

[1911] The Parliament Act (1911) was introduced, and a majority of the Lords backed down rather than see their House flooded with newly-created peers, and on 10 August 1911 voted by a majority of 17 to accept the Act (DNB George V; Fanning, "Rats' versus 'Ditchers' ", in Cosgrove and Maguire.).

Meanwhile the new king had to be crowned. The Countess of Fingall knew him well, but was not as close to him as to his father. She attended the coronation, and remembered it as the last great pageant before the Great War, though nobody knew that at the time. It should be noted that if leading Irish nationalists were excluded it was because they excluded themselves. A fortnight after the coronation, the king and queen paid a five-day visit to Dublin where they were enthusiastically received. (There was always a certain 'republican' element in Sinn Fein, and later they were to coalesce into the Fianna Fail Party and various breakaway Sinn Fein groups, but republicanism was not a major issue at the time. Most Irish Nationalists were devoted to the crown.) The king then visited Wales and Scotland in turn. On 11 November 1911 he set out for India where he held a State Durbar of matchless magnificence. India, like Ireland, was in those days intensely loyal to the Crown, though it became a fashion afterwards to deny it.

One of the first acts of the new Government was to provide for the payment of MPs. This had been Liberal policy since 1880, but it became more urgent with the election of Labour members. However the great Act of 1911 was the National Insurance Act (1911). Unlike the old age pension these were to be self-financing contributory schemes. There were two main benefits provided, a 'sickness benefit' for insured workers and which covered most of the wage-earning population. The other was 'unemployment benefit' for workers in the building, shipbuilding and engineering industries which were subject to brief but violent fluctuations in employment. The sickness benefit comprised a weekly payment during absence from work through sickness, and free treatment and medicines from a general practitioner, for the employee. Hospital treatment was excluded, nor did the scheme cover the worker's family. The scheme would not be administered by the Government but by approved societies, who in practice were the insurance companies and the friendly societies. The scheme was compulsory. These contributions purchased stamps which were stuck on a card, a system which was to endure (for the self-employed at least) until the advent of computerisation, for it was immediately obvious at the end of the year that all the weekly payments had been made. This obligation to pay the stamp for the sickness benefit was very general, and applied for example to domestic servants. Lloyd George explained that each servant would have her own card to which she would attach a stamp each week and her employers also a stamp, and she would take her card from job to job.

The Conservatives objected to it, as did at first the medical profession until they found it was a steady source of income, and they agreed to join the approved 'panels' of doctors (Richards and Hunt, *Modern Britain*, 230-1). It should be noted that quite a large proportion of the workforce of the United Kingdom already had some insurance cover through the voluntary Friendly Societies.

With regard to Ireland Lloyd George's Insurance Schemes did not include the armed services, the civil service, or municipal employees, nor teachers who come under separate schemes. In principle the employee contributed 4d a week, the employer 3d a week, and the state 2d a week; women contributed 3d a week. Special provisions for the lower paid meant that most Irish labourers paid 2d or 3d a week. Payment was on the German plan with stamps fixed to cards, dealt with by the post office. A voluntary branch was established for self-employed persons like blacksmiths or small traders who were liable to the whole contribution of 7d or 6d a week personally. Benefits were to include free medical attention when sick by the Friendly Society doctor, and the cost of the drugs at the dispenser. There was a maternity allowance of 10/-. Though the scheme would be worked as far as possible through approved Friendly Societies, those who could not get membership of such a society would be able to draw cash from the Post Office on the deposit system until his personal credit was exhausted. It was expected in Ireland that the only Friendly Societies which would come under the scheme, as membership had to be at least 1,000, would be the National Foresters and the Ancient Order of Hibernians. In fact the Orange Order designated itself as a Friendly Society, while Joseph Devlin boosted his own political position by exploiting the Hibernians as a Friendly Society. A meeting was held under the Countess of Aberdeen to ensure that the Women's National Health Association for Ireland would be a competent body under the National Insurance Act. Ireland was always going to be difficult to fit into the scheme for a lot of the labour was casual. Feeling in Ireland hardened against certain details of the Insurance Scheme in particular, for the charges were too high for the proposed benefits. A farmer would have to pay 7 pence a week (£1.10/4 a year) for each son and daughter employed on the farm and no cash benefit was allowed during sickness to those receiving board and lodging (Echo 13, 27 May 1911) while the medical benefits required Irish doctors to agree terms. When the National Insurance Act (1911) was debated in the Commons William O'Brien wanted Ireland excluded. He was opposed by Mr J.J. Clancy, while Healy supported O'Brien. The newspaper noted that the Irish bishops, the Irish Trades Councils, and the Irish County Councils were opposed to the Bill in its present form

(Echo 18 Nov 1911). The Act was to come into force on 15 July 1912. Ireland was at first excluded from the medical benefits under the Act, and so the dispute in England with the doctors had no relevance to Ireland (Weekly Irish Times 8 Jan 1913).

The greatest of the many moral blots on the Home Rule campaign was the insistence of the Nationalists on denying the same rights to Unionists that they claimed for themselves. The Ulster Unionists were becoming worried, and the local Unionist clubs were revived in 1911. It was these clubs, not the Orange lodges, around which Ulster resistance was built (Buckland, *Irish Unionism*, 207-8). By December 1911 171 clubs were formed or revived. A meeting was held in Londonderry House in London on 6 April 1911 to co-ordinate the activities of the various Unionist bodies, the Unionist Parliamentary Party, The Unionist Associations of Ireland Joint Committee, and Walter Long's Union Defence League. A letter was sent out signed by the Duke of Abercorn, the Marquis of Londonderry, Lord Ardilaun, Sir Edward Carson, Walter Long, and John B. Lonsdale MP to those who were regarded as dependable asking for at least 60 volunteers to speak on platforms in the rest of the United Kingdom. The Ulster Unionist Council appointed a commission to work along with Sir Edward Carson 'to frame and submit a constitution for a provisional government in Ulster. A great demonstration at Craigavon, the home of Captain James Craig near Belfast, on 23 September 1911 welcomed Carson as their leader and he told his hearers to prepare themselves for the government of the Protestant Province of Ulster (DNB, Carson). The Leader of the Conservatives, Balfour, who had opposed the diehards or 'last ditchers', resigned in November 1911, and was succeeded by the Canadian of Ulster stock, Andrew Bonar Law, now an English MP, a much brasher character. 'The waters of Marah were not more bitter than his speeches' wrote a contemporary, and this tartness found its expression in the debates on Home Rule (DNB, Law).

The year 1911 was also notable for its labour troubles. The firms belonging to the Coal Merchants Association announced on July 14th that if the terms of the 1908 agreement were not complied with the men would have to be replaced; a few days later saw 800 men idle. Then came the strike of the seamen and firemen and practically every railway line in Dublin was affected. After much injury was done to trade the strike was settled through the mediation of the Lord Lieutenant. Then came a strike of the employees of the Port and Docks Board. The worst came on August 19th with the great railway strike. In the face of huge difficulties the passenger carrying was continued, but goods traffic virtually ceased. Fierce rioting took place in Dublin, and the railway stations were guarded by troops. Windows were smashed and there was wholesale looting. The railway strike was soon settled but it was not until October that the timber strike the real cause of the trouble was settled. A bakery strike caused much hardship among the poor in Dublin. The refusal of the masters in Wexford to recognise the Transport Union led to a lock-out in that town. The results of the strikes were in almost every case disastrous for the men, and it was clear that the spread of syndicalism in Ireland had not resulted in the prosperity of the workers (Weekly Irish Times 6 January 1912). Larkin called the strike in Wexford because, with the port of Dublin closed, coal was being imported through there. Larkin was a great believer in the power of the 'sympathy' strike, a strike at a non-related industry whose owners would bring pressure on the owners of the first industry to settle on union terms. The employers formed employers' federations to counter the tactic. In Dublin, the employers were led by William Martin Murphy whose company controlled the trams. The railway strike was a national one all-over the United Kingdom. [TOP]

[1912] The year 1912 was a quiet one in Ireland though there were several major strikes in England, in the coalmining industry, a dock strike in London, and a national transport strike was threatened. Trade Unionists in Britain adopted Larkin's tactic of the sympathetic strike, and refusing to handle 'tainted' good like coal diverted from a different port. It was a period in England of great amalgamations among unions so that a strike in Liverpool could result in workers in London being also called out on strike.

The big Act of 1912 was the Shops Act (1912) which unexpectedly passed Parliament a few months earlier and came into force in May; all shop assistants were guaranteed a half-day. It was due to the agitation for a long time of the shop assistants' associations that Mr Churchill's bill was introduced. Half-holidays or early closing days had to be fixed in all towns (Weekly Irish Times 11 May 1912). Though it was Churchill's Bill, he had by this time become First Lord of the Admiralty, Asquith getting him to switch places with McKenna on 25 October 1911. It was to be a long time however before shopowners observed the Act. The half-day in provincial towns was taken in midweek, often the day before market day. Market days in a given area were on different days of the week to allow stall-holders to attend the different markets. Consequently the half-day also changed, but it was never on a Saturday.

Most employers in Dublin were willing to give the insurance scheme a fair trial despite the initial cost in matters such as providing new books. Stamping machines were needed and fireproof rooms to hold the records, as nothing was so easily stolen as stamps. Large firms employed extra staff to calculate the amounts; this was a great problem as the calculations brought in odd figures if an employee was under special rates. Another problem was that the wages week ran from Friday to Thursday, while the insurance week ran from Monday to Sunday. Some had health cards, and some unemployment cards, and there were 13 different stamps altogether; the correct stamp had to be applied in its proper place and then date-stamped (Weekly Irish Times 10 August 1912).

Shortly before midnight on 14 April 1912 the Titanic struck an iceberg 400 miles south of Newfoundland with the loss of about 1500 lives. She was equipped with the latest radio equipment. She was supposed to be unsinkable, but in fact, because of a design fault, she and her two sister ships, the Olympic and Britannic all went rapidly to the bottom. Though divided into watertight compartments these were not capped at the top. Nor were there sufficient lifeboats for all on the ship, though she met current Board of Trade requirements. It was assumed that her radio could summon help in case of a crisis like a fire on board. The Board of Trade changed the requirements so that there in future there would be sufficient lifeboats for all. The sinking sent a shockwave around Ireland which was reflected in the newspapers in the days following the disaster.

There was an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in cattle in Co. Dublin, which was a great blow to Irish trade. Restrictions were brought in under the Diseases of Animals Acts 1894-1911. 200 cattle were slaughtered at Swords, Co. Dublin (Weekly Irish Times 6, 13 July 1912). There were serious riots in Belfast after a procession of Hibernians, apparently drunk, attacked a Protestant Sunday school procession at Castledawson, Co. Londonderry, on 29 June 1912. As a result several hundred Catholic workers were chased out of Workman and Clarke's shipyard (Weekly Irish Times 13 July 1912; Bew, *Ideology and the Irish Question*, 56-7). The Hibernian procession was deliberately provocative. Motor taxicabs were licensed to carry passengers on Dublin streets, and in the first year 40 taxis appeared and proved very popular. They were not allowed to ply for hire, i.e. drive about looking for customers.

Ireland experienced for the first time that political fanaticism which was to play such a central role in twentieth century history, which fired the Bolsheviks, the Nazis, the Viet Cong, the Taleban and innumerable other groups. The Land League, the United Irish League, and the Home Rule Party may largely have been a bunch of crooks. People could say that all businessmen were crooks so why should politicians be any different. But this was a case of people who were fanatically addicted to their cause, so much that they were prepared to die for it. It was the suffragettes.

In July 1912 the Prime Minister Mr Asquith came to visit Dublin. He was a special target of the militant women, and two of them, Mrs Mary Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans of Muswell Hill, London attempted to set fire to the Theatre Royal during a hippodrome performance on 18th July, the evening of Mr Asquith's arrival in Dublin. Asquith was to speak there the following day. The attempt to burn down the theatre was made after the first performance at which attendance was small. Both women were sent to Mountjoy convict prison where they promptly went on hunger strike. A letter denounced the slow torture of forcible feeding practiced on them. There was a reply from Dublin Castle from Dougherty the Under Secretary noting that the Lord Lieutenant had not the power to commute the sentences from penal servitude to ordinary imprisonment. However the prisoners in this case were allowed to wear their own clothes, remain in association apart from the other prisoners, and to obtain food other than ordinary prison fare. The necessity of forcible feeding was regretted by all. The procedure was taken under medical advice, the alternatives being to release them or to let them starve themselves to death. He ended by quoting the judge who sentenced them 'whatever be the motive of those who perpetrate a crime, crime is crime, and the public are entitled to the protection of the law' (Weekly Irish Times 7 Sept 1912). The employees of Selfridges in London sent a memorial to the Lord Lieutenant on behalf of their fellow-employee Gladys Evans who was sentenced to five years penal servitude at the Commission Court in Dublin on 7 August 1912. Both were released on licence in October. The following year the Government passed the Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health Act (1913), (commonly called the 'Cat and Mouse Act'), under which hunger strikers could be temporarily released, and then re-arrested to continue their sentences. The hunger strike was to become an important weapon for IRA terrorist fanatics.

The Government of Ireland Bill (1912) (Home Rule Bill (1912)) was introduced on 11 April 1912. It gave Ireland jurisdiction over her internal affairs, which included the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, Local Government Board, Public Education, universities and colleges, the National Gallery, Endowed

Schools Commissioners, Public Works Office, Registrar General's Office, Valuation and Boundary Survey, Public Record Office, Charitable Donations and Bequests Office, Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Prisons, County Court Officers, Dublin Metropolitan Police, Lunatic asylums, Board of Superintendence of Hospitals and Charities, Inland Development Grants, Labour Exchanges, Admiralty Court of Registry, Deeds Registry, Friendly Societies Registry, Teachers' Pension Office, Quit Rent Office (Office of Woods), and the Post Office.

There were other offices whose fate was to be decided: The Royal Irish Constabulary, The Irish Land Commission, The Supreme Court of Judicature, The Customs and Excise, The Inland Revenue which included income tax and estate duties. The Excise Office was simply, under the Free Trade Agreement, a counterbalance to the customs; the two must go together. If Ireland was left with Excise alone it could cut the excises on Irish products below those of English or Scottish products. The Royal Irish Constabulary was to remain under imperial control for the moment. An English Treasury Board would determine Irish expenditure. Irish membership of the Commons would be reduced to 42. (Weekly Irish Times 20 April 1912; Bew, *Ideology and the Irish Question*, xiii).

There were two more or less rational responses to the proposed Bill, and two dogmatic ones. The latter pair, Sinn Fein /IRB and the Protestants in Ulster rejected the Bill absolutely. The dogma of Sinn Fein/IRB was that Ireland was a separate people and so should be a separate nation, every bit as much separate and sovereign as Norway or Holland, and so had a right to declare a lawful or just war. Along with this belief went one that, as these countries had distinct languages, so Ireland should revive Irish as a symbol of its separate nationality. From 1912 onwards the Sinn Fein speakers were talking openly of rebellion aimed at total separation from England, and money was supplied from America for that purpose; they strongly opposed the Home Rule party on that issue (Weekly Irish Times 8 June 1916, Evidence of Sir Neville Chamberlain, RIC). On the other side for the Ulster Protestants Home Rule was Rome Rule, and that was that.

John Redmond and leading members of his party were prepared to accept the Bill as a provisional and temporary settlement. The Home Rule Party, even after 1893, never seems to have considered what they would want, and realistically seek to get, in a Home Rule Bill. The struggle for Home Rule was an emotional one not a rational one. On the face of it, if they just wanted an Irish Parliament with control over Irish affairs, this Bill gave it to them. But Nationalists wanted full control over Irish finances, including the right which the old Irish Parliament before 1800 had had, of imposing tariffs against English goods. Redmond was eager to grasp the Bill while the Liberal's shaky hold on power was maintained, and there is little doubt that he could have extracted more extensive powers and even full Dominion status at a later date had the Ulster Protestants been prepared to co-operate. It was the misfortune of the Nationalists that the issue of conscription was to hand the whole question to political extremists.

It should be noted that the Irish Parliament, like its English counterpart, was first summoned in the Middle Ages. The House of Commons especially, in those days, had no right to make laws, but could only petition the Lord Lieutenant for particular laws. If he agreed he would put the petition before both Houses. Or he himself could summon a Parliament, as he regularly did, and put various laws concerning Ireland before them for their consent. These laws never concerned matters outside Ireland, and the King of England, who was Ireland's feudal ruler, could give fishing rights to the Spanish in 'Irish' waters. Nor did Irish laws ever deal with matters concerning the Royal Prerogative, matters which were traditionally the responsibility of the king, like defence and foreign policy. The English Privy Council, on behalf of the king was also allowed rights regarding Ireland, such as the right to amend or veto legislation which might infringe the king's rights. Parliaments had developed over the centuries in different ways, and legislation became the primary function of Parliament, which now required the consent of the monarch. This position was finally accepted in 1714 when the Hanoverian kings accepted the British throne subject to that condition. What the crown retained was a veto and influence such as what was endorsed in the American Constitution. In 1782, full 'legislative independence', namely the right to make all laws concerned only with Ireland, was restored to the Irish Parliament. The powers of the Executive, namely the Lord Lieutenant, or Lords Justices, were not affected.

The Whigs who had made this concession in 1782 had not considered the implications of rights claimed by a modern Parliament. The matter was underlined during the first period of madness of George III when the Irish Parliament differed from the British one over the Regency. This raised questions like if England went to war against France, could the Irish Parliament support the French, or make a separate peace. The immediate solution was the formation of a single kingdom with a single Parliament by the Act of Union (1800). Daniel O'Connell who always claimed he just wanted the Repeal of this Act never seriously gave any thought to the problem. Rhetorically he envisaged an Irish army, under an Irish flag, fighting for the Queen. Any serious Home Rule Bill would have to give consideration to the various questions, but this never seems to have been done by the Catholic Nationalists, though it had been considered by Federalists in O'Connell's time.

There was the question of tariffs which along with export bounties were a great feature of the independent Irish Parliament, and formed an essential plank of the Home Rule Party's policy. Every economic ill, patriots believed, could be cured by slapping a tariff on British goods. This had long been recognised as economic nonsense, which could only end with tariffs being imposed on Irish exports, with a 'Robinson Crusoe' economy at home and a 'Beggars-my-Neighbour' policy abroad. (This did not prevent the widespread adoption of the policy in the Inter-War period. Large countries like Germany and the United States can sometimes do quite well between behind tariff walls.) Some of the greatest industries in Ireland like shipbuilding and linen depended on the free import of raw materials and the free export of goods. In fact it was over tariffs that during the Irish Convention the Home Rule proposal eventually failed. Why bother to follow Horace Plunkett's teaching that the Irish must educate themselves technically, get into the habit of working proper industrial hours every day of the year, improve their products, market them effectively, invest in their businesses, when all that was needed was to put tariffs on British goods?

Finally, there was the second rational response, that of the Southern Irish Unionists who perceived themselves as targets for unlimited exploitation wanted the Bill blocked if at all possible by constitutional means, but who were prepared ultimately to accept it. We must remember that the agrarian terrorist campaign aimed at the larger landowners was continuing unabated. The editor of the Irish Times gave the Southern Unionist case against Home Rule. It was expected that Irish taxes would increase by 10%, the upper limit allowed by the Bill; the safeguards of religious and civil liberties were illusory; it would never solve the Anglo-Irish question, rather it would make it worse. As Archbishop Alexander said many years ago there was no halfway house between full membership of the Union and full self-government. The latter indeed would be preferable, and might give the country incentives to generous action, fine enterprise, and courageous economies. The editor claimed that Asquith had driven a hard bargain with Redmond and got the better of him every time. The nominated senate was an outrage on a democratic constitution. The safeguards, while numerous and cumbersome, safeguarded nothing; their results must be permanently mischievous. They set up a barrier of distrust between Protestant and Roman Catholic.

During the Committee Stage of the Home Rule Bill (1912) an amendment was put to exclude the four north-eastern counties. Churchill, Sir Edward Grey, and Lloyd George suggested that Ulster could contract out; the Ulster Unionists accepted the suggestion and Redmond and the Nationalists said that they would reject the whole Bill if it were included. Everyone in fact knew this, and the amendment was merely a wrecking one. The Nationalists were always belittling the Ulster Unionists, regarding them as having little political finesse. The Southern Unionists were opposed to any partition of Ireland, and if Home Rule must come Ulster should stay in and assert its influence. Mr MacMordie and Captain James Craig were apparently of a different opinion (Weekly Irish Times 8 June 1912). [Mr R.J. MacMordie. Lord Mayor of Belfast].

Neither side was prepared for the reaction of the Ulster Unionists. None of the parties to the conflict, whether in Ireland, England, or America, except the Conservatives, regarded it necessary to include the Ulster Protestants in their considerations. The fears of the Ulster Protestants were not groundless. Later, Eamon de Valera sought to break the great Protestant firms in Southern Ireland financially, though he had given up the attempt to subdue Northern Protestants militarily. The Catholic Church was made a de facto Established Church, and every candidate in an election had to do the 'Reverend Mother' circuit, i.e. visit every convent in his constituency and assure them of his support in whatever project they had in mind. No attempt was made to support Britain in the Second World War though that idea was close to Protestant hearts. No provision was to be made for the cultural expression of Protestantism which had flowered up to 1920, so talented Protestants retired to England. Catholic dogma not free Protestant discussion formed the basis of the Irish Constitution, and for more than half a century Irish legislation. Despite an initial welcome, there was nothing for Protestants in a Catholic Free State.

The dogma of the Ulster Protestants. hearkened back to the seventeenth century, notably to the National Covenant (1638) and to the Solemn League and Covenant (1643), in which they pledged to maintain their chosen forms of church government and worship. After the signing of the National Covenant, the Scottish Assembly abolished episcopacy and in the 'Bishops' Wars' of 1639 and 1640 fought to maintain their religious liberty (Encyclopaedia Britannica 'Covenanter'). In particular, they would not allow themselves to be subjected to the rule of Rome, for 'Home Rule is Rome Rule'. On this point the Ulster Presbyterians and the Church of Ireland were in full agreement. Sociologists note the difference between active beliefs and decayed beliefs. Decayed beliefs are beliefs that were once active, dynamic and inspirational, but now exist as a kind of background to thought. Such by and large were the Catholic and Protestant religions in most of Europe in the early twentieth century. Few people would go to war over them. Yet in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland Protestant belief was still very active.

Traditional Catholic theology had dwelt on the 'mysteries' of religion, the mystery of redemption and the mystery of the sacraments, the mystery of purgatory and so on, with an official priesthood and hierarchy to explain the mysteries. The Protestant reformers asserted that there were no mysteries in Christianity, that all was revealed clearly in the Bible, and that every man, woman and child could read the Bible, believe in it and be saved. This religious message acquired embellishments over time, about Protestant martyrs, gunpowder plots to blow up the Protestant parliament, the massacre of the Ulster Protestants in 1641, the Spanish Inquisition, the Jesuit Order, the moral corruption of monks, the ambitions of Louis XIV of France and James II of England, the siege of the Protestant city of Londonderry in 1688, and the Whiteboys, the Ribbonmen, the Fenians, the Land League, and the United Irish League. The Protestants had a long list of historic grievances against the Catholics had against them. They also accepted the more rational arguments of the southern Unionists given above.

They began in January 1912 to recruit local volunteer units, which could legally drill themselves in a military fashion if authorised by a magistrate. The local magistrates gave this permission. On Easter Tuesday 9 April 1912, an enormous meeting greeted Bonar Law at the Royal Ulster Agricultural Society's showground at Balmoral. 100,000 men marched past, and the meeting was opened with prayers led by the Church of Ireland primate, and the Presbyterian Moderator (Buckland, *Irish Unionism*, 217). No intoxicating drink was sold in the grounds. During the summer their efforts were focussed on Westminster where they tried to wreck the Bill by using the Nationalists' old tactic of obstruction. On the 28 September 1912, sober ceremonies marked Protestant Ulster's adoption and signing to the Solemn League and Covenant. Edward Carson led the signing in Belfast where it received 200,000 signatures. This was not a pledge to partition Ireland but to prevent the passage of the Home Rule Bill.[TOP]

[1913] In January 1913 Carson proposed the exclusion of the nine counties of Ulster, though Redmond claimed the Catholics were in the majority in those counties. On 16 January 1913 the Home Rule Bill (1912) passed its Third Reading, and a fortnight later it was rejected by the House of Lords.

There were four main developments in 1913. In Parliament the Home Rule Bill (1912) was re-introduced, was fought over at length, and was again rejected by the Lords. The second was the Ulster Unionists proceeded with their organisation and military plans to build up the Ulster Volunteer Force UVF. The third was that James Larkin and James Connolly led the Great Strike. The fourth was the IRB beginning to make plans for a military-style coup or putsch.

The strike in 1913 began because the employers in Dublin were sick of Larkin's tactic of using the sympathetic strike to involve workers in businesses which had no connection with the original strike. They had no objection to trade unions as such, but only to Larkin's Union. Larkin failed to get his union, the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union into the businesses of two major Dublin employers. One was Guinness's Brewery, where the workers were well paid, and did not want a union. The other was William Martin Murphy's Dublin United Tramways Company. Larkin targeted the Tramway Company, and the offices of the Irish Independent which also belonged to Murphy, in a recruitment drive. Murphy retaliated by ordering the staff of the newspaper who had joined Larkin's union to leave it, and those who failed to obey were dismissed on 19 August 1913. Tim Healy acted for the employer. Redmond's Nationalist Party also opposed Larkin's tactics. Archbishop William Walsh on 20 October 1913 gave a guarded approval of the action of the employers in dismissing the workers of a particular union until effective guarantees have been obtained from that union.

Mr William Murphy later gave his account of the origin of the strike. He accused Larkin of recruiting union members partly by his magnetic personality, partly by extravagant promises, but chiefly by intimidation. He himself spoke to the employees in the traffic department of the tramway company, and warned them about supporting Larkin. Shortly after this meeting some members of the Transport Union were dismissed for intimidation and assaults on men refusing to join them. Larkin warned him that any goods he attempted to carry after a strike was declared would be looted. He found that all members of the city section of the parcels department belonged to Larkin's union, and were already refusing to handle parcels for firms with whom Larkin was in dispute; 103 men and boys were thereupon dismissed and informed they would get their jobs back when they left Larkin's union. Larkin gave the 'word of command' but it was largely ignored by the tram drivers; Larkin's men then commenced wrecking the tramcars and assaulting the loyal workers. Larkin totally failed to bring the company to a halt; coal had been stockpiled at the generating station at Ringsend, and other preparations made to house and feed the men there; the power supply was never in danger. Larkin called out the road repairing gangs, but they were replaced by free labour; it was some time however before trams could run safely after dark (*Weekly Irish Times* 7 Feb 1914).

Larkin organised sympathetic strikes against the newspaper. This was a strike by those who had no complaint against their own employer to refuse to handle goods in some way connected with firms involved in a strike or lock-out; this could have far reaching effect. For example, a number of porters at Kingstown refused to handle publications sent from England to a certain firm of newsagents in Dublin who had declined the request that it should not handle the publications of a third firm of printers who were on strike (Weekly Irish Times 11 Oct 1913).

Larkin's tram drivers, about one fifth of the total, went on strike and they were replaced by non-union labour, who were given police protection. Open fighting broke out between the strikers and the police. Larkin called a meeting for Sunday 31 August 1913 in Dublin's principal street, Sackville Street, and it was banned by a magistrate as likely to lead to violence. Larkin went ahead with the meeting and was promptly arrested, and the crowd was dispersed by the police. Sackville Street, (now O'Connell Street) was a focal point for the trams. By the end of September 20,000 hands were idle in Dublin as a result of strikes and lockouts. It was not the very poor who were on strike. The originators of the strike were the tramway workers who received good wages, were in secure employment, and were comfortably housed. Larkin denounced Jacob's factory, whose employees had some of the best working conditions in Ireland as "the worst sweating den in Europe", a description echoed on many platforms in Britain. At Dublin petty sessions three strikers were convicted of riotous behaviour and assault on a tramcar; another was charged with intimidating a man who had criticised the worker's union, following him about and preventing any sales of vegetables from his handcart. The striker was found guilty by the jury of intimidation. It is fair to assume that many of these strikers came from families who in the not very distant past had been involved in the intimidatory tactics of the Land League and United Irish League.

Larkin initially got wide support from English people including George Bernard Shaw who was singularly uninformed about conditions in Dublin, believing that the employers were slum landlords and blaming them for the conditions in the slums. The English unions to begin with backed Larkin, but they found that the Dublin employers had no objection to negotiating in a proper manner with lawful peaceful unions, and were put off by the wholesale violence and intimidation employed by Larkin. A proposal was one put forward by some English socialists that English trade unionists should temporarily adopt the children of strikers. Archbishop Walsh denounced the proposal that children should be adopted by Protestant families. He organised the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, a well-known Catholic charity, to prevent the removal of the children. Ideas regarding proselytism died hard among the Catholic clergy. It is interesting to note that the Countess Plunkett threw open Sandymount Castle to feed and house the children during the strike. Her son Joseph Mary Plunkett was in the IRB, and her husband, Count Plunkett (a papal title like that of Count John McCormack the singer) became a Sinn Fein extremist politician, who accepted the settlement of neither William Cosgrave nor Eamon de Valera. James Connolly was not initially involved in the dispute. He was the most committed Socialist in the whole movement, and in 1912 founded the Independent Labour Party of Ireland. Towards the end of the year he became involved. He said that the mass picket would be used in Ireland for the first time; these would congregate at the entrance to the firm's premises so that no scab labour could enter unseen.

Larkin was charged at the end of October on charges of seditious language, incitement to riot, and incitement to steal, and sentenced to seven months in gaol. The case was brought by the Attorney General J.F. Moriarty, who said Larkin was not being tried as a strike leader but because he had broken the law. He considered it unfair that hundreds of men should be in prison for acts to which they were incited by Larkin while Larkin himself went free. However he was released after seventeen days by the Lord Lieutenant. During the strike, Larkin's demands for workers were not unreasonable and were conceded in later years. What was unacceptable were the tactics he used, of massive intimidation, and of victimising employers who had no connection with the strike. Why exactly Aberdeen released him is not clear. This confusion among Government officers is perhaps typical of the whole of Aberdeen's and Birrell's administration. The Irish Times remarked that Birrell's reasons were unconvincing and considered that a political reason, namely that the Liberals were losing by-elections was the real cause. As Birrell was by this time almost completely dependent on Redmond for advice, the reasons were probably connected with the Home Rule Bill. If a General Election had to be held before the summer of 1914 the Conservatives would probably have won, and Home Rule would have been postponed for another generation. In theory, there need be no general election before 1915, but the Liberals were a minority government continuing in office only because of the support of the Irish Nationalists. It was anyone's guess how long they could hold out if they were losing every by-election.

There was however another side to Larkin. Speaking at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester he said 'When people say we want Home Rule because we want to be members of the Empire, I say damn the empire... We want no armaments and no conscription; we want to live as brother to brother and sister to sister'. (Later he denied using the words attributed to him, but the sentiments were commonplace in socialist circles.) At the same time at a meeting in Dublin James Connolly espoused the idea of a republic, and a Citizen Army under the

Transport Workers Union. He referred to Captain White, the son of the defender of Ladysmith [Sir George White who was born in Co. Antrim] who was prepared to train the citizen army. He sketched its ranks, and said there was a need to procure rifles. They would not leave volunteers only to the Orangemen (Weekly Irish Times 22 Nov 1913). In 1914 Larkin went to America and more or less lost contact with events in Ireland.

In June 1913 1,000 guns and bayonets were seized at York dock, Belfast; the Nationalists still considered it a part of Protestant 'bluff'. 500 rifles were discovered at the North Wall, Dublin. More rifles were discovered at Londonderry and Drogheda. It was believed that in spite of the seizures of arms in Belfast, Dublin, Derry, Drogheda, Newry, and Greenore, many rifles had been brought in; revolvers were freely obtainable in Belfast. The Countess of Fingall observed that many of the guns were obsolete. (The technology of rifle-making had developed very rapidly.) Ulster leaders set up a million pound indemnity fund against injury or death of any volunteer. The Ulster Executive Committee or provisional government was named. There was a parade of the 14 regiments of the Belfast Volunteers, each consisting of 800 men totalling about 12,000 men. The million pounds was raised in a few days; the insurance would be no less than that under the various Workmen's Compensation Acts. The wealth, strength and cohesiveness of the Irish Protestant community were once again demonstrated. As in the days of O'Connell and Catholic Emancipation, the Protestant community, though only a third of the size of the Catholic population, more than matched the Catholics in wealth and organisation. Businessmen, like Lord Dunleath the linen manufacturer, suddenly found themselves called on to help the organisation.

The Ulster Volunteer Force was said to number 90,000 men, though not all of them had rifles. Indeed most of them drilled and paraded with wooden rifles. [However, the actual number who would be accepted for fighting in a foreign war or in the militia for home defence was probably between fifty and sixty thousand, still an impressive number.] They were organised into divisions by counties, each division being broken down into regiments and battalions. The regiment was considered to act as a brigade. [The difference between a regiment and a brigade was largely operational. Both consisted of two or more battalions. In the case of regiments these were linked permanently, but in the case of brigades only ad hoc for particular operations.] There were supporting corps: the medical corps, the motor car corps, nursing corps, signalling and dispatch rider corps, and the Ballymena and Enniskillen horse. The whole force was commanded by Lt. Col. Sir George Richardson. The officers were drawn from the 'upper classes' (Buckland, *Ulster Unionism*, 225-6).

The Irish Unionists took an active part in most of the by-elections in all parts of the United Kingdom between 1911 and 1914 in support of the local Conservative candidates. They gave their assistance 33 times. Women were prominent among the volunteers who went to canvass in Scotland and England. The numerous Conservative victories in the by-elections worried the Liberals and Redmond in case they would have to go to the country before the Home Rule Bill could be passed in a third session (Buckland 308-326). There was also the possibility that the king would demand a General Election, if a solution to the problem of Ulster was not found (Pearce, *Lines of Most Resistance*, 446). It would probably have been constitutional for him to stipulate that such a major and unprecedented piece of legislation should be tested in a General Election.

Redmond did not take the preparations seriously. In a speech he ridiculed Carson's preparations for resistance to Home Rule as the 'best and most amusing silly season copy [for newspapers] that I have ever known'. William O'Brien's candidate was returned unopposed in North Cork; he denounced Redmond's rejection of Loreburn's proposal for a conference, attributing the rejection to the influence of Dillon and Devlin. Redmond, he said, gave the order for 'Full steam ahead upon the rocks'. The national movement, he said, had degenerated into a secret society of Catholic bigots and Dublin Castle placemen. Earl Loreburn, Lord Chancellor of England 1905-12 had called for a conference on the question of Home Rule. There were protests from the military against being used against Ulstermen; Lt. Col. Sir Arthur Griffiths Boscawen MP said he would resign unless a General Election were held first.

In November 1913 a call was made by John (Eoin) MacNeill and Lawrence Kettle for the establishment of a rival Irish Volunteer Corps. Provisional secretaries were chosen by a voluntary meeting, and they sent out a circular to interested nationalist organisations. The formation of the Irish Volunteers was decided at a meeting in Wynn's Hotel Dublin 11 November 1913 by a group of 10 men, 4 of them members of the IRB, specially invited by Michael Joseph Rahilly (self-styled The O'Rahilly) and Bulmer Hobson. O'Rahilly was on the central executive of Sinn Fein but not in the IRB. The IRB was determined to control it, and of the thirty original members, all of them living in Dublin, up to twenty were members of the IRB (Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine*, p321-2).

The original plan for Irish Volunteers, that is Catholic Volunteers, came from the IRB and in particular from Bulmer Hobson, who was a prominent leader at the time. MacNeill, a Gaelic scholar who was rather prone to find his own ideas about ancient Ireland in the evidence, but who was highly esteemed as a gentleman and scholar at the time, was merely used as a front by the IRB and this was to be explained to him brutally just before the attempted coup in 1916. This also resulted in a divided command structure, between those officers who were in the IRB and those who were not, and later still between those who were Sinn Fein MPs in the Dail and those who were not. This was only settled in 1921-2, when the Minister of Defence in the Dail, succeeded in getting the Free State army indisputably under his own control. (Some member of the Army Council of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) - as the Irish Volunteers later chose to call themselves - disputed this, and terrorist activities for the rest of the twentieth century were under the Army Council and Chief-of-Staff of the IRA. The IRB was disbanded about 1924). When considering events between 1913 and 1922 we must remember the separate structures, but interlocking membership of Sinn Fein, the secret society the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) and the Irish Volunteers. Also we should remember that local commanders of the IRA, like those of the agrarian terrorists before them, allowed themselves great freedom of action and political thought and were a law unto themselves. Sir Shane Leslie recounted that one night, when he was sneaking out of Glaslough Castle to drill with the Irish Volunteers he bumped into his father who was sneaking out to drill with the Ulster Volunteers.

Ireland was proclaimed, and the importation of Arms prohibited under the Customs Consolidation Act (1876), and the Customs and Inland Revenue Act (1879). Professor MacNeill, who was associated with the Irish Volunteer Movement, did not think it would affect the procuring of arms.

An identical Home Rule Bill (1913) was re-submitted in the 1913 session of Parliament, and it was rejected a second time by the Lords on 15 July 1913. The Parliamentary timetable meant that it would have to be presented a third time in the 1914 session. The intervening period was spent in endless negotiations where no side would back down, but the possibility was raised that some of the more Protestant parts of Ulster might be allowed an exemption for six years. Birrell even thought that the excluded area could be as small as the city of Belfast and the area immediately around it.

Sickness payments under the Insurance Act 1911 came into force. The Irish Insurance Commission issued a handbook to the friendly societies. Sickness benefit was payable for 26 weeks only. Investigation by the Irish Times shows that in most places in Ireland the Act had been conformed with, and the errant places were marked by the prevalence of prosecutions. The Ancient Order of Hibernians had probably the largest number of insured contributors. The sickness had to be certified by a panel doctor before the sickness payment could be made.

Ireland however was excluded from the medical treatment by approved doctors under the Act, and so the dispute with the British doctors had no immediate relevance to Ireland. Workers also paid 1d less because of this. However negotiations were being carried on locally between the pensions committees and Irish doctors. Belfast doctors following the instructions of the British Medical Association wanted their own conditions, which were resisted by the friendly societies as one of the conditions was the payment of a minimum of 8/6 per capita p.a. and 2/6 per visit (Weekly Irish Times 18 Jan 1913). The Irish Homestead warned of the treatments expressly excluded from the Act, which included many surgical operations and amputations. Operations for tumours, strangulated hernias, and appendicitis are among the excluded; in general operations requiring the presence of more than the doctor and the anaesthetist. There was a large take up of unemployment benefit in the insured trades in Dublin. These trades came under six groups- building, ship-building, engineering, iron-founding, saw-milling, and the construction of vehicles.

By April 1913 it was reported that the National Insurance scheme was working well except in Cork, and in large parts of [North West] Ulster. The Act was however widely unpopular, and seen as an unwanted and not very useful tax; there are in fact very few practical benefits for an agricultural workforce, especially when medical treatment for the illness was excluded. Many of the friendly societies were verging on insolvency and people did not make claims as they knew they would not be paid; as long as the doctors continue to refuse certification of an incapacitating illness the benefits were a mirage; it was now stated that medical panels were working after a fashion in several Counties (Weekly Irish Times 19 April 1913). Problems arose in Belfast for the friendly societies because of the large number of claims of malingerers, and the refusal of the doctors to work the scheme. Irish doctors a year later were still in dispute over the Insurance Act 1911 regarding certification. Certificates were being issued by 'medical advisers' that is by officials appointed by the commissioners; in other cases where the 'advisers' were salaried employees of insurance societies, their duty was towards economy for their employers; the editor considered the offer of the Irish Medical Committee very generous and that it should be accepted by the Government (Weekly Irish Times 30 May 1914).

The problems for the cattle trade continued. In addition, new regulations of the English Board of Agriculture regarding the importation of cattle from Ireland now insisted on a twelve-hour rest period at the port of debarkation to allow for feeding, watering, and inspection. Cattle were still going through the smaller ports in the hope of getting through faster. It was less a matter of costs, being only about 2/6 a head, but the disruption of long-standing arrangements which inter-connected the Irish, Scottish, and English fairs. These regulations, though inconvenient, were long overdue. It had however suited Irish cattle dealers who bought cattle in for example Mullingar in County Westmeath to load them on a train, then on to the cattleboat, and then on to the train on the other side to Manchester or Leeds for example, without a break. Foot-and-mouth restrictions were removed in several counties, but the double inspection of animals from Ireland for foot-and-mouth and sheep scab continued (Weekly Irish Times 4 January 1913).

The great shipping line companies announced that their largest liners would no longer call at Queenstown because of insufficient depth of water. The smaller liners still called, and Queenstown (Cobh, pronounced Cove) remained the great port for emigration to America until displaced by Shannon airport after the Second World War.

Agrarian crime continued unabated in Co. Clare. Dr Fogarty RC bishop of Killaloe threatened perpetrators of outrages in Clare with excommunication, saying it was distasteful to have to refer so frequently from the altar to outrages in Clare. The attack on an inoffensive and innocent man was marked by the meanness and cowardice which were characteristic of the moonlighter of the county. 'It had all the features of those crimes for which Clare had become remarkable - its meanness, trickery, and cowardice.' 'But as sure as those listening to him were in that church that day, those horrid and disgusting crimes that were now going on in this way would bring upon those who committed them the malediction and curse of God- if people were to go on in this way, committing these horrid outrages, or allowing them to be committed around them without protest. There was no use in talking about these acts being the work of a few men, or that there was no sympathy in the community with it. There was no knowing where this would stop, if any man, if it would serve his purpose, was prepared to take his gun and go out in the dark and shoot a man he thought had done something to him' (Weekly Irish Times 26 April 1913). Before the decade was over, the bishop would see exactly what those men could do.

Trinity College Dublin appointed a lady professor, Miss Olive Constance Purser, as temporary lecturer in English literature; she was the first lady student to obtain a scholarship (classical) after the admission of women into the University. There were protests against the scantiness of dress on the streets of Dublin; Irish women had no need to follow foreign fashions.

The charges of partisanship against the Royal Irish Constabulary now came from Protestants; recruitment of Ulster Protestants had fallen off recently. Catholics now made up 79% of the force compared with 74% 10 years earlier. The decline in recruitment in Ulster was largely caused by the wages in the RIC not matching the rise in incomes from other occupations; also emigration from Ulster was greater than from the other provinces. The Inspector General, Sir Neville Chamberlain declined to attribute the change to political influences, but he noted that nationalist elements refused to allow policemen or soldiers to take part in athletic contests, and refused to appoint ex-policemen or soldiers to any positions in local government.

There were charges and counter-charges against discrimination in local government. It seems that invariably appointments were made to Catholics only or Protestants only, depending on whether the Nationalists or Unionists were in control. In Catholic areas discrimination was sometimes disguised by insisting that a knowledge of the Irish language was required, or that an applicant had not served in the police or army. Nobody on either side had any doubt that the Protestants would get nothing in an independent Ireland. (In 1931, Eamon de Valera, formerly President of Sinn Fein, denounced the appointment of a Protestant librarian in a Catholic county.) Allocations of council housing were regularly made by elected councillors on both sides of the Border until at least 1970 when criteria based on need were introduced.

Teachers continued to criticise the programme of education in the national schools, and the Government in 1913 established a committee of enquiry under Professor Sir Samuel Dill of The Queen's University, Belfast. By the school curriculum of 1900 boys of 14 years old were obliged to devote four and a half hours a week to paper folding, wire-bending with pliers, and making tiny garden chairs from cardboard. The Dill commission met and condemned it. Neither Birrell nor Asquith had much interest and let the National Board decide what parts to accept and what reject (Irish School Weekly 11 February 1922). Obviously both considered it a matter for a future Irish Parliament.

A Report on the general health of schoolchildren in Armagh in 1932 after medical inspections had been in place in Ulster schools makes interesting reading. We may assume that conditions in schools would have been worse during the preceding century. The Report of the Armagh School Medical Officer noted that the children from the urban areas were on the whole better cared for than those in rural areas. Clothing and nutrition were better than 20 years earlier. Skin diseases were rarer than hospital experience would lead one to expect, but a high proportion of children had sight defects. Slight deafness was common, as was middle ear disease. Enlarged tonsils and adenoids, carious teeth and defective vision were the commonest defects found. The great majority of the children [between 7 and 14] had one or more carious teeth which must be attributed to faulty diet. It recommended the provision of school meals (Irish School Weekly 6 August 1932). Clearly many children had defective hearing, eyesight, poor teeth, tonsils and adenoids. Skin diseases probably included ringworm, common among farm workers, eczema, impetigo, warts, and rashes caused by nits, mites and lice. The Tuberculosis Prevention (Ireland) Act (1913) was passed.

A new telephone service was decided on, London and Dublin being then connected through exchanges at Leeds, Holyhead, and Belfast. There was not always a direct connection, and messages had to be retransmitted. The existing telegraph lines had insufficient capacity so a new submarine cable had to be laid to provide a direct connection. By January 1914 the new telephone cable from the Welsh coast to Howth was tested; at 64 nautical miles it was the longest submarine telephone cable yet laid. On the British side it was controlled from Manchester. The land part of the scheme linking London and Galway had been erected as far as Mullingar in the Irish midlands. The difficulties in using long submarine cables because of the high resistance had now been overcome. Even on land telephone conversations had to be boosted with amplifiers placed along the cable at regular intervals. Totally automatic exchanges covering the whole country did not come in until the 1960s. Telephone girls manned exchanges and plugged in the connections as they were requested.

Before considering the political situation at the beginning of 1914 it is essential to consider the new rising ideologies in Europe and the consequent 'definitions of the situation' which these involved. The two great rival ideologies were nationalism (often combined with a measure of socialism) and international socialism. One concentrated on Race Struggle (Rassenkampf) and the other on Class Struggle (Klassenkampf). The first became known generically as fascists, or racist fascists; the second Bolsheviks, Marxists, or communists. The boundaries between them were fluid, and each depended to a greater or lesser degree on armed revolution or the electoral process. In Ireland, the ideologies of the Gaelic League, Sinn Fein, and the IRB produced a particularly ruthless programme of racist fascism, and the success of the group meant that their views became the established dogma of the Irish Free State. Not until the success of the Bolsheviks in 1917 was Bolshevism seriously entertained in Ireland, and chiefly by those who wanted to see the large farms broken up. However, in 1914 neither the racist-fascist viewpoint nor the Communist one was considered seriously by the bulk of the Irish people.

The aim of the Nationalists who followed Redmond was basically to establish Tammany Hall in Ireland by seizing political power from the Protestant landowning class, commonly denounced as the 'Landlords' or the 'Ascendancy'. To provide a moral justification for their cause they had to systematically denigrate the 'Ascendancy' and the 'British'. But they also, to some extent, adopted the racist belief that the Celts were a separate race who needed their own state to develop culturally and economically. Professor Bew pointed out a belief shared by the Nationalists and Sinn Fein alike that the development of Ireland was being hindered by its connection with England, and that if Ireland was independent it would rapidly grow into a rich prosperous state of at least twenty million people without large industrial cities but with small factories in rural areas. This particular vision seems to have originated with Arthur Griffith of Sinn Fein and to have been derived from the Arts and Crafts Movement in England. The great means of national improvement was to be protective barriers against British goods.

The Irish Unionists, who were the subjects of this denigration, did not believe a word of the black propaganda against them. They also realised that their only role in an independent Ireland was to be fleeced. The failure of the efforts of Lord Middleton and William O'Brien, as well as the unceasing agrarian outrages, had proved that. The Ulster Unionists in particular were a strict religious people, viewing things in sharply religious terms.

The British Unionists (including the former Liberal Unionists) did not believe in 'British misrule' in Ireland, and indeed, with much justification, considered that they had done much good in Ireland. For Ireland in 1914 was a leading industrial country. Like Abraham Lincoln, in similar circumstances, they were totally opposed to a break-up of the Union which they considered beneficial not only to the whole but also to its individual parts. They concurred with Horace Plunkett who stressed that Ireland needed to be able to compete with the world at large

and not retire behind protective barriers and also needed to raise the rest of Ireland to the standard of productivity of the north-eastern counties. One great difficulty the Unionists faced was that there was no common adjective to describe all the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. An attempt was made to extend the use of the word 'British' to cover all the inhabitants of the British Isles, but this was fiercely resisted in Ireland. So one could only say the 'Army of the United Kingdom' or the 'United Kingdom Parliament'. (This linguistic anomaly was to be thoroughly exploited by the IRA.)

The British Liberals were caught in a trap which they themselves had set. When they came to power in 1906 they were unwilling to bring in Home Rule when scarcely a decade earlier it had been put before the electorate and decisively rejected. If they fought another election on the same issue they would almost certainly have lost it. However, in 1910 they bargained with Redmond for his support against the House of Lords in return for a Home Rule Bill which they intended making as modest and unthreatening to the Irish Unionists as possible. They were placed in a quandary when the Ulster Unionists reacted like scalded cats and made preparations for armed resistance. Asquith, especially, felt that Redmond and the Irish nationalists could not with consistency claim self-determination for themselves and deny the same right to the Ulster Unionists. So they made every effort to find some compromise acceptable to both parties, but found them equally intransigent. (Their blunder was compounded when four years later an openly racist-fascist organisation pledged to conquer Ulster by force drove out Redmond's Nationalists.)

Though just developing in 1914 and with little effect on the parliamentary struggles of that year, the ideology of Gaelic League/Sinn Fein/ IRB closely resembled that of Adolf Hitler in *Mein Kampf*. Neither of these was drawing on the other; they were both drawing on ideas common in Europe at the time. There was the same emphasis on race and soil, on foreign oppression and the destructiveness of foreign culture, the same cultivation of the native language, native dances, native games, native songs and folklore, the same belief that these were the highest possible productions of the human race, the same appeal to their version of history and to the ancient myths of the race, the same effort by archaeologists to find relics of ancient splendours, the same primary reliance on the putsch to achieve power and only secondarily on political means, the same sweeping away of any former Acts or Treaties which were inconvenient, the same intolerance of those who disagreed with them, the same emphasis on youth, the same use of military spectacle and glorification of war, the same drilling of youth for war, the same reliance on unremitting propaganda, the same ruthless reliance on terror to overcome opponents, the same bands of women helpers, the same belief in the righteousness of their cause, the same belief that the cause justified every action. Both had a boy hero, Horst Wessel and Kevin Barry who were killed by their opponents, and about whom a song was written for the inspiration of Irish youth

Finally, there was the king who was very closely involved in all these negotiations. The king was no mere figurehead or rubber stamp. He was revered as the source of all political authority, though in political matter he was severely constrained by the Constitution. In the United States and France authority was derived from the supposed political will of the people who composed the state. In England, as in Germany, Russia, and other monarchies people believed 'There's such divinity doth hedge a king' expressing a traditional reverence for kingship. (A curious case arose during the debate on the Parliament Bill when the Marquis of Crewe for the Liberals expressed in Parliament a stronger version than what the king had actually said, about the creation of extra peers. The king had allowed the possibility in answer to a hypothetical question, and had reason to be annoyed (DNB George V)). He was the nominal head of the armed forces, and throughout both World Wars was closely involved in all discussions. All commissions and warrants were issued in his name, and to him loyalty was sworn. A large proportion of the officers in both the British Army and the Indian Army were Irish, many of them from Ulster. The office of Commander-in-Chief was gradually being subordinated to the War Office, and brought under control of Parliament. The Royal Navy was in theory subject to the Admiralty Board of which the First Lord of the Admiralty was a member of the Government. But both army and navy were still semi-feudal, semi-independent bodies. (The United Kingdom was far from unique in this. Matters were worse in Germany, and in the Second World War in the United States admirals and generals negotiated directly with Congress with regard to appropriations, by-passing the President, their nominal Commander-in-Chief.) Lord Stamfordham, the king's Private Secretary estimated that two thirds of the officers and men would leave the army if told to fire on the Ulstermen (Hannah, *Bob's*, Kipling's *General*, 237-241). Field Marshal Lord Roberts fully backed the Ulstermen. The king used Stamfordham to contact various parties on his behalf. The king had two concerns; one that arms might be used against any section of his subjects, and the other that any section of his armed forces should be ordered to fire on them. [TOP]

[1914] By the time Parliament re-assembled on 2 February 1914, Asquith had worked out a vague solution conceding the exclusion of Ulster. There were various possibilities and ambiguities in his plan, whether Ulster would be included initially and allowed to opt-out later, or whether Ulster should be initially excluded but

for a limited period (Bew, *Ideology and the Irish Question*, 99-104 deals with the negotiations in detail.) The Home Rule Bill (1912) had to be passed substantially unchanged in three sessions of Parliament and so was introduced as the Home Rule Bill (1914). On 9 March 1914, during the Second reading, Asquith offered a county option with a time limit of six years. This Carson claimed was only a 'sentence of death with a stay of execution'. Bonar Law demanded either a General Election or a referendum. When it passed its Third Reading on 25 May 1914 and received the royal signature, it became law and was known as the Government of Ireland Act (1914). Therefore, a different Act had to be introduced. This, the Government of Ireland (Amendment) Bill (1914), was introduced on 23 June 1914 allowing a temporary exclusion of Ulster for six years on a county by county basis. The counties which had voted out were to be placed, not directly under the Crown, but under the Lord Lieutenant in Dublin (Bew, 114). The Lords amended the Bill, and the Liberals rejected the Lords' amendments. The king called the Buckingham Palace Conference in his palace on 21 July, but no agreement was reached. What did become clear, and later became a fixed point, was that the six North-Eastern counties would be excluded as a block, not county by county, still less parish by parish. The Bill was dropped for the duration of the crisis (Bew points out that if Redmond had earlier accepted the idea of partition, and offered at least temporary exclusion to four counties his offer might have been accepted p. 105).

In 1912 John Seely, who had distinguished himself as a soldier in South Africa in the Hampshire Yeomanry and was elected to Parliament as a Liberal MP was promoted to the War Office as Secretary of State for War. In December 1913 he held a consultation with the General Officers Commanding (GOCs) in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and a promise was made that any officer whose home was in Ulster would not be ordered to fight there. Sir Arthur Paget was the GOC in Ireland. Written Instructions based on this meeting were given to Paget in December 1913 providing that officers whose homes were in Ulster might 'disappear' temporarily, but any other officers who refused to obey were to be dismissed at once. Winston Churchill at the Admiralty moved warships to the Western Isles of Scotland and said in a speech on 14 March 1914 'Let us go forward together and put these grave matters to the proof'. This immediately led to the Curragh Incident. It is clear that elaborate military preparations were made by Winston Churchill at the Admiralty and Seely at the War Office.

On 14 March 1914 a Cabinet Committee of which Seely was a member decided to inform Paget that attempts to obtain arms were expected in Ulster, and that some arms depots there were insufficiently guarded. Paget had been reluctant to move troops there for fear of precipitating a crisis. Churchill and Seely decided that trouble was imminent as Carson had left London to return to Belfast. Certain movements of troops were agreed, and Paget was instructed to explain to his officers the conditions agreed the previous December (DNB Seely).

The general in charge of the cavalry brigade at the Curragh camp was Sir Hubert de la Poer Gough was from Co. Waterford who had been commissioned into the 16th Lancers in 1889. He had served in India and South Africa where he led the Imperial Light Horse to relieve Ladysmith, and later commanded a regiment of mounted infantry. The Irish companies in his regiment gave him trouble by getting drunk (Pakenham, *The Boer War*, 366, 529-30; DNB Hubert Gough). Later he became the commanding officer of the 16th Lancers, and in 1911 he returned to Ireland as the brigadier general commanding the 3rd cavalry brigade at the Curragh, which was the Headquarters of the army in Ireland. The Director of Military intelligence was Sir Henry Wilson from Longford. He had joined the Longford militia, then transferred into the 18th foot, the Royal Irish Regiment, and then into the Rifle Brigade and fought in Burma. He became brigade major to the third infantry brigade and was sent to South Africa. After the reverses at Colenso and Spion Kop he was placed on the Headquarters Staff of Lord Roberts the Commander-in-Chief. After the formation of the General Staff he was appointed commandant of the Staff College in 1907 with the rank of brigadier general. In 1910 he was made director of military operations at the War Office where he was involved in preparing plans for co-operation with the French. He entirely sympathised with the Irish officers. Lord Roberts also was from Waterford. He had retired from the army in 1905, but he threw the weight of his immense prestige behind the Ulster Volunteer Force. Sir John French, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, had close connections with Ireland.

It is not clear what exactly Paget said to the officers when he got back to Ireland, but there is the account of Gough and the others. Paget addressed the officers of the cavalry brigade at the Curragh on the morning of Saturday 21 March 1914 (DNB Gough). Brigadier General Hubert de la Poer Gough called the officers, asked the opinion of the officers of the 3rd cavalry brigade and they nearly all offered to resign. In a discussion with the GOC Sir Arthur Paget they made it clear that they would in no case fire on Ulstermen. The same Saturday, Paget signalled the War Office in London saying that the brigadier and 57 officers preferred to resign. Gough was relieved of his command and ordered to London with his two colonels; it was understood that 57 out of the 76 officers resigned. The orders to move north were withdrawn. Sir Philip Chetwode replaced Gough, but the appointment was cancelled. 200 troops were rushed to Newry barracks which was virtually derelict having been last occupied in 1905 in which year troops were withdrawn from Newry. Before they arrived on Sunday morning

Asquith realised the muddle Seely and Paget had got into. He authorised a statement in the London Times to the effect that the movements of troops were merely precautionary, to protect military property, etc. (Weekly Irish Times 28 March 1914). He also made it clear to Seeley that Gough and the other officers were not to be punished for taking the choice forced on them by Paget.

In London, a meeting was held with Gough with Seely, Sir Spencer Ewart the Adjutant General, and Sir John French the Chief of the Imperial General Staff present. A document was prepared by Seely, Ewart, and French but was emended at a cabinet meeting at which Seely was not present. Seely felt that the guarantee against using Ulster troops in Ulster given verbally to Gough was not clear enough, so he added two paragraphs, one of which stated that the Government had no intention of using the troops to crush Ulster, and this was initialled by Ewart and French. When the cabinet repudiated this addition Seely, Ewart and French resigned, the army accepting the blame. Asquith considered, probably correctly, that Paget was the one who bore most of the blame. As the First World War broke out shortly afterwards, the military careers of the soldiers suffered no set-back, and the 3rd cavalry brigade led by Gough, was one of the first to be sent to France. Sir John French commanded the British Expeditionary Force (The best succinct account of the incident is given in DNB Hubert Gough). Seely was given command of the Canadian cavalry brigade.

Since its formation in the late seventeenth century, the Irish Army was kept separate from the English (later British) for purely fiscal reasons. The king was restricted with regard to the number of troops he could keep in England, but not in Ireland, and troops while stationed in Ireland were a charge on the Irish Exchequer. When moved overseas, they again became a charge on the British Exchequer. As the Catholic troops who had served under the Catholic James II went to France, the army at first composed entirely of Protestants. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Duke of Wellington remarked that nobody asked a gentleman his religion. By the Act of Union (1800) the two armies were merged. But it would be a mistake to consider that the British Army was composed only of British people. The Irish component reached its highest proportion about the middle of the nineteenth century. (The English and Scottish armies were similarly merged after the Act of Union (1707), but fortunately there was a common adjective to cover it.)

There never was any intention on anybody's part of actually using the troops. Only fanatics like those in the IRA would cheerfully turn their guns on those who disagreed with them. The leaders of the Ulster Volunteer Force had drilled and armed, but all the time hoping that the Government would back down or a general election would intervene. Churchill and Seeley just wished to demonstrate force. In the event, the Government did compromise (Buckland, Irish Unionism, 258-9).

Shortly after this the Ulster Volunteers, now called the Ulster Volunteer Force UVF staged a remarkable coup. The Government had prohibited the importation of arms but steps were taken to procure them illegally. On the night of 24/25th April 1914 35,000 rifles and 3½ million cartridges were landed at Larne, Bangor, Donaghadee, and Ballywalter in Ulster. There was a vast organization by the Ulster Volunteer Force, who virtually took over the province, interrupted telegraphic and telephonic communication, and controlled the roads. A German ship was re-painted and re-named out in the Atlantic. A consignment of guns for the Irish Volunteers was also landed in Donegal (Weekly Irish Times 2 May 1914; Buckland, Irish Unionism, 239-258). It seems that the Royal Irish Constabulary, who were usually well-informed had no inkling of what was planned, and consequently neither had Birrell or Redmond. With what they already had this was probably sufficient to equip all their able-bodied fighters.

The success of the Ulstermen galvanised the Irish Volunteers in the South who had hitherto been much less successful at recruiting. Up to March 1914 only about 7000 men had joined, and most of them were from the lower classes. After that recruitment soared, and membership doubled or trebled. It very soon became obvious to Redmond, when he was not offered the leadership of the Irish Volunteers, that they were being organised against himself. (We can assume that the police had a reasonable knowledge regarding the membership and activities of the IRB, and that the Government kept Redmond informed.) However, it was not until June 1914 that he brought to a head the question of the subordination of the Volunteers to the future elected Government of Ireland led by the Nationalist Parliamentary Party

Redmond sent a letter, intended to be made public, to the Secretaries of the Irish Volunteers on 9 June 1914, and referred to the controversy in the press regarding the supposed opposition between the Volunteers and the Parliamentary Party. Up to two months ago he had felt that the volunteer movement was premature, but events like the gun-running had changed his mind. Six weeks earlier the Irish Party had formally endorsed the Volunteers, and volunteering was proceeding apace. He had made enquiries into its organisation and it was represented to him that the governing body should be reconstructed and made more representative. So far as

his information went the provisional committee was self-elected, and consisted of 25 members, all from Dublin, with no country interest; but it claimed to be only a provisional body until a permanent body could be formed. He suggested therefore that the Irish Party should nominate a further 25 members from the country areas; failing that it would be necessary to fall back on county control until a truly representative executive was elected by the Volunteers themselves (Weekly Irish Times 13 June 1914).

Eoin MacNeill and L.J. Kettle, Hon. Secs. welcomed Redmond's letter. They said they considered the Volunteers the basis of a free Irish army, ready and fit to defend Ireland against all enemies, and called on the Government to withdraw the proclamation against the free import of arms. It was seven months, they said, since the Volunteers were called into being by the manifesto of the provisional body on 29 Nov 1913. A General Order stated that it was not possible to hold a general convention, but authorised each local company in the country districts to elect a delegate from among their own members. Redmond rejected this solution pointing out that the Volunteers should be subject to the elected representatives of the National Party. He was, he said, informed that though at least 95% of the volunteers support the Nationalist party, yet a majority of the provisional committee did not; their names were not disclosed, and they mostly got their positions by co-option (Weekly Irish Times 13, 20 June 1914). Bulmer Hobson of the IRB advised MacNeill to assent, much to the annoyance of other leading members of the IRB, and he lost his position on the Supreme Council of the IRB and played no leading role in the years that followed. His argument for accepting was that the IRB members of the provisional committee of the Irish volunteers acting together could always out-manoeuvre Redmond's nominees acting independently of each other. The secret IRB members would meet in secret to co-ordinate their actions unknown to the others (Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, 328). Shortly after this on 26 July 1914 a shipment of arms amounting to 1500 rifles, which had been organised by Hobson, was landed at Howth. Darrell Figgis and Erskine Childers had been sent to Germany to purchase arms and ammunition. This importation of arms by the IRB in broad daylight past the unarmed Dublin Metropolitan Police was a deliberate challenge to the Government, unlike the secretive Larnie gun-running. Predictably, when some people were shot the British Government was blamed. Recruitment rose rapidly and by September 1914 the Irish Volunteers claimed to have 180,000 men in their ranks. At this point, the armed strength, the financial position, and the organisation of the Ulster Volunteer Force far outstripped anything the southern Volunteers/IRA had achieved or ever would achieve.

As noted above the king called a conference at Buckingham Palace in July without result. It was the last month of peace. The Earl and Countess of Fingall took a house in London for the 1914 'Season' as parents did who had daughters of marriageable age. The time was spent, as usual in visiting and being visited. Among the visitors occasionally was John Redmond. But they also had a large number of German visitors which puzzled her a bit. One day she found the German ambassador in private conversation with John Redmond. It was only after War was declared that she realised what the interest of the Germans in Ireland had been. There is no doubt that the ambassador had been informed about the purchase of arms in Germany

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The Ministry August 1914 to December 1916 (Liberal)

Prime Minister	Herbert Asquith
Home Secretary	Reginald MacKenna; May 1915 Sir John Simon; January 1916 Herbert Samuel
Lord Lieutenant	Earl of Aberdeen; February 1915 Baron Wimborne
Chief Secretary	Augustine Birrell; August 1916 Henry Duke
Under Secretary	Sir James Dougherty; Oct 1914 Sir Matthew Nathan; May 1916 Sir Robert Chalmers; Oct 1916 Sir William Byrne

[August 1914] Sir John Simon from Manchester was educated at Oxford and the Inner Temple and was called to the bar. He entered Parliament as a Liberal MP in 1906, and was appointed Solicitor General and knighted in 1910. He was appointed Home Secretary in 1915 and resigned in January 1916 on the issue of conscription. Herbert Samuel was Jewish, the son of an investment banker belonging to the City firm of Samuel, Montague and Co. Samuel was educated at Oxford, and his father left him sufficient money to pursue any career he liked. While engaged in constituency political work he began to study poverty, not only in Whitechapel in the East End of London but also in rural parts of Oxfordshire. (Whitechapel was the usual destination of poverty-

stricken Jewish groups fleeing persecution in their homelands.) He mixed with the early socialists but disagreed with them over nationalisation. He was elected to Parliament as a Liberal in 1902, and was appointed Under Secretary in the Home Office in 1906 where he dealt with young offenders and the introduction of the borstal system, helped to frame the Home Rule Bill (1912) and was involved in dealing with the militant suffragettes. He entered the cabinet in 1909 but lost his position there during the re-shuffle which followed the formation of a coalition Government in May 1915. In January 1916 he was restored to the Cabinet as Home Secretary. He went out of office when Asquith resigned, refused an offer from Lloyd George. He did eventually accept an offering from Lloyd George in 1920 to be the first British High Commissioner in charge of the mandated territory of Palestine.

Sir Ivor Churchill Guest, 3rd baronet and 1st Viscount Wimborne, was educated at Eton and Cambridge. He served in the South African War as a captain in the Dorset Imperial Yeomanry, and was elected to Parliament as a Conservative in 1900. He, along with Winston Churchill, changed parties over the issue of Free Trade. He was Paymaster General from 1910 to 1912. At the outbreak of the War he returned to the army as an officer on the Staff of Sir Bryan Mahon who had been appointed the commander of the 10th (Irish) Division at the Curragh. In February 1915 he was asked to accept the position of Lord Lieutenant. The Countess of Fingall mentions that he paid a visit to her home, Killeen Castle, though at this period her closest friend in the Castle was Sir Matthew Nathan. Henry Edward Duke was the son of the clerk in a granite works in Devon. He began life a local journalist but soon moved to London. There he read for the bar and was called to the bar by Gray's Inn. He was elected to Parliament as a Unionist, showing that it was possible for a person of humble origins and poor education to reach high rank on ability alone. In the courts he held his own against Sir Edward Carson. On Birrell's resignation in 1916 he was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland. Sir Robert Chalmers was born in London and educated in Oxford, after which he became a career civil servant, serving in the Revenue Departments and the Treasury. From 1913 to 1916 he served as Governor of Ceylon. Following the resignation of Sir Matthew Nathan he was briefly Under Secretary in Ireland.

On 28 June 1914 the Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria was assassinated in Sarajevo in Bosnia in the Austrian Empire. After months of negotiations involving Austria, Germany, Russia and France on 3 August the Germans launched a pre-emptive stroke against France, through Belgium, and the following day, 4 August 1914, the British Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey announced to the House of Commons that the United Kingdom would support France. The Countess of Fingall had been a close friend of the German Ambassador and his wife, and also of the Austrian Ambassador whom she and her daughter occasionally took to mass. Both had to leave London. In the days before ideology came to dominate European politics the crowned heads of Europe visited each other. Similarly, the nobility always had invitations to stay at each others houses when travelling. French was the common language of the upper classes from the Atlantic to the Urals. Generals and admirals were usually from the upper classes and knew each other.

When war was declared the Fingalls returned to Ireland, and like the great majority of the Irish, were caught up in the war effort. Famously, the Countess of Mayo, Geraldine Bourke, (Lady Mayo) had a flag embroidered for an Irish Brigade which Field Marshal Earl Kitchener the new Secretary of State for War tactlessly returned. (From a strictly military point of view Kitchener was right to resist pressure for particular battalions to serve together. A particular battalion might be seriously weakened in an action, and then the whole brigade would have to be withdrawn until its ranks were made up. The Canadians limited their usefulness in both World Wars by insisting that they fight only as an army. So, in the Second World War, it was not until June 1944 that any use could be made of the Canadian Army. On the other hand there was a precedent in the Irish Brigade in the Boer War, and it proved possible to form three more-or-less Irish divisions.)

The Earl of Fingall offered his services to the War Office to help with recruitment. This chiefly meant trying to persuade the young men in the two Volunteer Forces to join the Regular Army. An officer called Captain R. C. Kelly was sent to Dublin to organise the recruitment. The countess noted how the great English ladies devoted themselves night and day to the war effort, giving up their houses for hospitals and selling their jewels. The Countess of Limerick ran a canteen at Waterloo Station in London to provide hot tea for the troops going to and coming from the Front. Lady Fingall was herself made Chairman in Ireland of the Central Committee for Women's Employment which was started by Sir Matthew Nathan. Her eldest son, Lord Killeen finished his military training at Sandhurst. Sir Bryan Mahon wanted him to join the 8th (King's Royal Irish) Hussars, Desmond Fitzgerald, son of the Duke of Leinster, wanted him in the Irish Guards, while Lieutenant General Douglas Haig, whose sister was a friend of the countess wanted him in his old regiment, the 17th Lancers. It was the latter Killeen chose.

Much has been written about the recruitment and training of the Volunteers, but we must remember that the regular units of the army were the first that were sent to France. It was not until July 1915 that Sir Bryan Mahon could take the 10th (Irish) division to Gallipoli. Brigadier General Hubert de la Poer Gough took the 3rd cavalry brigade to France in August 1914, and was soon promoted to major general in charge of the 2nd cavalry division. Sir Henry Wilson was sent to France as a senior member of the staff of the Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force Sir John French. Sir Douglas Haig commanded the 1st army corps.

Irish industry was geared up for war. The shipyards were filled with orders. The linen industry was worked to full capacity, the Government finally buying all the linen that could be produced. Linen cloth was the preferred fabric for covering aircraft having the greatest strength for weight of any fabric. It could also be 'doped' to make it waterproof. Linen was needed on a vast scale for the aircraft of Britain, France, Italy, and America; Tillage too was expanded to make up for the shortfall in imports.

The British Expeditionary Force under Sir John French took its position on the left of the French line, just to the left of the French Fifth Army under General Lanrezac on the French side of the France-Belgium border. When the Germans invaded Belgium, the British and the Fifth French Army entered Belgium to assist the Belgian army. Belgium and Holland formed a kind of triangular wedge between the German frontier running north-south and the French northern frontier running roughly east-west. The Belgians were relying on the strength of great fortresses they had constructed along their eastern frontier with Germany. The Germans used heavy Austrian siege guns to quickly reduce the fortresses, and began to wheel through Belgium. The British Expeditionary Force, numbering about 80,000 men advanced towards the fortress, and along with the Fifth French Army, arrived at Mons, a few miles beyond the Franco-Belgian frontier. Contrary to what the British and French had expected this was the place where the Germans had decided to launch their main thrust.

The Irish regiments in the first expeditionary force were the Royal Irish Regiment and Royal Irish Rifles in the 3rd division under General Hamilton, the 2nd Connaught Rangers and the Irish Guards in the 2nd division under General Monro, and the 2nd Munster Fusiliers in the 1st division under General Lomax. These divisions were sent to the Mons-Charleroi line; French's 80,000 men were opposed by at least 200,000 Germans, with perhaps 40,000 or 50,000 trying to envelop them. Having insufficient numbers to hold the whole front, unless they withdrew rapidly the German army would surround them. So in the first phase of the war the British army marched rapidly back towards Paris as the German army tried to march round them and surround them from one side while other units drove back the Fifth French army and surrounded them on the other side. Then the German army would wheel behind the French army and trap them at Sedan as they did in 1870. The Royal Irish Rifles were stationed in Mons where General Hamilton had his headquarters; they were for a time cut off but extricated themselves with the help of the Gordon Highlanders. The 2nd Munsters also suffered heavily in the engagement as did the Irish Guards now in battle for the first time. The German regiments were pushed forward in masses and they were mowed down by the British rifle and machinegun fire. French's men were compelled by weight of numbers to fall back. The British Expeditionary Force and Lanrezac's French Fifth Army retreated in a southerly direction towards Paris (Weekly Irish Times 7 Aug 1915; Spears, Liaison 1914).

There was a general belief on both sides that the war would be over by Christmas. Lord Kitchener disagreed, and set about establishing new armies, avoiding conscription and relying solely on volunteering. He called for 100,000 volunteers. On 30 July 1914 Bonar Law got Asquith to agree to postpone a settlement in Ireland until the impending crisis of a European War was passed. Asquith agreed but Redmond wanted to see the Home Rule Bill safely on the statute book. Asquith pressed on with the Home Rule Bill and it became law as the Government of Ireland Act (1914) on 18 September 1914, and received the royal signature, without the Amending Bill. A Suspensory Act (1914) suspended the implementation of the Home Rule bill, which in fact never came into force.

As early as 5th August 1914 Carson sent a telegram to the secretary of the Ulster Unionist Council asking that all members of the Ulster Volunteer Force should enlist, and on the same day General Sir George Richardson, commander of the Ulster Volunteer Force, asked that a census of the force be undertaken to see how many were ready to enlist for service overseas, how many for home defence in the UK, and how many for home defence in Ulster. Carson came to an agreement with the War Office on how the Ulster volunteers would be used, and on 7th September 1914 he wrote to the UVF calling for volunteers. Within 10 days Carson was able to tell Kitchener that there were already 10,000 volunteers (Colles, History of Ulster IV, 244ff; Weekly Northern Whig 12 Sept 1914).

By the middle of September there were 12,000 enlisted and the 36th (Ulster) division was formed from them. Belfast businessmen undertook to have the uniforms and boots made up; so every recruit had his uniform as soon as he enlisted, and the whole division was ready with its uniforms and equipment in October. It was the first of Kitchener's new divisions to be equipped. Its equipment was also the best and cheapest. It also formed

all its own ancillary units, service corps, engineers, signallers, pioneers, cavalry unit, and field ambulance, all except divisional artillery. It also maintained several reserve battalions to supply reinforcements. The whole division first assembled as a unit on 8th May 1915, and subsequently marched through the city of Belfast. It was sent to France in October 1915, where it was split up for training, but was re-united in February 1916 (Colles op. cit.).

The county system of the Ulster Volunteer Force made it easy to transform them into linked militia battalions of the regular army. For example, Royal Irish Fusiliers had its depot in Armagh. Its 1st battalion was the 87th foot; its 2nd battalion the 89th foot; its 3rd battalion the Armagh militia, its 4th battalion the Cavan militia and its 5th battalion the Monaghan militia. The 3rd, 4th, and 5th (militia) battalions were reserve battalions, responsible for home defence and for providing volunteers to the 1st and 2nd battalions. The new battalions were added in as 6th, 7th, 8th and so on, and were called 'service' battalions. These were fighting battalions, but enlisted only for the duration of the War. The Royal Irish Rifles ultimately numbered 20 battalions, including regular, reserve, service, and garrison battalions.

An officer in the regular army who took over the training of the service battalions noted that the training they had received in the Volunteers was very imperfect, but that when they were taken away from home and given proper training in camps in England they eventually made fine soldiers. For the most part, the service battalions were grouped into their own separate divisions, totally disregarding where the regular battalions of the regiment were.

Asquith visited Dublin and appealed for Volunteers; Redmond joined him on the platform and was enthusiastically welcomed. A special meeting of the Unionist Council was held; Carson explained that the Acts were suspended for the duration, and urged the volunteers to enlist. He promised to convene the Ulster provisional government after the war. Bonar Law and Carson then appeared in the Ulster Hall in Belfast on 28 September 1914 and Law renewed his pledges of support to the Unionists (Weekly Northern Whig 3 Oct 1914).

John Redmond, after war was announced, rose in Parliament and said that the entire British Army could be safely withdrawn from Ireland, and the defence of the island left to the Irish Volunteers. He expected that the War Office would recognise the Irish Volunteers north and south would supply them with arms and would train them. This, of course, was going far beyond what was included in the Government of Ireland (1914) Act, but everyone knew, especially the Ulster Unionists, that if the British Army left it would never return, and that the exclusion of the Six Counties would never be raised (DNBRedmond). He decided in spite of the rejection of his offer to recommend that the Irish Catholics should volunteer for Kitchener's new armies. Their method of recruitment was the same as in Ulster; volunteer battalions were added as service battalions to the existing Irish regular regiments which had depots outside Ulster. There was not the same enrolling as entire companies, and those Protestants outside Ulster could volunteer on the same basis as the Catholics. It is therefore misleading to claim that the service battalions contained only men who had previously been in the two Volunteer Forces.

To recall, there were eight regular Irish regiments in the peace time army. Leinster had the Leinster Regiment and the Royal Dublin Fusiliers; Munster had the Royal Irish Regiment and the Royal Munster Fusiliers; Connaught had the Connaught Rangers, while Ulster had the Royal Irish Rifles, the Royal Irish Fusiliers, and the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers. As each regiment had two regular battalions it is clear that of the 16, six were from Ulster, and 10 from the rest of Ireland. By the end of 1914 42 of the 82 Irish battalions including reserve battalions had been raised in Ulster (Colles, History of Ulster.) On 1st August 1914 there were 20,780 Irishmen serving in the army. At the outbreak of war 17,804 reservists and 12,462 special reservists re-joined making a total on mobilisation of 51,046 men. Subsequently three new divisions the 10th, 16th, and 36th were formed each of 12 battalions, which added to the original 16 Irish battalions made 52 battalions; at the same time reserve brigades were formed to act as feeders. No further battalions were created, for all new volunteers were fed into the existing units to replace casualties. Very importantly, the wives of soldiers were paid directly a 'separation allowance' while their husbands were in the army.

According to Lord Wimborne's report on state of recruiting to Secretary of State for War, Earl Kitchener, the total number of recruits raised in Ireland from 2nd Aug 1914 to 8th January 1916 was 86,277. The recruiting districts were roughly the same as the militia districts assigned to the regular battalions. By far the greatest numbers of recruits came from Belfast city with 26,883, followed by Dublin city and county with 16,726. The total for No.11 district which included the nine Ulster counties plus Belfast and Co. Louth was 60,760. The highest regimental area was the 18th area (Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford and Wexford) with 7,040, followed by 83rd recruiting area (Antrim and Down excluding Belfast) with 5,441 (Weekly Irish Times 5 February 1916).

It was the function of Captain Kelly's and Lord Fingall's Department to organise this recruitment. The decision of the Ulster businessmen to provide for the making of the standard uniforms and boots meant that there was no delay over the placing of contracts. Referring to a recruiting meeting in Navan, Co. Meath, addressed by the Earl of Fingall at the end of 1914 the newspaper noted that the earl was serving with the 7th Leinsters along with Lt. T.M. Kettle and Mr Stephen Gwynn. It noted that following Redmond's speech the Government said it would prefer if the Volunteers served in the regular forces, and the 47th brigade of the new 16th division was cleared to make room for the nationalist volunteers (Weekly Irish Times 2 January 1915). Thomas Kettle, a poet and professor had been a nationalist MP and had joined the Irish Volunteers. He was in Belgium in August 1914 purchasing arms when the War commenced. He was killed on the Somme. Stephen Gwynn was a Nationalist MP who enlisted as a private, but was given a commission in the Connaught Rangers and served in the 16th (Irish) Division until 1917 in which year he became a member of the Irish Convention. He is chiefly remembered as a poet (DNB Gwynn; Encyclopaedia of Ireland).

In a speech at Woodenbridge, Co. Wicklow on 20 September 1914 Redmond called for the Irish Volunteers to enlist, which they did initially in quite large numbers. His decision to recommend volunteering to the regular army took many people by surprise. In particular he infuriated the IRB who had started the Irish Volunteers for their own purposes. For, as the would-be revolutionaries knew 'England's Difficulty is Ireland's Opportunity'. If they were to make a successful putsch the Volunteers had to be at their maximum strength at the time when most of the regular army units were sucked out of the country. Hence the great interest of the German Ambassador in their affairs. On September 24 the original provisional committee of the Irish Volunteers repudiated both Redmond and his nominees on the provisional committee. The movement split. It was estimated that about 170,000 Volunteers followed Redmond, while about 11,000 followed the IRB and kept the name of Irish Volunteers. Eoin MacNeill remained with the Irish Volunteers, also popularly called Sinn Fein Volunteers for the role of the IRB was not known, though he was one of the few senior figures who was not a member of the IRB.

Redmond set about reorganising his section of the Volunteers, now called the Irish National Volunteers on the lines he had already envisaged. By the following April 1915 he was able to chair a Convention of the Irish National Volunteers now under his command. He said that a new elected governing body in place of the provisional committee was now ready to take over, and re-appoint the officers, undertake training etc. (Weekly Irish Times 10 April 1915). William O'Brien and Tim Healy supported Redmond. Commenting on a review in the Phoenix Park in Dublin of the National Volunteers who had not volunteered for the army in April 1915 a reporter noted that most of the men were of military age, and though as yet the force was militarily useless, it could be moulded with proper training. It was clear that the training in marching in many of the units was rudimentary. Those from Belfast were remarkably well-drilled and equipped, and carried rifles with fixed bayonets; it was estimated that they carried about 4,000 rifles, of which a quarter were modern Lee-Enfields, and many carried shotguns. He conceded however that many of the best men had enlisted in the army (Weekly Irish Times 10 April 1915). (It should be noted that these remarks would apply equally to the Irish Volunteers who in 1916 would attempt to fight the Army.)

Following the split between the Nationalists and the Sinn Feiners the Redmondites gained control in Cork and the United Irish League captured the guns; these guns had been used by Garibaldi's soldiers (Weekly Irish Times 10 October 1914). By April 1916 the number of the Irish Volunteers was estimated to be 13,500 with about 2,600 rifles. The number of the National Volunteers however continued to shrink (Weekly Irish Times 27 May 1916).

On the recruiting efforts of the Nationalist Party Professor Bew remarked that 'it was a new experience for Irish audiences to learn from their leaders that their own sufferings were now in the past or that other countries were being treated more savagely by history (Ideology and the Irish Question, 124). Recruiters were speaking of the sufferings of the Belgians, the destruction of churches and cathedrals. Though stories of the 'Belgian atrocities' were doubtless exaggerated, there is no doubt that the German army adopted a deliberate policy of violence and intimidation in the occupied country. Sinn Fein propagandists denied that there were any German atrocities.

The Protestant newspapers were sceptical about the sudden change of front. However it seems clear that a new note of realism was entering the calculations of the Redmondites while Sinn Fein and the IRB still wallowed in mythology and racial fantasies. The Party however still clung to Protection as their main tool for the development of Ireland. But Redmond envisaged the establishment of small factories in the country towns, a policy that was later adopted by the Free State Government (Bew loc. cit.). A perceived change in the financial balance between the two islands as the result of National Insurance caused a rethink of the financial relations. It became clear too, that though Ireland was allegedly over-taxed the parsimonious funding of the Irish Government meant that there was little to be saved by retrenchment of the public services. (Retrenchment of

Government expenditure had been a watchword of the Liberals for a hundred years.) On the other hand, if Government services were to be improved and increased, Irish taxation would have to rise, a point the Unionists made. By the time the Irish Convention met in 1918 the Nationalist Party had worked out what their demands were.

The armies in France retreated as far as the Marne passing just to the east of Paris. General Joffre realised that the sixth German army which had been pursuing the retreating British Expeditionary Force had exposed its flank to a counterstroke from the direction of Paris. Sir John French, who had been considering pulling out his weary divisions for a rest, was persuaded to counterattack along with the rest of the French army. The German armies were driven back to the Aisne and dug trenches. Soon a double line of trenches stretched across northern France from the Swiss border to the North Sea. Both sides attempted to get past each other near the town of Ypres in Belgium which resulted in the First Battle of Ypres. From the end of 1914 until the middle of 1918 this double line of trenches never moved more than twenty miles either to the east or the west. The line of trenches was more or less L-shaped, north-south in the western half and east-west in the eastern half. The result was that the British normally attacked eastwards and the French northwards. The British Army held the Ypres Salient, a triangular shaped area where the troops could be shot at from both sides, and consequently casualties were twice as high as on any other stretch of front. [TOP]

[1915] The year began with the replacement of the Earl of Aberdeen by Baron Wimborne. In the House of Lords Lord MacDonnell noted that in 1883 25% of the imperial army was composed of Irishmen; in 1892 it was 15%; in 1903 13% and in 1914 9%; with regard to the nationalists no records were kept. Since the beginning of the present war 115,000 Irishmen had joined from England, Scotland, and Wales; and at least 85,000 from Ireland. Harris describes the battalions raised by the Tyneside Irish, the London Irish, and the Liverpool Irish (Harris The Irish Regiments 247-267). When Winston Churchill had become First Lord of the Admiralty in 1911 he chose Rear Admiral David Beattie, whose family had come from Co. Wexford and who counted as Irish as his naval secretary. They suited each other. Churchill then gave him command of the battle cruiser squadron in the North Sea. At the Dogger Bank Bight Admiral Beattie won the first naval victory of the war, an Irish victory! The mail boats crossing from Dublin to Holyhead were always vulnerable to submarine attack, though it was not until 1918 that one was sunk. Lady Fingall recalled that the captain of the mailboat pointed out a periscope sticking out of the water. We can assume that the mailboats always varied their route so that the much slower U-boats could not catch them.

A Victoria Cross was awarded to Michael O'Leary, the son of an ardent nationalist from Cork for conspicuous gallantry in capturing a German position on 1st Feb 1915. He had served in the Irish Guards and Canadian North West Mounted Police, until the reserves were called up. A passenger steamer was torpedoed in St George's Channel by a submarine; over 100 were missing. In May the Cunard liner the Lusitania was torpedoed by a German submarine off the coast of Cork as she was heading for Liverpool. 1,129 were lost and there were sorrowful spectacles at Queenstown. Sir Hugh Lane among those lost. The Lusitania was unfortunate for it steered inadvertently towards the U-boat.

In May also the 1st battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers were sent to Gallipoli after the Australian and New Zealand forces got bogged down. They were no more successful. In October the 6th (service) battalion was also sent there. Also present were the 1st Royal Munster Fusiliers, and the 6th Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers. The editor noted that more than once it was possible to regard the army in the Dardanelles as an Irish army, with the Dublin, Munster, and Inniskilling fusiliers of the 10th division of the new armies; the 6th Dublins are worthy of the traditions of the 1st Dublins (Weekly Irish Times 11th Sept 1915). On the Western Front the British 1st Army under Douglas Haig attacked at Neuve Chapelle in Artois, and soon the wounded were being sent back to Dublin hospitals.

Asquith was faced with a crisis in the Government when Churchill and the First Sea Lord (the senior admiral in the navy) could not work together, each having strongly held views about how the war at sea should be fought. Fisher resigned, so Asquith decided to broaden the field of talent available by asking the leaders of the opposition parties to form a coalition. Bonar Law accepted, but made it a condition that Churchill and Lord Haldane, then Lord Chancellor, should not be in the cabinet. Asquith had to accept and Churchill was dismissed, and given a fairly meaningless post. In the new ministry Edward Carson became Attorney General; Churchill Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Balfour the new First Lord of the Admiralty; Lloyd George the new office of Minister for Munitions, Reginald MacKenna new Chancellor of the Exchequer. Redmond was offered a post, but not an Irish post so he declined.

Dublin University VAD or Voluntary Aid Detachment was the branch of Dublin University women graduates and undergraduates. The scheme began in 1909 when the Secretary of State for War requested a plan for voluntary aid for the sick and wounded in time of war. In 1911 the Officers Training Corps in the university took advantage of the scheme, and enabled a university VAD to be formed and registered with the Territorial Branch of the St John's Ambulance Brigade. A camp of instruction was held in 1912, and in 1914 the university provided No 19 Mountjoy Square as a hospital, where they worked. There are 24 beds and a resident surgeon. Housework, including cooking is done by voluntary workers, and Belgian refugees (Weekly Irish Times 3 July 1915).

In August 1915 there was a report of Irish VAD nurses at the front. They were two to a tent at the general hospitals and they had to provide the furniture of the tents themselves. The VADs were at first resented by the trained nurses. Volunteer VADs are put on probation for one month and then accepted for 6 months, and were sent to hospitals in England or France to do the work of junior probationers. There was much work washing in the sink room and cleaning things, sweeping and dusting the wards; running with fomentations, washing bandages, helping with meals and making beds (Weekly Irish Times 21 Aug 1915).

John Redmond noted with regard to the supply of war materials that a munitions factory had been established in Dublin and another in Belfast. Everywhere in Ireland where the machinery was available it was being used to provide uniforms, bags, shirts, stockings, blankets, picks, shovels, disinfectants, and medicated cotton wool (Weekly Irish Times 23 October 1915).

The decision was taken to evacuate the Dardanelles, and the 10th (Irish) Division was moved to Salonika. In August 1915 Germany sent reinforcements to Austria's southern front; and, on Sept. 6, 1915, the Central Powers concluded a treaty with Bulgaria, whom they drew to their side by the offer of territory to be taken from Serbia. The Austro-German forces attacked southward from the Danube on October 6. The western Allies, surprised in September by the prospect of a Bulgarian attack on Serbia, hastily decided to send help through neutral Greece's Macedonian port of Salonika. Troops from Gallipoli, under the French General Maurice Sarrail, reached Salonika on October 5 1915. In October 1915 the 10th (Irish) Division under Sir Bryan Mahon was transferred from Sulva to Salonika. The Allies advanced northward up the Vardar into Serbian Macedonia but found themselves prevented from junction with the Serbs by the westward thrust of the Bulgars. Driven back over the Greek frontier, the Allies were merely occupying the Salonika region by mid-December. No break-out was successful until July 1918 (Encyclopaedia Britannica). (My mother was then a schoolgirl in Dundalk, and she used to hear drunken shouts of 'Up Salonika' when passing public houses.) [Sir Bryan Mahon 1862-1930, was born in Galway and commanded of the 10th (Irish) division in 1914. In July 1915 it was sent to Gallipoli and was heavily involved at Sulva Bay, and in October 1915 it was transferred to Salonika where the attempt to stabilise the Serbian front was unsuccessful, and the front was finally established around Salonika. In May 1916 he was relieved by Sir George Milne and was C-in-C Ireland from the end of 1916 to May 1918]

It was noted that women were now undertaking a wider variety of jobs along with the decline of the domestic servant. Women were now checking tickets at railway stations, conducting trams, being shop assistants in the grocery business, and at a higher level there were lady professors, typists, Poor Law Guardians, and newspaper editors. There was a protest in Belfast by a trade union against the use of women tram conductors. The National Union of Women Workers was now firmly established in Dublin. On the committee were the Countess of Fingall, Lady Arnott etc. The Union was open to all creeds and classes.

A Report on the employment of women sanitary inspectors by the Dublin Corporation showed that there were 22 permanent sanitary sub-officers and 10 female sub-officers. They had to inspect 33,000 rooms in tenement houses and 3,000 in common lodging houses. One alderman said that women could not be employed until 2 a.m. in the common lodging houses for women; he had himself inspected some of these and found women sleeping on tables and on chests of drawers. It was noted too that many women wished to study law as a qualification for jobs as inspectors where knowledge of the Poor Laws, Sanitary laws, Children's Acts; Factories and Shops Acts etc. was essential. There were openings for women as education inspectors, Poor Law Inspectors, Inspectors under the Insurance Acts, Factory inspectors and appointments in Labour Exchanges.

The President of Kilkenny Gaelic League, the dowager Countess of Desart resigned. The branch was a failure, with no money to pay a Gaelic teacher. There was despondency everywhere in the League for it was the only one which was doing nothing practical in this period of suffering humanity. More importantly, Douglas Hyde resigned from the presidency of the Gaelic League which had been hi-jacked by the political extremists associated with Sinn Fein.

In the Intermediate examinations the O'Connell Schools, Dublin, run by the Irish Christian Brothers, maintained its position as the best school in Ireland. In 2nd place was Clongowes College run by the Jesuits, and in 3rd place the Presbyterian Royal Belfast Academical Institution RBAI. The first for girls was Loreto College, St Stephen's Green, run by the Loreto Sisters, followed by Margaret Byer's Victoria College, Belfast, and Alexandra College and School, Dublin (Weekly Irish Times 18 Sept, 2 Oct, 9 Oct, 6 Nov 1915. Margaret Byers died in 1912).

Charts of education facilities in Ireland were prepared by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. Scholarships were available from the primary school to technical schools and day trades preparatory schools, and from the latter to apprenticeships. From the technical schools there were scholarships to the Royal College of Science and the Metropolitan School of Art, and to commercial and manual training scholarships and industrial scholarships. Those who passed from the first two were eligible for employment as commercial, art, and technical teachers. Students in secondary schools too could get scholarships to the Royal College of Science and the Metropolitan School of Art. The scholarships were provided by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Weekly Irish Times 9 Oct 1915). Scholarships were neither numerous or of great value but were sufficient to allow bright children from poor families to pursue further education

After the withdrawal from the Dardanelles, Churchill resigned from the Government, and returned to the army hoping to get a command of a brigade. He was then aged 40. He rejoined his yeomanry regiment, the Oxfordshire Hussars, but was later given command of the 6th (service) battalion of the Royal Scots Fusiliers. Always wanting to be in the thick of things he stayed well-forward in the trenches. Carson was increasingly critical of the way the War was being conducted.

Redmond continued with his recruiting campaign. He had always argued that Ireland under Home Rule would present no danger to England. Also he had a niece in a convent in Belgium Five by-elections were fought in Ireland between August 1914 and April 1916 and were won comfortably by the Nationalist Party. But as Bew pointed out serious weaknesses were beginning to show in the constituency party organisations. The land issue was largely settled, and the best party workers had gone to the War (Bew, John Redmond, 38).

The War had not gone well for the Allies in 1915. The stalemate on the Western Front continued, and the attempts to break through in the Dardanelles were blocked off. Douglas Haig replaced Sir John French as the Commander-in-chief of the British armies on 19 December 1915. This again brought the Countess of Fingall close to the centre of things, for Haig was the brother of one of her oldest friends Mrs Willie Jameson. The countess's son Lord Killeen served for a time on Haig's staff. She liked him very well. The issue of compulsory conscription came up to meet the daily losses. At the end of December the cabinet decided to introduce conscription to become effective from 8 January 1916. The proposal was opposed by both the Nationalists and Sinn Fein.

On the 9th October 1915 the total number of enlistments was 75,293 which added to the pre-war total gave 126,339. In the same month it was decided by the War Office not to increase the numbers of units but to try to fill up the wastage on the basis of 100% replacement per annum; this would require a weekly supply of 1,1000. In the earlier months of 1915 this target was reached, but not in the later months, so it was decided in October 1915, following a conference representative of all Irish parties, to ask the Lord Lieutenant to undertake the task of Director of Recruiting. A Department of Recruiting was established, but in the following 7 weeks a weekly average of only 1,063 was obtained.

It was estimated that there were 400,000 men of military age in Ireland. However, after the exclusion of those required for the needs of agriculture, or war work, and the unfit, it was doubtful if the pool would exceed 100,000. It was not expected that there were many more volunteers from the industrial workers from whom most of the volunteers had come. There was scope in the commercial classes who could be replaced in their occupations by women. By and large there was a poor response from the agricultural sector; the slowness of recruitment was attributed to the conservative tendencies of rural areas. The total number of recruits raised in Ireland from 2nd August 1914 to 8th January 1916 was 86,277 (Weekly Irish Times 5 Feb 1916). At the beginning of the period there were 5,100 sailors from Ireland, and after August 1914 a further 3,446 joined; the total for both services was thus 145,869. No account could be given of Irishmen who enlisted in Britain.

Lady Wimborne inspected the war hospitals supplies depots in Ireland where some thousands of women were engaged in making hospital requisites for the wounded men. The several Irish depots were manned by volunteers and were supported by voluntary contributions. The Central Depot had a register of 1,000 voluntary workers who made up many kinds of bandages and swabs etc. Much use was made of sphagnum moss in the dressings. [TOP]

[1916] The Compulsory Service Act (1916) was introduced into the Commons in January 1916, with Ireland exempted from its provisions. The Unionists objected to this exemption. The Nationalists abstained from voting.

The national shell factory in Dublin was now in full production. Captain Downie, who was in charge of it, worked miracles with obsolete machinery; very good 4.5in shells were made on lathes dating from 1847. The great majority of the workers were girls. The wage for women workers was 15 shillings a week when many employers in Dublin were paying only 6 shillings a week. In the factory in Dublin there was a canteen which served wholesome food which many of the working girls were not accustomed to. The ladies' committee presiding over the canteen was chaired by the Marchioness of Waterford (Weekly Irish Times 11 March 1916).

The enlarged and re-constructed General Post Office in Sackville Street re-opened for business early in March. The old entrance under the portico in Sackville Street was re-opened and gave access to the public office which ran the full length of the portico and was 40 feet wide. The public were in the centre while the desks were arranged in horse-shoe fashion around the three walls. In the centre of the public space were the writing tables and a telephone booth or call box (Weekly Irish Times 11 March 1916).

Irish nurses of the Irish Nurses Association were in favour of the proposed Irish College of Nursing; they were also strongly in favour of state registration of nurses. The high fees for probationers in Dublin hospitals, where they were an important part of the revenue of the hospital boards were noted, and also that the low wages of nurses compared unfavourably with those of domestic servants. In some hospitals the entrance fee was low or non-existent, but the trainee had to sign on for four years, and after two she was sent out to nurse private patients to gain revenue. All nurses should have a three year period of training as was the rule in the army and navy, and are only really useful in the hospital in their third year. With state registration the only fully-qualified nurses would be those who had done a full three-year course, which would provide a financial problem for the Hospital Boards. With few exceptions hospitals were self-financing (Weekly Irish Times 25 March 1916).

The death of the Marquis of Clanrickarde was reported. He was selected as one of the victims of the Plan of Campaign, and in December 1886 the first attempt was made to impound his rents. This was frustrated by the arrest of the campaigners and the assistance of the Government. His manner caused much exasperation but he was no grasping savage or implacable landlord as depicted by his opponents. The long struggle with the Congested Districts Board did not end until last year and required a special Act of Parliament; he resisted compulsory purchase with great tenacity. The Board acquired the entire estate for £238,000. The earldom of Clanrickarde, re-granted in 1800, passed to the Marquis of Sligo; the Irish marquise and the English peerage ceased.

At this point Dublin was hit, almost literally by a bombshell. If there was any act in the whole history of Ireland to be voted as the most stupid, the most ineffective, and the most injurious, then the attempted putsch by the IRB and the remnant of the Volunteers must be a strong candidate. The nominal leader was Patrick Pearse who must be labelled the Irish Don Quixote with his head full of romantic dreams about Ireland as a fair maiden waiting to be rescued from giant windmills. But people considered sane in later life, like Eamon de Valera who occupied Boland's Mills with an armed band and expected the whole country would rush to rescue him, took part.

The Under Secretary, Sir Matthew Nathan, the Countess of Fingall's friend, knew that the IRB were plotting an armed rebellion, but when a shipment of arms which Roger Casement had procured in Germany was captured, he assumed that the leaders could not possibly be so stupid as to proceed with the little equipment they had got. He was proved wrong. Eoin MacNeill, the nominal head of the Irish Volunteers at the last moment got wind of what was intended, and sanely countermanded the order to assemble, but was told he was no longer in charge. MacNeill's order was countermanded again leaving the Volunteers outside Dublin totally confused. The plan adopted by the leadership of the IRB lacked all military sense. Instead of trying to occupy the seat of administration, Dublin Castle, as their prime objective they established themselves in the refurbished General Post Office and other prominent buildings, and waited to be attacked! In this madness they were joined by James Connolly with his little band of street fighters who called themselves the Irish Citizen Army. In fact Connolly's 'Citizen Army' formed the bulk of those who took up arms in Dublin. This was symptomatic of the general madness of the enterprise, for if Connolly had reflected he would have realised that right wing bodies like the IRB were the last people he should assist.

The Chief Secretary, Birrell, was absent in England, as he usually was. Nathan assured the Countess of Fingall that with the capture of the arms procured from Germany by Roger Casement, and the cancelling of the proposed parade of the Irish Volunteers by Eoin MacNeill it would be perfectly safe to go to the Irish Grand National at Fairyhouse racecourse on Easter Monday. The Earl of Fingall took Captain Kelly of the recruiting department and Mrs Kelly to the races, while the countess planned to take Mrs Nathan to the Abbey Theatre that night. When she rang the Under Secretary's Lodge she was told Nathan was unavailable because there was a rebellion in Dublin. She shouted the news to Horace Plunkett who rang the Kildare Street Club for confirmation. Fingall and his party, in Horace Plunkett's big car, made their way home by a circuitous route. He dropped the Kellys at the backdoor of the Castle which was not surrounded! Even more astonishing was the fact that Horace Plunkett could drive to the Castle every day for conferences on food supplies. He also drove down to meet the mailboat every day and offered assistance to those who were travelling to Dublin or elsewhere. The Castle was partially surrounded and shots were fired into it continually. Lieutenant General Sir John Maxwell was sent over to Ireland as Commander-in-Chief, taking over the post from Major General L. B. Friend and martial law was proclaimed in Ireland. He was a soldier from Liverpool and had previously served in Ireland on the staff of the Duke of Connaught, the then Commander-in-Chief. His first objective was to secure the approach from Kingsbridge station of the Great Southern and Western Railway (i.e. on the line from the Curragh) to the Castle and from there to Trinity College Dublin. The College had been overlooked by the rebels but it was put into a state of defence by the Provost, Dr Mahaffy. When this was done the gunmen to the north of the river were effectively cut off from those to the south and could be reduced in detail.

The madness lasted less than a week. Nathan was a very experienced colonial administrator and recognised that the proposed revolution had gone off at half-cock. He immediately instituted a censorship of the press. The Dublin newspapers appeared during the week with blank spaces where the censors had removed all references to the events in Dublin. The Volunteers in the rest of Ireland thus could get no idea what was happening.

A gunboat in the harbour shelled the Post Office whose location was marked by the tall Nelson's Pillar. (The Pillar, like the similar Nelson's Column in London commemorated Admiral Lord Nelson who was killed at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805 and effectively put an end to Napoleon's wish to conquer England.) Sir John Maxwell was a scrupulously correct man. There was no special anti-terrorist legislation apart from three general Acts. The Defence of the Realm Act (1914) (8th August 1914) DORA applied to the whole of the United Kingdom for the duration of the War but its teeth were drawn as far as Ireland was concerned by the Defence of the Realm Amendment Act (1915) which provided that any British subject, not subject to military law, might choose trial by jury instead of by court-martial; this power could be suspended by Order in Council in case of invasion or other emergency. These Acts allowed the proclamation of martial law, at least to the extent of being able to hold courts martial, the normal courts not being suspended. The leaders were tried by court martial, their military ranks in the Volunteers being recognised. Ninety prisoners including one woman, the Countess Markievicz, were sentenced to death. Presumably there was never any intention to shoot all of them, but some had to be shot as a warning that armed rebellion would be treated as such. Fifteen were executed, and from these executions stems the real rise of support for Sinn Fein. John Redmond had been criticised for ignoring Sinn Fein, but in fact support for Sinn Fein was negligible before Easter 1916. Over 1800 men were interned but were released after a few months. There was a general feeling, echoed by the Countess of Fingall, that capital charges in most cases should not have been brought. (In 1798, in the last comparable case, the Government of the day contented itself with banishment as most of the defendants came from good families.)

The insane decision to fight in the centre of Dublin resulted in the killing of 450 people, and the wounding of 2,614 people. A large number of these were civilians caught up in the crossfire and the shelling. The damage to property was estimated to be £2.5 million. To this must be added the estimated 752 killed and 866 wounded between 1919 and 1921. The figures for the gang warfare between the pro- and anti-Treaty forces where the total casualties were put at around 4,000 and total damage at £30 million must also be added (Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine*, 375, 417, 468). Again the deaths and damage cause by the renewed IRA campaign after 1970 must be added to the cost in lives and damage of the attempted putsch of the IRB in 1917.

Birrell was severely criticised for not being aware of what was happening in Ireland and of ignoring warnings about developments. But he had grown accustomed to depending on John Redmond for his information, and the latter had assured him there was nothing to worry about. It is worth remembering that even if Casement's shipload of arms had safely arrived and been distributed to the Volunteer units around the country the attempted putsch still would not have lasted more than a week. The idea that the Volunteers should march out in uniform for a straight fight with the entire British Army, and with the vast bulk of the people of Ireland opposed to them is ludicrous. They would have been rapidly driven from any positions they occupied by armoured cars and light field artillery. Three years later, and with the bulk of the population either behind them

or neutral, they reverted to the kind of conflict that might produce results, namely a terrorist campaign, mostly at night, using the tactics of the agrarian terrorists.

Birrell resigned and insisted that Nathan do likewise, though Nathan was not a politician but a civil servant. Their resignations were accepted. Nathan was transferred to the Ministry of Pensions. It is clear that the Irish administration had got into a mess after the deal between the Liberals and Redmond in 1910. Birrell, though in the Cabinet, was by-passed on policy issues regarding Ireland by Asquith. He was not summoned to the Buckingham Palace Conference in 1914. He, in turn, kept the Lord Lieutenant in the dark even about everyday matters. Things were bad enough during the troubles with Larkin, but at the time of the gun-running in 1914 he had clearly lost control. Nathan, who could have run Ireland efficiently, was not allowed to do so. Wimborne too tendered his resignation, and it was accepted. Lords Justices were appointed to exercise the function of the Lord Lieutenant as was the rule when there was no Lord Lieutenant or he was out of the country. As it was obvious that he was a newcomer, and not in charge, he was persuaded to stay and was re-appointed in August. Had Wimborne been in the cabinet instead of Birrell and made the senior officer he would probably have done well. But nobody could have foreseen the lunacy of the actual attempted putsch. Birrell was never again given public office, and he did not stand for Parliament in 1918. The office of Chief Secretary was given to Henry Duke with a seat in the Cabinet. At least now his chief duty was made clear, and that was to prepare for the hand-over of power to the John Redmond's Home Rule Party, and in the meantime to try to get some accommodation with the Ulster Unionists. Sir Robert Chalmers was appointed temporary Under Secretary, and was replaced in October by Sir William Byrne.

The position of the Ulster Unionists was unexpectedly made stronger by military developments in France. The German General Erich von Falkenhayn believed in a strategy of attrition and argued that Germany should bleed France to death by choosing a point of attack "for the retention of which the French would be compelled to throw in every man they have." The fortress of Verdun and its surrounding fortifications along the Meuse River was the point selected. The battle lasted from February to July 1916. The British were urged by the French to attack to take the pressure of Verdun. The point selected was along the River Somme. Douglas Haig launched the attack on 1st July 1916, a day remembered as the one in which the British Army suffered the most casualties in a single day in its entire history. It was the day when the 16th (Ulster) division was first launched into battle. Though casualties were concealed the days that followed were long remembered as the days when the War Office telegrams arrived and the curtains in each house that received one were drawn. The casualties of an entire town could be found out by counting the blinds. After this sacrifice there never could be any attempt to coerce Ulster.

Negotiations were resumed with regard to Home Rule, with Lloyd George now taking a leading part. In June 1916 Lloyd George put forward proposals to the Ulster Unionists. These were that six counties were to be excluded from the Act at the pleasure of the Imperial parliament, and Ulster was to be administered through a branch of the Home Office in Belfast. Carson met the full Unionist council of over 300 as he wanted them all to consider the matter. The feeling in Belfast was that the Cabinet wished to settle the matter on the basis of the exclusion of the six counties without the consent of either the Nationalists or Unionists (Weekly Irish Times 10 June 1916). The length of the exclusion was not mentioned, but Carson believed it would be permanent and Redmond believed it would be temporary. It was now the policy of the Liberals to enact a settlement in Ireland with a form of partition, but such that the two parts could grow together. The Government of Ireland Act (1920) intended establishing two Irish states with quasi-Dominion status and a Council of Ireland to bring both sides together. It might have worked had the terrorist campaign of the IRA with the stated intention of coercing Ulster into an independent republic not prevented it. But in June 1916 nobody was concerned about the Sinn Feiners.

The following was printed in the Weekly Irish Times: The Ulster Unionist Council accepted the exclusion of the Six Counties; the new proposals were:

- 1) To bring in the Home Rule Bill immediately
- 2) To introduce an amending Bill to cover the duration of the War and a short time after it
- 3) During that time the number of MPs at Westminster would not be decreased
- 4) During the War the six north-eastern counties would be excluded
- 5) Immediately after the war an Imperial Conference would be held to consider the future government of the Empire
- 6) After the war but during the period under (2) the outstanding questions of the exclusion of Ulster, of finance, etc would be discussed (Weekly Irish Times 17 June 1916; Bew, John Redmond, 40).

Unionists in Cavan, Donegal, and Monaghan protested; so too did the nationalists in Tyrone, and they were supported by the Roman Catholic bishop of Derry. In a Nationalist Party convention called to consider the proposals there were about 180 Catholic priests present.

In a statement Redmond said that Asquith returned from his visit to Dublin convinced that law and order had broken down and he had no wish to face a long period of military rule. Mr Lloyd George was asked to negotiate a settlement. The proposals were accepted as a working document by both sides. A problem was raised with regard to the control of the railways. Buckland points out that the Ulster Unionist Council now for the first time realised the inevitability of a Home Rule Bill, and accepted the idea of partition (Buckland, *Irish Unionism*, 402). Bew cites Stephen Gwynn as saying that Redmond's acceptance of even temporary partition marked the end of his influence (Bew, *John Redmond*, 41). The reason was that Sinn Fein was able to claim that they could get the whole island without partition.

Two important measures with regard to time were brought in. The Daylight Saving Bill (1916) was passed. Clocks were to be advanced one hour from the 20th May from Greenwich Mean Time and Dublin Mean Time respectively; there was now the need to synchronise the two times. Dublin Mean Time, or as the railways put it Dublin time, was taken at the longitude of Dublin and was about 25 minutes later than Greenwich time. Dublin time was controlled from the observatory at Dunsink which was under the Irish Astronomer Royal. There was the clock which fixed the standard time for Ireland, and which was connected by electricity to several main clocks in Dublin and so arranged that it could be seen whether the other clocks were slow or fast. The one in Trinity College Dublin was 4 seconds slow, the first time that occurred in five years (*Weekly Irish Times* 26 February 1916).

The second was the adoption of Greenwich Mean Time in Ireland. It was established in Ireland from the 1st October 1916, the Act having received the royal assent. The change was made on the day clocks went back from summer time; Irish clocks being put back only 35 minutes. The change affected rail timetables by 25 minutes on the main lines. The third hand on ships clocks could now be removed to the great satisfaction of seamen, and there would be no need for passengers to alter their watches every trip. The change was proposed by Herbert Samuel the Home Secretary. He proposed a clause to bring Ireland under Greenwich Mean Time saying there was great demand for it in Ireland. Mr Dillon professed himself amazed to hear of such a demand. Carson noted that almost every chamber of commerce in Ireland supported the Time Bill; Mr Samuel was unwilling to proceed if it were controversial. Despite Mr Dillon's ignorance it was not.

To avoid having to hold a general election in the middle of the War, an Act was passed allowing for the extension of the life of the present Parliament, the last general election having been held in 1910. Carson demanded the vote for every man on active service. The Parliament insisted on an adequate Registration Act as well.

Irish agriculture was prosperous. Prices were rising all the time. Inflation caused by War-time borrowing caused an inflation in prices of about 100% so the actual value of a pound fell from 20 shillings to roughly 10 shillings by the end of the War. Nevertheless there was increasing prosperity for farmers and full employment. The wives of the volunteers in the army were getting a 'separation allowance' and the pensions and insurance schemes were making life easier for the elderly and the unemployed. Some of those who were employed in factories producing equipment for the army, especially women, were getting astonishing levels of wages.

By 1916 Harry Ferguson had given up flying and had concentrated on his motor business in Belfast. The Government was anxious to increase food production and Mr Ferguson was asked to take responsibility for the promotion of farm machinery in Ireland. He decided that the tractor must replace the horse and began negotiations with the Ford Motor Company, and he explained to them that the tractors would be more useful if the machinery was mounted on the back of the tractor instead of being towed behind it. This had another advantage for if the weight of the plough for example was added to the back wheels of the tractor, the tractor itself could be made correspondingly lighter and therefore more economical to run (DNB Ferguson). Henry Ford of Detroit established a tractor factory in 1917 in Cork. Ferguson's invention of the three-point linkage system matches in importance Dunlop's pneumatic tyre, and Harland's iron ships.

By an Order in Council 22 Dec 1916 the Irish railways were placed under Government control and agreements were made with the Irish Railway Companies. The move was hastened by the threat of a strike on the Great Southern and Western Railway. An Irish Railway Executive was then appointed. State control of the Irish railways had long been a demand of the Irish railway workers.

The National Board of Education was very concerned at the drop-out rate in the primary schools under its care, especially in Belfast. Any boy who reached 14 or who has reached 5th standard before that age could be sent to work. In 1912-13 only 2.6% of the children in Belfast reached 6th standard compared with 5.8 for Ireland as a whole, and only 1.1% reached 7th standard as against 2.6% for Ireland. Concern was expressed at children leaving school before they were fully educated, and it was proposed to introduce a higher grade Certificate for pupils in 6th or higher standards which would stand in good stead when he was seeking a job (Weekly Irish Times 29 Jan 1916).

The London Daily Express noted that the Sinn Fein party had long since joined in a secret organisation called the IRB. Until recently the party was tiny and ineffective, but now circles were springing up all over Ireland fuelled by anti-British feeling. The IRB was trying to acquire arms from the moribund Irish Volunteers, which was the Sinn Fein army who were believed to have many rifles and ammunition stored away. They were making similar efforts among the National Volunteers. In Belfast where the Sinn Feiners never mustered more than 200, the IRB now had 2000 (cited in the Weekly Irish Times 14 October 1916). There is a mixture of reliable information and journalistic speculation in this quotation. Though later historians could often separate out the activities of the secret society, the IRB, from the public bodies, the Irish Volunteers and the Sinn Fein party, most of this information was not publicly available at the time. The police information was usually good, and most of the leaders of the IRB could have been arrested before Easter 1916 if Nathan and Birrell had considered them a real threat.

The quotation also reflects the struggle going on all over Ireland between the Irish Volunteers and the National Volunteers especially over the control of the arms. There was a great difference between the two bodies of Volunteers. The Irish Volunteers, like Sinn Fein, were growing in numbers and confidence, while the National Volunteers suffered from the fact that their best men had left for the front. The organisation of the National Volunteers, like that of the Nationalist Party gradually weakened. The horrific carnage on the Western Front strengthened the case of the Irish Volunteers who opposed joining the Army while correspondingly weakened the case of the National Volunteers. The same process was happening in Russia at the same time to the great benefit of the Bolsheviks. The resolve of the Ulster Volunteer Force to support their comrades on the Western Front never weakened.

Excerpts from the Registrar General's figures on Irish manpower were published, and showed the total male population of military age, those excused military service by reason of occupation or health, and the number of eligible men. The figure for Belfast showed that an astonishing 83 % of eligible men had already unlisted. In Ulster as a whole 60% of the men had volunteered. The highest county in the South was Tipperary with 44% and in the whole of Munster and Leinster about 33% had enlisted. In Connaught, largely a rural province, only 21% had volunteered, and in Kerry 13%. [TOP]

The Ministry December 1916 to December 1918 (coalition)

Prime Minister	David Lloyd George
Home Secretary	Sir George Cave; Jan 1919 Edward Shortt
Lord Lieutenant	Baron Wimborne; May 1918 Lord French; May 1921 Lord Fitzalan
Chief Secretary	Henry Duke; May 1918 Edward Shortt; Jan 1919 James (Ian) Macpherson; April 1920 Sir Hamar Greenwood
Under Secretary	Sir William Byrne; July 1918; James MacMahon; May 1920 Sir John Anderson (additional Under Secretary)

[December 1916]David Lloyd George was the son of a Welsh schoolmaster. When his father died he was raised by a master shoemaker. He was articled to a local firm of solicitors, and plunged into speaking on local issues in Wales especially against the Established Church in Wales, his family being Nonconformists. In 1890 he was elected to Parliament as a Liberal, and he was always on the Radical wing of the Party. He was Winston Churchill's mentor in politics, and together they put together a programme of reforms under Campbell-

Bannerman and Asquith. He had the reputation of being the most corrupt and most promiscuous of all British Prime Ministers. His great target in Parliament was the House of Lords which he regarded as the great obstacle to radical reform. He fully approved of Home Rule for Ireland and of the deal to grant Home Rule in return for John Redmond's support against the House of Lords. Apart from meeting Home Rule MPs he had no knowledge of Ireland or the bitter opposition it would provoke in Ulster. Nor had he any interest in finding out more about Ireland.

George Cave was a barrister from London, who was elected as a Unionist in 1906. In 1915 he was made a privy councillor and then Solicitor General in the Coalition Government. Lloyd George made him Home Secretary. Edward Shortt was a barrister from Newcastle-upon-Tyne but not a very successful one. He was elected as a Liberal in 1910. He spoke frequently and with mastery of detail on the Home Rule Bill (1912). Field Marshal Lord French was a career soldier. Though born in Kent, his family had a vague connection with Ireland. When raised to the peerage he chose the title of Viscount French of Ypres and of High Lake, Co. Roscommon. As Sir John French he led the British Expeditionary Force to France in 1914. As a younger man he had served under both Garnet Wolseley and Frederick Roberts. His chief connection with Ireland was that, as Chief of the General Staff, he had to deal with the Curragh incident and he agreed with the officers that they would not be forced to coerce Ulster. His residence in Ireland was Rockingham House, Co. Roscommon, and it was when he was returning from there to Dublin that an assassination attempt was made on him by rogue elements in the IRA.

Edmund Bernard Fitzalan-Howard, Viscount Fitzalan was a son of the 14th Duke of Norfolk. He was educated at the Catholic Oratory School Birmingham. In his youth he was called Lord Edmund Talbot. He joined the army and later was elected to Parliament as a Conservative. From 1913 to 1921 he was Conservative Chief Whip and gave his full support during the War to Asquith and Lloyd George. James (Ian) Macpherson was born near Inverness in the Scottish Highlands. He was elected to Parliament as a Liberal. He was given various posts in the War Office before being made Chief Secretary. Sir Hamar Greenwood was Canadian of Welsh origin by birth and he studied in Toronto University. He came to England, studied for the bar and was called to the bar by Gray's Inn in 1906, in which year he was elected to Parliament. In 1914 he was employed in the recruiting department of the War Office, and later was Under Secretary for Home Affairs. Sir John Anderson was born in Edinburgh and studied science and humanities in Edinburgh University. After passing the Civil Service examinations he was sent to the Colonial Office. In 1912 he was transferred to the newly established National Health Insurance Commissions and was one of those who developed the necessary huge administrative machine. (His greatest work was during the Second World War when as Lord President of the Council was in charge of the civilian and economic aspects of the War in Britain.) James MacMahon Under Secretary 1918-22 was born in Belfast, and educated in the Christian Brothers' Schools, Armagh and Blackrock College

Lloyd George had been made Minister for Munitions by Asquith, and with enormous energy set about remedying the shortage of shells that had hampered the army. None of the armies had envisaged the enormous expenditure of shells and ammunition, so capacity had to be built up before output could be increased. In the Coalition Government he drew closer to Conservatives like Bonar Law, Sir William Maxwell Aitken (Lord Beaverbrook) another Canadian, and Sir Edward Carson. He became increasingly critical of the conduct of the War, and resigned in 5 December 1916, and Asquith also resigned. Carson had already resigned in October 1916. Lloyd George succeeded Asquith on 7 December 1916 and immediately offered Carson the post of First Lord of the Admiralty which he was delighted to accept, relying on the Prime Minister's word that Ulster would never be coerced. Carson re-organised the Admiralty, his reorganisation mirroring that which had taken place in the army. There, strategic direction was placed solely in the hands of the General Staff, and administration and supply was placed under the War Office. The same division was applied to the navy. Admiral Jellicoe, Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Fleet became First Sea Lord, but was also made Chief of Naval Staff. Administration and supply devolved on the civilian members of the Board under Sir Eric Geddes of the North Eastern Railway with the title of Controller [of the Navy] in May 1917, who though an honorary major general was made a temporary vice-admiral. He soon dismissed Jellicoe. Under him was concentrated all shipbuilding (Weekly Irish Times 19 May 1917). [TOP]

[1917] The War was beginning to affect Ireland in other ways. The principle of compulsory tillage now established, and each farmer had to cultivate 25% of his arable land, or the local authority could step in and take it over. The Local Government Board announced a scheme to allow local authorities to provide allotments. The scheme was generally welcomed by the farmers, who however wished the prices to be fixed for three or five years. Though there was at first much criticism of the way the scheme for compulsory tillage was administered. The Government advanced £200,000 to enable the new regulations for tillage to be implemented. The Tillage Order (1918) laid down that at least 15% of farm land must be tilled where untilled before; where tilled before

an additional 15%. On the Allotment scheme, Mr T.W. Russell noted that 13,000 allotments had been provided in the first year of the scheme.

There was an article on the coming of the tractor to the farm especially with regard to the American Overtime tractor as advertised. The new motor tractor, unlike heavy and clumsy steam tractors, was light and versatile and could be used in quite small fields, and for driving threshers, corn crushers, chaff cutters, pulpers etc; it did the work of six horses [pulper for pulping roots or fruit etc]. It had two-cylinders of robust construction, with a speed fixed at 2 1/2 mph and was 24 hp. It would run on petroleum or paraffin (Weekly Irish Times 13 Jan 1917).

An Agricultural Wages Board for Ireland was set up under the Corn Production Act (1917) with powers for fixing agricultural wages. Martin Henry Fitzpatrick Morris, 2nd Baron Killanin, a Commissioner for National Education, and a director of the Bank of Ireland was a member of the Irish Agricultural Wages Board 1917-19. He later was chairman of the vice-regal commission on primary education 1918-19. In January 1917 the Government took control of food prices; a comprehensive scheme was devised for Ireland. An Irish Food Control Committee had power to make regulations regarding the prices of foods. A National Service Department for Ireland was set up. The Irish Director of National Service explained his scheme; enrolment would be voluntary and offers very much welcomed. The chief tasks envisaged were assisting with the operations on the land; especially saving the hay, the corn crops (cereals), and the potatoes. Every effort would be made to provide good accommodation for volunteers for farm work (Weekly Irish Times 12 May 1917).

The Flax Control Board was formed in the autumn of 1917 when the collapse of Russia endangered the supply of flax; the Board sought the co-operation of workers in all parts of the industry and secured supplies of seed for Ireland. In 1917, because of the shortage of linen especially for the manufacture of aeroplanes, the Flax Control Board fixed a good guaranteed price, but below market price, which led to an increase in acreage especially in Ireland where 140,000 acres were grown. In 1918 the Flax Control Board was moved from the War Office to the Board of Trade, with the object of promoting the growth of flax; but they immediately lowered the price of flax to £80 a ton. The flax plant is not cut but is pulled up by hand, very laborious work. When the Board was formed the output of aeroplane linens was 574,000 yards a week. The Government asked for a million and a half yards a week, and by October 1918 1,662,750 yards a week were being made. During the period when Mr R.J. MacKeown was chairman of the Irish Power Loom Manufacturers' Association a uniform 48 hour week was established in the industry and a uniform scale of wages for all in the weaving industry was established (Linen and Jute Trades' Journal 15 May 16 Aug 1920).

The Flax Order (1917) by the Ministry of Munitions on 25th August 1917 taking over all supplies of flax, applied also to Ireland: the Controller of Aeronautical Supplies supervised the arrangements; two committees were appointed; the Flax Supplies Committee which was the buying committee, and the Flax Allocation Committee. The prices for flax in 5 grades were set out, and the dates of the only authorized flax markets were appointed. These were in Belfast, Limavady, Monaghan, Kilkeel, Londonderry, Newtownards, Portadown, Armagh, Coleraine, Strabane, Ballymoney, Castleblaney, Rathfriland, Newry, Ballinahinch, Magherafelt, Cootehill, Lisnaskea, Belfast, Ballymena, Cookstown, and Omagh. Flax from Ballina had to be delivered to Belfast. All the markets were one day a week markets, but flax for the Belfast market could be delivered on any day of the week. The market in Strabane was held on two days a week, one for suppliers from Donegal, the other for those from Tyrone. The minor markets in Cavan and Monaghan opened every second week (Weekly Irish Times 29 Sept 1917). Dundalk in Co. Louth was not made a recognised market though it formerly had a linen hall.

After taking control of the railways, the Government imposed price controls on the Irish canals in July 1917. The Grand Canal which had considerable freight of agricultural produce, peat, and miscellaneous goods in and out of Dublin was the one principally affected.

In Parliament a Bill to extend the Franchise was introduced. The franchise was to be extended by 8 millions, and a Representation of the People Act (1918) was introduced into the Commons. It proposed giving the vote to women over 30, who were entitled to register as Local Government electors, or were married to one so qualified, or were university graduates. Redistribution of seats would not be applied to Ireland pending the passing of Home Rule legislation (Weekly Irish Times 26 May 1917). The Bill passed in 1918. It at long last conceded the Chartist demand of universal adult male suffrage (Richards and Hunt, Modern Britain 161, 262),

The Report of the Irish electoral boundary commission (1917) showed great divergences in population in the various constituencies. The three largest were East Belfast 135,788, North Belfast 101,699, North County Dublin 95,240. The lowest were Newry 12,841, Kilkenny City 13,269, and Galway City 15,944. There was to be no change in the total number of seats which was to remain at 101. The average should be 43,000 but it would not be possible to get this mathematical equality. The general rules laid down by the Speaker's Conference in

Britain laid down 30,000 as the smallest figure entitling a town to separate representation; on this basis Newry, Kilkenny, Galway and Waterford would lose their seats. 13 counties should strictly lose one seat, but they recommend that only six be so altered to compensate for six gains in other counties. Dublin and Belfast were to be allocated extra seats along the boundaries of municipal wards. The following counties would be one-seaters-King's Co (Offaly), Queen's Co (Laois), Louth, Leitrim, Longford, and Westmeath. The towns of Galway, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Newry would lose separate representation (Weekly Irish Times 8 Dec 1917; the Redistribution Act (1885) had split counties with two seats into two single-seat constituencies).

Women Police were introduced in the Dublin Metropolitan Police following on the success of the women's patrols which aimed at keeping young girls out of danger. They succeeded in convincing the Dublin Police who now appointed two women police officers with a similar remit to patrol the streets of central Dublin and they would also try to deal with the persistent street beggars in Dublin, who were a public nuisance. They would not arrest offenders but call the attention of the nearest police officer to them. Civilian Women Patrols in Dublin were introduced in 1915. They patrolled in pairs, one Catholic and one Protestant. They aimed to make friends of girls on the street, to gain their confidence, and to put them in contact with clubs, societies, or classes in connection with their religion. This work was different from rescue work- the aim was to prevent young girls being carried away by the excitement of war and the presence of young soldiers (Weekly Irish Times 14 Aug 1915, 20 Oct 1917).

The Film Company of Ireland was launched. It commenced in March 1916 and by January 1917 had produced nine complete photo-plays. Before it was started two or three attempts had been made unsuccessfully to produce motion pictures in Ireland. Their first efforts were wiped out in the Dublin fire in 1916 but they started up again and produced the nine plays mentioned. They were able to distribute their products in America, England, Australia, France, and Italy. The stars who made the Abbey Theatre famous helped as the Company made a point of selecting the best actors to play the parts (Irish Limelight January 1917). Limelight's editor noted that the scare of the cinema as a source of moral evil for the young had died away, and the cinema was accepted as a normal part of life; the "Saw it on the Pictures" plea lost its force as an argument against the cinema. The great box-office success of 1917 was the *Battle of the Ancre*, showing the advance of the tanks, and the Irish regiments taking up their positions in the trenches, and also enjoying a well-earned rest. (The river Ancre was a tributary of the Somme, and the battle was in the British sector of the attack). You saw, or believed you saw, the whole battle except the bayoneting and the corpses, the wounded, the shells being carried on horseback up to the guns. There were pictures taken of the great guns firing, taken from in front of them; there were pictures of the tank, and the boy lieutenant taking the mascot, a little black kitten, with him in his tank going into battle (Irish Limelight January 1917).

The end of the year saw the growth of food queues in Dublin; retail prices 105% above pre-war level. There were shortages of essential goods, and sugar ration cards were distributed in Ireland. Dublin dairymen said they could not make a profit at the controlled price. The food shortages were the result of the unrestricted German submarine campaign against shipping in British waters which brought the United States into the War.

The War in 1917 was marked by two major events, the Russian Revolution and the entry of the United States into the War. The former had the greatest immediate impact on Ireland. The first stage of the Russian Revolution took place March 8-12 [Feb. 24-28, old style], 1917, in which the monarchy was overthrown and replaced by the Provisional Government. This government, intended as an interim stage in the creation of a permanent democratic-parliamentary polity for Russia, was in turn overthrown by the Bolsheviks in October (November, new style) of the same year. Riots over the scarcity of food broke out in the capital, Petrograd (formerly St. Petersburg), on February 24 (March 8), and, when most of the Petrograd garrison joined the revolt Tsar Nicholas II was forced to abdicate March 2 (March 15). When his brother, Grand Duke Michael, refused the throne, more than 300 years of rule by the Romanov dynasty came to an end. A committee of the Duma appointed a Provisional Government to succeed the autocracy, but it faced a rival in the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. The 2,500 delegates to this soviet were chosen from factories and military units in and around Petrograd. The Soviet soon proved that it had greater authority than the Provisional Government, which sought to continue Russia's participation in the European war. On March 1 (March 14) the Soviet issued its famous Order No. 1, which directed the military to obey only the orders of the Soviet and not those of the Provisional Government. The Provisional Government under Aleksandr F. Kerensky was unable to countermand the order (Encyclopaedia Britannica). The Provisional Government was overthrown in October 1917 by the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky. Immediately on taking over, the Bolsheviks proposed to the belligerent countries an end to the fighting. The Germans and Austrians promptly agreed to the proposal. In negotiations held at Brest-Litovsk, an armistice was arranged (December 1917).

With the Russians out of the War, the Germans had to transfer the bulk of their troops from the Eastern Front to France to launch a knock-out blow at the British and French armies before the American army could be trained and transported to Europe. The importance of the Russian Revolution to Ireland and to many other countries was that it showed that groups of ordinary workers could overthrow a Government and end their participation in the War. President Woodrow Wilson, with the assent of Congress declared war on Germany on 6th April 1917. American destroyers arrived at Queenstown at the end of May.

The French replaced General Joffre with General Nivelle who launched an offensive against the Germans. It commenced with a British attack towards Vimy in Artois on 9 April 1917 and the Canadian Army quickly captured Vimy Ridge before getting bogged down. Nivelle launched the French offensive on 16 April on the Aisne front in Champagne, but with little success. He was superseded by General Petain while mutinies broke out in the French Army. Petain was the general who had successfully defended Verdun the previous year. He spoke to the troops, listened to their grievances. He found they were in many ways less well provided for than the British troops. He did his best to remedy the grievances and the mutinous spirit passed. (The British Army was the only one in which there was not a major mutiny in the four years of war.) Field Marshal Douglas Haig had over a million troops under his command, the largest army ever commanded by a British general, so by activity in the British sector of the front he had to mask the fact that the French were incapable of resisting a major German attack. (There were many Catholic chaplains with the British forces, one of whom, the Irish Jesuit Fr. Willy Doyle was killed, and left a reputation for sanctity. On one occasion, often retold, when a German shell came in through the roof of the upstairs room in which he was sleeping, and went out through the floor without exploding, he moved his bed over the hole, reasoning that they never fired twice at the same spot. On another occasion, when the Royal Irish Regiment was secretly being withdrawn from the front line at midnight, a German voice shouted in English 'Goodbye, Royal Irish'. How they learned about the changeover was never found out.) Haig launched a campaign in Flanders, based on the Ypres salient on 31 July 1917, and made considerable gains on the first day, but after that the rains commenced. The Irish battalions from north and south were heavily involved. The 3rd Battle of Ypres is chiefly remembered for the mud of Passchendaele, where the battle was called off on 10 November 1917. Haig however had a victory at Cambrai where primitive tanks were used for the first time. Major Willie Redmond of the 6th (service) battalion of the Royal Irish Regiment was killed outside Ypres in the attack on the Messines (or Wytschaete) ridge. John Redmond's brother had been imprisoned in Kilmainham Gaol along with Charles Stewart Parnell in 1881, and was imprisoned again along with John in 1888. In 1891 he was elected to East Clare and held the seat until his death. He was 56 years old. When wounded he was carried back to the field hospital of the Ulster division by Ulster soldiers.

The British Empire had no constitution any more than the United Kingdom had. It just grew and evolved. Some parts of it were very big, others were tiny. In some, like Australia and New Zealand, the great bulk of the population was derived from emigrants from the home countries. In others like Canada and South Africa, a considerable proportion of the white population came from two European countries, France in one case and Holland in the other. India was a special case for the vast bulk of the population was Indian but it was ruled by administrators from the home countries who never settled in India. Nevertheless, the great mass of the Indian native ruling elites accepted and preferred this form of rule where they themselves provided the local administrators and the bulk of the army. When the First World War was declared the various imperial territories, especially the great self-governing Dominions, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa raised armies to fight for the king and Empire. In 1917, the prime ministers of these dominions and the Secretary of State for India were invited to take part in the Imperial War Cabinet and got the right to separate representation at the Peace Conference in 1918-19 (Keith, Speeches and Documents, 4). Lloyd George later commented that if the Government of Ireland Act had been in force, Ireland too would have participated in the War Cabinet and the Peace Conference. These five countries became founder members of the League of Nations. Though there were difficulties with regard to conferring dominion status on Ireland as well as India, there is little doubt that Ireland too could have become a founder member of the League of Nations and a signatory of the Treaty of Versailles (1919).

Though the attempted putsch by the IRB in 1916 had a totally negative, not to say disastrous, effect on the Ulster Unionists, it stimulated Asquith and Lloyd George to press forward with initiatives to try to break the impasse. The year 1917 saw the eclipse of the Home Rule Party which had largely dominated Catholic politics in Ireland since 1880. This was not obvious at first, and a large part of the year was taken up with manoeuvrings at the Irish Convention. Lloyd George, under pressure from the United States, felt that he should do something about the situation in Ireland and offered to hold a conference for all interested parties. The Government set out its proposals for the settlement of Ireland:

- 1) the immediate application of Home Rule, but with the exclusion of the six North Eastern counties; this to be re-considered after 5 years;
- 2) the constitution of a Council of Ireland composed of MPs from both parts of Ireland in equal numbers with powers of legislation over both parts;
- 3) failing the acceptance of these proposals, the summoning of a Convention to draft a constitution.

In the commons the Lloyd George said the Convention would include all classes and interests, and the Government would pass any legislation on which agreement was reached. The Editor of the Irish Times (26 May 1917) noted, "All parties in Great Britain are almost pathetically anxious not merely to get rid of the burden of Irish government, but to get rid of it on Ireland's own terms." And again (2 June) "The path to any positive agreement seems at this moment to be absolutely blocked by the refusal of the Ulster Unionists to consider anything but partition as an alternative to the Act of Union. There is no present prospect that this fence can be either ridden round or jumped. In the first place there has not been the slightest sign of weakening in Unionist Ulster's attitude: Nationalists may deplore this adamant consistency, but sensible men will take facts as they find them. In the next place the clamour in the nationalist press for the coercion of Unionist Ulster if she rejects a majority decision is a counsel of anarchy. The Government is pledged against the coercion of Ulster, and any breach of this pledge would multiply the difficulties and dangers which are calling the Convention into existence".

The composition of the Irish Convention was announced; 15 would represent the Crown, 33 would represent county councils; the Nationalists, Sinn Feiners, Ulster Unionists, and Southern Unionists would be allowed 5 representatives each and the O'Brienites 2; there would also be 2 representative peers; the Catholic Church would have 4 places, and the Protestant Churches 3; Labour Organisations, Chambers of Commerce, and representatives of local councils will make up the balance. Sinn Fein decided not to attend; the Ulster Unionist Council would (Weekly Irish Times 16 June 1917). Sir Horace Plunkett, by now, like most southern Unionists and the Countess of Fingall reluctantly accepting Home Rule, was made Chairman of the Convention. To the great disgust of the countess who knew everybody, Sir Edward Carson, the leader of the southern Unionists threw in his lot with the Ulster Unionists. Carson to the end of his life retained a strong Dublin accent.

The Convention could have worked if the Catholics, both Redmondites and Sinn Fein had conceded to the Ulster Unionists the right they claimed for themselves, namely the right to rule themselves by their own laws. If the Redmondites and Sinn Fein had been prepared to accept in 1917 what they eventually accepted in 1921 Ireland would have been spared many long years of misery and a legacy of bitterness that persists in places to this day. The IRA largely working-class gunmen had not become a serious threat and the Orange stalwarts and their southern counterparts were fighting together in the British Army. Just after this period there arose the two stereotypes of Irishmen known around the world and regarded as defining Irishness. The first was the flat-capped IRA gunman and the other was the bowler-hatted parading Orangeman. Oddly the bowler hat of the Orangemen parading was very much a symbol of the respectable businessmen not the flat-capped shipyard worker. (Very much later, the paramilitary UVF was recruited from the Protestant working classes, but the Orange Order was never a military force, regular or irregular.)

The Catholic and Protestant middle and upper classes shared a common culture and a common outlook. Both disliked any interference, minimal though it was, of London influence on Irish domestic affairs. It was obvious to both Catholics and Protestants that tariffs against English goods could benefit Ireland. The exception to this consensus was the businessmen in Ulster in the great industries who depended on free trade. The Gaelic League and the promotion of a 'Celtic' culture had been started largely by Protestants. Both sides envisaged a strong connection with England and the Crown. Both sides knew that the real object of Home Rule was to get control of the local rackets, but that was a matter about which a deal could be done. The leading members of the Home Rule Party had not the same dogmatic and totalitarian views of some of the leading members of Sinn Fein. The great stumbling block was the utter, perhaps irrational, refusal of the Ulster Protestants to submit themselves to 'Rome Rule'.

Both sides realised that neither of the great Parties in Britain wanted them. Britain had got some things out of the Union but not much. The chief benefit to Britain was that neither Spain nor France and now Germany controlled Ireland and so could not use it in time of War to invade Britain. Ireland had supplied many soldiers, but would probably continue to do so. Britain got little or no financial or economic benefit Ireland, despite the harping of Irish nationalists about over-taxation. Nor, unlike India and most other parts of the Empire, did it provide positions or jobs for younger sons. Now, with the new National Insurance, Ireland was likely to become a financial drag on England. Irish Catholic Members of Parliament had been obstructing Parliament for as long as anyone recalled without any of them contributing anything useful. The chief argument in Britain, apart from the protection of its shores in wartime, was sentiment, and that sentiment was wearing thin.

Dr Mahaffy offered the Regent House in Trinity College to Sir Horace Plunkett for the meetings. The first meeting of the Convention took place on 25th July 1917. The large number of chairmen of County Councils unused to debating constitutional affairs was noted. No reporting was allowed, but it was made clear an unacceptable settlement would not be enforced. Sir Horace Plunkett was chosen unanimously chairman of the Convention. A leading spokesman for the Nationalist Party was Dr Patrick O'Donnell, Catholic bishop of Raphoe (Donegal), an old classmate of Mr John Dillon. He was a strong party man and a supporter of John Redmond. Though not supporting partition he did not sign the anti-partition manifesto of the other bishops. He was a capable orator in Gaelic and English, and noted for his work on the Congested Districts Board. The Earl of Mayo (7th earl) was the son of the 6th earl who was assassinated when Viceroy of India in 1872. He sat as a representative peer in the House of Lords since 1890 and took an active part in discussions of Irish affairs in the Lords. (His wife, Geraldine, Lady Mayo was the lady whose banner was rejected by Kitchener.)

The discussions dragged on in an increasingly irrelevant atmosphere until April 1918. John Redmond died and was succeeded as chief of the Nationalist Party by John Dillon, Sir Horace Plunkett's new friend. A Blue Book of 151 pages was issued containing the Convention Report. The two main difficulties were Ulster and the customs, the nationalists insisting on full control over customs and excise as in the dominions; Dr O'Donnell whose diocese of Raphoe (Donegal) was probably the poorest in Ireland was the most insistent on the need for tariffs. The Southern Unionists agreed with the Ulster Unionists in rejecting the customs. Dr O'Donnell insisted

- 1) the Irish parliament should be co-equal with the British
- 2) complete fiscal autonomy including over customs and tariffs, the right to make foreign treaties, and full control of taxation
- 3) the right to raise military (territorial) forces in Ireland
- 4) the repudiation of any share in the National Debt on grounds of previous over-taxation, but the principle of a small imperial contribution was admitted
- 5) denial of the right of the Imperial Parliament to impose conscription in Ireland without the consent of the Irish parliament.

Discussion broke down when the question of fiscal authority was reached (Belfast Weekly Telegraph 20 April 1918.)

The Irish Convention Home Rule Scheme rejected partition but allowed the Unionists a guaranteed 40% of the seats in the new Irish House of Commons. Control of Irish Customs and Excise was to be delayed till after the war. The Irish Parliament was to have no powers affecting the Crown, peace and war, army and navy, treaties, coinage etc. The main report was carried by 44 votes to 29, the 44 being less than half of the Convention. There were two sticking points, Ulster and the Customs. The Ulster Unionists claimed that they had an equal right to secede. The Nationalists made various concessions but not enough to win their consent. 19 Ulster delegates issued a memorandum saying why they disagreed with the majority report. They claimed that the Nationalists had made concessions on only minor points and no real attempt was made to bridge the gap between the parties. By the time the Report was made it was almost an irrelevance, and it failed in the crucial point; it was not a solution that all were agreed on, and so could not form the basis of a new Act.

The year 1917 saw the emergence of full-blown racist fascism in Ireland out of the Fenian/Home Rule movement. The Fenian movement was originally a strictly revolutionary one, but a majority of Irish Fenians decided to follow a dual path, combining parliamentary tactics with secret agrarian terrorism. This link was never openly acknowledged. Though the parliamentarians since 1890 had the upper hand it was never possible to purge the terrorists out of their ranks. The link could always be denied, and any priest or bishop for example, could always with good conscience support a parliamentary party which had no official links with violence. It was also possible to deny the link between Sinn Fein and atrocities, so priests and bishops could similarly lend their support. Many of the people in Sinn Fein had no links with violence and were very close in outlook, objectives and tactics to many of the leaders of the Home Rule Party. John Redmond and William Congrave a Sinn Fein member of the Dublin Corporation could have exchanged parties.

Sinn Fein and the Irish Parliamentary Party were similar in economic outlook (Bew, Ideology and the Irish Question 124-5). Alike rejecting Horace Plunkett's ideas that product innovation and improvement, hard work and co-operation were necessary to match the Swiss, the Dutch and the Danes, they put all their hope in a native Parliament. All the evils of Ireland, low economic growth and a falling population, could be explained by foreign oppression and enforced free trade. Therefore, a native Irish Parliament would enact laws to suit Irish industry, and protect Irish businesses from competition from cheap imports. The idea of Ireland having huge

manufacturing towns like those in England was rejected. But smaller factories in every little town would soak up the increase in population and provide work for all. The whole Irish market would be protected, foreign imports kept out, and everything that Irish people needed, boots, nails, shoe laces, suits, hats, glass, newspapers, etc. would be made in Ireland. All the little industries that Ireland had had a hundred years could be built up again. The population of Ireland would rise from 4 million to at least 20 million. (These ideas were first put forward by Arthur Griffith but became common currency.) All this was economic fantasy. A sane economist would have told them that the result would be poor quality goods at higher prices for the home market while the export markets would be lost because of higher production costs not to mention retaliatory tariffs. (This is largely what did occur.) As noted above, the tactics of parliamentary activity accompanied by forcible activity by the local 'lads' to achieve home government was also shared. Nor was Sinn Fein opposed to a monarchy, though it now specified that the monarch could not be of the House of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (Windsor).

Despite these resemblances flowing from a common origin Sinn Fein was radically different. It was the difference between a violent and corrupt movement of the Tammany Hall variety, and an ideologically and racially motivated, violent and corrupt one. One just cannot see a member of the Land League or the United Irish League slowly starving themselves to death over a period of 80 days for a political motive. The element of fanaticism marked Sinn Fein as it did the Nazi Party and the Bolsheviks and the extremists in Italy and Spain. The two great distinctive elements of racist fascism came to the fore, as they came to the fore in many European countries in the following decade especially in Nazi Germany. One was the emphasis on race and all the benefits which flowed from a pure race. So the Gaelic language was to be restored by force. Irish was to be made compulsory, and anyone seeking access to education or any public employment would be made to display some proficiency in the language. This applied equally to Protestants who never claimed to be 'Celts'. Foreign games, foreign dances, music hall songs and so on were to be banished from Ireland as from Germany. Sinn Fein was no more a stranger to reality than were the Bolsheviks or the Nazis.

The other was the cult of violence. Again here the resemblance is strongest with Nazi Germany. Warfare was glorified; the 'armed struggle' was to be the summit of Irish manhood's ambition until the least foreigner was forced to leave the sacred soil of Ireland. The first manifestation of this was the glorification of those who fought the British in 1916; they were made national heroes. This madness was to grip almost the whole of the Catholic population of Ireland. If one of the 'lads' was wounded he was almost worshipped by the nurses in the local hospital. If one was killed everyone turned out to bury him with full military honours. That monumental piece of romantic rubbish, the 'Proclamation of Independence' read out in the General Post Office in Dublin in 1916, became almost holy writ. But its statement that 'Six times in the last three hundred years Ireland asserted its nationhood in arms' though totally false was accepted as factually true. These shared fantasies generated an extraordinary fanaticism which was later to be emulated by the German boys who entered the SS in Germany and by the Falangists in Spain.

The first manifestation of this was the death of the hunger-striker Thomas Ashe from forced feeding in Mountjoy prison in 1917. A wave of emotion swept the country, and the hunger-strike was to become a test of manhood for members of the IRA. A helpful Jesuit priest explained that this was not suicide but murder by the British Crown. The argument went like this. Britain was an unjust aggressor. The 'British Government' should recognise the evils it was carrying out in Ireland and withdraw from the country thus preventing the death of the young man. This once again shows the atmosphere of unreality in Ireland. Catholic bishops in England just regarded them as men who had committed suicide.

The IRA claimed to be fighting a 'just war', though not a single one of the criteria for a just war existed outside their own imaginations. There were no enormous injustices or oppressions sufficient to justify the wholesale shedding of blood and destruction of property. There was no reasonable chance of success. There were always available channels of negotiation by which grievances could be remedied. The unwillingness of the Ulster Unionists to submit to them was not a grievance. There was not a properly constituted body capable of taking decisions for the people of Ireland. This remained true even after the election of the so-called 'First Dail' for it never received recognition as a legitimate Government from anybody, and there was a legitimate Government already in existence. It had as much right to declare war as an elected body governing sport for example.

'A war, to be just, must be waged by a sovereign power for the security of a perfect right of its own (or of another justly invoking its protection) against foreign violation in a case where there is no other means available to secure or repair the right; and must be conducted with a moderation which, in the continuance and settlement of the struggle, commits no act intrinsically immoral, nor exceeds in damage done, or in payment and in penalty exacted, the measure of necessity and of proportion to the value of the right involved, the cost of the war, and the guarantee of future security' (Catholic Encyclopaedia 'War').

However the conviction that the Catholics in the IRA were fighting a just war was extremely useful. In practice it meant that the Ten Commandments were suspended. One had only to say 'I am doing it for my country' and theft, murder, arson, wounding, lies, intimidation, etc. ceased to exist and became legitimate 'acts of war'. 1916 had shown that it was only by acts like theft, murder, intimidation, incendiarism, that an 'armed struggle' could be carried out.

The official policy of Sinn Fein the political party did not in itself envisage the use of violence. The Catholic MPs elected to Westminster would meet in Dublin, declare themselves the legitimate government of Ireland, and ignore the police and the law courts for which they would substitute their own. Sinn Fein members of County Councils would collect the revenue and transfer it to the new Government and the old Government would wither from lack of funds. It was foreseen that the Ulster counties would not co-operate but they would be forced to comply. This again shows how far Sinn Fein had become distanced from all reality. The existing police and courts continued to function, and the real Irish Government simply intercepted the revenue on the way to Dublin.

Many of the supporters of Sinn Fein and the IRA were young idealists, but it cannot be doubted that many too were opportunists who joined in order to benefit themselves. This would have been particularly true after the victory in the General Election. It is remarkable that like their contemporaries in Russia and Germany they too did not lose faith in their ideology after it had patently failed. People sent to slave camps in Russia, and people in bombed German cities quite often never lost faith in their leaders, Lenin, Stalin or Hitler. So too in Ireland, doubt never seems to have crossed the minds of those who supported Sinn Fein and the IRA. Every failure of the new Government to show results in line with their promises was just greeted with the mantra 'After eight hundred years of British misrule improvement overnight cannot be expected'. What was not known at the time was the extent that the IRB was manipulating both Sinn Fein and the Irish Volunteers/IRA for its own purposes. (I had an uncle in Co. Louth, formerly a supporter of Tim Healy, who by this time had joined both Sinn Fein and the IRA. He was an extremely honest and conscientious man who never for a moment doubted that he had been right to 'fight for Irish freedom' and never lost his trust in Eamon de Valera.)

The first sign of the swing to Sinn Fein was the victory in a by-election in February 1917 in North Roscommon of Count Plunkett who stood as an abstentionist, namely that he would not take his seat in Westminster but only in a Parliament in Dublin. In April another Sinn Fein candidate was elected in South Longford despite the fact that John Dillon, backed by the local bishop and clergy, personally took charge of the campaign. Though at a by-election held in Newry in February 1918 where Arthur Griffith, Eamon de Valera, and the Countess Markievicz campaigned for the Sinn Fein candidate he was defeated. A Sinn Fein Convention summoned by Count Plunkett was held in Mansion House, Dublin 19 April 1917. Over 500 delegates from Labour organisations, Hibernians, Sinn Fein clubs, Women's League, and the Roman Catholic clergy who numbered about 100 priests, mostly young men, attended. It set out a claim that Ireland should be represented at the Peace Conference as a separate nation, and that Ireland should declare itself a separate state. A motion was proposed by Sean Milroy and seconded by Arthur Griffith that a council of interested parties, to be called the Executive Council of the Irish National Alliance be created. It stated the need for concerted action between Sinn Fein, the National League (Irish Nation League), the Irish-American Alliance, the Irish Volunteers, and the Irish Labour Party (Weekly Irish Times 28 April 1917). The purpose of this meeting was to hammer out a common front which the various political movements could act against the Home Rule and Unionist Parties. The IRB was as usual controlling events without ever declaring its own existence, Count Plunkett being a sworn member. (Various communist movements were to use the tactic of the 'popular front'. George Noble Plunkett was the son of a wealthy Dublin builder and had no connection with the families of the Earls of Fingall or the Barons of Dunsany.) It had as a result the multiplication of Sinn Fein clubs, and the chief beneficiary in the short term was Arthur Griffith who had founded the party. But the release from prison, largely at John Redmond's request, of those sentenced to terms of imprisonment after Easter Week 1916 and who joined Sinn Fein led to the eclipse of its founder (Lyons, Ireland since the Famine, 390).

Rioting followed the return of Sinn Fein prisoners to Cork and the gaol and recruiting offices were smashed. There was a great demonstration in Cork on their behalf; the Sinn Fein flag (three vertical stripes of green, white and orange) was displayed everywhere. It was the worst riot in forty years with at least 5,000 persons involved. The soldiers took possession of the streets, and Sinn Fein ordered their supporters off the streets to prevent a recurrence of events that only bring discredit to national organisations (Weekly Irish Times 30 June 1917). As often at this time the term Sinn Fein was used loosely. The command could have been issued by the IRB, the Irish Volunteers, or the Sinn Fein club, but these had cross membership. The movement was not as closely organised or controlled as the press imagined. Most activities were planned and carried out locally. One great exception to this was the collection of money in the United States. John Devoy, an old Fenian long settled in the United States was responsible for raising at least a million dollars for the IRB. It was alleged that the German Government was supporting the IRA through societies in America. It is doubtful that without this money the activities of Sinn Fein/IRB/IRA could have lasted as long as they did (Devoy DNB 2004).

Among those released in the general amnesty in June 1917 was Eamon de Valera. His name is explained by the fact that he was born in America, supposedly the son of a Spanish father and an Irish mother, but there were doubts expressed about his legitimacy after his mother returned with him to Ireland without his father, even though she had a marriage certificate to prove her marriage and respectability. He had joined the Irish Volunteers, but did not belong to the IRB, and had no responsibility for planning the putsch in 1916. However he commanded the company holding Boland's Mills and was sentenced to death and was reprieved. He stood for East Clare. The campaign in Clare was a throwback to the olden days with the presence of priests on all platforms of both candidates; young curates were heard singing 'The Soldier's Song', a marching song of the Irish Volunteers. Sinn Fein denied that they were preparing another rebellion. They looked to the Peace Conference where they imagined England would be on trial before the whole world. In the meantime the Irish Volunteer movement was to be carried on a larger scale than before. The fact that de Valera, a capable but not very inspiring figure and nominally at least the political leader, did not belong to the inner councils of the IRB was to be of great importance. Arthur Griffith too had once briefly belonged to the IRB but no longer did. This meant that members of the IRB were able to manipulate the Sinn Fein party for their own ends. (Catholic members of the IRB were excommunicated, a point which affected de Valera's decision not to remain in the Brotherhood. de Valera had been briefly sworn into the IRB before the Easter rising, but refused to re-join it after he came out of prison. I was told once that de Valera had said that he had never agreed with the Catholic Church's ban on secret societies. But when he had joined the IRB he had found out why. The fact was that a self-appointed clique could pronounce sentence of death in secret on anyone who stood in their way. For convenience sake, though anachronistically, I will refer to the Irish Volunteers from this date as the IRA, the name by which they are best known)

The Irish Catholic bishops renewed instructions to priests about participating in politics, citing the relevant passages of the National Synod (1900). The Sinn Fein candidate de Valera won a convincing victory. The victory of de Valera focused attention on republicans. Their programme consisted of abstention from Westminster, arming the Volunteers, the appointment of a Constituent Assembly for Ireland, an appeal to the Peace Conference, and the coercion of Ulster (Weekly Irish Times 7, 21 July 1917). It was symptomatic of the total disconnection of Sinn Fein and their allies from reality that they were looking forward to Woodrow Wilson's proposed Peace Conference at which they imagined they would be represented and would be able to expose Britain's guilt to the world. (The Sinn Fein or Irish Volunteer flag, the tricolour of green, white and orange, was adopted by Sinn Fein as the flag of the Irish Free State, and 'The Soldiers Song' as their national anthem. Neither had any historical connection with Ireland. The Protestants considered that Ireland's historic national flag was a golden harp on a blue field.)

In August 1917 William Cosgrave of Dublin won Kilkenny City for Sinn Fein, and in October was made one of the honorary treasurers of the Party. At a National Volunteer Convention a resolution was passed to re-merge with the Irish Volunteers. The Irish Trades Union Congress welcomed the Russian Revolution, and sent a cable of support to the Workers' Council, Petrograd. The death of a rebellion leader Thomas Ashe after a hunger strike was reported. His remains were removed after a requiem mass from the Catholic pro-cathedral to City Hall, Dublin, and lay in state in the City Hall. The hunger strike was started because Sinn Fein prisoners wished to be given political status and be treated as prisoners of war. The death was caused by forcible feeding. (The Pankhursts had called off their hunger strikes at the outbreak of the War and were released from prison.) The Gaelic League passed a vote of sympathy for Thomas Ashe, one of its members; Mr John (Eoin) MacNeill denied that the Gaelic League was now a political organisation despite the public comments of Cardinal Logue, and Canon O'Leary.

A full Sinn Fein convention with over 1000 delegates met in the Mansion House, Dublin (the offices of the Lord Mayor) on 25 October 1917. It was chaired by Arthur Griffith, the out-going president of Sinn Fein. A constitution was adopted and Mr de Valera was elected president in his place. He gave the reasons why Sinn Fein had refused to join the Irish Convention; they had required that all delegates be elected, and that any majority decision, even the founding of a republic, be accepted in advance (even by the Unionists) and openly pledged. Count Plunkett and Arthur Griffith were nominated for the Presidency and both withdrew; de Valera was then selected unanimously. Arthur Griffith and Fr Michael O'Flanagan were elected vice-presidents; W. T. Cosgrave and L. Ginnell Hon. Treasurers; Austin Stack and Darrell Figgis Hon. Secretaries. de Valera denied that the existing Government was a legitimate one, and so it could be legitimately expelled by physical force; it was the constitution of a foreigner and they could legitimately despise it; it was not a legitimate government; it was oppressing them; though they sought an Irish republic, that would only be after a referendum; they could have a king, but not of the House of Windsor. The issue of the monarchy was left to be decided (Weekly Irish Times 3 Nov 1917; Lyons, Ireland since the Famine, 391). de Valera was a notorious logic-chopper who could always justify his own choice at least to himself. But like Hitler he was very plausible. Lloyd George had no difficulty in convincing President Wilson that the Government was willing to enact any legislation that the Irish themselves agreed on, saving always the right of Ulstermen to self-determination. The hypocrisy of Sinn Fein which demanded self-determination for itself and refused it to Ulstermen was obvious to all. Also it was obvious that

the existing Government in Ireland, whether some people liked it or not, was as legitimate as that of the United States itself. Sir Shane Leslie spent the war in Washington along with the British ambassador, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, putting the Government's point of view. It was entirely coincidental but helpful that this task fell to two Irishmen.

Immediately after the Sinn Fein convention the Irish Volunteers were re-organised and de Valera was made their President. But the IRB moved to appoint their own members to key positions. Michael Collins was made Director of Operations. On the other hand Cathal Brugha (cahal brooa or Charles Burgess) who was now an opponent of the IRB was Chief of Staff of the Volunteers. (Many members in Sinn Fein adopted real or supposed Gaelic forms of their names. Edward de Valera became Eamon, Ay-mon, de Valera). Both de Valera and Brugha felt that the IRB had outlived its usefulness and was only causing confusion in the leadership. By far the most important appointment was that of Michael Collins as Director of Operations. He can be regarded as Ireland's Himmler. He was an extremely hard worker, and efficient organiser, and was totally without a conscience. He was from Cork and was thirty seven years old. He was in the GPO in 1916, was interned, and was released without being charged the following Christmas. To his friends he could be very charming. Lady Fingall regarded him as 'a big simple Irishman'. Collins, like most people at the time found his way to Sir Horace Plunkett's house, Kilteragh, which Lady Mayo and the countess had furnished for him. Collin's name was the last in the visitors' book before the house was burned by a rival faction of the IRA. Director of Operations was a rather grandiose title but it gave him some organisational powers. (It would seem that most of the American money allotted for military operations passed through his hands.) But like in the agrarian secret societies from which they were derived the local units organised their own activities. Apart from training there were no official activities at this time, but the post became more important later. Like Stalin sometime later he made a disregarded organisation post one of strategic importance.)

At the end of November 1917 Cardinal Logue in a letter to his clergy denounced Sinn Fein as "ill-considered and Utopian", and said that the dream of an Irish republic might lead to disaster. Nevertheless Dr Michael Fogarty, bishop of Killaloe backed Sinn Fein. [TOP]

[1918] Serious shortages developed in Ireland, especially of potatoes and bread; and there was no sugar for Irish private jam makers. The export of butter from Ireland was prohibited. An urgent appeal was made to Irish farmers. The Tillage Order (1918) required an addition of 5% of tillage that year, as well as making up the shortfall of the previous year. The buying of a tractor was proposed as a solution, as a 200 acre farm must now plough 40 acres, so it could afford the price of £500, and money could be borrowed at advantageous rates from the Department of Agriculture. There were advertisements for tractors and other farm machinery, one tractor being advertised at £375. There was a shortage of coal in Ireland, and fuel shortages imposed severe restrictions on Irish railways. Schemes to reduce the consumption of coal, gas, and electricity, were to be introduced at once. Although the convoy system was not adopted in World War I until losses of British merchant ships became catastrophic in 1917, it then quickly proved effective. One of Lloyd George's most notable efforts was in combating the submarine menace, which, in early 1917, threatened to starve Britain into submission. He achieved this by forcing the adoption of the convoy system upon a reluctant Admiralty, and even more reluctant ship-owners and sea captains. The food shortage resulting from the submarine war was acute. Drastic action had to be taken to step up agricultural production, and eventually a system of food rationing had to be introduced (1918). In these matters Lloyd George was at his best, contemptuous of red tape, determined to take action and to make his will prevail (Encyclopaedia Britannica. 'David Lloyd George.').

A development arising out of the shortages was experiments to find which crops gave the greatest profit and nutritional value per acre. These were potatoes, for human food, and mangels (or mangolds, a form of beetroot used for animal feed) for animals. Beef cattle gave a better return than milk cattle except in the case of the 1,000 gallon cow. Milk from a 400 gallon cow was twice as costly to produce as from a 1,000 gallon cow. Sheep were more efficient converters of grass into meat per pound, though the bullock was regarded as better for preserving the fertility of the soil. There was perhaps not much that was particularly new or startling in these figures, but what was interesting was that they were published in the daily newspapers instead of farming publications, or The Homestead of Plunkett's IOAC. Sinn Fein never grasped the point that efficient farming, the way of the future, was in total opposition to protected farming where tariffs guaranteed profits. (Weekly Irish Times 15 June 1918)

Another trend which manifested itself was the upsurge in agrarian crime especially in the West of Ireland. As usual in this kind of activity it arose at local level. From the nature of things it is scarcely possible to decide which were organised by groups connected with the failing United Irish League and which with the rising Sinn Fein clubs and Volunteer units. But the belief was that Sinn Fein units now had the upper hand and they were

responsible. Also the lawlessness went beyond the traditional agrarian grievances. Driving cattle off the large cattle farms was still practiced but it went beyond that. There was a plot to destroy the railways, presumably because they were used by the army, and many men were arrested. The Co. Dublin aerodrome watchmen were held up, and there were malicious injuries to ploughs, either to wreck the tillage campaign, or perhaps as part of a local plot. In March an outbreak of lawlessness in Clare was reported, and two policemen were shot. There were extensive seizures of lands, a robbery of a bank manager; a robbery of a post office in Galway; an attempt to derail a mail train; gunpowder stolen in Cork; cattle-driving in Clare organised by a man in a Volunteer uniform. A desire to confiscate the large farms was always prominent among the rank and file of the Volunteers, though neither the Free State Government nor that of de Valera ever conceded it. Robberies of local post offices became a trade mark of the IRA. The robberies took place on the day the pensions were delivered to the local post office. The old age pensioners suffered little by this as the Government always replaced the money stolen. (The Bolsheviks in Russia largely financed themselves by robbing banks).

The Countess of Fingall recounts how the Volunteers stole firearms from every house in the country, though she does not mention the year. She mentions also that the earl was asked to contribute to IRA funds, and he replied that he would do so wherever they were the legitimate Government of Ireland, and oddly enough they were satisfied with his reply. Robbery of houses for arms had been an infallible sign for a century and a half that an agrarian criminal conspiracy was being hatched, and of this the Government was perfectly aware.

For the Government Earl Curzon explained the policy regarding Ireland; the primary object was to secure the success of the Convention, and to this end no strong measures would be taken which might precipitate a reaction. This despite the fact that the police and military authorities requested strong measures. In fact for the next three years it was the policy of the Government to do as little as possible with regard to the activities of the IRA. The police in particular, though they and their families were the prime targets of the IRA, were officially instructed to take as little action as possible against the terrorists, and this led to a serious breakdown in the discipline of the RIC. The failure to take strong measures against them Sinn Fein regarded as a sign of weakness not of restraint. But it was in keeping with Lloyd George's belief that the problem was now an Irish one to be solved by the Irish themselves. However, with the retirement of Henry Duke from the Office of Chief Secretary and the appointment Edward Shortt, the Government was compelled to take a stronger line.

In January 1918 Carson resigned from the War Cabinet. In his letter to the Prime Minister he explained that when he joined the Cabinet he did so on the understanding that the constitutional question was postponed until after the war. It was clear that the Cabinet would be better able to discuss any proposals without his presence. Sir James Craig resigned from the post of Treasurer of the Household.

A meeting was held in the Mansion House, Dublin to support the Russian Bolsheviks. It was chaired by William O'Brien ICTU, chairman of the executive of the ICTU Irish Congress of Trade Unions (not the MP). Some bolsheviks were on the platform; republican and red flags waved, and the Red Flag sung. Madame Markievicz, Mrs Gonne-MacBride and Mr Ginnell spoke; Mr Coates proposed that after liberty was won the vice-regal lodge would be turned into the headquarters of the Transport Workers' Union (Weekly Irish Times 9 February 1918.)

John Redmond died after an operation for an intestinal obstruction. The Belfast Weekly Telegraph in its obituary of Redmond praised him for his moderating influence; in recent years his moderation was denounced with spleen by Sinn Fein (9 Mar 1918). He did not live to see the total eclipse of the Party he had led for so long. He was succeeded as leader of the Nationalist Parliamentary Party by John Dillon.

At this time in England Lloyd George appointed Herbert Albert Fisher, the Vice-Chancellor of the new Sheffield University, as President of the Board of Education. He immediately undertook a survey of the schools of which the English Board had oversight. His recommendations were enshrined in the Fisher Acts. Some parts of his recommendations eventually found their way in the Londonderry Education (N.I) Act (1923). Also in England at this time a committee under Viscount Burnham devised scales of teachers' salaries which Irish teachers could only envy. An increase in teachers' salaries was sanctioned by the Irish Government and the Treasury in December 1917, and had been implemented by April 1918, though the sums involved were less than had been requested. A committee under Lord Killanin, the Killanin Committee, was established by the Lord Lieutenant to consider the future development of primary education. The Killanin committee was the first to be composed largely of teachers; it recognised that a wider and more liberal approach to the training of teachers was required (Irish School Weekly 10 July 1920).

Another committee was established by the Lord Lieutenant to consider the office of sheriff in Ireland. Almost all the executive functions of the sheriffs had been removed when the County Councils were established in 1898. The committee made drastic recommendations which were to be enshrined in an Act in 1920

By July 1918 the flu epidemic had reached Belfast, and was now spreading to Dublin and Cork; captured Germans said it was rife the German army. It was called the Spanish influenza. The flu was to rage in Ireland until the following Easter. It was one of the most lethal epidemics ever and 228,000 deaths were attributed to it in the United Kingdom and more than half a million in the United States.

The War went through two phases in 1918. The first was the great German attack under General Erich Ludendorff who had transferred half a million men from the Eastern Front to the Western Front. Manpower shortages meant that it was no longer possible to have a continuous system of trenches, so the front line consisted of strong points which could support each other with machine gun fire. From all the German forces available, the best and fittest soldiers were chosen to by-pass the strong points, and if necessary to attack them from the rear. The blow fell mainly of Sir Hubert Gough's Fifth Army. Haig had expected that the main thrust would be delivered further north and be aimed at the Channel Ports, which indeed was Ludendorff's intention. To get his reserves there he had to thin out elsewhere so the Fifth Army held 42 miles of front with only 14 divisions. The Fifth Army was the southernmost British in the north-south section of the line. The French Army beside it was in the east-west section and so in a position, if necessary to attack the Germans on the flank. It was understood that in case of a strong German attack, General Petain would supply the reserve troops from the French army. The German offensive was launched on the 21 March 1918, and the Fifth Army was driven back. Though steadily retreating the front never broke and the pressure of the attack weakened the further it got from its base line. The German troops often went looking for the British Army's food dumps, for food was desperately in short supply in Germany even for the army. The Army was driven back to its base line on the Somme of 1916. Though gaining ground, Ludendorff gained no strategic advantage. To meet the crisis, all the Allied armies were unified under a single commander, Marshal Foch. However Sir Hubert Gough was blamed for the retreat and was removed from command by Haig who felt that the public were demanding a scapegoat.

On the 6th April 1918 the Irish Times reported that the German advance had been stopped, and Foch appointed Generalissimo. It estimated that the Germans had lost half a million men in this attack and it praised the steady conduct of the Ulster regiments. A week later it announced that the Prime Minister had decided on Home Rule and conscription for Ireland. The military age was to be raised from 41 to 50 with a revision of exemptions, and lads of 18 to be sent overseas. There was to be a clear-out of Government staff, and new rules for fitness. The editor agreed that it was no longer possible in view of these facts to exempt Ireland; all the Irish MPs had voted for the war and he referred to the declaration of the Irish Party 17 September 1914 which declared the war a just one (Weekly Irish Times 13 April 1918). Cardinal Logue deplored the haste in which conscription was introduced, but refused to back physical resistance. Archbishop Walsh stated that he was sure that if Irish MPs supported conscription linked to Home rule he was sure they meant conscription passed by an elected Irish parliament (Weekly Irish Times 20 April 1918). It is clear that the Irish Catholic bishops supported the view that the United Kingdom was right to go to war to defend Belgium in 1914 and had no moral objections conscription as such if that was the price that had to be paid. Also, in view of the fact that it was daily becoming clear that Sinn Fein was a front for a terrorist organisation plotting to overthrow the lawful Government with German help, they could not be happy with their fellow objectors. The bishops however agreed that resistance to conscription was lawful by all means consonant with the law of God. Nor does there seem to have been any opposition to conscription in Ireland apart from that inspired by Sinn Feinpropaganda. The latter party had to oppose it on the grounds that Irishmen should fight for their version of what Ireland should be, and the fittest men in the ranks of the Volunteers would again be removed from the country. Sinn Fein had no moral objection to shedding blood, nor had it the financial capability of arming the Volunteers. But it was handed the great chance to pose as the saviour of Ireland by opposing conscription. They were of course at the same time negotiating with Germany for support for their cause.

A letter by Sir Edward Carson to the Press was published which said that the attitude of the Nationalists, Sinn Fein, and the Catholic bishops towards national defence showed how little confidence could be placed on any reservation in a Home Rule Bill. He maintained that the Government had no intention of enforcing conscription, at least until after a Home Rule Bill became law. The appointment of Edward Shortt who spoke against conscription confirmed his opinion on this matter. However a Home Rule Parliament would be united against conscription (Weekly Irish Times 11 May 1918). On the other hand, a letter from Horace Plunkett considered that the aim of getting more troops was attainable, especially as America was in the war, simply by conceding Home Rule now; he remained convinced that a new Irish Executive would not shrink from the task of promoting voluntary recruitment.

When the German advance was held up on the Somme it proved to be the decisive turning point of the War. Ludendorff was to continue to launch attacks in the direction of the Channel ports and indeed broke the front further north where it was held by Portuguese brigades. On 15 July 1918, Foch, aided by the influx of American troops, began its counter-offensive. The Americans were given a relatively quiet sector to themselves in the Argonne Forest and the St. Michiel salient, and there the modern United States Army was born.

In April 1918 the Irish Convention reported on largely sectarian lines, and it was obvious that little real concessions had been made to the Ulster Unionists. In May 1918 Lloyd George replaced the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary. Wimborne had refused to support the Government's attitude on conscription. Duke had resigned and returned to his career in the courts. It was clear that the Government could no longer, in the interests of promoting free discussion, ignore the activities of Sinn Fein and the IRA. The experienced soldier, Sir John French, was made Lord Lieutenant. This was more of a gesture towards those outraged by the apparent impunity with which Sinn Fein organisers could carry out their illegal acts, than of any intention to deal with them with a strong hand. He also claimed to be a Roscommon gentleman and had his residence in that county. French announced, on somewhat tenuous evidence that there was a plot to import arms from Germany, and it appears that some efforts had been made in that direction (Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine*, 395). The Government issued a statement on the continuing German complicity with Sinn Fein, noting that long before the outbreak of the war the German government was financing Sinn Fein through American societies; and this was publicly stated in 8th Nov 1914 by John (Eoin) MacNeill. After 1916 the Sinn Fein leaders were still begging for German money through the German Embassy in Washington and obtained it. The Government had clear evidence of the continuing co-operation between the Germans and Sinn Fein, and the latter were to stage another rising as soon as German assistance arrived. Without the arms to be delivered by submarine the new rising could not take place (Weekly Irish Times 1 June 1918). Apart from confusing Sinn Fein with the IRB this was no doubt broadly true, but there was no evidence that the IRB were at that very moment planning to land a huge cargo of arms by submarine. Though German surface ships were not able to approach the Irish coast, German submarines did, and were still active in the Irish Sea. Obviously, as the Government realised, the situation could change rapidly if the Germans achieved a major success on the Western Front, and as it were on cue Ludendorff launched another major offensive and the City of Cork Steam Packet Company's steamer was torpedoed.

Lord French then proceeded to intern 150 of the known leaders of Sinn Fein. Fourteen counties and two boroughs were proclaimed. The following month a hospital ship fully lit up was torpedoed off the Irish coast. In July Sinn Fein was proclaimed, and all their meetings were banned; other organisations banned were the Sinn Fein Organisation, Sinn Fein clubs, the Irish Volunteers, the Cumann na m-Ban (Women's League, an auxiliary branch of the Irish Volunteers), and the Gaelic League. These were merely driven underground. Sinn Fein at this time had no particular revolutionary strategy. It was concentrating on Griffith's 'Hungarian Option' which it hoped would be bloodless, namely refusing to sit in Westminster and sitting instead in Dublin. The acts of agrarian terrorism were no worse than they had been in the previous 18 years. The real terrorist campaign was forced on Sinn Fein by members of the IRA after the atrocity at Soloheadbeg in Tipperary in January 1919.

In July 1918 Mr James MacMahon replaced Sir William Byrne as Irish Under Secretary. The Government proceed with its own business and indeed the end of the War seemed in sight. As Sinn Fein/IRA had apparently been successfully disposed off, one of the first items on the agenda had to be to prepare an updated version of the Government of Ireland Act (1914).

Unlike Sinn Fein the Government had to proceed in a manner consistent with law, precedent, treaty, and democratic rights. It had to recognise that the situation in Ireland had arisen over several hundred years, and there were different interpretations of that history. It had to recognise that injustices might have been done in the past, but that also various statutes of limitation limited the time for seeking redress. The Catholic Church, for example, could not demand the return of Church lands seized at the Reformation as of right. The modern possessors of those lands had the right in law and conscience to retain them. Nor could a man, just because his surname was O'Neill, for example, claim lands formerly owned by Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, but which had been confiscated in the seventeenth century. Acts of Parliament conferred rights on various individuals which it was perfectly possible for a later Parliament to limit or withdraw, but it would require an Act of the same Parliament or of another Parliament established by it, such as a Dominion Parliament. In the passing of such an Act the lawyers who drafted it would dot all i's and cross all t's to make sure that the legal rights of everyone

involved were protected, or if necessary compensated for. This was the approach which eventually had to be accepted after the fruitless murder of several hundred people.

Drafting such a Bill was not the immediate concern, or even the province of the Irish Government. In the United Kingdom as a whole it was recognised that the War was coming to an end, even if the sudden collapse of Germany in November was not foreseen. Thought had to be given to post-War conditions, and as Lloyd George put it, 'To make Britain a fit country for heroes to live in (Speech 24 Nov 1918). Most women were to be given the vote, conditions for teachers and schools were to be improved, housing was to be improved, a Ministry of Health and a Ministry of Transport were envisaged. Whitley Councils were to be established to deal with labour disputes. It was a period when Radical Liberalism and the Socialist Movement seemed in a position to bring about great improvements in society.

The first proposal for social improvement came from the hitherto backward Corporation of Dublin. A gigantic housing scheme was proposed for Dublin in which 700 families were to be provided with housing. Land was to be procured in suburban areas like Clontarf, Drumcondra, Cabra, and Crumlin, with access to the tramlines; Dublin Corporation was already the landlord of 1880 households. It was not intended that it should be the landlord of perhaps 29,000 new tenants; rather it was proposed to sell the houses as soon as purchasers could be found (Weekly Irish Times 17 August 1918).

Speaking in Belfast Lord French outlined a new industrial strategy for Ireland which the Chief Secretary, Shortt was considering; he said that the Government would make every effort to promote industry and agriculture. The first point was to try to get Ireland to contribute her fair share of the armies; the second was to promote the health and welfare of children by developing good housing and healthy surroundings; the third was to develop Irish industry especially by developing the transport sector. It was a common complaint that higher costs of transport in Ireland made it difficult for Irish companies to compete equally with British ones. A great effort was made to encourage volunteering for the Front.

In September 1918 the Parliamentary sub-committee on the development of Irish transport resources examined Mr M.A. Ennis of the Development Commission. He said that £108,500 had been allocated for the purpose of fishery harbours and similar purposes. They had received an application from Drogheda Harbour Commissioners for improvements with regard to handling cattle, in conjunction with the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, and they had offered them a loan. With regard to Galway there was a fine dock with 22 feet of water at the cill, but it was useless at present. The Commission was inclined to offer a loan of £60,000 provided Galway County Council advanced £20,000, but it had no authority to raise such sum for the purpose required; what was needed was blasting to clear rocks from the channel. With regard to the Development Fund there was one million left out of three millions. With regard to inland transport the Commission favoured light railways rather than motor traffic; for the latter the roads would have to be improved and the County Councils had not the money. (In 1920 a 'Road Fund' was created into which motor taxation was paid and from which the new Ministry of Transport could make grants to County and Borough Councils for road building. This transformed the economics of road transport to the detriment of rail, Richards and Hunt, *Modern Britain*, 346.)

Sir John P. Griffith said that there were many small piers around the Irish coasts but they were unsuitable for larger vessels; consequently the deep-sea fisheries were in the hands of the French, Scotch, and English fishing companies. He considered it possible to make Galway a centre for deep-sea fisheries with large fishing steamers as in England and Scotland. The fishery piers were often constructed as a means of giving employment, and to satisfy local demand, rather than from any advantage for fishing other than local. Ireland got more grants for fisheries than Scotland, but the results were not so good, nor was it a good idea to provide facilities before the demand. Lord Mounteagle mentioned the proposal to develop Foynes as a combined naval and deepwater mail port. Mr P.C. Cowan of the Local Government Board noted that the canals carried only a sixth of the volume of goods as the railways. The discussion centred largely on the need to rationalise the railways with port facilities.

In November 1918 the Report of the Irish Transport sub-committee enquiry was published. It was chiefly concerned with ports and water transport; roads and railways not being included in its remit. It noted the fine natural harbours and great natural and interior waterways on which public and private money had been lavished; despite the fact that railways were not included in the enquiry, the rail connections with ports had been considered. The main defects they found were

- 1) Insufficiency of discharging berths
- 2) Lack of efficient and up-to-date equipment for handling cargoes,
- 3) Inadequate linkage of piers and harbours with railways and waterways,
- 4) At times insufficient depth of water in the approach channels.

It noted that the canals were constructed in pre-railway days, when delays in transit were regarded as unimportant; if they were to be worked in conjunction with the railways to allow them to be utilized fully much reconstruction work would be required. Specifically with regard to the Arigna coalfield to which the Government was at present constructing a rail link, the construction of a canal, the deepening of the waterway from Killaloe to Limerick, and the enlarging of the locks should be considered; this section was at present totally inadequate to provide a link between the west coast and the Grand Canal. (This latter suggestion was the latest in a long series of proposals and schemes dating from early in the eighteenth century to deal with the Shannon, both with regard to water transports and as an efficient drainage system; in proved a most intractable river. The Shannon is used nowadays for leisure activities.) It had considered all the harbours at present under either the Board of Works, the Congested Districts Board, the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, or Fisheries, and recommended that a Government Harbour Department should be formed to take over from them. It considered that dredging of the approaches should be a responsibility of the Central Government, but inside the harbours controlled by local authorities, it should be their responsibility (Weekly Irish Times 14 Sept 16 Nov 1918).

October saw Ireland's greatest maritime disaster of the War. The Kingstown to Holyhead mail boat, City of Dublin mail steamer the Leinster was torpedoed with 500 lives lost. If only one torpedo had been fired many more lives could have been saved. The editorial noted that the mail steamers for 4 years had defied the submarines so that people began to under-rate the menace. This group of steamers were among the fastest in the world, and travelled from Kingstown to Holyhead in a few minutes under three hours.

In November 1918, before the end of the War, there was a debate in the House of Commons on the Irish question led by T. P. O'Connor; it was asked that Ireland should immediately be given her freedom and allowed to attend the Peace Conference. The House was not convinced that Ireland was under a yoke like that from which Jugo-slavs and the Czecho-Slovaks had been released. Mr Shortt replied that the Ulster difficulty had not been resolved yet, and that the physical force party dominated by the Republican Brotherhood had not yet been subdued, but were at that very time planning further acts of violence. He noted that if the nationalists were given power tomorrow they would have to crush those elements. The Nationalists and the Labour Party refused to consider the wishes of the Ulster people and pressed on with their motion for immediate 'self-government'. The motion was defeated by 196 votes to 115 (Weekly Irish Times 9 Nov 1918).

In November 1918 there were great rejoicings as the armistice was declared, and the flight of Kaiser and Crown Prince. There were great rejoicings in Dublin; animated scenes; dense crowds filling the streets; Union Jacks widely displayed. There were counter-demonstrations organised by Sinn Fein causing considerable disturbance and damage to property (Weekly Irish Times 16 Nov 1918). Ireland was far from being the only country in Europe where the War was followed by violent clashes between different groups.

The Lord Lieutenant set up a committee of seven gentlemen to advise how Ireland could capitalise on the industrial development which had occurred during the course of the War. The greatest example was in ship-building in Belfast. Losses from submarines meant that the two shipyards worked at full capacity, and were now planning to extend their facilities so that it would be possible to build several ships of up to 1,000 feet in length at the same time. New records had been set in riveting, in fitting out a ship in the shortest time, and in building ships from scratch. The battlecruiser Glorious of 19,000 tons was built by Harland and Wolff in 1917. It was later converted into an early aircraft carrier and was sunk by the battlecruiser Scharnhorst on 8 June 1940. In Londonderry there had been a shipbuilding boom; vessels up to 11,000 tons deadweight could be constructed, and they could rapidly turn out 1,000 ton barges. At Warrenpoint, Co. Down there was construction of ferro-concrete ships. 400 people were employed in making 1,000 ton barges, and 750 hp steam tugs; it was the only one of its kind in Ireland.

Kynoch's in Arklow were laying off men from their explosives factory, and it was expected that the whole factory which employed 1,000 persons would be closed down. The linen industry had enjoyed a great expansion during the war. Coalmining had also been developed to the limit of Ireland's small coalfields of which seven were producing, three in Ulster, two in Munster, and one each in Leinster and Connaught. A tractor factory had been established in Cork. The war had brought an end to the building trade, but construction of aerodromes for training purposes brought much welcome work. This involved the construction of buildings and aeroplane sheds, widening roads, and levelling the runways by pulling down walls and filling in ditches. A new effort was being made to start an Irish dead meat trade; the Irish Packing Company acquired two factories in Drogheda. One of the two factories in Drogheda dealt with chilled meat, the other with tanning. It was proposed to handle 156,000 cattle a year; chilling would avoid the losses of fresh meat, and the expense of freezing such as was required for

long voyages. A plan was also afoot to harness the Liffey for hydro-electricity where by constructing a dam a fall of 40 feet could be obtained (Weekly Irish Times 30 Nov 1918)

A General Election was called for December 14. Labour broke with the War Coalition. Bonar Law pledged the continuation of the coalition as the best means for ensuring peace abroad and preventing revolution at home. The 106 Liberals who followed Asquith in his call for an enquiry into the state of the army in France before Ludendorff's offensive were blacklisted by the coalition. Each loyal MP was given a letter of commendation from the Prime Minister and Bonar Law, which Asquith described as a coupon, stating their loyalty to the Coalition Government which had won the War.

A special meeting of the Irish Trades Union Congress and the Irish Labour Party decided not to put up Labour candidates at the next election, so that the issue of self-determination should not be obscured by the partition proposed for Ireland. The Irish Labour Party and the Irish Trades Union Congress were the thing. The most prominent figure in both was an Englishman called Thomas Ryder Johnson. Though Johnson disliked militant nationalism he failed to oppose Sinn Fein in 1918 and 1921 (Johnson DNB 2004).

The Government had made it clear that the new Government of Ireland Bill would include partition. At the annual convention of Sinn Fein in the Mansion House, Dublin, there was a large attendance. The director of elections said that in a general election at least 80 seats could be won. The chairman, the Rev. M. O'Flanagan said that he looked for Ireland's seat at the peace conference. The General Election held on 18 December 1918 was novel in two respects. For the first time women were allowed to vote, and, except for the university seats, the election was held on a single day. The coalition obtained 526 seats out of 707 of whom 133 were Liberals. Asquith lost his seat, and only 26 Independent Liberals were returned. The Conservatives did very well, and formed the majority in the new coalition government. Bonar Law was in effect deputy Prime Minister and was in charge of the Government during Lloyd George's prolonged absences at the Peace Conference. In Ireland the Unionists gained 8 seats; the Nationalists lost 9; Independent Nationalists lost 9; the Liberals lost 2. Sinn Fein gained 67 giving them 73 seats to the Unionists' 26 and the Nationalists' 6 (7 including T.P. O'Connor elected in Liverpool). de Valera defeated Dillon in East Mayo but Joseph Devlin retained West Belfast. Dillon then retired from politics.

As Lyons pointed out, as far as votes were concerned Sinn Fein's landslide was not as impressive as it seemed. Nearly a third of the voters did not vote, and of those that did Sinn Fein received 47.7 % of the votes cast. By popular anecdote, the election was the most corrupt since 1613. The Nationalists and the Unionists were no slouches when it came to electoral mal-practice but the common belief was that they were thoroughly beaten at their own game by the young bloods of Sinn Fein, which even went as far as taking over polling stations at pistol point, and themselves filling in the ballot papers. Lyons rather plays down this aspect. In the Six Counties, it was to be nearly 80 years before Sinn Fein could gain the majority of Catholic votes in Northern Ireland. As usual, when there is to be a change of regime, former opponents rush to display their loyalty (Lyons, Ireland since the Famine, 399).

It is difficult to gauge the electoral support for Sinn Fein at any given point. It was negligible in 1916, but by-elections in 1917 showed it was growing. In the General Election in 1918 Sinn Fein won 73 seats out of 105. Yet in a parliamentary democracy with single seat constituencies it is possible to be elected with a quarter of the votes, for example with a turnout of 50% of eligible voters and 50% of the votes cast. Lyons points out that 31% of the electorate did not vote, and that Sinn Fein got 47.7 of the votes cast, i.e. about 33% of the total electorate. If Ulster is excluded this was 65%. As Unionist votes were minimal in Catholic areas the Nationalists would have 35% of the actual voters. He is inclined to minimise personation, intimidation and electoral mal-practice such as seizing and stuffing the ballot boxes though these were reported as having been practised on a massive scale by Sinn Fein. This did not matter, for after the election support for Sinn Fein soared as everyone knew that they would form the next government. It was time to wave their tricolour flag and shout 'Up the IRA' instead of 'Up Salonika'. (In 1829 when Daniel O'Connell was first standing for Parliament against a popular landlord he was just ahead of him at the end of the first day when the sheriff announced the number of votes cast for each candidate that day. It was clear that O'Connell had a very good chance of winning and on the second day a landslide in his favour commenced.) It is far more difficult to say what support for Sinn Fein was before the General Election in 1918; it would be difficult to prove that Sinn Fein had the support of a majority of the Catholic population. Its support could be as low as 30% or as high as 60%

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The Ministry December 1918 to October 1922 (war coalition)

Prime Minister	David Lloyd George
Home Secretary	Sir George Cave; Jan 1919 Edward Shortt
Lord Lieutenant	Baron Wimborne; May 1918 Lord French; May 1921 Lord Fitzalan
Chief Secretary	Henry Duke; May 1918 Edward Shortt; Jan 1919 James (Ian) Macpherson; April 1920 Sir Hamar Greenwood
Under Secretary	Sir William Byrne; July 1918; James MacMahon; May 1920 Sir John Anderson (additional Under Secretary)

[December 1918] There is not perhaps in Irish history another period, except perhaps the period of the Famine, where wide statements based largely on ideology are accepted unquestioned as fact, where such sweeping distortions of events are put forwards as the truth, where there is such selective use of material, where there is so little probing of evidence, where verdicts of biased juries are accepted as proof, where there is such glossing over criminal activity, so much brushing of unpleasant facts under the carpet, as in this period. It is not possible, within the limits of this work to test and probe every event. As with regard to the Famine it suited most writers to blame everything on the British Government and to attribute the most sinister motives to anyone who merely wished to maintain law and order and to respect democratic choice. But nowadays, few people could blithely accept, as Lyons does, a statement of Eamon de Valera regarding the Royal Irish Constabulary that 'their history is a continuity of brutal treason against their own people' and that therefore it was legitimate to slay them if necessary, as containing merely 'an element of exaggeration' (Lyons, Ireland since the Famine, 409). Similarly one could say that statements by Nazi propagandists contained 'elements of exaggeration'. Nowadays such statements are regarded as incitements to hatred and to murder.

The period from 1919 to 1922 must be regarded as the most shameful period in modern Irish history. In the twentieth century there were numerous examples of systematic terrorism, in Bolshevik Russia, in Nazi Germany, in the Balkans, in Latin America, in large parts of Africa where systematic murder campaigns were carried out. Bands of gunmen, sometimes licensed by the state, sometimes opposing the state, went about demanding arms, money, food supplies, or anything they wanted, and shooting and terrorising anyone at all who opposed them. This inglorious period is glorified by the Republicans as the 'War of Independence'. The knock on the door in the night, however, was no different whether it was done by the Gestapo or the IRA.

[1919] James Macpherson replaced Edward Shortt as Chief Secretary in January 1919, Shortt going to the Home Office.

Sinn Fein was first off the mark. They sent out invitations to all the newly elected Irish MPs to sit in a parliament in Dublin, but this invitation was ignored by the other parties. As many of the Sinn Fein MPs were interned only twenty seven assembled on 21 January 1919 and proceeded to call themselves the 'First Dail Eireann'. (It was called the Dail, pronounced Daw-il, from a Gaelic word for an assembly, by the republicans. Eireann or Erin was the genitive form of Eire, pronounced air-eh an old poetic name for Ireland). Though recorded proudly in republican lore, it was not recognised by anyone but themselves, had no money to spend, had no way of collecting taxes, had no control over the army, the police or the courts, or over anything. In practice, what money and power there was divided between the members of the IRB and senior officers of the IRA. It was used by both the IRA and IRB to give a fig leaf of legitimacy to their independent actions, but neither had any intention of being bound by it. Each wanted to control it for its own purposes. In this it was no different from the 'Parliaments' in Bolshevik Russia or Nazi Germany. (Eventually, it ended largely under the control of the IRB which was then able to dissolve itself.) One of the 'Declarations' it voted for was one that stated that Ireland was to be a republic. This was done in the absence of those who had reservations on the subject, like Griffith and de Valera. Cathal Brugha was in charge of proceedings, and as Lyons admits the ideals and aspirations they reflected had little contact with reality (op. cit. 400). Thomas Ryder Johnson was particularly proud of drafting the Democratic Programme, adopted by Dail Eireann as its nominal social manifesto in January 1919 (Johnson DNB 2004).

The event was reported in the Irish Times as passed by the censor. The Sinn Fein parliament 1919 opened in Dublin: Mr Edward de Valera, Mr Arthur Griffith, and Count Plunkett were elected delegates to the Peace Conference; a provisional constitution, a declaration of independence, and a message to the free nations of the world were adopted. The newspaper's editorial commended the wisdom of the Government in permitting the futile and unreal 'National Assembly' to assemble; the world's press was enabled to witness an assembly of young men who obviously had no idea of the power of the Empire or any particle of experience in the conduct of public affairs. It proclaimed its message to the free peoples of the world despite the reference in 1916 to their 'gallant allies in Europe'. (The reference was to the words in the Proclamation in Easter Week 1916 which referred to our 'gallant allies in Europe', the now defeated Germans.) There was another aspect of the assembly; they invoked God's blessing on their work, a few hours after two policemen were murdered in cold blood.

"There are two sets of republicans in Ireland today. One set filled the public eye on Tuesday with its theatrical protests against British rule. It consists of a body of idealists who nurture themselves quite honestly on visions of an independent but peaceful and pious Ireland. The other has a very different ideal- the ideal which has submerged unhappy Russia in shame and ruin. It proposes to apply the principles of Lenin and Trotsky to Irish affairs. It is working for the disintegration of society and for the confiscation of all property, public and private...When the time comes for its own more thorough revolution it will dispossess them, and will take command of the last act of Ireland's tragedy' (Weekly Irish Times 25 January 1919). One of the declarations approved contained the phrase that private property was to be subordinated to public right and welfare. It can be assumed that this referred to the confiscation of the large farms. (In the event the moderates in the IRA and IRB triumphed and extreme policies were not implemented.)

The same edition reported the daring outrage in Co. Tipperary; two constables were shot dead by masked men when escorting gelignite to Soloheadbeg quarry on 21 January 1919. It was the same day as the meeting of the 'First Dail' but was entirely independent of it. This marked the outbreak of what the republicans call the 'Irish War of Independence', but which others call a terrorist campaign. There was nothing particularly unusual in the event. A group of young men in the Volunteers were looking for explosives for one of their proposed illicit operations and decided to capture the explosives being transported under police guard to a local quarry. When the policemen, Constables MacDonnell and O'Connell, refused to hand over the explosives they were shot dead. There was no particular reason why it should be described as the opening shots in a war, but it became so for two reasons. The first was that it coincided with the opening of the First Dail, though without its knowledge or authority. The other was that one of the participants, Dan Breen, published a ghost-written account of his adventure, became an Irish politician, and became well-known on the 'Reverend Mother' circuit.

In the House of Lords, Earl of Donoughmore asked what compensation the relatives of the policemen who were shot at Soloheadbeg were entitled to. The Earl of Crawford replied that the children of the late Constable MacDonnell were under 15 and were allowed 50 shillings per annum each until the age of 15 [1 shilling a week]; no other compensation was provided for out of the Constabulary Force Fund. Constable O'Connell was unmarried. The Treasury had authorised the payment of a gratuity of £100 to Constable MacDonnell's children, and the payment of a compassionate grant of £25 to the parents of the late Constable O'Connell. A further sum of £102 6/9 would be paid out of the Constabulary Force Fund to which the late Constable MacDonnell was a subscriber in respect of his five children; this amount would be payable in any circumstances on the constable's death (Weekly Irish Times 29 March 1919).

Constable O'Connell however had dependent relatives who sued for compensation, and there was an appeal from that decision to the Assizes judge and from that court to the Court of Appeal. Constable Patrick O'Connell RIC was murdered at Soloheadbeg. He was aged about 36, and he left as his statutory next of kin his father, the applicant, John O'Connell, a old man of 70 years of age, living in Cork on a small farm of 11 acres. The son had allowed to his father the yearly sum of £20 out of his pay of £109 4s a year, which with war bonus and allowances amounted to £142 3s. At the first hearing Justice Kenny awarded only £200 and costs to the father, that being the compensation for his pecuniary loss, based on sums of £20 a year, but allowed an appeal. On appeal the County Court judge awarded the sum of £1,300 to the father as compensation, and this sum the Tipperary County Council was appealing against. But the pay of the police constables was improved since the 1st April 1919; after which date he would have received £234 a year and been entitled to retire after 30 years service with two thirds of his salary i.e. £156. He left a brother also employed as a constable and two unmarried sisters of full age residing on the farm. They argued that the higher rate of pay should be taken into account; this was disputed by the Tipperary County Council.

The Lord Chancellor, Sir James Campbell mentioned the effect of the Criminal Injuries (Ireland) Act (1919) which modified earlier Acts. However he considered that Judge Kenny erred in only considering the father; the two sisters one aged 40 and the other aged 38 were also clearly being provided for, and an

increased provision would also have been made; he considered it more reasonable to allow the father £150, and £175 to each of the sisters, a total of £500. The Lord Chief Justice, Thomas Maloney, referred to the original Grand Jury Act (1836) which allowed compensation for the murder or maiming of any witness, magistrate, or peace officer to be assessed on the county-at-large, or the barony, to the representative of the murdered or maimed person. He agreed that it was perfectly lawful for the County Court judge, now acting in place of the Grand Jury, to consider the compensation due to other relatives who were being supported. One of the other judges, the Master of the Rolls, Charles O'Connor, admired the ingenuity of the judge who derived a compensation of £1300 from a financial loss of £20 a year, but did not dissent from the Lord Chancellor. The other judges concurred (Irish Law Times 1920, Reports 157).

In Britain there was an attempt to deal with a major problem in the mining industry whose exports were now in direct competition with producers in low-cost countries. The miners' unions were seeking national agreements on pay and conditions, if possible with nationalisation, while the employers wanted regional agreements. A Royal Commission on the question under Sir John Sankey produced contradictory Reports. The final Report firmly recommended nationalisation as the only way to close down small unproductive pits and concentrate on the bigger ones. The Report was not acted on.

There was industrial unrest in Belfast in February 1919 and the city's industry was paralysed with 120,000 workers idle. 40,000 shipyard workers struck to enforce a 44 hour week against the 47 hour offer of the employers; the municipal employees in the gas and electricity works went out in sympathy. The demand for a 44 hour week followed similar demands in England and Scotland. A conference in Dublin of trades affiliated to the Dublin Trades Council demanded a forty-hour week. The Irish Labour Party and Irish Trades Union Congress set out demands for shorter hours and higher wages;

- 1) 44 -hour week,
- 2) wages 150% above pre-war levels, being equivalent to a 20% increase in real wages above 1914,
- 3) a national minimum wage of 50 shillings for every grown man.

The Irish Transport Workers Union demanded a minimum of 50 shillings a week, and a veto on women driving horses or pitching hay, but no longer demanded the 44 hour week, but conceded 49 hours. In Belfast the shipyard workers accepted a 47 hour week in place of the 54 hour week pending a national settlement (Buckland, Irish Unionism, 427).

A critical situation arose in Limerick which was being run by a striker's committee or Soviet. A newspaper editor said that the principles of syndicalism or Bolshevism would never take root in Ireland for the Irish, like the French are very attached to personal property. The military did not interfere in the running of Limerick, and contented themselves with maintaining law and order. It also noted that the strike was not supported by the English unions or by the organised workers in the North East. 1,000 protesters were held by the military (Weekly Irish Times 26 April 1919. What had happened was the Limerick Trades and Labour Council called a general strike as a response to the imposition of martial law, and took over the running of the city. The strike ended after 10 days. In the Kildare farm labourers' strike there was intimidation and damage, non-union workers intimidated, crops trampled, and haystacks overthrown. Nationalist and socialist movements often go hand in hand, and feed off each other. Sometimes they work in harmony and sometimes in conflict.

In June 1919 there was a threatened strike of the police, and the men in London and Dublin were warned that if they took strike action they would be dismissed, lose all pension rights, and never be re-admitted. The Government offered a substantial increase in pay bringing it in London up to £3 10 shillings (seventy shillings) a week, but refused to recognise the Police union; 44,000 had voted for the strike, and 4,300 against. In August 1919 there was a lightning strike of London policemen; 1,100 dismissed and lost their jobs and pensions, and the strike got little support. The Irish Constabulary Gazette was not happy with these proceedings which it attributed to some London policemen infected with Bolshevism. General Sir Neville Macready was appointed Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police and he remedied many grievances, and got an increase in pay. He refused to allow a police trade union but allowed police representative boards. Similar action was taken in Ireland by the Commissioner of the RIC Sir Joseph Byrne. The great majority of the Irish police joined the Police Union in 1919 on its formation, and received their membership forms and strike ballot papers simultaneously. They were pretty unanimous for the strike on 7 June, but it was called off, for reasons not yet discovered; the reasons for calling the strike were never clearly put to the members; there was a strong suspicion that the executive of the Union was seized by extremists (Irish Constabulary Gazette 20 Mar, 3 April, and 20 Aug 1920. Presumably labour movement extremists are meant). The Constabulary and Police (Ireland) (1919) provided for better pay and conditions. Unlike in England the Irish police forces were a state service and paid out of central funds. The Bill

proposed representative police bodies for all ranks, improvements in pay and pensions, and prevented members belonging to a trade union. They were put on the same footing as the London police. The changes involved an addition of £97,000 a year for the DMP and £989,000 for the RIC (Weekly Irish Times 1 Nov 1919. This is the Act referred to by Constable O'Connell's relatives mentioned above). The Constabulary and Police (Ireland) Act (1919) made considerable changes in the administration of the police forces in Ireland. It enabled representative consultative police bodies to be established, prohibited a member of the police being a member of a trade union, and imposed penalties on any seeking to stir up disaffection.

In October 1919 British railwaymen all went on strike; Irish rail men had instructions to be ready to join the strike. Rail services in Ireland were cut by 50% because of shortage of coal; shipping services also had to be reduced for the same reason. On the recommendation of the Irish Railway Executive Committee the Lords Justices cancelled races for the next two months. The reason for the strike was that the railwaymen wanted a guarantee that the war wages would be retained because of the increase in prices. This strike was successful because the railwaymen were realistic in their aims.

In February 1919 municipal elections were held in Ireland. An experiment had been made with proportional representation in Sligo which was regarded as very successful. It had long been a complaint that party hacks of the various political parties were put forward as councillors who were only interested in controlling the patronage and lining their own pockets. It was felt that proportional representation would allow candidates, especially those interested in promoting public welfare, to successfully stand for election. The necessary legislation for Sligo had been passed when that ancient borough had come to Parliament for a bill to rescue it from the state of bankruptcy into which it had fallen.

The parliamentary year opened in February 1919. The new Chief Secretary Mr Ian Macpherson met a deputation from the Municipal Association of Ireland. He said that the Treasury was willing to make up the difference between the 'economic rent' of new housing and the 'reasonable' rent, i.e. what people could afford to pay. The acceptance of this principle by the Government marked a major step on the way to the provision of public housing. Previous attempts had shown that the rents which had had to be charged to pay off the loans borrowed for working-class housing meant that only skilled workers could afford them. The problem was illustrated by a table published the following year:

Cost of house	economic rent	tenant pays	subsidy
£500	15/6	11/6	4/-
£550	17/-	12/6	4/6
£600	18/6	13/6	5/-

This allowed an 8% return on capital; but the calculations were based on an annual repayment of £6 4/7 per cent over 60 years (Cork Weekly News 3 Jan 1920).

The Irish Government also proposed to introduce proportional representation to Ireland. No doubt it was influenced by the disproportionate success of Sinn Fein in the 'straight vote' election of the previous December. Proportional Representation was opposed by Ulster Unionists. The Second Reading of Local Government (Ireland) Act (1919) passed by 170 votes to 27. The Attorney General noted that the Suspensory Act which had prolonged the life of local bodies during the War was due to expire. The last elections for County Councils were in June 1914 and for urban communities in January 1915. He proposed reducing the number of rural districts by half. The effect too of the present rating system was unsatisfactory: in some tenement houses the lessor paid the rates while the tenants had the votes, a system that tended to produce extravagance. The Local Government Board would work out the new electoral districts without interfering too much with the existing boundaries. Sir Maurice Dockrell (Dublin Rathmines) claimed to be the sole representative of 350,000 Southern Unionists in the House, and he said he favoured the Bill. Carson was suspicious and wanted to know who was asking for it. The Attorney General said that the Government had itself proposed the measure. It also had an interest in the matter as it had loaned £26 million pounds to Local Authorities in Ireland under schemes of reconstruction and public health. The idea was not to allow the administration to fall into the hands of those who managed to capture local government and called the rest of the United Kingdom an enemy. They were to entrust its administration to men of business, not concerned with politics, but only with good local administration (Weekly Irish Times 29 March 1919).

The next Act was the Public Health (Medical treatment of children) Act (1919) to make provision for the medical treatment of children attending elementary schools in Ireland. The Local Authority could make

arrangements for such regular examinations, and all examinations were to be voluntary (Irish Law Times 1920). The Irish Times was rather critical. The Bill passed, and it permitted but did not compel local councils to provide for the medical inspection and treatment of school children, so the editor did not think it would be effective. The Treasury would provide half the cost- the councils would be responsible for the other half, which they would hope to recover from the children's parents. The doctors envisaged were the already over-worked dispensary doctors. The editor maintained the plan should be mandatory as in England, the local authority should provide the service free to parents, and special doctors should be recruited. However the Bill was only an interim measure until after the new elections (Weekly Irish Times 29 March 1919).

The Nurses Registration (Ireland) Act (1919) provided for the establishment of a General Nursing Council for Ireland, which was to form and to keep registers of nurses similar to those in England and Scotland. This measure had long been desired by Irish nurses, who felt that representation on the English General Nursing Council was not satisfactory. There had been an Irish Board as part of the English Council since 1917. The Irish Board of the College of Nursing had been considering the economic status of Irish nurses since its inception. One should take into account that nurses must work as hard on Sundays as on other days; the district nurse is always on call, and private nurses are frequently expected to stay up all night as well as all day. The hospital nurse had only one day off in 30. The average salary of a trained nurse was between £30 and £40, and a Sister got £50, out of which she had many charges to pay, such as for meals outside the hospital, and for her own annual holiday, and to subscribe to charities, for they were accounted in the professional classes and obliged to contribute. A skilled typist or first-class clerk could earn £200. The nurses' remuneration including board all told only amounted to £100; their work was hard, their working life short and there was no provision for old age (Weekly Irish Times 1 March 1919). (School teachers were also regarded as being in the salaried classes and were expected to contribute the appropriate sums to the many charitable appeals.)

The new professional nursing body would have full authority to examine the qualifications of nurses practising in Ireland, keep a register of all qualified nurses, and remove them from the register for professional misconduct. A Central Midwives Board had been established in 1918. A Dental Board to keep a Dental Register was established in 1921, completing the regulatory Boards connected with the practice of medicine (Irish Law Times 5 Nov 1921).

The Irish Railways (Confirmation of Agreement) Act (1919) confirmed certain terms in the agreement between the Government and the Irish railway companies whose undertakings were placed under Government control by Order in Council 22 Dec 1916. The Dogs Regulation (Ireland) Act (1919) raised the dog licence from 2 shillings to 4 shillings. The Irish Land (Provision for Soldiers and Sailors) Act (1919) provided for advances under the Land Purchase Acts to ex-servicemen.

Other pieces of legislation applied to the whole of the United Kingdom. Among these was the Industrial Courts Act (1919) which established a standing Industrial Court consisting of persons appointed by the Ministry of Labour. The Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act (1919) removed the disqualification of sex or marriage from every public office, from holding any civil or judicial office or post, from entry into any profession, from admission to any incorporated society, or from serving on a jury. The number of jobs closed to women, especially in the professions, was still large. The Act was sweeping and prohibited any bars to the employment of women. Oddly women to that date could not serve on juries. The National Insurance (Unemployment) Act (1919) increased the rates of benefits and made other changes to the National Insurance (Unemployment) Acts 1911 to 1918. The Criminal Injuries (Ireland) Bill (1919) allowed for compensation of law officers killed in the course of their duty.

The new Housing Act (1919) in England made the provision of new homes compulsory on local authorities; England and Wales were estimated to need 350,000 new homes for the working classes, and Ireland another 65,000. In England there would be a vast clearing of slums, and private interests over-ridden; the only compensation to owners of condemned buildings would be for the value of the cleared site. In the simultaneous Irish Bill there was no legal compulsion placed on the local authorities. Speaking on the Irish Housing Act (1919) Mr Macpherson said he had been able to secure loans from the Treasury which it had at first refused. It maintained that Ireland was very prosperous commercially so there should be no need for Government assistance. The commercial banks should be able to cover all advances; the Treasury would not loan however to Belfast and Dublin. The government guaranteed to pay half the rent of the new houses and half the interest charges (Weekly Irish Times 17 May 1919; Irish Law Times 24 January 1920). (It is interesting to note that Belfast and Dublin were considered as able to provide their services as any British city. We can suspect that the notorious corruption of local government meant that much public money went astray.)

The housing schemes of Dublin Corporation were announced; a site had been acquired in the Ormonde market area at a cost of £1 per square yard; virgin sites cost between £350 and £700 an acre. Two loans, one of £139,000 and the other of £138,000, were applied for. Charles A. Cameron (Chief Medical Officer and Public

Analyst of Dublin) gave evidence that the Newfoundland Street area was an unsanitary one; it consisted of very old houses most unfit for human habitation. During his time 4,600 houses had been closed by magistrates' orders. A particular problem in Dublin, unlike in Belfast, was that it was an old city which grew slowly; consequently many of the houses were very old; the working classes moved into houses built for the wealthier classes as they moved away. 37 out of every 100 families lived in a single room compared with only 150 families in total in Belfast. There were 21,000 families living in single rooms in Dublin, and they had the first call on the new housing; this particular area had few tenement houses, and was not an unhealthy one. Another question revealed that the average cost of the ground was £4,800 an acre i.e. £1 per square yard for the cleared site.

The Labourers' (Ireland) Act (1919) passed its Second Reading; the Attorney General noted that under the Labourers Acts 50,000 cottages had been built in Ireland with a plot of land attached. Labourer's cottages became a distinctive feature of the Irish rural landscape. The definition of labourer was one getting less than 2/6 a day or 17/6 a week; this must now be changed, and it was also proposed to include the self-employed with low earnings, and who had not already a quarter of an acre of land. This to apply to any wage earner in a rural district other than a domestic or menial servant; i.e. to include those in mines, shops, factories etc, in rural areas, but not urban areas with their own town commissioners. The new wage rate would include the minimum wage rates for the localities.

Under the Health Act (1919) which originally did not include Ireland, the Chief Secretary became the Minister for Health for Ireland. It was proposed to pass an Education Act for Ireland similar to the Fisher Act in England, but as usual there was opposition from the Catholic Church.. The Board of National Education provided that an examination for junior assistant mistresses (JAMs) would in future be compulsory. These were untrained teachers who were employed to teach basic arithmetic, spelling, etc, but who could never be promoted. Quite often the wife of the schoolmaster was employed in that capacity.

The wartime assistance to agriculture was reduced by the Treasury in Ireland as well as in Britain, resulting in cut-backs by the Department of Agriculture. Money for land purchase could no longer be obtained at 2¾% - it now became 5%. The Corn Production Act had resulted in an extra million acres being tilled. Much more could have been tilled if the Department had not made a mistake in 1916 and said that there was no shortage of horses and labour; in fact the tractor and the three-furrow plough was the solution to turning over grasslands to tillage. With regard to a fixed minimum wage for agricultural labourers, this could only be maintained if cheap produce from the Continent were excluded as it had been during the war; the minimum wage was 28 shillings and 6 pence a week and Sir T. W. Russell considered that the absolute minimum for a married man with a family.

The Government disposed of its entire stock of linen for £4 million to a London merchant; this was between 30 and 40 million yards, practically all the linen there was at the moment, and amounted to 3/5ths of a year's output of the Belfast mills. The Government had probably paid over £6 million for it; the Belfast merchants wanted the Government to burn it as it was too light for domestic ware.

There was a great Victory Parade in Belfast; 11 miles of fighting men involved 30,000 men and women. There were elaborate decorations in every part of the city with the saluting base at City Hall. Women's units were Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps, Red Cross, Voluntary Aid Detachment (women), Legion Corps, Women's Royal Air Force, and Women's Royal Naval Service, Women's Royal Army Service Corps, Women's Forestry Corps, and Women's Land Corps. There was a similar parade in Dublin before Lord French.

The successful flight of Alcock and Brown across the Atlantic landed at Clifden near the Marconi Wireless Station on 15 June 1919, and they were given an enthusiastic reception in Dublin. The Spring Show and the Horse Show of the Royal Dublin Society were resumed after the War. The premises had been occupied by the military so much reconstruction was required. The Catholic bishop of Limerick, Dr Hallinan, deplored the trends in ladies fashions, and that Irish women were following the trends of Anglicisation, and said the principal designers of women's indecent dresses were Jews or freemasons, a favourite argument of Hitler.

There was a split in the Irish Unionist Alliance; Viscount Midleton and others resigned and formed a new body under the title of Unionist anti-Partition League; the reason for the split was that Midleton and his supporters considered that only Southern Unionists in the south of Ireland should make the decision as to what was to happen to themselves; the new body was formed to express their views (Buckland, Irish Unionism, 369). An Irish Centre Party was formed to work for an independent Ireland within the Empire. The Chairman of the committee was Captain Stephen Gwynn, supported by General Sir Hubert Gough. A letter from the Irish Unionist Alliance said that in 1918 Sinn Fein stood for a separate Irish republic, and got 73 seats; and

was now carrying out a murder campaign; Sinn Feindid not seek redress for ill-government; it did not even try to allege that Ireland was ill-governed; it just wanted separation.

Outrages and atrocities like those of the Land League increased. The official catalogue of outrages attributed to the Sinn Fein movement from the 1st May 1916 to 30 Sept 1919 was 16 murders; 66 cases of firing at individuals; assaults 60; robberies especially for firearms 478; incendiary fires 55; cases of injury to property 261; cases of firing into dwellings 30, of which 28 were homes of civilians; cases of intimidatory letters 141, and miscellaneous 186, totalling 1293. Of these 110 (8.5%) were in Ulster, 377 (29%) in Leinster including Dublin, 182 (14%) in Connaught, and 624 (48%) in Munster. None of the perpetrators of the 16 murders were brought to justice. There was a campaign against the Irish police. 10 members of the RIC and 3 members of the DMP were murdered this year; a great many more wounded. There was a desperate attack on a RIC barracks in Meath; a constable was murdered (Weekly Irish Times 18 Oct, 8 Nov 1919).

During these three years there was a systematic campaign directed chiefly at members of the RIC who were the chief victims of the murder campaign. de Valera personally suggested that they should be targeted. The police formed the soft option. They were mostly Irish Catholics, and drawn from the same ranks of Irish society as the IRA. They were not, as alleged, supporting British Imperialism, but favoured Home Rule and looked forward to working under a native Parliament. But until a Home Rule Act was passed they had to enforce the law as it stood. Only an intensely narrow-minded fanatic could see them as enemies of Ireland. But as could clearly be seen the activities of Sinn Fein had little basis in reality. Nor were the tactics of the police provocative, for they were expressly forbidden to search out and destroy IRA units. Their families were intimidated and victimised. The IRA, as far as possible, avoided attacking the army, and then only in prepared ambushes. Because of the near impossibility of obtaining convictions from juries because of intimidation the Government proclaimed many counties in order to be able to use non-jury courts. For the most part, proclaiming a district meant little more than that.

Though the Dail was suppressed and most of the leading members of Sinn Fein were interned, one crucial figure had escaped detention. This was Michael Collins. He became a folk hero because of the inability of the authorities to catch him. The fact that he was at large meant he became one of the most important men in Sinn Fein. More importantly, he had been appointed Minister of Finance by the Dail, and that meant he controlled what money there was. He succeeded in raising a 'National Loan' of £358,000. A representative of Sinn Fein went to Paris to get Ireland recognised but was ignored. In the United States Congress, the fact that Sinn Fein had fought alongside the Germans told against them. A delegation of Irish-Americans was given passports to come and visit Ireland to see conditions for themselves. Representatives of the Government found they had been given totally false picture of what was actually being done in Ireland. Irish-American delegates' fabrications were refuted by the Government. They confused normal movements of troops with an army of occupation; some of it troops being moved from Ireland, some troops returning for demobilisation. The equipment they carried is the same as is normally carried in peacetime by the British and American armies. They claimed a strength of 15,000 for the RIC; in fact it was only 9,682 men.

There was an attempted assassination of Lord French at the gates of the Phoenix Park as he was travelling from his home in Frenchpark, Co. Roscommon back to the Phoenix Park; one of the assailants identified as Martin Savage, a grocer's assistant, was killed. The assailants had intended to bloc the road with carts, but failed. The Countess of Fingall said he had escaped death by the hairbreadth chance of an Irish train being ahead of its time!

Details of the new plan for Ireland were released. There were to be a Unionist province, and two parliaments linked by a Council of Ireland. The Irish Parliament would have control of the subjects given in 1914 as well as Old Age Pensions, Housing, and labour questions. The constabulary would be a reserved service for two years, but neither the postal service nor the higher judiciary would be transferred until the two legislatures agreed. Taxes would remain the same for two years, £23½ millions were to be spent on local services, and £18 millions was to be the contribution to the Imperial Treasury; Ireland would send 42 members to the House of Commons (Weekly Irish Times 27 Dec 1919). [TOP]

[1920] Few bills were ever so denounced as Mr Macpherson's new Education Bill (1919). The Catholic bishops attacked it as an attack on morals and slur on nationhood and the nationalist press followed suit. His Bill wished to supersede the three Education Boards. The bill was condemned in County and District Councils by men who might know little of education but who had a gift of invective. Parents were not asked, but the Irish teachers studied it and welcomed it in general as an instalment of reform. Dr Hallinan of Limerick denouncing the bill stated the Church's divine right to approve, condemn, or tolerate all systems of education; the Bill was merely an attempt by Dublin Castle to mould the minds of Irish youth in the British fashion (Weekly Irish Times 10, 17 January 1920. It was later asked in a different connection what were the divine rights of the Catholic bishops with regard to the teaching of algebra!).

The main provisions of the withdrawn Education Bill 1920 were

- 1) the removal of over-lapping and waste,
- 2) that the Irish grant for education be linked to the English and expanded automatically without the Treasury having to approve of each detail,
- 3) a system of scholarships whereby pupils might proceed from primary schools to secondary schools, and then on to university,
- 4) an effective system of compulsory attendance,
- 5) improved salaries, pensions, and houses for teachers,
- 6) proper heating, cleaning, repairing, and maintaining schools; the provision of school books and requisites (and meals if necessary),
- 7) special plots for horticultural instruction,
- 8) special schools for afflicted children,
- 9) continuation schools,
- 10) giving a voice in the running of the schools to local representatives, i.e. the elected County Councillors.

The Irish School Weekly observed that public bodies were cautioned by objectors against placing education on the slippery slope of the rates; but in every other country in the world there is a local rate for education. Ireland does not contribute a large sum from local sources at present; the schools are largely built and maintained by local contributions, and the parents supply the books and requisites. Under the proposed rating system much of this burden on poor parents would be transferred to those who can afford to pay, bachelors, big farmers, merchants, etc. We were warned that de-nationalisation and Anglicisation were bound to follow in its train (Irish School Weekly 24 Jan 1920). (Stanley's original Education Act (1831) had envisaged a large input from local gentlemen and businessmen, but the clergy of all denominations took the schools out of their hands.)

At the Congress of the INTO at Easter 1920 the out-going president, Mr T.J. Nunan noted that the Catholic schools in England came under the County Councils in 1902 and there were no ill-effects, but there was great improvement in pay and conditions. In Scotland too it was found possible to get every advantage for Catholic schools and Catholic teachers with no interference with the authority of the Catholic priest, and only Catholic teachers could be appointed in Catholic schools. These things took place in England and Scotland where the Departments and local Councils were composed almost exclusively of non-Catholics. It was clear that the central objection of the bishops and clerical managers to the Bill was the establishment of a Department of Education (Irish School Weekly 10 April 1920).

The Commissioners for National Education early in 1918 considered the Compulsory Attendance Act (1892) and estimated that one third of the Local Authorities had still not after 26 years put its provisions into force. There was an absentee rate of 30% every day. For the past 60 years teachers had been urging an effective system of compulsion; by their efforts the 1892 Act was passed, and it was thought that the attendance problem was solved for all time. School attendance in 1893 was 63.3%; by 1907 it was 66.3%; by 1919 it was just under 70%.

On the question of teaching Irish, the Irish School Weekly expressed surprise that the Gaelic League had not long since concentrated on getting teachers who passed through the training colleges equipped to teach Irish. We all remember the big fight 10 or 12 years ago to have Irish compulsory in the National University. But it was not made compulsory in the training colleges. Doctors, barristers, and engineers must show some proficiency in Irish, but not school teachers. To this day trained teachers are being turned out without being able to teach a word of Irish (Irish School Weekly 31 July 1920).

(In the event the two new Governments introduced Education Bills. Both established Departments of Education. The Northern or Londonderry Act (1923) introduced the principle of Local Authority participation, and made the teaching of Irish voluntary. The Southern Act concentrated on making the teaching of Irish

compulsory. It was to be more than half a century before southern primary schools caught up with their northern counterparts.)

In recent years the number of pupils on the rolls of secondary schools had numbered 21,000, of whom 12,000 were presented for the yearly examinations of the Intermediate Board while the passes approached 7,000 (Irish School Weekly 3 July 1920). If we assume a population of around 4 million we can estimate that there were roughly six or seven hundred thousand families, the very narrow base for secondary education is clear. If half these families were Catholic the base for an educated administrative class in the new Ireland was very small.

Following the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act (1919) the first Women Justices of the Peace were appointed. The first four ladies appointed were Lady Arnott, Lady Redmond, Lady Dockrell, and Miss Palles who were appointed to Dublin County. The first case before a lady magistrate was held at the petty sessions in Dundrum, Co. Dublin when Lady Redmond took her seat with the other justices on Monday 16th February 1920. At the same time a woman called Georgina Frost was the first woman appointed a clerk of petty sessions, the first woman in the United Kingdom to be appointed to a paid public office (Frost, DNB 2004) Two young ladies, who were studying law, applied to be admitted students of law at the King's Inns, and were accepted. There were now police women working in 28 English towns. The first woman preached in the Church of Ireland with the approval of the Archbishop of Dublin and the church's governors. The preacher, Miss Picton-Turberville was also the first to preach in an Anglican church. She was speaking in Ireland under the auspices of the Church League for Women's Suffrage. She wore a surplice and spoke in a clear and eloquent way. The Countess of Limerick deplored the lack of recognition given to those women who gave unstintingly to the women's war effort in the recently published honours list of the OBE. One lady had worked for four years in the buffet Lady Limerick had established for servicemen at London Bridge station in London, and 95% of the wounded passing through London Bridge were given something to eat and drink. One Christmas Eve 900 repatriated Mons men came through, and would have been given nothing to eat only for the buffet. 84 women shared in the work at London Bridge -only one was paid- yet not one was mentioned.

The first meeting of the Irish Roads Advisory Sub-Committee was held at the offices of the Ministry of Transport, Oriel House, Dublin. It was proposed to class all Irish roads as First, Second and Other. The Report of the Irish Land Commission for 1918-19 stated that the number of rents fixed for the second statutory term was 144,009 with an average reduction of 19.3% on first term rents; rents fixed for a third statutory term were on average 9.2% down on second term rents and these numbered 6,250; the number of first term applicants was 382,813 and the average reduction was 20.7% over the entire country. The Industrial Court established to redress the grievances of workers with regard to labour sat in Ireland for the first time in January 1920 in the Grand Central Hotel in Belfast.

The new Unemployment Insurance scheme came into force on 8th November 1920 and applied to Ireland. The National Insurance Act (1911) dealt with health insurance, and unemployment insurance; the former covered the whole working population and dealt with unemployment caused by illness, and that was now administered by the Irish Health Commissioners. The second was restricted to certain trades where temporary lay-offs were common, with powers to extend it to other trades, and it was amended at various times. These amendments were now incorporated in the present Act called the Unemployment Insurance Act (1920). It was much more extensive and was compulsory and applied to all except agricultural workers and domestic servants, and some others. The contributions came from the employer and the employee. The former was responsible for paying, which was done by stamps, and made the appropriate deductions from the wage. The unemployment benefit was to be 15/- for men, 12/- for women, 7/6 for boys and 6/- for girls; not more than 15 weeks benefit can be drawn in one year (Weekly Irish Times 30 Oct 1920; Richards and Hunt, Modern Britain, 263). The new Early Closing (Shops) Act (1920) did away with the defects of the Shops Act (1912); all shops except newsagents would have to close early.

The Sheriffs (Ireland) Act (1920) provided that under-sheriffs were to be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant and not by the sheriff, and an under-sheriff was to be appointed for every county and county borough. Each would be appointed to hold office at the Lord Lieutenant's pleasure and would not be affected by the changes in the sheriff. He must in future be either an existing under-sheriff or a barrister or solicitor of at least five years standing, or a person who has acted as an assistant to an under-sheriff for at least five years.

The powers and duties of a sheriff of a county or county borough were to be transferred to the under-sheriff, and the sheriff was not to be liable for any act or default of the sub-sheriff. The sheriff was however to continue to discharge his duties in connection with the reception of and attendance on judges, and

commissioners at Assizes, and commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, and in connection with persons to serve as grand jurors at such assizes and commissions. (These quarterly commissions to judges covered almost all crimes.) The Sheriffs (Ireland) Act came into force on 1 November 1920, and in pursuance of the Act the Lords Justices published the list of appointees. With regard to remuneration, the salary appointed to be paid under the Grand Jury (Ireland) (1836) Act to sheriffs was to be paid to under-sheriffs. The power of making rules and orders under the County Officers and Courts (Ireland) Act (1877) was extended to under-sheriffs.

The Sheriffs (Ireland) Act (1920) brought about a small revolution in the law of execution [function of the executive, as in the execution of writs i.e. written orders of courts] in Ireland. The ancient and honourable office of High Sheriff was abolished except for ceremonial purposes; the under-sheriffs were made permanent state officials, to be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, to hold office during his pleasure, and to be paid partly by Parliament and partly by the County Council. All existing powers, duties, and liabilities of sheriffs were to be transferred to them. The collection of the fees payable in respect of County Court executions to the sheriff was placed in the hands of the Clerks of the Crown and Peace; these fees were in addition the poundage, keeper's and other fees payable under the Civil Bill (Ireland) Act (1864) (Irish Law Times 4 December 1920.) The medieval system of government of counties had been drastically altered by the institution of county councils in 1898, which however were given neither judicial functions nor control over elections. Most of the remaining powers (and remunerations) of the sheriffs were transferred to legally qualified sub-sheriffs who became paid officials. Like the sheriffs, the sub-sheriffs were to be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, but unlike them they were not appointed annually. The Act was the result of the recommendations of Maurice Dockrell's committee, and he also helped to draft the Bill. (After this Act the British and American systems of county government ceased to have much in common.)

On the administrative side of Local Authorities the Clerk of the Crown and the Peace, often called the town clerk or county clerk, was the principal administrative paid officer in the county under the chairman of the County or Borough Council.

The Bank Notes (Ireland) Act (1920) provided that an Irish Bank could refuse to cash a particular cheque outside head office. The Public Libraries (Ireland) Act (1920) raised the amount that could be raised in rates for Library purposes. The Census (Ireland) Act (1920) provided for the taking of the census the following year. In September the Government of Ireland Act (1914) was suspended for another six months.

The Defence of the Realm Act (1914) DORA came to an end in February 1920 and it was replaced by another temporary Act which kept many of its controls until 31 August, among which was Summer time. In August therefore, the Chief Secretary had to introduce a new temporary Criminal Injuries Act (1920) in line with the old Acts against terrorism. This would enable the Government to intercept every grant paid by the Exchequer to anybody or any authority in Ireland. They had already taken steps to intercept all payments to any authority which in any way acted illegally. He was also holding up certain other grants and loans until he was assured in certain specific cases that no illegality had occurred. New courts would be established to supersede those civil courts which failed to function. Witnesses were being intimidated, so he proposed setting up tribunals to deal with every offence; an attempt, he said, was being made to establish an Irish Republic by means of murder and intimidation (Weekly IrishTimes 31 July 1920).

The Restoration of Order (Ireland) Act (1920) was introduced because of the collapse of some Assize Courts in July 1920 when the jurors in parts of Ireland refused to attend. The chief provision of the Act was the establishment of military tribunals to try all cases where the civil courts could not act. They would not be courts martial in the ordinary sense, but non-jury courts, for legal representatives of the crown would attend to see that all the ordinary legal formalities were observed. The decisions too were to be subject to the usual course of appeal and revision (The Witness 13 August 1920). Non-jury courts for terrorist offences were to become a permanent feature in both Northern and Southern Ireland. It should be noted that the proceedings of these courts were carefully monitored by the Irish Supreme Court which seems to have possessed the right to remove any trial to the King's Bench division by means of a writ of Certiorari or Habeas Corpus. Nationalist barristers like Timothy Healy and Alexander Sullivan were very watchful. The Firearms Act (1920) made the possession of firearms punishable with a sentence of two years imprisonment in Ireland, and three months in England. (The Irish Law Times of the period contains interesting discussions on the implementation of the Acts). The Administration of Justice Act (1920) allowed the enforcement in England, Scotland, and Ireland of judgments obtained in any part of His Majesty's dominions outside the United Kingdom.

The Government effectively crippled the republican Dail by striking at the root of Arthur Griffith's idea, that Local Authorities controlled by Sinn Fein would send their money to the Dail and not to 'British' Government.

These payments were simply intercepted. The Dail and its Departments had to survive on loans and loot. As the twentieth century was to show, few terrorist groups could become effective without funding from outside. The Dail's system of 'Republican Courts' proved a flop. The two parallel sets of courts became a source of public amusement, as a plaintiff would select the court which would bring the greatest embarrassment to his opponent. The Republican 'courts' had no criminal jurisdiction, and were set up 'during the war with England' only, had no licensing authority and no commercial jurisdiction; the courts themselves undertook more duties than were assigned to them by Dail Éireann. They were not really courts and had no coercive power. They existed only for consensual arbitration. (This does not mean that the local band of the IRA would not enforce the 'judgments' in their own way.)

Even in a very disturbed county like Clare ordinary civil life was scarcely disturbed. Most of the time there was no interruption to public order or religious life, and the courts of petty session, quarter sessions, and assizes were held as usual. The Bar Council in Ireland refused to allow any of its members appear in republican courts. The Nationalist barrister A. M. Sullivan wrote to the London Times 'Ireland has for many years enjoyed a system of jurisprudence that has been developed by the wisest lovers of freedom that have graced three centuries. It has two great defects, but the lie that the administration of the law in Ireland is "British" is an insult to the Irish people. In our courts Irish law is administered by Irishmen as the defence of Irish rights...The slaves who are bullied into submitting to the Sinn Fein "courts" are obliged to subscribe to the lie that the Irish courts, of which every member of the bar is an officer, are enemy organisations for the oppression of Ireland (Cork Weekly News 17 July 1920). His chief complaint was that the Government used promotions in the courts as rewards for politicians. (Alexander Martin Sullivan was an Irish barrister, and was the last First Serjeant. He was a nationalist, but after the republican victory practiced exclusively in English courts. Two attempts were made on his life by republicans. His house in Roscarberry, Co. Cork was burned by the republicans. 'Sullivan' DNB.) He added 'Murder and justice cannot co-exist. Of all the factors of civilisation the Catholic Church in Ireland has suffered most. No bishop has been shot and no chapel has been blown up, but the authority and prestige of the Church have been suffocated. Another power has established itself as the moral instructor of Irish youth. A secret society boasts of its immunity from censure....The murderer's philosophy goes uncontroverted, spread abroad on the wings of a leprous Press'. He could have been writing of Germany in the Thirties.

The great piece of legislation in 1920 was the Government of Ireland Act (1920). The Government had always intended updating the 1914 Act to take into account the wishes of the people of Ulster, and had convened the Irish Convention to see if any compromises could be secured by either party. None were forthcoming so the Government went ahead with its own plan. The sweeping victory of Sinn Fein in the 1918 General Election meant that the Government would have to hand over power to a terrorist organisation despite any misgivings by the public. The experiment with proportional representation in local elections gave some encouragement, for though Sinn Fein's share of the vote held up, the councillors returned more closely reflected their electoral support. The Bill was introduced on the 25 February 1920 by Ian Macpherson and passed its Second Reading on 31 March 1920. Macpherson who wanted a more liberal Bill then resigned, and it was left to Sir Hamar Greenwood, the last Chief Secretary, to pilot the Bill through Parliament.

The general principles of the Bill had already been published and it was opposed by the Unionists, still trying to get the principle of Home Rule dropped. There were to be two Parliaments and a Council of Ireland, and separate judiciaries. The 1914 Act was to be repealed. Power was given to the two Parliaments to substitute for the Council of Ireland, by identical Acts, a Parliament for the whole of Ireland. The Crown, the making of peace and war, navy and army, foreign affairs, telephone and telegraph cables, currency and coinage etc, police, customs, and Post Office were to be reserved matters, i.e. still under Westminster. Each Parliament was to have a separate judiciary, with High Court and Court of Appeal, but the Lord Chancellor would preside over the Supreme Court of Appeal for the whole of Ireland. A million pounds would be given to each Parliament for initial expenses. The status of the High Court of Appeal for Ireland as established under the Government of Ireland Act (1920) had a position similar to that of the Federal Court of Appeal in Australia. The High Court of Appeal was under the Lord Chancellor and the two Lord Chief Justices of Northern and Southern Ireland, but it still was not a Court of Criminal Appeal. The Criminal Appeal Act (1908) which established appeal in criminal cases was not applied to Ireland because the Nationalist MPs objected (Irish Law Times 12 February 1921). Oddly enough, the County Courts still remained under imperial control. This remained to be tidied up. The powers formerly exercised by the Lord Chancellor were to be transferred to the respective Lord Chief Justices, including the powers of patronage and appointments in the courts. (The office of Lord Chancellor was abolished in 1922 in Southern Ireland.)

The principles of the Bill show the lines of the Government's thinking. As a formal federal solution was unsuitable for the United Kingdom given the disproportionate size of England relative to the other 'home

countries' a local administration to deal with local affairs was preferred. The Government opposed partition of Ireland in principle, but until the Nationalists/Republicans and the Unionists could be persuaded to work in harmony, there would have to be two equal devolved administrations. In the meantime, while hopefully they could grow together, a Council of Ireland, and a common Court of Appeal could keep the two parts in touch. Unfortunately the intransigence of the Republicans frustrated this hope. The Council of Ireland was to be composed of twenty representatives from each part of Ireland. In the immediate term it was to have control over railways and fisheries. Each parliament was to have a House of Commons be elected by proportional representation and a nominated Senate. The North would return 13 members to Westminster, and the South 33. In May and June the Bill was debated at length in its Committee Stage. In November 1920 the Home Rule Bill was re-committed for the consideration of Government amendments and new clauses. The chief question remaining to be settled was the existence of second chambers. There was considerable argument over this, so the Government left the ultimate composition of second chambers to the Council of Ireland. It was quickly concluded and went to the House of Lords before the end of the month, and it passed all its stages there in December 1920.

Besides the duty of preparing the legislation, of which there was a great deal in the post-War years, the Government had first to deal with the Local Government elections which were to be held under the system of proportional representation. All parties, except the Nationalists, could draw some comfort from the results. The Unionists noted that the vote for Sinn Fein/Labour had not significantly increased. Sinn Fein/Labour could congratulate themselves that they had won a majority of the seats and therefore control in the great majority of the Corporations and Town Councils, County Councils, Rural District Councils and Poor Law Unions (Lyons, Ireland since the Famine, 407, Cork Weekly News 6 Mar 1920). The Government too could be satisfied that even if the Sinn Fein/Labour coalition won the elections to the Southern Parliament, there would be a respectable body of opposition members elected to hold them to account. The new Corporation in Belfast consisted of 37 Unionists, 13 members of Labour, 5 Nationalists, and 5 Sinn Feiners. In Dublin out of 90 seats, Sinn Fein got 42, Labour 14, Municipal Reformers 9, Nationalists and Independent Nationalists 14, and 1 Unionist. In the whole of Ireland 43 women were elected of whom 28 represented Sinn Fein, Unionists 9, Ratepayers 3, Nationalists 2, and Women's National Health Association 1 (The Witness 20 January 1920). Sinn Fein and Labour who were expected to work together got 70% of the seats, Sinn Fein alone around 53%.

In April Sir Hamar Greenwood replaced Ian Macpherson; he was the first Canadian to hold the job; the only by-election to result from the cabinet changes was that of Greenwood. Greenwood and Lord French were to take more active steps against the terrorists, but they were subject to very severe restrictions regarding what they were allowed to do. The Royal Irish Constabulary blamed French and Greenwood for the restrictions placed upon them, but the instructions came from London. The following year Lord French resigned in protest at the restrictions which never allowed him either to take military action, or to enforce the civil law (French DNB). Apart from the legislative programme already described the Irish Government was largely pre-occupied with the ever-increasing outbreaks of terrorism.

Within Unionism there were increasing signs of strain. Led by Captain Craig, who was increasingly replacing the ailing Carson, the Ulster Unionists decided to accept the Government of Ireland Act (1920) which involved the partition of Ireland, and the establishment of an Ulster Parliament for the six North-Eastern counties. The attempt to defeat Home Rule in principle was abandoned, but much could be done to salvage something from the wreck. There was also the Council of Ireland where they could hope to keep contact with the Southern Unionists and assist them. Lord Mounteagle introduced a private Bill to have Ireland made a 'Dominion' like Canada, which did not get support from the other Unionists. The Earl of Dunraven opposed it, preferring a federal solution. Lord Killanin said that the first step Sinn Fein would take in a Dominion would be to declare a republic (The Witness 9 July 1920). Sir Horace Plunkett convened a meeting of the Irish Home Dominion League which several noblemen, including the Earl of Fingall attended, but this was clutching at straws (Cork Weekly News 20 August 1920). Eamon de Valera, having escaped from Lincoln Gaol went to America where he attended both the Democrat and Republican Conventions. Both refused to recognise the 'Irish Republic'. de Valera also refused to make any concessions to the Home Dominion League.

All through 1920 the newspapers were full of the activities of the terrorists. Though it was often claimed that this was a war under the control of the senior officers of the IRA, who were themselves taking directions from the Dail, which they recognised as the legitimate government of Ireland, it was no such thing. Like all

previous terrorist campaigns dating back to the 1760s it was organised on a parish basis. Each parish formed its own group, found their own guns, selected their own targets, and did their own killings. The IRB and the Dail tried to impose their own direction on local activities through the structure of the Volunteers, now called the Irish Republican Army. Had there been a sufficient supply of weapons controlled from the centre and a sufficient flow of cash from the centre, it might have been possible to organise some kind of military campaign. In a few cases in Munster, Collins was able to finance small groups called 'flying columns' (or as others regarded them murder squads) after the precedent set by the Boers. These could be moved into a parish to hit a target and rapidly move out again. Though it was this particular tactic that produced the only excommunication by a Catholic bishop during the entire terrorist campaign. For the bishop pointed out that these strangers came into parishes, carried out some atrocity, and fled, leaving the local people to bear the brunt of the police and army response.

Following the advice of de Valera the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary were selected as the soft target. They were mostly Catholics, and mostly nationalists, and were drawn from the same ranks of society as their opponents. It was a particular grievance in the force that it was, like the army, divided into officers, and other ranks. Promotion from constable to the officer ranks was possible, but in general the highest rank an ordinary policeman could aspire to was head constable, which corresponded to the rank of sergeant major in the army. Another grievance was that there was a disproportionate number of Protestants in the officer ranks. However, it was the ordinary Catholic policemen and sergeants who were the targets of the terrorists. The families of the policemen were vulnerable to verbal abuse, discrimination and ostracism which had the effect of causing an unusual number of resignations from the force. A total of 425 policemen were murdered and 725 wounded by the time the terrorist campaign ended (Irish Constabulary Gazette 24 December 1921). This would amount to a casualty rate of around 10% in a force of around 11,000.

In some places, as in Cork the IRA units were well armed, well-organised, and ruthless, but in other places, the organisation was scant and the activity almost non-existent. In North Louth where my uncle's unit was supposedly part of the Fourth (Northern) Division under 'General' Frank Aiken, the unit had one rifle, the rest having shotguns which were useful for raiding the post office but little else. The sole operation he seems to have been involved in was the burning of the local police barracks after it was abandoned by the police. They practised their drill from a British Army drill book however. It was estimated that the IRA had about 3000 effectives at any time, and the perennial shortage of cash, weapons, and ammunition precluded increasing their number. Figures released by the Chief Secretary's office showed that there were 1529 outrages attributed to Sinn Fein from the 1st May 1916 to 31 Dec 1919:

Ulster	134
Leinster	429
Connaught	205
Munster	761

The area under the Dublin Metropolitan Police was included in Leinster; the figure for Munster was just 50% (Cork Weekly News 31 Jan 1920). (The figure for Ulster reflected activity in the three Catholic counties of Donegal, Cavan, and Monaghan together with the Catholic part of Belfast, so a proportionate figure of around 400 should be understood putting it on a par with Leinster. Members of Sinn Fein did not necessarily carry out any acts of terrorism themselves any more than members of the German Nationalist and Socialist Democratic Party in Germany, but their connection with those who did was the same.)

How to separate a struggle for independence from local struggles for land was another difficulty. The Irish Times noted that the cattle-driving in the West was more widespread and better-organised than at first suspected. They aimed to take over all grazing land. Holders of even small parcels of grazing lands were obliged to sign papers saying that they would sell them as soon as they were compensated. Those aimed at especially were shopkeepers who had also small holdings, and it was announced that in future such holdings by shopkeepers would not be allowed. Agricultural labourers were everywhere joining in this drive as they too wanted land. They were strongly organised by their trade unions, the Land and Labour League, and the General Workers Union. Many of them had considerable sums of money which they had earned in recent years by taking conacre and rearing pigs and small cattle (report in Weekly Irish Times 24 April 1920). The same confusion about aims was to be observed in Russia. Another report on the new land hunger in the West spoke of wholesale cattle driving and intimidation. It gave a litany of outrages, lands stripped of their stock, fences broken, gates smashed, walls demolished, gate pillars in pieces, graves dug, farmers threatened, and houses of women fired at. In one district 1,100 acres were 'surrendered' by the owners; an owner is invited to surrender his land, and an arbitration court is appointed to fix the price. These proceedings take place under the 'Shawe-Taylor Act',

called after a farmer who was shot for refusing to surrender his farm (Weekly Irish Times 8 May 1920). Again the Times reported a Sinn Fein statement in Roscommon regarding land agitation proposed by a priest, namely, that if land was not being properly used it could be taken over, proper compensation being paid. Force could be used but only after arbitration had been tried. Only lawful authority could use force, and the only lawful authority was Sinn Fein (Weekly Irish Times 22 May 1920). It is not clear from the excerpt how much of the statement was from the priest, and how much was a gloss by Sinn Fein. If the latter, then Sinn Fein was probably trying to impose the authority of the Dail.

There is little doubt that these reports were substantially accurate, but it is more difficult to work out how widespread or effective the terrorist activity was. A detailed report of illegal activities is printed by Buckland with regard to Scariff, in Co. Clare. He reported thefts by gangs of armed men going around every night terrorising the inhabitants, and collecting subscriptions from everyone. Between dusk and dawn it was impossible to sleep. There is no doubt that the report was accurate, but at the same time it was being represented in the High Court that ordinary civil life in Clare was scarcely affected. (As one who lived through another IRA terrorist campaign in Northern Ireland it is clear to me that both accounts could be true. On the allegation that the IRA used dum-dum bullets, as a boy I was told by my uncle how to make them. Whether he made any himself I do not know.) On the attribution of blame for acts of arson and destruction it is unwise to be too definite, as conditions at the time hindered proper enquiry, and as Lloyd George pointed out, the Lord Mayor of Cork when summoned for questioning, fled to America. The IRA was totally reckless in the destruction of property which all had to be rebuilt by the Irish Free State. In March the Lord Mayor of Cork Thomas MacCurtain was murdered in dubious circumstances. The allegations against the RIC were refuted. The police evidence was that they were to go, along with a party of the military, to arrest MacCurtain, but found that he had been murdered an hour earlier. The Lady Mayoress said that her husband had been opposed to the murder campaign. On his way to the Lord Mayor's house a policeman had seen men about, but there was nothing about them to make him suspicious. The London Daily Mail said that it had evidence that he was murdered by the IRB; they had a list of unreliaables, and MacCurtain was on the top of the list; another was Professor Stockley of University College Cork [professor of English; alderman 1920-25; MP for National University 1921-23]; another was found murdered with the rosary beads in his hand (Weekly Irish Times 3 April 1920). This evidence did not prevent the coroner's jury from returning the ridiculous verdict of the wilful murder of MacCurtain by the RIC, District Inspector Swanzy, Lloyd George, Lord French etc. Indeed there is every reason to believe that the police were doing exactly what they said they were doing, going to arrest MacCurtain and to search his house. He was also commandant of the Cork No 1 Brigade of the IRA (Lyons, Ireland since the Famine, 413).

In January 1920 the editor of the Constabulary Gazette deplored the report that it was intended to recruit 1500 men in England for the RIC. It was bound to be a disaster, seeing that everything English was being abused. The idea, he said, lacked good sense, and he returned to the grievance that it was not possible in Ireland, as it was in England, for senior officers to rise from the ranks (Irish Constabulary Gazette 10 Jan 1920). He also deplored the dismissal without notice or warning of the popular Sir Joseph Byrne, the Inspector General of the RIC. He was an ex-army officer who came to Ireland as a brigadier general on Sir John Maxwell's staff in 1916 and he did such excellent work that Asquith offered him the job of Inspector General in 1916. He was the son Dr J. Byrne of Londonderry, and had joined the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers in 1893. He had taken a robust line with regard to the attempt to form a police union, yet he listened to the men's grievances, and secured what improvements he could. It was known that he did not always see eye-to-eye with his superiors but he never failed to obey orders. He was replaced by Major General Tudor. General Sir Neville Macready was appointed GOC of the army in Ireland. During the War as Adjutant General of the forces he introduced the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) to do secretarial work, drive cars etc. After the War he was appointed Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police in London, and he introduced various reforms following the police strike. He also introduced women police.

In another issue the editor of the Constabulary Gazette criticised the present system of forcing the police to 'mind' police barracks in remote districts. The whole time of the police was now taken up with minding the barracks; it would be better to shut the barracks and send out the men, armed, and in plain clothes on cycle patrols; the police love detective work more than anything else to quell lawlessness. The first thing to do is to abandon the uniform, and 90% of the red tape. There is not the slightest point in marching men to divine service in uniform. If the police were taught to shoot straight, and be rewarded for their success, there would be no need for an extra 1000 police; the present men were sufficient. Police duty was utterly different from army duty; it was not like marching in battalions, but more like a cat catching a mouse; if he is a good cat he will catch the mouse, but not if he has a bell tied round his neck (17 Jan. 1920; Later the suggestion of armed plain-clothes detectives was taken up by de Valera to deal with the same problem).

The editor maintained that the gangs of young men who successfully attacked barracks were masters of the situation. Still the old methods of policing would have to be changed if they were to be tracked down and prosecuted. The police were not concerned with the reasons for the unrest, but it was their duty to prevent the attacks. At the moment it is clear to all that the offenders are having the best of the encounters, but the problem was not insuperable; it is just a case of a small body of well-led men out-manoeuvring a great police force. Thirty years ago it was regarded as sufficient to send out armed patrols of three policemen at night, but now that the strategy is to defend the barracks, they are helpless. The policeman is only of value when he is outside his barracks, but the armed patrol is only inviting capture. A year ago we warned against trying to defend barracks, saying they were only death traps for the men inside. If every police barracks had been provided with wireless sets, the men inside would have had a great advantage. There was also the possibility of motor cycle armed patrols especially by disguised policemen. This was a battle of wits, and there was little sign of that in the police ranks. The enemy is well-armed, with an excellent intelligence system. In Dublin the system of uniformed patrols just indicates to the enemy where the police are (7 February 1920). (An old IRA man told me how they were able at night to approach the police barrack and wedge the dynamite seized from the local quarry under the window sills while the police inside were unable to do anything.) The use of radios instead of telephones and mobile patrols of police and army would enable the police and army to trap those who attacked a police barracks. Whether Michael Collins read the Gazette we do not know but he was perfectly aware how the tables could be turned on him if the security forces took the threat of the IRA seriously enough. It was clear that for the moment Lloyd George was hoping that Sinn Fein would accept the Southern Parliament, and would instruct the IRA to lay down their arms at least for long enough to make it clear that he was handing over power to elected politicians and not to gunmen. It was not until the middle of 1921 that the leaders of the IRB decided to accept the conditions. But the result of the half-hearted pursuit of the IRA and the ill-advised recruitment of ex-soldiers from England caused a break-down in discipline among some members of the RIC.

The suggestions for improving recruitment of Irishmen to the RIC were interesting. Recruitment should be done in Ireland; and it should be done by the constables themselves; if the constables were contented they would find the recruits. Conditions of service were falling behind those of the farm labourers and the railway porters. There was the seven-year embargo on marriage, without parallel elsewhere in His Majesty's forces; and then the question of investigating the constable's proposed wife for respectability. The police barrack was a barrack; a pallet of straw, a bare and cheerless day room, no armchairs, no privacy in the dormitory, not to mention the occasional bomb. Remove the pinpricks, let them marry, give them wireless sets, make the barracks comfortable, let them find recruits, let them find ways of defeating the enemy (14 Feb 1920). Between 1st January 1919 and 2nd April 1920 40 persons were murdered and there were 137 attempted murders; it was clear that Sinn Fein was targeting the police; 35 of the murdered men were policemen and of those attacked 119 were policemen (15 May 1920). The next largest group to be targeted were those who gave information to the police. They were labelled as 'informers', placarded, and shot. In the first three months of 1921 73 persons were thus trussed and shot (Bishop and Mallie, *The Provisional IRA*, 30; the IRA acted just like the Gestapo)).

Protestant Unionists spread thinly across southern Ireland were also targeted. They were the traditional enemy. They were richer than the Catholics and often possessed good sporting guns. What the IRA had not considered was the effect that these attacks would have on the Protestants in Ulster. Here the Catholics were in the minority. Serious anti-Catholic riots broke out. All Catholics indiscriminately were called Fenians, though that name was rarely used by the Catholics themselves. The Irish Times reported that 18 people were killed in Belfast riots, Sinn Feiners were attacked in the shipyards. There was ill-feeling for considerable time at the employment of Sinn Feiners in the yards because of the atrocities being carried out in other parts of Ireland. The Sinn Feiners on the Falls road retaliated by attacking Unionist workers at a mill; the people from the Shankill Road district looted spirit stores supposed to be tenanted by Catholics. A Redemptorist brother from Clonard monastery was shot dead (Weekly Irish Times 31 July 1920). Later a District Inspector was murdered in Lisburn and 40 houses were burned in Lisburn as a reprisal. There was a desperate battle in Belfast streets. 20 were killed, hundreds wounded, and enormous damage was done. Belfast was placed under curfew (20 Aug, 4 September 1920). One of the riots was caused by the murder of District Inspector Swanzy who had been in Cork when Alderman MacCurtain was murdered. Collins had ordered his murder because of his supposed connection with the murder of MacCurtain. The Witness (3 Sept 1920) reported more rioting in Belfast. Reprisal and counter reprisal in the previous week in Belfast had resulted in the destruction of 250 shops and dwelling houses, with 30 people killed and others more or less seriously wounded; promiscuous sniping by Sinn Fein at the shipyard workers would not help matters. There was desperate rioting in Londonderry between Sinn Fein and Unionists with nine men killed.

Thomas MacCurtain's successor as Lord Mayor of Cork, Terence MacSwiney was arrested and charged with having a police cipher in his possession. He was tried before a court martial and sentenced to imprisonment

where he promptly went on hunger strike. This form of slow suicide reported day by day in the press was effective at least in gaining sympathy for the cause. Aware of what had happened when forced feeding had been tried before, no attempt was made to feed him, and he died after seventy four days. In an attack on British soldiers in Dublin, an eighteen-year old medical student called Kevin Barry took part, was captured and sentenced to death by a court-martial. The song written about him called 'Kevin Barry' was the republican equivalent of the Nazi's 'Horst Wessel' song about a similar youth who was killed.

The Catholic bishops did denounce the violence. The Constabulary Gazette welcomed the belated denunciation by the Catholic hierarchy of murder and violence. Another writer denounced the statement of the Catholic bishops as mealy-mouthed and inadequate (14 Feb 1920). In his Lenten pastoral Cardinal Logue said the whole Irish people could not be blamed for the activities of a few reckless young men, who were probably the dupes of secret societies; he blamed their actions on the activities of the police and army (Cork Weekly News 21 February 1920). During Lent 1921 the Weekly Northern Whig commented on the Lenten Pastorals (traditional letters of a Catholic bishop to all in his diocese) of the Catholic bishops. It considered they had been unable to agree over the merits of the Government of Ireland Act (1920), and could not decide whether or not to accept it; Dr Joseph Mac Rory in Belfast deplored the Act but would accept it. Dr Cohalan in Cork utterly denounced the activities of the IRA; Dr O'Donnell of Raphoe was cryptic, while Cardinal Logue would prefer to retain the 'old gang'. It noted the considerable sympathy for Sinn Fein among the Catholic bishops. This was partly caused by sympathy with their aims, partly because they see in the anti-British sentiment promoted by Sinn Fein the best guarantee of their own interests, and partly from a dislike of the Nationalist Party with which the hierarchy was never reconciled since the time of Parnell. But it would seem that in supporting Sinn Fein they have nursed a dangerous rival to their own ambitions. It cited Dr Cohalan's pastoral that the Sinn Fein's declaration of independence did not constitute themselves a state and allow the uses of physical force; just achieving a parliamentary majority in one area, which might be reversed the following year, did not constitute a state; nor indeed would similar declarations of independence by north east Ulster, or any of the provinces constitute a legitimate state; a mere declaration of independence cannot constitute a state (Weekly Northern Whig 12 February 1921). Dr Cohalan was in fact the only Irish bishop to excommunicate those engaged in acts of murder in his diocese. In England Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster, excommunicated all members of Sinn Fein in his diocese, referring to Archbishop Manning's denunciation of Fenianism in 1867. In his pastoral in 1921 Cardinal Logue was more explicit. He said that shooting policemen and soldiers was not an act of war, but plain murder; even in regular warfare such secret assassinations would be condemned and punished (Church of Ireland Gazette 11 February 1921). One bishop pointed out that before absolution could be given restitution for theft, damage, or injury had first to be made, and this remained true even after compensation had been paid by the county. Restitution in that case was to be made to the County.

It should be made clear, despite what was alleged by Sinn Fein and the IRA, that there was no official policy of fighting terrorism with counter-terrorism. Old IRA men gloried in the myth of their struggle with the 'Black-and-Tans' which they claimed was a British terrorist force sent to crush the IRA but which the IRA crushed. The military authorities in Ireland briefly considered a policy of limited reprisals in areas under martial law. They wanted to burn the houses of those known to be or suspected of being, involved in IRA activities. But as the reprisal specialists, the IRA, threatened to burn the houses of two Government supporters in return, the policy was not carried very far (Lyons, Ireland since the Famine, 418).

The trouble came from unofficial reprisals at local level, and these were connected with the additional policemen recruited in England to make up for the failure to recruit Irishmen. This was always against the wish of the RIC and their presence in Ireland was resented by the ordinary policemen who felt that their chances of promotion would be hindered by their presence for many years to come. Like many other things, it seemed a good idea at the time, to recruit soldiers just discharged from the army and who were not afraid of being shot at. The mistake was not to vet them thoroughly regarding their suitability for police work. Many of those who came forward were like those who joined the SS in Germany or the British mercenaries in Africa after the Second World War. They were not a special unit, but were recruited as ordinary policemen. Shortage of police uniforms meant that initially they had to wear khaki uniforms with the black-green caps and belts of the police, and so they were nicknamed after a famous hunt in Tipperary, the Black-and-Tans.

There were also some instances of gross misconduct by the army. The Countess of Fingall recounts the story told to her by a local nun, of how the soldiers came to Swinford, in Co. Mayo, rounded up a crowd of young men, stripped them, painted them with green, white, and orange, threw them into the local river, and shot at them to murder them, though none of the men was actually shot (Fingall, Seventy Years Young, 397-8). Yet, even here, we must remember that this was just the story they told the nun. (In a later IRA campaign, Catholic priests became notorious for retailing as fact stories told them by their parishioners without ever even checking to story with the local police sergeant.) The nun wrote to Horace Plunkett, who took up the matter with Alfred Cope, the additional Under Secretary. General Macready took up the matter, found that the facts as stated by the nun were correct, and the officer responsible was severely dealt with. (A problem in dealing with the Army

was that though they dealt severely with cases, they did so in private. Justice might be done, but it was not seen to be done. The officer was probably mentally deranged.)

By July 1920 there were signs that discipline in the police and the armed forces began to slip, The editor of the Irish Times said that the rioting by the undisciplined troops in Fermoy, Co. Cork was indefensible, but the reaction of the troops was however understandable. They arrive in a part of the United Kingdom and find that a large part of the population considers itself at war with them; they are abused in large sections of the Press; they cannot walk abroad without being assaulted; they have been humiliated by having their arms seized; yet they are not at war with Ireland and are forbidden to retaliate. Finally in Fermoy they did retaliate; the Republicans were fighting a one-sided war and can use every weapon including murder; but the Government is not at war with it, and must use the due processes of law (Weekly Irish Times 3 July 1920).

In August 1920 a letter of Sir Horace Plunkett president of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society to Sir Hamar Greenwood on 19 August 1920 was published. He accused the military and the police of destroying the property of the co-operative societies as reprisals. In his reply of Sir Hamar Greenwood deplored and condemned these outrages, and assured him that the Government would do all it could to stamp them out. However the problem has been that no witnesses had come forward, and welcomed the offer of the Society to provide witnesses (Weekly Irish Times 28 Aug 1920).

It was often alleged that the Government was fighting terrorism with terrorism. This was not the case. Every instances of alleged wrong-doing by the army or police was investigated and punished. There was a great difficulty when all the policemen in a particular barrack conspired among themselves to carry out a reprisal. When an investigator arrived from Dublin to make his enquiries naturally nobody knew anything about the alleged incident. It must be remembered that both the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police had excellent detective divisions. The membership of the IRA in a particular area would have been known to all the police in that area. If a man was known by his rank in the Irish Volunteers, that would have been his rank in the IRA. If an atrocity was carried out in a parish, it would have been carried out by the IRA in that parish. (One of the points in having flying columns was to break the local link; the other was to have hand-picked and experienced bands of gunmen.) One idea suggested, almost certainly by the new English police, was to retaliate for example by burning the house of the local IRA chief, or his business premises.

The police authorities moved rapidly to deal with the problem. In April 1921 Lloyd George in a letter to the bishop of Chelmsford made it clear that there were no 'irregular' forces in Ireland; all are fully under the control of the authorities. The Auxiliary division was formed because of the systematic murder of the regular constables. There was no doubt that some undesirables got in in the early days, and this caused discipline problems. During the previous three months 28 members of the RIC and 15 member of the auxiliary division were removed from the ranks as a result of prosecutions, and 208 members of the RIC and 59 members of the Auxiliary division were dismissed as unsuitable (Weekly Northern Whig 23 April 1921).

On 2 October 1920 the Northern Whig reported another murderous outbreak in Belfast, a policeman and 3 Sinn Feiners shot dead. 7 policemen were murdered in Clare. A party of six was ambushed, 4 were killed on the spot and one died of injuries, shot with dumdum bullets. The military burned three towns. Trim RIC barracks was attacked and burned; the next night the town was burned by the auxiliary policemen known as the Black and Tans; the greater part of Trim was owned by Lord Dunsany. The burning was carried out after the military and police had withdrawn following assurances by the local people. For the Government, regarding reprisals, Sir Hamar Greenwood denied any complicity or cover-up by the Government; the number of alleged reprisals was few and the damage done was exaggerated. On the status of the Black-and-Tans, the Whig continued, the Black-and-Tans were full members of the RIC and were only issued the hybrid uniform because of a shortage of police uniforms. Also known as Black-and-Tans were auxiliary officers recruited to instruct the RIC in how to defend their barracks; these were classed as cadets, given the rank of sergeant, and paid £1 a day. As noted earlier this influx of highly paid sergeants, who would block further promotion for the constables, was highly resented. The cadet was the lowest rank of officer in the police (Weekly Northern Whig 2 Oct 1920). Lloyd George commented on the assassinations of policemen by harmless looking individuals in the streets; at least 283 policemen had been killed in the past year, and about 100 soldiers shot. No wonder their patience was wearing thin; however all cases would be investigated, and he had no intention of speaking until he had all the facts. This was not war- it is murder, especially when the murderers use dumdum bullets which mutilate the victims- a real murder gang is terrorising the country, and intimidating not the Protestants or Unionists but the Catholics (Weekly Northern Whig 16 Oct 1920). One problem about finding out who did what was, as Sir Hamar Greenwood pointed out to Horace Plunkett, that nobody came forward to give evidence. It is curious though with regard to the creameries that Sinn Fein did not push witnesses forward.

There was no doubt however about the determination of Michael Collins to systematically murder all the detectives in the Dublin Metropolitan Police. Like Himmler, he never had any difficulty in getting men who were prepared to murder in cold blood. He formed a special murder squad to track down the detectives and kill them. The climax to this came on what was to be called 'Bloody Sunday'. A woman clerk working with the Dublin Metropolitan Police copied out the addresses of various English detectives who had been brought to Dublin and who were staying in various hotels in Dublin. She handed the list to a friend in the IRA who passed it on to Michael Collins. This was the equivalent of handing a list of the hiding places of Jews to the Gestapo. The murder squad succeeded in murdering fourteen and wounding six of them. Later in the day the police went to Croke Park where a Gaelic football match was being played, and it was thought that the IRA would move units into Dublin under the cover of supporters going to the match, which in fact may have been the case. They surrounded the park and drove armoured cars on to the pitch, and then some fool in the crowd fired shots at them. The response was instantaneous as the police fired back in an excessive reaction. Twelve people were killed and sixty were wounded. When the grounds were searched several revolvers were found, but the identity of the person who fired the first shot was never determined. (The same was to occur at another 'Bloody Sunday' in Londonderry on 30 January 1972. The young soldiers panicked and returned fire, always maintaining that they were fired on first. But nobody could ever admit to firing the first fatal shot.) In the House of Commons Greenwood said that the authorities had information that gunmen had come in from the country ostensibly for the match, but in reality to carry out the murders. The military and the RIC went to the match to search for arms, and were fired on, and they fired back; 30 revolvers and other firearms were found (Weekly Northern Whig 27 Nov 1920; Lyons, Ireland since the Famine, 419).

The last big event of 1920 was the burning of Cork city, another event shrouded in mystery. £2 million worth of damage was caused by great fires in Cork, which followed attacks on auxiliary police with hand grenades. In the Commons Sir Hamar Greenwood said that the fire brigade, protected by the police and military, made every attempt to put out the fires. The police also tried to prevent looting. Every policeman in Cork was on duty. There was no evidence of hosepipes being cut, or any unlawful activities of the security forces. He noted that General Macready and General Tudor were making a point of repressing any attempts at unauthorised reprisals. The fires were not started by the security forces; on the contrary they made every effort to save the rest of the city. The places where the fires were started were not owned by Sinn Feiners (Weekly Northern Whig 18 Dec 1920). Martial law was proclaimed in four Irish counties. The Catholic bishop of Cork, Dr Cohalan, issued his excommunication of those guilty of murder or attempted murder. He was not however backed by the other bishops. It was well-known that the Irish bishops were so divided on excommunication that they have found it impossible to issue a joint statement (Weekly Northern Whig 8 January 1921).