O'HEGARTY

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ULSTER:
A BRIEF STATEMENT
OF FACT

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By P. S. O'HEGARTY

MAUNSEL & CO. LIMITED
DUBLIN AND LONDON 1919

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THE MAP.

Shaded Nationalist. White = Unionist.

The map is an attempt to show graphically the political distribution of Ulster, based on the votes cast at the General Election of 1918. The space allotted to each minority is believed to be approximately accurate, but it does not profess to show the exact limits within which the minorities are located. It, however, shows conclusively that there is no such thing as a homogeneous Unionist Ulster.

The Sinn Fein and Irish Party votes have been counted together as Nationalist, and in Belfast the Independent Labour votes cast for Cromac and Pottinger Divisions were counted in the general Nationalist vote as Anti-Partitionist. All other Labour, Labour Unionist, and Independents in Belfast were counted with the Partitionist vote. If only the Irish Party and Sinn Fein votes are counted in the Belfast minority, the minority would be 16 per cent.; and if all votes outside the Official Unionist and Labour Unionist votes are counted in the minority, the anti-Partitionist minority in Belfast would be 33 per cent. In North Down the Independent vote was counted as Partitionist; East Down is counted as a Nationalist constituency, as a majority of Nationalist votes was cast in that constituency.

The election figures yield the following interesting results :—

In *seven* constituencies, viz. :—

North Donegal,
West Donegal,
South Donegal,
West Cavan,
East Cavan,
South Monaghan,
South Armagh,

there was no Unionist vote cast.

In *one* constituency only, North Down, there was no Nationalist vote cast.

In *four* constituencies only, viz. :—

East Antrim,
South Antrim,
Mid Down,
West Down,

of the thirteen Unionist constituencies outside Belfast is there a Nationalist minority of less than 20 per cent.

The only solid *bloc* of Unionist votes cast was in North Down, where the Unionist and Independent votes amounted to 11,353.

The only really solid *bloc* in Ulster is the Nationalist *bloc* in the North-West, West, and South-West.

April, 1919.

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We hate the Saxon and the Dane,
  We hate the Norman men,
We cursed their greed for blood and gain,
  We curse them now again;
Yet start not, Irish-born man
  If you're to Ireland true,
We heed not blood, nor creed, nor clan,
  We have no curse for you.

DAVIS.

I. Uladh of the Gael.

The dawn of history in Ireland finds the whole people of Ireland with a common language, common ideals and traditions, common social and political institutions, and a common literature. In political and social organisation their constructive instinct was federal rather than feudal, and individuality and individual freedom were fostered. The Provincial Kings gave a nominal deference to a High King, who was one of themselves, and Kings and Chiefs were regarded, and regarded themselves, as trustees rather than as owners. Their privileges and rights appertained to their position, to which they were elected by the popular voice, and not to themselves personally. Allegiance was to the Clan, then to the Province, and finally the symbolic, rather than rigid, allegiance to the Nation in the person of the elected High King, but never to any individual. The whole feudal idea was abhorrent to the Irish mind, and when feudal organisation was sought to be thrust on the nation by the English, they fought it so long as they had the power to do so. And the federal instinct, although suppressed by law, still finds expression—*e.g.*, in the co-operative movement.

Early Ireland was a wealthy country and a civilised country, rich in crops and in cattle and in manufactures, its fairs thronged with the merchants of the Continent, its harbours thronged with their shipping, and its own shipping thronging the harbours of the Continent. It was a country of great schools, where learning was taught free to strangers, where the lamp of European culture was kept burning when it had flickered almost to extinction in Europe itself.

In that rich and free civilisation the Northern Province was not the least of the provinces. The great Irish epic

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(Note.—For the quotations in this chapter I am indebted to Mrs. Green's "The Making of Ireland and its Undoing.")

was a Connacht-Ulster epic, the greatest hero of the Irish was an Ulsterman—Cuchulain—and the Ulster High-Kings of Erin were amongst the wisest and best of her High-Kings. It was her misfortune that an O'Connor of Connacht rather than an O'Neill of Ulster was High-King when Diarmuid Mac Murchadha brought over Strongbow and Fitzstephen. In the great Irish epic of the Tain Bo Cualgne Ulster stood embattled against the other provinces, and in actual history she was often the strongest of the provinces, but she was always part of the Federated Irish Nation, and in the symbolic High-Kingship and the triennial Parliaments at Tara the essential unity of the Nation was subscribed to. In all the essentials of Irish civilisation in its golden age—when Ireland was a land of poets and saints and scholars, of courtesy and hospitality—Uladh was as advanced, and as characteristically Irish, as any of the other provinces.

Geoffrey Keating tells us that Uladh got its name [Oll-Shaith] from its great plenty, and that characteristic it retained after the English invasion. The O'Reillys of Cavan were amongst the greatest trading chiefs in Ireland, and minted their own money, which circulated also in England, O'Donnell was known as "O'Donnell of the Fish," the fleet of Maguire of Fermanagh was likened to a forest, and at Ardglass the O'Neills drew to themselves the whole trade of North-East Ulster. Ireland at that time imported two necessaries—salt and iron: but other necessaries she produced amply, and in many cases exported, her gross exports being heavier than her imports, with a corresponding increase in riches in the country. Linen and shipbuilding are the two staple industries of Ulster now. They are two of the oldest of Irish industries, but in those days Ulster was not dependent on them. When Sir Henry Sydney went through Tir-eoghain for the first time, after the assassination of Shane O'Neill, he was amazed at its riches and its general prosperity and civilisation. Under Shane's strong rule Uladh had been the most equitably governed of the Irish provinces, and, as Shane reminded Elizabeth in one of his letters to her, three hundred of the farmers of the English Pale had gone to Tir-eoghain in

order to exchange the turbulence and disorder of the Pale for the peace and prosperity of Uladh. Spenser tells us that Uladh "was as thickly inhabited and as well stocked with wealth as any portion of England," and at the time of the Plantation the report made to the "Irish Society" was that "it yieldeth store of all necessary for man's sustenance in such measure as may not only maintain itself but also furnish the city of London yearly with manifold provision . . . . As it is fit for all sorts of husbandry so for increase of cattle it doth excel . . . . Hemp and flax do more naturally grow there than elsewhere."

In the post-invasion history of Ireland Uladh looms large. Its chiefs kept their independence until 1603, not partially as in so many Southern cases but wholly, and not until the Nine Years' War was ended by the treaty of Mellifont did an English Sheriff pass north of Dundalk. In the four and a half centuries since the invasion Ulster had been foremost in the struggle. It was a Prince of Uladh—Domhnall O'Neill—who led the first national confederacy, that which crowned Edward Bruce King of Ireland and rooted up the plantation framework then existing over most of Ireland: it was a Prince of Uladh—Shane O'Neill—who, later, realised that English power menaced all Irish-born people and sought to unite against the common enemy both Gael and Sean-ghall: it was a Prince of Uladh—Hugh O'Neill—who organised and led the national confederacy which taxed all the resources of Elizabeth, and it was the clansmen of Uladh who were the mainstay of the national army: and although the great confederation of 1641 was planned by a Leinster man—Roger O'More—it was Uladh which began—under Phelim O'Neill—and which held on, and which provided the national leader—Eoghan Ruadh O'Neill—and the mainstay of the national army. In almost every case in which after the invasion the Irish national instinct tried to express itself in unity, the leader was a Prince of Uladh—Brian O'Neill, Domhnall O'Neill, Shane O'Neill, Hugh O'Neill, Eoghan Ruadh O'Neill. The only Southern name until we come to modern times is that of James Fitzmaurice, and it is

probable, or at any rate possible, that he got the idea from Shane O'Neill.

Such was Uladh of the Gael, foremost in the arts of war and in the arts of peace, sung by the poets as "Ulster's art-loving province," a land of plenty, and of industry, and of trade, and of riches—Ireland's best brain and her sharpest spear-head.

II. Ulster of the Gall.

For centuries during which Gael and Sean-ghall elbowed each other in the rest of Ireland, Ulster remained practically pure Gael. Three English attempts at a plantation on a small scale in the sixteenth century were foiled by the expulsion of the planters by the O'Neills and by the MacDonnells of Antrim. The MacDonnells held the glens and the Antrim coast, but they were a kindred people, speaking Gaelic, and were not regarded as intruders. The plantation proper began only in 1605, when Down and Antrim were planted, the former by Scotsmen and the latter partly by Scotsmen and partly by Englishmen. In 1610 Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh were planted, by Scotsmen and Englishmen, and the province which had been the most thoroughly Gaelic became that which had the greatest percentage of planters, more than half of whom were, however, Scotsmen, and therefore of kindred blood with the Gael. Later, when the 1641 rising took place, the Scottish planters were not molested for several weeks, not until after Scottish soldiers had massacred the Irish inhabitants of Island Magee and thus placed the Scottish definitely on the English side.

The Plantation of Ulster was the only plantation in Ireland which succeeded in maintaining itself in the country without assimilation by the Irish nation. The plantation of Munster, and the "Settlement" of Connaught, and the plantation of Leix and Offaly, and the

Cromwellian Settlement in the three Southern provinces, all failed, only a negligible minority of the planters not being assimilated, whereas in Ulster the majority of the planters successfully resisted assimilation. That is not explicable wholly by the fact that the Ulster Plantation was made at a time when religious bitterness was at its utmost vehemence, because the Cromwellian planters in the South were not a whit less bitter against Catholics than the Ulster planters, yet their assimilation is as undoubted as is the non-assimilation of the Northern men. Edmund Spenser was a County Cork planter, but his grandson fought with the Irish in the Rising of 1689, and was planted in his turn. The reason for the effectiveness of the plantation of Ulster must be sought not in religious bitterness, but in the different methods of the plantations, the Ulster plantation being the only one which was carried out strictly in accordance with the plan which was the motive of all these plantations—to establish through Ireland a series of self-contained communities which should remain a permanent social garrison, apart altogether from any army of occupation which might be required.

The Southern plantations failed for two reasons. In the first place the majority of the planters were either soldiers or adventurers, people whose interest in the plantation was largely speculatory, who had no interest in land as such, and who in very many cases, after they had seen their property, were glad to sell their rights to the rightful owners, and in more cases tired of life after a few years in the midst of alarms and disposed of the property either to the rightful owner or to a native speculator. In the second place, communities were not planted. The owners found it impossible in some cases to get families to plant, and in other cases they found it much more lucrative to "plant" with the rightful owners and exact a rack-rent from them. And when the planters did persist they were in a clear minority, in the midst of a people which, if oppressed, was vital and attractive, and, as self contained communities were not planted, the planters intermarried with the Gael and their children spoke Irish and grew up Irish. But in Ulster these

causes did not operate generally. In Ulster self-contained working farming communities were planted, and in the case of more than half the planters—who came from the opposite Scottish shores—the ancient traffic between Ulster and Scotland made it unnecessary for them in any material numbers to intermarry with the Irish, and their presence also made it unnecessary for the English planters to do so. So that the plantation in Ulster remained a plantation, though predominantly kindred in blood with the Gael. There was a certain amount of intermarriage, but owing to the numbers of the two parties being nearly equal it was as much on the one side as on the other and did not materially affect the plantation.

English policy had at length effected what had been for many generations its dearest wish with regard to Ireland, and in the years that followed the situation was exploited to the utmost. The English settlers, forming the Anglican Church in Ireland, were selected as the governing garrison, the Scottish settlers, the Presbyterians, were discouraged from public appointments and public life, while the Irish, all Catholics, were subjected to a series of penal laws which, aimed nominally at their religion, were aimed actually at their property and their social fabric, with the object, not alone of impoverishing them, but of degrading them to the level of the beasts. The Parliament which was established was never intended to be an actuality. It maintained itself by virtue of an unwritten agreement with the Parliament of England whereby it undertook to act in Ireland as directed by the English Privy Council, irrespective of the wishes or the interests of any section in Ireland, and in return it and its dependents were maintained in Ireland in power, with all the sweets of office. And the subservient Parliament passed, at the bidding of England, Act after Act, politically penal and commercially penal. Protestant Irish industry was strangled as ruthlessly and as consistently as Catholic Irish industry, the main economic plank of policy being to keep Ireland, however inhabited, poor. The result was, throughout the eighteenth century, a steady emigration of the Gael to France and the Con-

tinent, where they fought in every war against England, and a steady emigration of the Northern Presbyterians to America, where they were afterwards the mainstay of the American War of Independence—Washington's army was half Irish, and his financial support more than half.

As the century wore on in Ireland, the Gall developed a kind of Colonial nationality, dimly conscious of England's policy of keeping the inhabitants of Ireland, of whatever blood, poor. Ireland began to reach out to them, too, to stamp them with the indelible Irish stamp, to differentiate them from their friends across the channel. They dreamed of a self-governing colony, independent save for the link of the Crown, and with its feet always on the necks of the Gael, who were to be the hewers of wood and drawers of water. The franchise in the Dublin Parliament was confined to the planters, and the Parliament itself was corrupt and venal, and meant to be so, a majority of its members being placemen or nominees of borough-holders, who were Government supporters. Yet the popular feeling in favour of independence grew to such an extent that a popular or patriot party sprang up inside Parliament and fought the Government in the customary parliamentary manner, and which the Government fought in the customary governmental manner—by bribery and corruption. But, nearing the end of the century, the patriots produced two leaders who could not be bribed—Flood and Grattan—and it became evident to the Government that the corrupt Dublin Parliament could no longer be depended upon to hold Ireland subserviently, and consequently its destruction was resolved upon.

Towards the close of the century the two divisions of the Gall went somewhat widely apart. The Dissenters had been penalised by exclusion from office under the Crown, and under the influence of the revolutionary wave which followed the American and French revolutions they gravitated, not alone towards an independent Ireland, but towards a separate Ireland wherein the Catholic should stand on equal terms with the Protestant. They initiated the Irish Volunteers, of which they formed the majority, they advocated the repeal of the penal laws and the

declaration of the full legislative independence of Ireland; and after the disruption of the Volunteers by Grattan they threw themselves into the United Irish movement, which effected a union with the Catholic Defenders and Ribbonmen, and advocated complete separation for Ireland. The official Protestants, on the other hand, the favoured Anglicans, never went farther than the vision of themselves as undisputed lords of a subservient and powerless Catholic majority. In the closing years of the eighteenth century they were the section upon which the Government relied, as the Dissenters were the section which they feared. And when in 1796 the system of martial law and free quarters, applied to Wexford in 1798, was applied to Ulster, Government proved that it had as little consideration for the Protestant Nationalist as for the Catholic Nationalist. Ulster in 1796 was dragooned even as Wexford was in 1798, but it did not rise until 1798, and the strength of the United Irish movement in Ulster had been scotched in 1796.

The Anglican Protestants, influenced despite themselves by public opinion, had stood out for legislative independence, but in the struggle between the United Irish Society and the Government they stood unreservedly with the Government. Grattan, and their other spokesmen in Parliament, had nothing but threats for the United Irishmen, and on the actual outbreak of the insurrection supported the Government in every way, and the infamous Yeomen of '98 were largely composed of Anglican Protestants, lusty fellows who lumped all "traitors" together and showed no mercy. With their help the insurrection was suppressed.

The last thirty years of the eighteenth century, however, had proved two things to England, that there was no permanent reliance to be placed upon even a nominated Parliament and that the Protestant Dissenters ought to be politically united with the Anglican Protestants. The first steps towards the dissolution of the unity between the Catholics and the Dissenters had already been taken by the encouragement of the Orange Societies, the circulation of stories of bogus Papist plots, and the stirring

up of sectarian animosity by Government agents on all sides, while the abolition (which had taken place in 1779) of the restriction which shut the Dissenters out from office now began to operate in the same direction. The increase of the *regium donum,* by attaching the Presbyterian Ministers directly to the Crown, and the Union, completed the process; and the nineteenth century saw the Gall, not alone in Ulster but in all Ireland, welded into one political force, bestriding Ireland as the Old Man of the Sea bestrode Sinbad.

The Union was carried, by bribery unexampled and against the expressed and almost unanimous wishes of the whole people of Ireland, because England had become convinced that there was no permanency for her position in Ireland so long as there remained in Ireland an Irish central authority, whether Gael or planter Irish. It was clear from the experience of the eighteenth century that neither sectarian nor sectional differences were vital enough to keep the inhabitants of Ireland permanently apart so long as there was an Irish Parliament, even a Parliament *pour rire,* in existence, upon which Irish public opinion remained focussed. It was held, and rightly as the event proved, that the abolition of the Irish Parliament and its substitution by an Irish representation at Westminster would not alone prevent permanently the growth of any patriotically Irish feeling amongst the English garrison in Ireland, but would also prevent effectually the development in Ireland of anything in any way prejudicial to English interests. The Union, preceded by the relaxation of the penal laws against the Catholics and the artificially provoked sectarian animosities of 1795-1800, and followed by the increased *regium donum,* the non-fulfilment of Pitt's pledge to emancipate the Catholics, the growth of an agitation in Ireland which was in essence national but in form sectarian, and the diversion of the thought-centre of the whole garrison class from Dublin to London, fused the Dissenting and Anglican Protestants into an English influence—outside Ulster an English garrison—and ended the national unity of Catholic and Protestant desiderated by Wolfe Tone and begun in the United Irish Society.

In the eighteenth century the Gall in Ulster had followed in the footsteps of the Gael, and out of Ulster of the Gall, as out of Uladh of the Gael, had come the anti-English impulse. It was the Ulster Dissenters who made the Volunteers, and who made the United Irishmen, the two movements of that century which almost separated Ireland from England, almost united in a national unity the whole people of Ireland. At the end of the century, they turned their faces to the East, and somersaulted—outmanœuvred by English statecraft. The best of their leaders were dead or emigrants, and those who were left behind, having no national tradition to nerve them to remain steadfast in the republican faith of pre-Union days, succumbed to that most ignoble of all human passions, religious bigotry. That acted like blinkers, blinding them to everything else, and they who in the eighteenth century led Ireland in resistance to English power, in the nineteenth century led English power against Ireland.

III. Ulster of the Irish.

Ulster of the Irish, Ulster of our own day, is the product of the events and forces outlined in the preceding chapters. The penal laws did not eliminate the Gael, they impoverished him, they degraded him, and they forced upon him the slave vices from which he is slowly emancipating himself; but behind all the glitter and tinsel of the eighteenth century stands the man of the older race, keeping his footing with difficulty, but still keeping it. Banished to bog and mountain, to the waste land and the poor land, without legal existence or legal rights, he stood and watched, with feelings we may guess at, the smoke of the stranger coming up from the valleys and pastures that were his. With no defence against tyranny, no leaders, no organisation, with no weapons save hope and courage and the Irish language, all over

Ireland the Gael in the eighteenth century rebuilt his social fabric, re-moulded it to the limitations imposed upon it by the penal laws, and as the second half of the century went its course and there was an increased tolerance in Ireland made his appearance again in his own country as an organised force. The Catholic Agitation Societies gave him expression, gave him leaders, gave him courage. Catholics were not allowed to join the Volunteers, except in rare instances, but they subscribed largely to the Volunteer funds: and they met the advances of the republican dissenters of the North halfway in the attempt to unite the two parties on the basis of what was now their common country. The Union sundered them again, and made a cleavage in Ireland which is still a cleavage. But it is a domestic cleavage.

The evolution of Gael and Gall in the eighteenth century had been, broadly speaking, towards one another. The Gall had come to be Irish, not planter Irish merely but native Irish, with his interests centred in Ireland, his feelings centred in Ireland, all his traditions and hopes bound up in Ireland. He developed a colonial and exclusive national feeling which, in time, would have lost its exclusiveness and its colonial tinge. The Gael had developed through tribulation and silence to articulation, not the old proud articulation of the clans, but the articulation of a people who have just, and only just, emerged from actual slavery. He had had no reason to love the Dublin Parliament, the instrument of his oppression, but he had looked with a kindly eye on its patriotic development, and had supported the patriotic party in the only way he could—in sympathy. The Volunteers he had backed up strongly with money, with approval, and in the case of a few corps more liberal-minded than most, with recruits. The natural ending to all that, the natural ending to all political cleavage in Ireland, was a union of the whole people of Ireland, and so long as Ireland as a whole remained self-centred that union was not alone possible but probable, not alone probable but certain. Were it not for the suppression of the Dublin Parliament and the consequent diversion of the public imagination to England, it is certain that Parliamentary reform and the

elimination of at least the most glaring of the pocket boroughs would have come soon after the opening of the new century, to be followed by a patriotic majority and full Catholic Emancipation, and then a united nation within one man's lifetime. But the Parliamentary Union turned the minds of both parties outside Ireland, and placed them, so long as they kept their minds outside Ireland, at the mercy of the Parliament and Government of England, which preserved and hardened their artificial antagonism.

English plans for the perpetual subjugation of Ireland by division were helped by the course of events in Ireland immediately preceding, and following, the Union. The more determined of the republican dissenters emigrated, and those left behind were easily turned by the *regium donum,* and by the manipulation of the revival of religious bigotry. And the growth of an aggressive Catholic agitation in the new century sent them deeper into the rut of bigotry and still farther from the ideas of the years between the outbreak of the French Revolution and '98. National agitation after the Union was inevitably Catholic also and it was therefore easy to represent it as a sectarian agitation, and to stiffen the Northern Protestants against it by a liberal dose of theological bitterness. It is easy to blame O'Connell now for the mould which he gave to Irish national agitation in the last century, but it is difficult to see what else he could have done. The whole machinery of oppression in Ireland had been designed especially to turn Irish thoughts from a national basis to a sectarian basis, and consequently the penal laws were framed nominally against Catholics, though actually they were aimed politically at the Irish and not theologically. Had the whole people of Ireland turned Protestant the object of the penal laws would have been frustrated even more completely than it was: for that object was political and material and not religious. Property and mind were the aims, and not religion. The circumstances of the time made it absolutely impossible for a national movement in the broad sense to be evolved. Such a movement was possible before the Union, for then there was a large Protestant

Nationalist population, and a majority, a large majority, of the whole Protestant population would have welcomed an independent Ireland, once it was a *fait accompli*. But after '98 there were no more Protestant Nationalists by conviction in Ireland—they were dead or deported or had emigrated; and after the Union there were no more Protestant Nationalist sympathisers—for the Union shifted their centre of interest from Dublin to London, and the uprise of sectarian bitterness dispelled their Nationalist sympathies. A secret revolutionary movement on a broad national basis was feasible, although it would have consisted in practice of Catholics to a man, but a public agitating movement, an evolutionary movement to move slowly and attack definite grievances within the law, such a movement could not be other, in its early evolutionary stages, than a movement for the abolition of Catholic disabilities.

In the eighteenth century it was the Gall in Ireland whom the English had to fight. The Patriotic Party in Parliament was a Gall party; it was the Gall who formed the Volunteers against a possible French invasion and used them to wrest from an unwilling England free trade and an independent legislature; it was the Gall who formed the United Irish Society as a Society working within the law for the reform of Parliament and the emancipation of the Catholics, and converted it into a revolutionary separatist society when they found that those two measures were impossible within the law; it was the Gall who initiated, planned and led the Insurrection of '98, although it was the Gael of Wexford who made the best fight: it was the Gall, even to the most bigoted Orangeman of them, who stood together as one man against the Union and swore never to accept it. It was the high watermark of the Nationalist Gall in Ireland: in the succeeding century the Gael resumed his own place, and the Gall became partly garrison and partly sectary.

Modern Ireland is made up of these, and Ulster more particularly because there Gall and Gael are more evenly balanced. But to-day there are no Gall and no Gael, but there are Irish. The pro-Union, anti-Nationalist, temper

of the Ulster Unionists is an artificial temper, and is the antithesis of the more natural temper evolved by their forefathers in the eighteenth century. It is unnatural, artificially maintained in the interest of English government in Ireland, and it cannot endure. Sooner or later that unity of the whole people of Ireland, first mooted in modern times by Swift, defined and evidenced by Tone, and elevated almost to a religion by Davis—all of the Gall---must come. And in the meantime let it be remembered that Ulster of the Irish includes Antrim equally with Donegal, and that their differences are domestic, to be solved in Ireland, and not elsewhere. Whatever their origin in Ireland, however faulty their original claim, the Ulster Unionists are Irish now, and they are Ireland's, bound to the Nationalist Irish by the strongest of all ties, the tie of a common country.

IV. The "Two Nations" Theory.

In considering briefly the mushroom theory of the "two Irish Nations" it will be well to begin with the statistics of population, which are as follows :—

	Catholics.	All Others.
Antrim	132,994	447,817
Armagh	54,526	65,765
Cavan	74,271	16,902
Donegal	133.021	35,516
Down	64,485	139,818
Fermanagh	34,740	27,096
Derry	64,401	76,224
Monaghan	53,363	18,092
Tyrone	79,015	63,650
Total	690,816	890,880
Deduct Belfast ...	93,243	293,704
	597,573	597,176

There are probably more Protestant Nationalists in Ulster than there are Catholic Unionists, but the figures of religious profession may be taken as approximately representing the respective strengths. It will be seen that there is a Unionist majority of 200,000 in the whole of Ulster: that this majority comes wholly from the City of Belfast and that with Belfast eliminated there is a Nationalist majority of four hundred: that of the nine counties of Ulster there is a Nationalist majority in five and a Unionist majority in four, the four Unionist counties being Down, Antrim, Armagh, and Derry: and that in only two counties is the majority considerable, viz., in Down and Antrim. A further examination of the figures reveals the following:—

(1) In the five Nationalist counties the proportions are 70 per cent. Nationalist to 30 per cent. Unionist.

(2) In the four Unionist counties the proportions are 70 per cent. Unionist to 30 per cent. Nationalist.

(3) In the five Nationalist counties, with the addition of Derry and Armagh, the proportions are 62 per cent. Nationalist to 38 per cent. Unionist.

(4) In the five Nationalist counties, with the addition of Derry, Armagh, and Down, the proportions are 56 per cent. Nationalist to 44 per cent. Unionist.

(5) In the whole of Ulster with the exclusion of the Borough of Belfast the proportions are 50·016 Nationalist to 49·084 Unionist.

In the light of these figures the two nations theory, on any population basis, disappears; and if it is arguable (which no Nationalist admits) that an agglomerate minority possesses the right to secede from the nation of which it forms a part, then that right is arguable in respect of the City of Belfast alone. And that contains a Nationalist population of 24 per cent. In the whole of Ireland excluding Belfast the proportions are 79 per cent. Nationalist to 21 per cent. Unionist, and if Belfast be included the proportions are 75 per cent. and 25 per cent.

It has been argued that the Ulster Unionists form a group of totally different race from the rest of Ireland, but that is untrue. They differ from the Ulster Nationalists, for instance, in two things, in politics and in religion, but in nothing else, and the differences between them and the Southern Irish are differences which occur in every country which has a colder North than South. But apart from that point altogether they are not of different race. There is no country in Europe wherein the racial strain is not a mixed one. In England it is a mixture of Britons, Saxons, Danes, and Normans: and in Ireland it is a mixture of Gael, Dane, and English. The race in Ireland is probably less of a mixture than it is in England, and under an Irish government would have long ago developed homogeneity. That has been artificially retarded in the interests of English government in the country.

In Ulster to-day the Catholics and Presbyterians form 70 per cent. of the population, and that 70 per cent. is predominantly Gaelic in race. The Scottish planters who established Irish Presbyterianism, and from whom the Presbyterians of to-day are descended, were largely Gaelic, and they were of the same race as the native Irish. In early days Ireland was known as Scotia major, and Scotland as Scotia minor. There was always a free intercourse between Ulster and the opposite Scottish shores, and the Scottish kingdom of Strathclyde was really an Irish kingdom. It was founded by Irishmen who expelled the Picts, and eventually united the whole of Scotland into the Kingdom of Scotland under Kenneth MacAlpin, who was of Irish descent. The Scottish planters of Down and Antrim came almost wholly from this ancient kingdom of Strathclyde and the adjoining Galloway, and nothing is more certain than that they were of the same race as the Irish. When the insurrection of 1641 broke out these Scottish planters were not molested, because they were of the same blood, until the Scottish garrison of Carrickfergus became aggressive against the Irish. In the intervening centuries the intermarriage between the strains has probably increased the proportion of Gaelic blood in Ulster. The Scottish

planters intermarried largely with their own kin, and to a lesser extent with the native Irish and with the English planters. But the English planters intermarried preponderatingly with the Scottish planters or with the native Irish, and hardly at all with fresh English blood. So that Gaelic blood preponderates to-day in Ulster to the amount of perhaps 80 per cent. And it is doubtful if the proportion is any greater in the South. In Ireland there is no pure race, save perhaps on the Western seaboard. There the population on the fringe of the coast and on the islands has so little foreign blood as to be practically pure Gael, but everywhere else it is the national mixture—Gael, Dane, and English. Ulster was not planted until after 1603, and up to then was practically purely Gaelic in blood. In the four and a half centuries that preceded that plantation the rest of Ireland had been constantly, I will not say planted, but subjected to infusions of English soldiers and settlers, the greater portion of whom it as constantly assimilated. No county was more thoroughly planted by the Puritans than Tipperary, but Tipperary is as Irish as Kerry.

In all Ireland there is but the one race, a mixture of Gael, Dane, and English, with the Gael as the predominating, backbone, type. There are not two Nations, but one Nation, divided as every other nation is by politics and by religion, but not permanently divided. Ulster is Ireland's quite as much as Munster is. The gulf between Unionist Ulster and England and Scotland is as deep as is the gulf between Nationalist Ireland and England and Scotland. The causes which keep Nationalist and Unionist apart are not racial, but political, not natural but artificial, not permanent but temporary.

V. The Fears of the Ulster Unionists.

The legend that the Ulster Unionists fear that in an independent or self-governed Ireland they would be deprived of their property and their throats cut need not detain us. It was invented, like so many good Irish stories, for English consumption. That any material section of them fears differential legislation against Ulster is also, I think, a legend framed for English consumption. But there may be some people in Ulster who believe it, and it may be as well therefore to refer to it briefly.

The Southern Irish have never, either in ancient or modern times, been an oppressing people. Their national instinct was towards a federal freedom, and they have always been a tolerant people and not a vindictive people. They have no more animus against the Ulster Unionists than the animus one man in an argument has against another, and it lasts only in actual argument. At present they do not avoid Belfast products, nor Belfast banks, and they have no intention of avoiding them. They regard the Ulster Unionists as Irishmen as much as they themselves, and they are as proud of Belfast linen or Belfast shipbuilding as any Ulster man can be. Ulster self-conceit with its business capacity they take with a wink : when Ulster asks why Harland and Wolff's is not at Cork or Waterford, they might just as readily reply why are Guinness's and J. J. Murphy's not in Belfast or Derry : or they might ask why the Ulster Unionist Sunday should be the dullest and most oppressive day of the week, instead of the day of rest and universal good spirits it is in the South. But they have the sense to recognise that different places will develop different activities, and they find more to marvel at in the soul-killing dreariness of the Ulster Sunday than they do in linen or shipbuilding. It never enters anyone's head in the South to be jealous of Belfast's industry or of its trade : but we certainly do feel a good deal of pity for its incapacity to make the best out of a short life.

It would be the interest of a self-governing Ireland, and it would be its unanimous desire, to help and foster in every way that industrial capacity of which Unionist Ulster is so proud, and to make Ulster and Ulster business men the leaders in industrial revival in Ireland. It it totally inconceivable that any legislation inimicable to the interests of Ulster would even be proposed, much less carried, in an Irish Parliament. One thing an Irish Parliament would, and should, do is to stop sweated labour. An industry of whatever magnitude which cannot maintain itself without underpaying and overworking its employees does not deserve to be maintained. If that be an interference with trade, then there certainly would be an interference. And I believe that this legend about trade interference was invented to cover the fear that in a self-governing Ireland there would be humanitarian regulation of industry. There would, but there would be nothing in a free Ireland for Ulster trade and industry but help and appreciation.

The Ulster Unionists have only one genuine fear, and that is the fear of the Pope. The Pope, to them, represents everything evil, everything against which their forefathers struggled, and they imagine that in present circumstances the Pope directs politics in the rest of Ireland, and that he would dominate an Irish Parliament. This also is a legend, invented and maintained for the purpose of stimulating religious bitterness in Ireland and in England, and has no justification either in present circumstances or in past circumstances. The political power of the Papacy, such as it was, was nearly always thrown against Ireland and in favour of England, save in the first heat of the Reformation struggle. The original grant of Ireland to England by Pope Adrian has never been repudiated by the Papacy, and it has steadily viewed Irish questions with that grant in its mind. William of Orange came to England and Ireland with the backing, financial and otherwise, of, *inter alia,* the Pope of that day, who had quarrelled with Louis XIV. of France. In the eighteenth century the ecclesiastical power in Ireland went wholly for submission and against agitation, and the Catholic agitation was made effective

by Sweetman, Keogh, and O'Connell not with the help of the episcopacy but largely without its countenance. In the nineteenth century the weight of the Church has been rather more with England than with Ireland. That does not imply, nor is it meant to imply, that the Catholic clergy, individually, have not been in the main Nationalists and have not scrupled to say so. But no clergyman in Ireland gives up his politics, and the Protestant clergymen of all shades are at least as energetic politicians as the Catholic clergyman, while for sheer political virulence commend me to the Presbyterian General Assembly or the Synod of the Anglican Church of Ireland. It would be a good thing for Ireland if clergymen of all denominations were kept out of politics, but there is absolutely no case for keeping out the Catholic clergyman alone, nor is it easy to see how any equitable law can disfranchise any class in a Nation. Nothing but a self-denying ordinance could do it, and that is hardly likely.

It is untrue to suppose that either the Papacy or the priest has ever materially influenced political developments in Ireland in accordance with any general Church political programme, save to the extent that the Pope supported William of Orange. Until the eighteenth century neither Pope, Bishop, nor clergy had any material weight in Irish politics. It was in the eighteenth century that the people, deprived of their secular leaders who emigrated, generation after generation, to the Continent and fought England there, turned to the only leaders who stuck to them, helped them, lived with them and died with them, their priests, and it was not until O'Connell drew the priests into the Catholic Association in the nineteenth century that they exercised their influence politically. They influenced neither the Young Ireland movement nor the Fenian movement, in fact they fought them both, they were members of the Land League but they certainly did not influence it, and if they contributed enormously to the revolt against Parnell, it was on a moral issue and not on a political one, and it was on a question of Nationalist policy and not on a question of party politics. In twelve months

you would hardly hear one political harangue in a Catholic church, and in half a lifetime I can hardly remember any, save at the time of the Parnell split. The Southern Irish accept their clergyman's authority on questions which come within his province as a Minister of God, but not on politics, and when the Church, or individual clergy, overstep the mark, they do not go unfought. O'Connell fought them and beat them on the Veto question, Young Ireland fought them, so did Fenianism, and so did Parnellism. And nothing is more certain than that the political power of the clergy, Catholic and Protestant, would decrease rather than increase in a free Ireland. There is no apparent method of preventing a layman from attaching too much importance to the opinions of his clergyman on lay matters [and I imagine that this is done on both sides] save the raising of the standard of education, and the British Treasury starves education in Ireland. And there is no more case for disfranchising clergymen than there is for disfranchising lawyers. No good can come out of prohibition and penalisation which are an interference with individual freedom, however worthy the motive.

Nationalist Ireland has committed one sin against toleration, the formation of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. In Ulster where Protestant bigotry is still mediæval, there is possibly some case to be made out for it, but in the other three provinces there is none. There it has become a machine for the persecution and terrorisation of all who will not join it and for the aggrandisement of all who will. It will be one of the first duties of an Irish Parliament to suppress it. But even it, though its whole policy is a policy of exclusiveness, is directed as much, if not more, against Nationalists who will not join it as against Unionists. In general, there is no intolerance by Catholic against Protestant in the three Southern provinces. There is occasional political boycotting, but never religious intolerance. The Irish Catholic lives a quiet religious life, he is no theologian.

[NOTE.—Since this was written the elections have demonstrated that Sinn Fein has overwhelmed the Ancient Order of Hibernians, which is no longer a force in Ireland.]

VI. The Policy of Unionism.

Unionism in Ireland is not a faith, but a policy, and hardly a policy so much as a catspaw. It is the latest of the methods by which English government in Ireland is sought to be perpetuated. And it is no more immutable than was any other method.

English rule in Ireland has been governed by two emotions, avarice and fear, the first directed towards Ireland's wealth and commerce, and the second directed against the possibility of the development of Ireland's resources making her a rival to England. Alone amongst subject nations Ireland shows a steady decrease in population, in self-containment, in economic stability. That is the result of English policy in Ireland, manifested in our time as Unionism.

The whole of Irish history since the invasion is the record of the struggle of two civilisations of opposing tendencies, and the evolution of the machinery of English government in Ireland has been merely the evolution of method after method of holding the country. When one method breaks down it is scrapped and another takes its place. And so misgovernment of Ireland by England is a continuity, though apparently a series of jumps.

Up to the Treaty of Limerick the government of Ireland by England, so far as it may be said to have been a government, was a government of naked and confessed force. In the early centuries, when the majority of the Irish Chiefs still had their independence, England was content to hold a grip in the country, to use that as a method of further disintegrating the Irish body politic and preventing the formation of a central authority. When England was strong that grip was extended, and when she was weak her power lessened until at one period it dragged a precarious existence only by paying tribute to the Irish Chiefs. But it was always maintained, and it served eventually to beat down all Irish resistance and establish through the whole of Ireland English law and English government. That government was sought to be permanently established by garrisons, and then by plantations, and then under

the Puritans by extermination and deportation, and all failed. It was attempted by the bribery and intimidation of the Chiefs, and failed. After each death Ireland rose again, phœnix-like, and the insoluble problem was still insoluble at the time when modern Irish history begins—after the Treaty of Limerick.

Since the Treaty of Limerick English government in Ireland has rested nominally upon law rather than upon bayonets, upon a certain number of forms and formulas called constitutional. And these have changed with the necessities of government. It is a cardinal principle of English policy to prevent Ireland, however peopled, from becoming a wealthy and populous nation, and that principle has been applied against her own planters as against the Irish proper. All constitutional government in Ireland has been so framed as to confer all real power upon England, and to serve merely to delude the people of Ireland into believing that they are having a voice in the government of their country. In the eighteenth century England sought to hold Ireland by the establishment there of a subordinate Parliament, recruited solely from the limited planter class, dependent for its maintenance on England, and so constituted as to have nearly one half of its members Government placemen. When that mock Parliament actually took unto itself life, discovered Ireland as its country, demanded an actual constitution, and demonstrated that it was no longer willing to act as a catspaw it was suppressed. The Irish Protestants of the eighteenth century held Ireland for England, degraded and impoverished her and themselves, for England; and to a man they regarded their separate Parliament as their right; but when that Parliament ceased to be subservient and began to be real, their wishes and their rights were no more regarded than those of the people they had helped to hold, and their Parliament was abolished. The Union represented merely the end of one English method of holding Ireland —the method of a subordinate and powerless Parliament, recruited from a safe class. It was followed by the method which has obtained up to the present, the method of holding Ireland by diverting its attention to the Par-

liament of England and its upper classes to London, and by giving it a mock representation in the English Parliament, a representation which could always be overwhelmed by the English vote on any question affecting Ireland. The policy of Unionism is merely the policy of subordinating Irish interests to those of England, of helping England to hold Ireland. It is not an Irish policy, and its manifestations in Ireland are consistently harmful.

Those who held Ireland for England in the eighteenth century were betrayed by the country they served: how did those who held Ireland for England in the nineteenth century fare? They have been betrayed consistently, point by point, according as the Nationalist agitation grew so strong as to make it to the interest of the Government to concede, point by point. They began the century with a formidable array of planks, which have been wrenched from them one by one until there remains only one, and that is heavily mortgaged. Whatever the outcome of things in Ireland, it will hardly survive intact. Their first betrayal was the passing of Catholic Emancipation, the next the abolition of Tithes—or their transformation—the next the Disestablishment of the Anglican Church, the next the Land Acts, the next the Local Government Act, the next the Universities Act, and the last plank, the "We will not have Home Rule" plank, is so heavily mortgaged that the betrayal Act is on the Statute Book. If it is put into operation they will be able to view the landscape littered with broken planks and broken pledges.

In the nineteenth century Unionism has been the policy of "the Protestant Interest." That Interest has been attached to England by indirect ways, chiefly by privilege and place. Those who compose it began with a monopoly of the constantly increasing Government positions in Ireland, and of all public representation and control. But as the century wore on, the independent spirit of their eighteenth century forefathers waxed thin, and they became mere henchmen, and as the independent spirit of the Nationalists grew, it was they whom it became necessary to conciliate. And accordingly place and

privilege were opened to them and they are seen in places where the Protestant Interest of a hundred years ago would have shuddered to see them. And as the number of placed and conciliated Nationalists does not seem to affect materially the evergrowing strength of their agitation, it is probable that in the near future they will carry all the place and privilege trenches, and then what room will there be in Ireland, or what material in Ireland, for the policy of Unionism, a policy without an ideal, a mere catspaw? It will have to stand upon its merits, not upon its being the price of privilege and place. And its merits are depopulation and national division and the stranger's rule. Its psychology is belief in the incapacity of Irishmen to govern their own country, and subscribing to the favourite English doctrine that the Irish are a backward race, "unfit for representative institutions," as the jargon goes.

Unionism means division and manipulation. When Pitt was planning his Union and dreading the results of active opposition by the Catholics he went to the Bishops and whispered in their ears, "You will never get emancipation from the Irish Protestants, but we can, and we will, emancipate you once we have a Union": and to the Protestants he said, "A Union is the only thing to establish stability, and permanently secure the Protestant Interest against Catholic aggression. In a United Parliament their influence will be negligible." And upon that manipulative basis the Union Government of Ireland has been based. When the dearest wishes of one party are done violence to, it is always the other party that is responsible. When Home Rule is dropped, the inflammatory whisper is "those Unionist Volunteers with their guns," and when it is revived, "those Nationalist Volunteers with their guns." And so the game goes on.

In the closing years of the eighteenth century the Irish National instinct almost brought about an effective union between the limited colonial patriotism of the best of the planter element and the national patriotism of the old Irish. The Union buried that limited colonial patriotism, and instituted for it subservience to English

interests, buttressed up by property, law, police, privilege, place, and power. But the unconquerable common people of Ireland have sapped the foundations of that Unionism one by one. The landlords have gone, and the grand juries, and all the old insolence of an Ascendancy Class holding by law and by force rather than by merit. Outside Ulster there is no longer either the material or the wish for the old policy of Unionism. The Irish national instinct is again asserting itself, and against its persistence policies and bayonets will alike be vain. The whole ascendancy structure that stood against it, entrenched in the very foundations of government and of social order in Ireland, has vanished, as everything will vanish which has no root in the country, no faith save intolerance, no ideal save subservience.

The roots of Unionism are in England, and there all the artificial stimulants which have kept it alive are centred. It has never become native to Ireland and it never can because its existence is an offence to the Lord God of Nations, is an attempt to give the lie to untold centuries of development of an Irish Nation which has proved itself to be indestructible by any weapons that the wit of man can devise. Its existence as a policy will coincide with its utility as a catspaw, which utility is now almost at an end. When it does go, I do not think that the spirit which has moved it, the will to hold Ireland divided, can find another Irish habitation.

VII. The Rights of the Ulster Unionists.

The Ulster Unionists do not regard themselves as English, or as Scottish, or as a separate Nation from the Nationalists. They regard themselves as Irish, and their country as Ireland. They object, for instance, to Partition quite as vehemently as the Nationalists do, but they claim the right to secede from the Nation and form a separate Ulster Nation, or to be attached to England as at present, *rather than to be governed by an Irish Parliament.*

Now they cannot have it both ways. Either they are Irish, recognising Ireland as their country, and accepting Irish citizenship with its concomitant obligation to work in essentials in friendship with all sections of their fellow countrymen, or they are not Irish, repudiate Ireland as their country and decline to acknowledge their Irish citizenship. They can no longer sit on two stools.

If their Irish citizenship be acknowledged, then they can neither frame nor substantiate any case to separate treatment, as a matter of right. They have no case racially, as I have shown, nor have they any preponderating political bloc save in the City of Belfast, and outside it they are in a minority in Ulster. No nation ever has admitted any right in any section of its people to secede, no matter what their grievance, save by emigration. The early Puritans left England, and the later ones conquered it, but neither attempted to form a separate nation in England. But the Irish Nation may, and should, give consideration to the special circumstances which have made the present situation, and may meet the Ulster Unionists' wishes, so far as they can and ought to be met in a common government. There should be no difficulty in, for instance, and no objection to, devising some safeguard against any possible unfair taxation of Ulster industry, short of anything in the nature of a veto upon legislation, which would be as absurd as to give a veto upon the establishment of a Parliament. Nor should there be any difficulty or objection to a safeguard with regard to whatever definite religious oppression the Ulster Unionists fear in an Irish Parliament, nor to the filling of all governmental posts, large and small, save of course the political ones, by open competitive examination. There is no reasonable safeguard against oppression which an Irish Parliament may not favourably consider, not as a right but as the price of peace and goodwill. But the Ulster Unionists need not expect anything in the nature of a veto, anything which would give them the power to block legislation which the considered opinion of the Parliament of Ireland considered to be just and reasonable. Safeguards against specified things—against anything penal

against Protestants, for instance—and a general safeguard against hasty legislation—*e.g.*, provision for a referendum or for reconsideration—are the utmost that may reasonably be demanded or agreed to. Anything beyond that would merely be a continuation of the preferential, not to say exclusive, legislation which has been a feature of the attempt to divide Ireland permanently. There can be no unity where one section receives any kind of preferential treatment, nor will the anomalies of Irish life begin to disappear until all parties in Ireland are placed upon equal terms.

It is perfectly true to say that the Ulster question has been mishandled by the Irish Parliamentary Party under Butt, Parnell, and Redmond. But both parties are equally to blame. If the Irish Parliamentary Party ignored all possibility of coming to an agreement with the Ulster Unionists, the Ulster Unionists equally ignored all possibility of coming to an agreement with the Nationalists. It never occurred to either party that the Irish Nation includes them both, that it must be built so as to include them both and cannot otherwise be built permanently, and that there is no possibility whatever of creating in Ireland an exclusive Gaelic Nation or an exclusive Gall Nation. There is no pure Gaelic blood in Ireland save on the Western seaboard. There is no pure Gall-ish blood anywhere in Ireland. There are predominating numbers of the two political parties in various districts, but everywhere they are mixed with the other party. There must be either agreement or the physical expulsion or forcible assimilation of one party, and forcible assimilation is not likely to be a successful policy with anyone of Irish birth, nor is it likely that a physical expulsion policy more thorough than Cromwell's can be devised or, if devised, can be carried out. Ten minutes' thinking on facts, rather than rhetoric, would have convinced both parties, forty years ago, when their elaborate Parliamentary manœuvres began, that there must be either agreement or chaos: but they had their minds fixed not on Ireland but on England. One party was merely a wing of the English Unionist Party and the other Party was developing into what it has since be-

come, merely a wing of the English Liberal Party. But no errors of judgment of this nature can invalidate the clear right of the Nation to the allegiance of every person in Ireland who accepts Irish citizenship, or can release Irish citizens from the obligation to think of their Nation rather than of their Party or even of their Province. Both parties have been cursed by leaders who were bigots and politicians rather than patriots, who were so little as to think exclusively in terms of their own Party and never to make an advance towards national agreement. National agreement can only come by give and take on both sides. A forced agreement, a sullen agreement, would carry with it the seeds of civil conflict. The Ulster Unionists' recognition of the obligations of Irish citizenship must be met by the establishment of whatever reasonable safeguards are necessary to make a United Nation. The new Ireland has outgrown both the old parties, it has really discovered Ireland, and the old moulds will never again be capable of use.

On the other hand, if the Unionists of Ulster should refuse to recognise their Irish citizenship, they can only do so by proclaiming themselves a colony—flying in the face of history, race, statistics, and the indelible Irish stamp which is on all of them. And in that case they have no rights in Ireland, being merely a colony which has not succeeded in ousting, or in conquering, the original inhabitants. Rights in a country are dependent upon citizenship, and where citizenship is denied, and its obligations refused, there are no rights. Aliens in a country, not adopting its nationality, have no rights.

The Ulster Unionists have the same rights in Ireland that the Ulster Nationalists have, the right to Irish citizenship, the right of protection by the whole people of Ireland, the right to share in whatever future there may be before their country, the right to trust their country. They have no other rights, in Ireland or outside Ireland. Standing upon their Irish birth, Irish nationality, Irish citizenship, they have an unexampled potentiality of national leadership. Standing upon any extra-Irish influence they stand upon shifting sands, without nobility, without stability, without future.

Epilogue: Some Secondary Considerations.

In the preceding pages I have dealt briefly with what I regard as the essential facts and considerations with regard to Ulster. There are, however, some minor matters which can hardly be ignored, although they do not materially affect the main argument.

The Rev. J. B. Woodburn in "The Ulster Scot," a book which in general plan is as impartial as the author's knowledge will allow him to be, makes the statement that the manufacturing north owes its predominance in manufacture to its Protestantism, and that while Catholicism generally is enfeebling and emasculating Protestantism is a bestower of all the civic virtues. And Unionist writers and speakers generally bring out what they call the indolence and incapacity of the Nationalist as a reason why they dread and dislike the idea of uniting with him. Mr. Woodburn's contention is absurd, and is none the less absurd for being generally held. Going to Mass no more unfits a man for manufacturing industry than going to church does, and the reasons for the difference between North and South will have to be sought, and will be found, elsewhere. So far as the general contention of the non-industriability of Catholicism is concerned it seems necessary only to mention Belgium and France. Belgium is a Catholic country and France is a Catholic country in so far as it can be given a religious label at all. It certainly is not a Protestant country.

There is no doubt, at any rate, that incapacity for trade was not a characteristic of the Gael. Until the Tudors smashed the independence of the last independent clans of Ireland Ireland was a great trading country, and its cities and towns were hives of industry. Galway, Limerick, Cork, and Waterford, for instance, were known on the Continent for centuries before Belfast was even a name: and Ireland as a whole exported more than she imported. From the earliest times Ireland was a wealthy and a trading country and the causes of any incapacity for trade must therefore be looked for, and will be found, in the political and economic conditions which followed the complete overthrow of Irish independence. They will

be found primarily in the penal laws and secondarily in the whole method and system of government in Ireland.

The Union is sometimes spoken of, and written of, as if it were the turning point in modern Irish history. It is not. It is a turning point in the history of the Gall in Ireland, and it arrested his evolution towards nationalism; but the turning point in the history of the Gael is the Treaty of Limerick, or rather its breaking. In so far as the Southern Irish of to-day fall short of their Northern fellow-countrymen in any of the practical virtues, that is not due to any law of God, or to any operation of nature, but to laws of man. Few of those who have heard of the penal laws have any idea of what they really were, or of how long they continued in practical operation. The Rev. Mr. Woodburn makes the extraordinary statement that "the Northern Presbyterian was persecuted almost to the same extent" as the Catholic, which is amazingly inaccurate. The penal legislation against the Dissenters consisted of the imposition of the Test Act, which disqualified them from holding office under the Crown until its repeal in 1779: but of the whole code of savage legislation directed against property, against education, against social life, against the family, none was directed against the Dissenters. On this question of the penal laws I make no apology for introducing a long quotation from Lecky, whose Protestantism was never suspect, and whose Unionism was above suspicion at the time he wrote this, his earlier Nationalism having disappeared.

"It was the distinguishing characteristic of the Irish penal code that its victims constituted at least three-fourths of the nation, and that it was intended to demoralise as well as to degrade. Its enactments may be divided into different groups. One group was intended to deprive the Catholics of all social life. By an Act of the English Parliament they were forbidden to sit in that of Ireland. They were afterwards deprived of the elective suffrage, excluded from the corporations; from the magistracy, from the bar, from the bench, from the grand juries, and from the vestries. They could not be sheriffs or solicitors, or even gamekeepers or constables. They

were forbidden to possess any arms; two justices, or a mayor, or a sheriff, might at any time issue a search warrant to break into their houses and ransack them for arms, and if a fowling piece or a flask of powder was discovered they were liable either to fine or imprisonment or to whipping and the pillory. They were, of course, excluded on the same grounds from the army and navy. They could not even possess a horse of the value of more than £5, and any Protestant on tendering that sum could appropriate the hunter or the carriage horse of his Catholic neighbour. In his own country the Catholic was only recognised by the law 'for repression and punishment.'' The Lord Chancellor Bowes and the Chief Justice Robinson both distinctly laid down from the bench 'that the law does not suppose any such person to exist as an Irish Roman Catholic.'

. . . . . "The law gave the Protestant the power of inflicting on the Catholic intolerable annoyance. To avoid it, he readily submitted to illegal tyranny, and even under the most extreme wrong it was hopeless for him to look for legal redress. All the influence of property and office was against him, and any tribunal to which he could appeal was occupied by his enemies. The Parliament and the Government, the corporation which disposed of his city property, the vestry which taxed him, the magistrate before whom he carried his complaint, the solicitor who drew up his case, the barrister who pleaded it, the judge who tried it, the jury who decided it, were all Protestants. Of all tyrannies, a class tyranny has been justly described as the most intolerable, for it is ubiquitious in its operation, and weighs, perhaps, most heavily on those whose obscurity or distance would withdraw them from the notice of a single despot; and of all class tyrannies, perhaps the most odious is that which rests upon religious distinctions and is envenomed by religious animosities. To create such a tyranny in Ireland was the first object of the penal laws, and the effect upon the Catholics was what might have been expected. Great numbers, by dishonest and hypocritical contrivances, endeavoured to free themselves from a position that was intolerable. The mass of the people gradually acquired the vices of slaves. They were educated

through long generations of oppression into an inveterate hostility to the law, and were taught to look for redress in illegal violence or secret combinations.

"A second object of the penal laws was to reduce the Catholics to a condition of the most extreme and brutal ignorance. As Burke has justly said: 'To render men patient under such a deprivation of all the rights of human nature, everything which would give them a knowledge of feeling of those rights was rationally forbidden.' The legislation on the subject of Catholic education may be briefly described, for it amounted simply to universal, unqualified, and unlimited proscription. The Catholic was excluded from the University. He was not permitted to be the guardian of a child. It was made penal for him to keep a school, to act as usher or private tutor, or to send his children to be educated abroad; and a reward of £10 was offered for the discovery of a Popish schoolmaster. In 1733, it is true, charter schools were established by Primate Boulter, for the benefit of the Catholics; but these schools—which were supported by public funds—were avowedly intended, by bringing up the young as Protestants, to extirpate the religion of their parents. The alternative offered by law to the Catholics was that of absolute and compulsory ignorance or of an education directly subversive of their faith.

"The operation of these laws alone might have been safely trusted to reduce the Catholic population to complete degradation; but there were many other provisions, intended to check any rising spirit of enterprise that might appear amongst them, and to prevent any ray of hope from animating their lot. In the acquisition of personal property, it is true, there is but little in the way of restriction to be added. By the laws I have described, the immense majority of the Irish people were excluded, in their own country, from almost every profession, and from every Government office, from the highest to the lowest, and they were placed under conditions that made the growth of industrial virtues and the formation of an enterprising and aspiring character wholly impossible. They were excluded from a great part of the benefit of the taxes they paid. They were at the same time com-

pelled to pay double to the militia, and in case of war with a Catholic Power, to reimburse the damage done by the enemies' privateers. They could not obtain the freedom of any town corporate, and were only suffered to carry on their trades in their native cities, on condition of paying special and vexatious impositions known by the name of quarterage. They were forbidden, after a certain date, to take up their abodes in the important cities of Limerick and Galway, or to purchase property within their walls; and their progress in many industrial careers was effectually trammelled by the law already referred to, preventing them from possessing any horse of the value of more than £5. The chief branches of Irish commerce and industry had, as we shall see, been deliberately crushed by law in the interest of English manufacturers; but the Catholics were not specially disabled from participating in them, and the legislator contented himself with assigning strict limits to their success by providing that, except in the linen trade, no Catholic could have more than two apprentices.

"In the case of landed property, however, the laws were more severe, for it was the third great object of the penal code to dissociate the Catholic as much as possible from the soil. Of this policy it may be truly said, that unless it was intended to make the nation permanently incapable of self-government, it was one of the most infatuated that could be conceived . . . . . No Catholic was supposed to buy land, or inherit it or receive it as a gift from Protestants, or to hold life annuities, or mortgages on land, or leases for more than thirty-one years, or any lease on such terms that the profits of the land exceeded one-third of the rent. If a Catholic leaseholder, by his skill or industry, so increased his profits that they exceeded this proportion, and did not immediately make a corresponding increase in his rent, his farm passed to the first Protestant who made the discovery. If a Catholic secretly purchased either his own forfeited estate, or any other land in the possession of a Protestant, the first Protestant who informed against him became the proprietor. The whole country was soon filled with spies, endeavouring to appropriate the property of Catholics; and Popish discoveries became a

main business of the law courts. The few Catholic landlords who remained after the confiscations, were deprived of the liberty of testament, which was possessed by all other subjects of the Crown. Their estates, upon their death, were divided equally among their sons, unless the eldest became a Protestant; in which case the whole was settled upon him. In this manner Catholic landlords were gradually but surely impoverished. Their land passed almost universally into the hands of Protestants, and the few who succeeded in retaining large estates did so only by compliances which destroyed the wholesome moral influence that would naturally have attached to their position. The penal code, as it was actually carried out, was inspired much less by fanaticism than by rapacity, and was directed less against the Catholic religion than against the property and industry of its professors. It was intended to make them poor and to keep them poor, to crush in them every germ of enterprise, to degrade them into a servile caste who could never hope to rise to the level of their oppressors. The division of classes was made as deep as possible, and every precaution was taken to perpetuate and to embitter it. Any Protestant who married a Catholic, or who suffered his children to be educated as Catholics, was exposed to all the disabilities of the code. Any Protestant woman who was a landowner, if she married a Catholic, was at once deprived of her inheritance, which passed to the nearest Protestant heir. A later law provided that every marriage celebrated by a Catholic priest between a Catholic and a Protestant should be null, and that the priest who officiated should be hanged.

"The creation by law of a gigantic system of bribery intended to induce the Catholics to abandon or disguise their creed, and of an army of spies and informers intended to prey upon their property, had naturally a profoundly demoralising influence, but hardly so much so as the enactments which were designed to sow discord and insubordination in their homes. These measures, which may be looked upon as the fourth branch of the penal code, appear to have rankled more than any others in the minds of the Catholics, and they produced the bitterest and most pathetic complaints. The law I have

cited, by which the eldest son of a Catholic, upon apostatising, became the heir-at-law to the whole estate of his father, reduced his father to the position of a mere life tenant, and prevented him from selling, mortgaging, or otherwise disposing of it, is a typical measure of this class. In like manner a wife who apostatised was immediately freed from her husband's control, and the Chancellor was empowered to assign to her a certain proportion of her husband's property. If any child, however young, professed to be a Protestant, it was at once taken from its father's care. The Chancellor, or the child itself, if an adult, might compel the father to produce the title-deeds of his estate, and declare on oath the value of his property; and such a proportion as the Chancellor determined was given to the child. Children were thus set against their parents, and wives against their husbands, and jealousies, suspicions, and heart-burnings were introduced into the Catholic home. The undutiful wife, the rebellious and unnatural son, had only to add to their other crimes the guilt of a feigned conversion, in order to secure both impunity and reward, and to deprive those whom they had injured of the management and disposal of their property. The influence of the code appeared, indeed, omnipotent. It blasted the prospects of the Catholic in all the struggles of active life. It cast its shadow over the inmost recesses of his home. It darkened the very last hours of his existence. No Catholic, as I have said, could be guardian to a child; so the dying parent knew that his children must pass under the tutelage of Protestants.

". . . . . It was intended to degrade and to impoverish, to destroy in its victims the spring and buoyancy of enterprise, to dig a deep chasm between Catholics and Protestants. These ends it fully attained. It formed the social condition, it regulated the disposition of property, it exercised a most enduring and pernicious influence upon the character of the people, and some of the worst features of the latter may be distinctly traced to its influence. It may be possible to find in the statute books both of Protestant and Catholic countries laws corresponding to most parts of the Irish penal code, and in some respects surpassing its most atrocious pro-

visions, but it is not the less true that that code, taken as a whole, has a character entirely distinctive. It was directed not against the few, but against the many. It was not the persecution of a sect but the degradation of a nation. It was the instrument employed by a conquering race, supported by a neighbouring Power, to crush to the dust the people among whom they were planted. And, indeed, when we remember that the greater part of it was in force for nearly a century, that its victims formed at least three-fourths of the nation, that its degrading and dividing influence extended to every field of social, political, professional, intellectual, and even domestic life, and that it was enacted without the provocation of any rebellion, in defiance of a treaty which distinctly guaranteed the Irish Catholics from any further oppression on account of their religion, it may justly be regarded as one of the blackest pages in the history of persecution. In the words of Burke, 'It was a complete system, full of coherence and consistency, well digested and well composed in all its parts. It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man.' The judgment formed of it by one of the noblest representatives of English Toryism was very similar. 'The Irish,' said Dr. Johnson, 'are in a most unnatural state, for we there see the minority prevailing over the majority. There is no instance, even in the Ten Persecutions, of such severity as that which the Protestants of Ireland have exercised against the Catholics.''' To this it is necessary to add that the legislation against the only leaders the people had—their priests—was as severe and as brutal as the lay legislation. Priests only were allowed—no Bishops, Archbishops, Deans, or Vicars General—and they were not allowed to have a curate. At first they were required to take the oath of allegiance and register their names and parishes, and 1,080 did so. Later they were required to take the Oath of Abjuration (accepting the Protestant succession), and in the whole of Ireland only 33 did so. A reward of £50 was offered for the apprehension of

any Archbishop, Bishop, Dean, or Vicar General, and a reward of £20 for the apprehension of a friar or an unregistered priest; and a penalty of £100 was imposed on any Mayor or Justice of the Peace who failed to carry out the law, half this fine to go to the person who informed against him. But Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Vicars-General, Priests, and Friars took their lives in their hands and stood by their people.

The penal code continued in operation for a century, for it was not materially relaxed until 1793, and its spirit continued to be the governing influence in Irish government for nearly a century after that, while its effects have not yet been fully eradicated, nor will they be for some time. It was accompanied by a commercial penal code, which suppressed, one by one, every industry of any magnitude which was carried on in Ireland, save the linen industry, and even suppressed the Irish fisheries, and the Irish cattle and provision trade. Nothing that the wit of man could think of was left undone to make the Irish Catholics less than human, and the remarkable thing is not that the South is not a mass of factories, but that the people survived the code at all. One thing saved them, and that was the Irish language. Had they been speaking English then, they would have sunk lower and lower in the scale of humanity, and by the end of the century would have been a nation of helots, but they had their language, and with it their national soul, their literature and traditions, their national pride, their courage to endure, their dream of the future. And so they re-built their social fabric behind the rampart of the language, and emerged, impoverished and degraded, but still human, and Irish, and virile. To taunt them, as Ulster Unionists are wont to, with not studding the South with factories is either to display an ignorance of Irish history which almost amounts to illiteracy or to display a callousness which amounts to viciousness. When the Ulster Unionists regard the South, and find it a place of waste, indolence, extravagance, and incapacity, they ought to hang their heads for shame, instead of being Pharisaical, for it was the Protestant Parliament which, at the bidding of the English Government, passed all the penal legislation.

But, it is said, the Nationalists and the Unionists have lived under the same laws since the Union. That is true, but it must be qualified by the fact that their positions with regard to the law were not level. The Unionists made the law and the Nationalists suffered it, the Unionists administered it and the Nationalists groaned under it. Law in Ireland in the nineteenth century has been nothing but a machine for retarding the growth of the Irish Nation. The Unionists worked that machine and the Nationalists suffered it, unwillingly and rebelliously. The Unionists were living under laws which they made, which they approved of, under which they were maintained in place, power, privilege, and generally in ascendancy in a country in which they were in a striking minority. They had no national traditions, no national feelings, no disturbing ideal, to set them thinking, and so they went their way in the century, satisfied with their ascendancy, oblivious that Ireland decreased in population, in economic stability, in everything that makes for a prosperous country, Unionist Ireland as well as Nationalist Ireland. But the Nationalists could not settle down to any materialist conception of existence: they had their Nation to think of. They were troubled less about trade than about freedom, less about wealth than about liberty, less even about peace and happiness than about the honour of their race. And before they could set themselves to any economic or industrial rebuilding they had to break a way into the open air for their Nationality, and attempt to ensure it stability. The whole of the nineteenth century has been a Nationalist fight against the Irish-born ascendancy party which was used to retard the growth of the Irish Nation. And step by step, in blood and in suffering, they have broken a way into the open air for their Nationality. They have had to fight, and fight bitterly, for the common essentials of stability in any country—for equality before the law, for exemption from supporting a foreign Church, for an equable land system, for education, for parish government—all which the Unionists had. They have won them, and they will go on winning. They have devoted their attention to politics rather than to business, and

they were quite right. Commerce and industry, civil order, business virtues, are admirable, but they are recoverable even when lost: a Nationality once lost is irrecoverable.

But is it not too rash, to say the least of it, to assume that there is no business capacity, no industry, in the South? Is not agriculture as important as shipbuilding, wool as important as linen, porter as important as whiskey? Does not the organisation of wool, porter, and agriculture call for capacity and industry as well as the organisation of shipbuilding, linen, and whiskey? Let us refer to the last statistics of Irish trade which have been issued—for 1915. The following are some of the figures for Exports:—

Commodities Exported.	Unit of Quantity.	Belfast.	Dublin.
Porter	hhds.	1,467	872,929
Home-made Spirits ...	proof galls.	4,675,061	1,392,174
Fat Cattle	number	36,050	199.809
Store Cattle ...	,,	93,556	83.569
Sheep, Fat ...	,,	2,709	137,022
Lambs	,,	16,905	140,330
Pigs' Feet	,,	3,567	78,941
Eggs	great hunds.	1,806,118	2,876,421
Butter	cwts.	63,086	211,729
Fish	,,	57,380	166,540
Wheat	,,	44,303	249,838
Oats	,,	233,134	262,890
Maize	,,	567,257	133
Hides and Skins ...	,,	43,767	102,304
Pork	,,	56,126	18,096
Bacon	,,	210,324	233,310
Condensed Milk ...	,,	270	108,456
Books	,,	551	1,599
Linen Yarn ...	lbs.	16,625,616	5,712
Wool	,,	704,032	6,847,456
Thread	,,	5,741,232	1,232
Tobacco	,,	8,564,933	865,625

I do not think that any case to prove the industrial incapacity of the South has been, or can be, made out. Its industries are as varied as those of the North, and it is not dependent upon one or two, as the great northern prop, Belfast, is.

The Dublin slums, and the Dublin municipality, form another of the reasons why the Ulster Unionists look down upon the Southern Nationalists. But if slums be held to demonstrate incapacity, London and Glasgow must be equally incapable, and all old cities. Belfast's slums are not as bad as Dublin's because it is a new city. At the end of the eighteenth century its population was only 15,000. But in any case the Nationalists inherited the Dublin slums, and the Dublin municipality, from the Unionist Ascendancy which mismanaged Ireland for a century and a half. And I do not think that the South of Ireland can show any industry—except "national" education, which is an English industry and not an Irish one—which is sweated to the extent the Ulster linen industry is.

For a century the Nationalists lived under a penal code which attacked their bodies, their property, their minds, their family structure, and their religion, a penal code unexampled in thoroughness and in completeness. They came out of it, by a miracle, not a brute people, and the legal ascendancy of one century was succeeded by the practical ascendancy of the next. The Ascendancy Party retained its ascendancy in the nineteenth century not by merit but despite merit. Literally and physically the Nationalists have had to fight their way, against the Ascendancy Party and against the whole resources of the British Empire, to even the limited freedom, limited civic responsibility, and limited control of their own affairs which they now have. That their administration in the County Councils should, as it admittedly is, be immeasurably better than the Ascendancy Grand Jury preferential system it replaced is surprising: but that they should have retained any industrial capacity, any civic capacity, is even more astonishing. When they have had two centuries of a settled life, steady development, and steady encouragement, as the

Unionists of Ulster have had, it will be time enough to institute a comparison which will possess the semblance of equability. The penal code was intended, and was worked, to crush out industrial capacity, civic virtue, and everything in the way of organisation, everything which stands between a people and national extinction. Those provisions of it which attacked property and family life, and which excluded the mass of the population of the country from all municipal and civic life, from all share even in the least of the processes of government, were put into operation to the fullest extent. After it had been nominally repealed it was maintained in practical operation by the system of bureaucratic patronage under which Ireland was governed in the nineteenth century. And that is the fact which must be given preponderating weight in any examination of the relative industrial or business capacity of Unionist and Nationalist Ireland. Giving it due weight, I do not think that the advantage is on the side of Unionist Ireland.

However that may be, no Southern Irishman will admit that the test of fitness, of capacity, is factory chimneys and floating docks, or anything else in the mechanical order. In the South we have other interests in life, and more commanding ones. Work is a thing which we have to do, because otherwise we have no means of providing the necessities of life, but we are more interested in other things, in living, for instance, and in thinking, and in discussing. National traditions, national hopes, national endeavour, these revive the mind and the imagination which the English-imposed and English-maintained system of so-called national education have almost stupefied, and we are more concerned with the things of the spirit than with red brick and factory chimneys. If the test be an intellectual one, on its most obvious phase of literary ability the lazy Southern unquestionably has the better of it. But the moral of the whole business is that there is no single test which can be fastened on and labelled *the* test. One man's meat is another man's poison and different climates produce different qualities. They are not necessarily

qualities of different values, all qualities have values, and value, like all comparative qualities, depends upon point of view.

Whatever may be said, however, of the comparative value of the practical virtues, and of the extent to which they are found in various parts of Ireland, cannot affect the oneness of Ireland and the obligation which lies upon all Irish people to preserve that oneness and to defend it. Were the Southern Nationalists Hottentots they would still be the fellow-countrymen of the Northern Unionists, and it would be their duty to stand by them, as one stands by a weaker brother, and by their country, making the most out of their material. The obligation is no less stringent because they are not Hottentots. No claim to separation from Ireland can be substantiated by any section of the Irish people: it can only be made by a foreign colony, alien to the soil, deriving its authority from an external force and basing its claim upon force. And no such claim can, or ever will, be entertained by the Irish people. Abraham Lincoln said to the Confederates, "We will not go out of the Union and you shan't," and Nationalist Ireland says to Unionist Ireland "We will not go out of the Nation, and you shan't."

June, 1918.