine attempt was made (by means of plebiscites) to carry out the principle of self-determination. As will be seen immediately, these have a very direct bearing on the Irish Boundary Commission.

In Article 12 of the Anglo-Irish Treaty it is laid down that the new boundary is to be drawn "in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions." The exact wording of this clause is of great importance, since it is almost identical with various clauses contained in the Treaty of Versailles. In each case the words are used in connection with arrangements for a plebiscite, *i.e.*:

(*a*) *Upper Silesia.*—After laying down regulations for the conduct of a plebiscite, the Treaty proceeds: "On the conclusion of the voting, the number of votes cast in each commune will be communicated by the commission to the principal Allied and Associated Powers, with a full report as to the taking of the vote and a recommendation as to the line which ought to be adopted as the frontier of Germany in Upper Silesia. In this recommendation regard will be paid to *the wishes of the inhabitants as shown by the vote, and to the geographical and economic conditions of the locality.*" (Treaty of Versailles, Article 88, Annex 5.)

(*b*) *Allenstein (East Prussia).*—Wording identical with (*a*) except for change of names. (Article 95.)

(*c*) *Marienwerder (East Prussia).*—Wording identical with (*a*) except for change of names. (Article 97.)

(*d*) *Slesvig.*—The Articles providing for a plebiscite begin by stating: "The frontier between Germany and Denmark shall be fixed *in conformity with the wishes of the population.*" (Article 109.) After describing the conduct of the plebiscite the Treaty proceeds: "A frontier line will be fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers according to a line based on the result of the voting and pro-

posed by the International Commission, and taking into account the particular *geographical and economic conditions* of the locality." (Article 110.)

It is to be noticed that in each of these cases (and they are the only cases in which the holding of a plebiscite is laid down by the Treaty of Versailles) it is specified that the considerations which will determine the drawing of the new frontier line are " the wishes of the inhabitants " of the area, and its " geographical and economic conditions." The resemblance between these phrases and those used in Article 12 of the Anglo-Irish Treaty is far too close to be the result of accident. It, therefore, becomes a matter of great importance to ascertain the exact meaning of these words in international usage, and how they were interpreted and applied by the Commissions in the various areas.

As has been said, in every instance in the Treaty of Versailles the words refer to the drawing of a boundary as the result of a plebiscite. A direct vote was taken of the inhabitants of the areas specified by the Treaty, by which they were required to state whether they desired to become German or Danish citizens (in the case of Sleswig), and German or Polish citizens (in the other three cases). This vote was taken under the auspices of an International Commission, which not merely made the arrangements for the voting, but for a period took over the whole administration and policing of the area. When the result of the voting in each district had been ascertained, the Commission then proceeded to draw a boundary in accordance with its results. In three of the four areas mentioned the problem was comparatively simple. Allenstein and Marienwerder voted overwhelmingly for union with Germany and were assigned to her, with some minor adjustments of the frontier for economic reasons. Sleswig voted by zones, the vote in the northern zone being decisive for union with Denmark and that in the southern for union with Germany. The area was accordingly divided.

In Upper Silesia, however, the problem was vastly more complicated, and also more instructive for our present purpose. It must, therefore, be dealt with in some detail. After considerable friction and some fighting (due to an attempt by the Poles under Korfanty to seize the whole disputed area in advance of the plebiscite) the vote was finally taken in March, 1921. The result over the whole area was a victory for Germany by 707,000 votes against 479,000. The Germans easily carried the North-Western area, the Poles the South-Eastern. In the central area the voting was very mixed. In the main the towns voted German, the country districts Polish. It was an impossibility to draw any frontier which would not leave considerable parts of the population dissatisfied.

There was a further immense difficulty. This central portion of Upper Silesia is one of the most highly industrialised areas in Europe. It possesses a coalfield " with a production of about 23 per cent. of the total German output of hard coal." also valuable zinc mines. Here Germany had built up a vast and closely knit manufacturing system, largely concerned with metal goods. The cities and smaller towns of the so-called " Industrial Triangle " are as intimately connected in one system as, for example, the towns of the cotton industry in Lancashire, goods partly manufactured in one being finished in another and marketed in a third. Its industries are largely dependent on electrical power stations often situated at a distance. There

appeared to be very strong reasons for treating this area as an indivisible unit.

That it should be so treated was the claim put forward by both parties. Germans and Poles alike demanded the whole area. The Polish claim was strongly backed by France; the German claim was supported by Great Britain on the ground that the Germans had an actual majority in the voting in the locality. Compromise, based on a division, was suggested but ruled out as undesirable. After much disputing, and further sporadic fighting, the case was finally referred to the League of Nations on August 12th, 1921.

The Council of the League handed over the matter for investigation and report to its members from four countries not directly concorned—Belgium, Brazil, China and Spain. Their recommendations were adopted by the League Council, whose report, published October 20th, 1921, became the basis of the final settlement.

The result was a compromise. The " industrial triangle " was divided, a frontier being drawn through it as nearly as possible along the line indicated by the plebiscite. In order, however, to minimise the economic dislocation so caused various measures were adopted to secure economic unity, even between towns at opposite sides of the political frontier.

The reasons which led the League to adopt this form of settlement are summarised as follows from its Report:—

> " The Council, being convinced that its duty was above all to endeavour to find a solution in conformity with the wishes of the inhabitants, as expressed by the plebiscite, while taking into account the geographical and economic situation of the various districts, has been led to the conclusion that it is necessary to divide Upper Silesia. Owing to the geographical distribution of the population and the mixture of the racial elements, any division of this district must inevitably result in leaving relatively large minorities on both sides of the line and in separating important interests.
>
> " In these circumstances the Council considered that it would be desirable to take measures to guarantee during a provisional period of readjustment the continuity of the economic life of this region, which, owing to the density of its population, the number of its industrial undertakings, the closely-woven network of its means of communication, possesses the character of a vast agglomeration. It was also of opinion that it would be desirable to provide for the protection of minorities." (Summary of the League's Report in *The Times*, October 21st, 1921.)

Foreshadowing this decision on October 15th, Mr. Balfour, British representative on the League Council, said:—

> " The Treaty of Versailles lays down in quite unmistakeable terms that the division of Upper Silesia should be in conformity with the wishes of the population as far as possible, but that account must be taken of industrial conditions. These two things are quite disparate considerations. They have no immediate relation with one another, but I think you can say with confidence that the Treaty of Peace put population first and industry second. There was a point at which the wishes of the population must give way to the needs of the district. But, on the whole, they desired that as far as possible the wishes of the population

as exhibited by the plebiscite should afford the ground upon which the decision should be come to." (*The Times*, October 17th, 1921.)

It will be seen that in this problem of drawing a boundary between Germany and Poland in Upper Silesia the two factors—" the wishes of the inhabitants " and " economic and geographic conditions "—came into the sharpest conflict. Many persons have considered that in such an industrialised area the economic conditions were of the first importance, and the wisdom of the settlement actually arrived at has been hotly disputed in consequence. But the outstanding fact is that even in such an area the " wishes of the inhabitants " were held to be paramount. In order to give effect to those wishes the Council of the League of Nations was ready to run the risk of economic dislocation.

In this and the other plebiscite areas the " geographical and economic conditions " were in fact given quite a minor place. This phrase was taken to mean, first that frontiers must be continuous. Isolated " islands " of Poles had to be left in Germany, and German " islands " in Poland. Secondly, it meant that a frontier should, where possible, follow natural frontiers, such as rivers, even at the expense of small numbers of the inhabitants. Thirdly, it meant that where possible economic dislocations should be avoided; that, for example, a frontier might be so arranged as to keep a railway inside one country, or to avoid cutting off a town from its railway station. But such considerations were throughout subordinated to the main purpose of giving effect to " the wishes of the inhabitants."

Since it appears plain that the Boundary Commission between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland is intended to follow these European precedents, its function is clear. It will ascertain by various means at its disposal the wishes of the inhabitants of the disputed areas. It will then proceed to draw a boundary as nearly as possible in accordance with those wishes. It will have to take into account economic and geographic factors, but in its case these will be secondary, since there is no part of the area under dispute comparable for its economic importance and complexity to the " industrial triangle " of Upper Silesia. If in Silesia the wishes of the inhabitants were paramount much more so should this be the case in Ireland. The task of the Commission is to give effect to the principle of self-determination.

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