

THE PARTITION OF IRELAND

How Britain
Is Responsible

BY

HENRY HARRISON, O.B.E., M.C.

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HENRY HARRISON, O.B.E. M.C.

AUTHOR OF "IRELAND AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE 1937,"
"PARNELL, JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN AND MR. GARVIN,"
"PARNELL VINDICATED," ETC.



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INTRODUCTION

THE Partition of Ireland is an outstanding blot on the record of British statesmanship during the past half century.

It originated in a factious and tragically successful opposition to Gladstone's great policy of Anglo-Irish reconciliation in 1886 which was to be founded upon Britain's recognition of the distinct nationality of Ireland. It was pressed from 1912 to 1922 as a political impediment to the achievement of Irish National Independence. It was imposed upon a protesting Ireland, conditionally and provisionally as a minority safeguard, by Britain in its Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and in the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, in pursuance of a formally declared policy of aiming at the re-integration of the partitioned Ireland. And, in despite of that declared policy, it has been maintained ever since by the full weight of British administrative action, by British subsidies, and by British propoganda and intrigue.

The far-sighted wisdom of Gladstone who, in 1886, proclaimed the compelling need of an Anglo-Irish reconciliation has been abundantly justified by the event. It has been vindicated by the plain facts of successive phases of the international situation and by the long deferred and reluctant, but yet, complete acceptance of the principle of Irish national independence by the British Government. Yet the policy of Anglo-Irish reconciliation is thwarted and aborted and deprived of its appointed fruits so long as the Partition of Ireland continues to mutilate the Irish Nation. The unity of the Irish people and the integrity of Ireland's territory are indispensable conditions of its success. They are being persistently withheld. Nay more than that. The mutilation by Partition is being allowed to create an inflammatory wound. For the Northern Ireland area contains a large oppressed minority of Nationalist Irish shut off arbitrarily from the parent Ireland which contains no oppressed minorities.

Thus British statesmanship is seen to have been halting and inconsistent in regard to the policy of Anglo-Irish reconciliation. It has professedly adopted it. It has actually sabotaged it.

The perils by which Britain and the British Commonwealth of Nations are beset in the world sphere are no inconsiderable perils. Nor are they transient perils to be evaded by mere diplomatic manœuvrings. They are probably greater and more insistent than at any time during the past two hundred years. Is not a special effort

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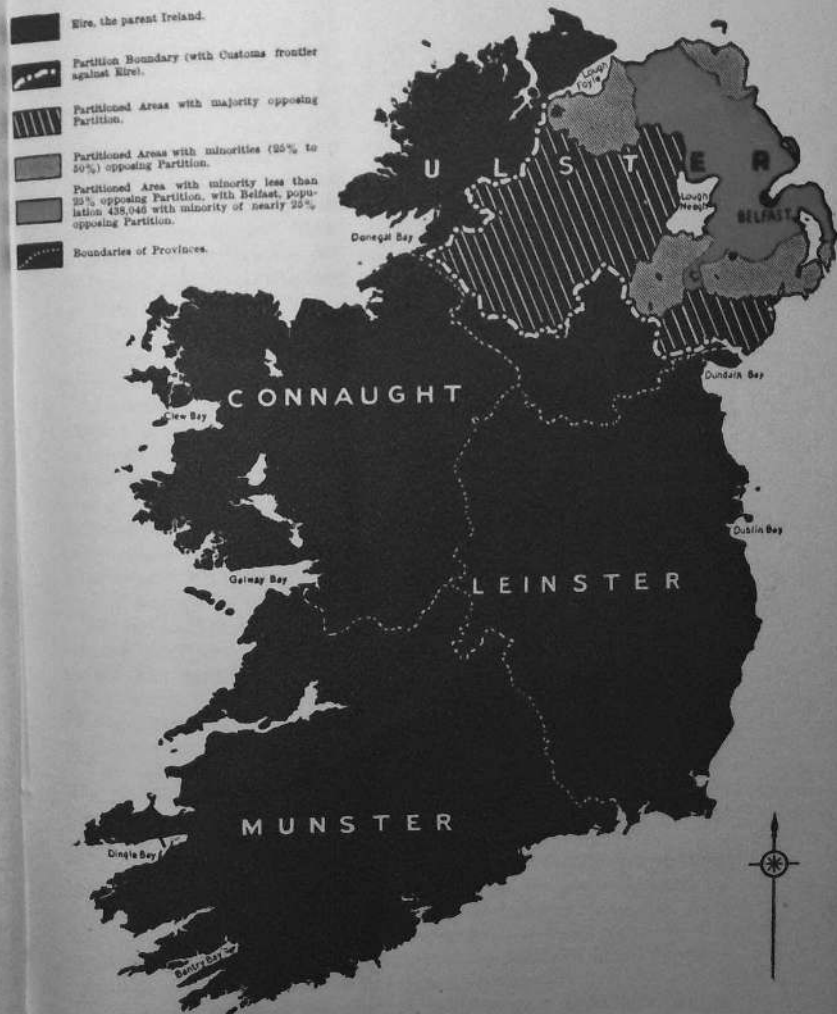
towards a complete Anglo-Irish reconciliation worth while, in this aspect, for British statesmanship, even though its commitments in the sphere of partisan politics may threaten formidable inconvenience in its inner circles?

The declared policy of Britain in international affairs is a policy of general appeasement. Will not Britain apply that policy consistently in her own and in Ireland's interest not less than in the general interest of our Christian civilization, by amending her own record in regard to the Partition of Ireland?

In the following pages is set forth, in succinct form, a comprehensive and accurate statement of the facts and conditions of Partition in Ireland, of its evils, anomalies, inconsistencies and of its complete dependence upon British support.

December 1938

HENRY HARRISON



THE PARTITION OF IRELAND HOW BRITAIN IS RESPONSIBLE

1. *What is Northern Ireland?*

Northern Ireland is a part of the island of Ireland which was retained as a portion of "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland" when Ireland herself regained her National Independence. It is an area arbitrarily determined by Britain, at the instance of intriguing politicians who desired the mutilation of the living body of the Irish nation and the perversion of Ireland's national destiny.

2. *What is the size of this severed fragment of mutilated Ireland?*

In population it includes 1,279,753 (Census of 1937) out of the total population of 4,245,607.

In territory it extends over 3,351,444 acres out of the total land acreage of 20,375,925. Thus Northern Ireland has roughly cut off one-sixth of the territory and three-tenths of the population of the mutilated Ireland. It includes Armagh which has always been the seat of the Primate of the Christian Church in Ireland as well as Downpatrick the reputed burial place of St. Patrick the world-famous patron saint of Ireland.

3. *What authority effected this mutilation of the Irish people and its territories? Why was it done?*

The British Legislature effected the mutilation by its Government of Ireland Act, 1920, for which not one Irish Member of that Legislature voted. The reason assigned for doing so was the necessity of protecting a local minority alleged to be distinct from the people of Ireland as to race and religion.

4. *You challenge that assigned reason as spurious?*

Yes. The religious difference exists, but not the racial difference. The Northern Irish are Irish by race. There is probably more of the ancient Gaelic strain in their racial make-up than there is in the case of the people of the Province of Leinster.

The true reason was a political intrigue, which inflamed and exploited the religious difference as an impediment to Ireland's demand for national independence. Ireland's national independence has since been achieved except in regard to the Northern Ireland area.

5. *What considerations led to the adoption of this particular area? Was it a unit for any purpose? Had it a homogeneous population?*

It was not, in fact, a unit for any purpose, and never had been a

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unit for any purpose, topographical, historical, social, economic, traditional, constitutional or administrative. Nor was it a homogeneous minority area. It was an arbitrary fragment of the ancient province of Ulster (six out of nine counties) and was determined on purely political lines. It represented the last fortress of British or Protestant Ascendancy, and it was designed to include the largest Nationalist or Catholic minority—a full third of the total population—that could be conveniently dominated and controlled by an Ascendancy Government in Belfast.

6. *How is this Northern Ireland constituted for purposes of administration?*

It was first constituted as an administrative area in 1920. The area was confirmed in 1925 as a result of a Boundary Commission. It has a Parliament and a Government responsible to it under a Governor appointed and mainly paid by Britain. It possesses certain limited powers of self-government under the over-riding authority of the British Parliament and under the departmental supervision of the British Home Secretary. But it is still represented in the British Parliament by thirteen elected members, and, as will be seen, is still taxed by the British Parliament.

7. *Is it then correct to say that Northern Ireland possesses a limited autonomy?*

There are so many limitations that it cannot properly be described as autonomy. In all matters of every description the British legislature retains full authority and full responsibility. The British Act creating Northern Ireland expressly stipulated that "the supreme authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters and things in Ireland and every part thereof." This was subsequently limited to Northern Ireland by British Statute.

8. *But, apart from this over-riding authority, what limitations are there?*

(a) Northern Ireland has no powers of legislation as to the Crown, or succession to the Crown, external affairs, either in diplomatic, consular or trade relations, maritime or aerial navigation, coinage, legal tender or stamps, trade marks, patents or copyright, weights and measures, Navy, Army or Air Force, defence, citizenship, naturalization or alienage, dignities or titles of honour, Post Office, Telephone, Wireless or Cable services, etc., etc.

(b) Northern Ireland has no power over the main sources of its tax revenue—as to four-fifths (approximately) Britain fixes the rate and collects the taxes.

(c) Northern Ireland cannot interfere with the electoral laws which regulate its representation at Westminster, nor with its Judges of the High Court.

(d) Northern Ireland cannot interfere with the elaborate British

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administrative services which are operated within its own area in respect of:

- (i) Navy, Army and Air Force.
- (ii) Customs and Excise (inclusive of tax collection).
- (iii) Post Office, Telephone, Wireless and Marine Cable Services.
- (iv) Navigation, including lighthouses, beacons and buoys.
- (v) External Trade.
- (vi) Citizenship, naturalization and alienage.

9. *Do you mean that there are actually two administrative systems existing in Northern Ireland side by side?*

Yes, assuredly. There are these important "reserved services"—reserved, that is, to the British Government. The cost of this British administration in Northern Ireland is borne partly by the British Exchequer and partly by Northern Ireland. Thus the cost of the "reserved services" is deducted from tax receipts payable to Northern Ireland. On the other hand, Northern Ireland makes no effective contribution to the cost of British expenditure on United Kingdom or Imperial services either inside or outside the Northern Ireland area.

10. *But, in spite of all these limitations, has Northern Ireland a potentiality of growth on British Colonial lines—from dependence to Dominion Independence?*

No: that is an economic impossibility. Northern Ireland is a purely parasitic growth on the British system. It can never develop into an independent organism or nation. It is a constitutional anomaly.

11. *Will you say what effective powers of self-government, in view of all the limitations, Northern Ireland possesses?*

It has control of purely domestic matters. Thus, it has powers of legislation "for peace, order and good government." It regulates internal trade and transport, local government and all social service matters, including education and health. It has certain very limited powers of taxation. It possesses its own executive for dealing with these matters, including magistracy, constabulary and special constabulary armed and partly trained on military lines.

12. *Will you explain why it is an economic impossibility for Northern Ireland to become an independent organism or nation?*

Northern Ireland has neither history nor tradition nor consciousness as a separate national unit. And its resources are not sufficient to maintain a separate Privy Council, a separate bicameral legislature, a separate Judiciary and a separate administrative and executive service. The financial arrangements of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, have broken down from the very beginning. The economic situation and prospects are by no means happy.

13. *Will you briefly describe this financial "break-down" of Northern Ireland?*

The broad outline is simple and the figures can easily be verified

from the official British records.¹ Northern Ireland was to dispose of its own tax revenue (less the cost of the "reserved services") and was given in addition some £656,000 per annum. On the other hand, it was to contribute a rateable proportion of British expenditure for Imperial purposes, that is, for the common purposes of the United Kingdom, such as the service of the National Debt, Naval, Military and Air Force expenditure inclusive of war pensions, the maintenance of the Crown, the Royal Family and the United Kingdom Parliament, Civil List, Mint, Foreign Office, including diplomatic and consular services subsidies, secret service, etc., etc., the first year's contribution being provisionally fixed at £7,920,000. Now, after seventeen years, the account² stands thus: Northern Ireland has paid to Britain some £25 millions and has received from Britain (inclusive of the above mentioned annual sum) upwards of £29 millions, and the remission of a debt of £700,000. That is the broad result. Northern Ireland has failed to pay its way. On balance, it has failed to contribute, as was prescribed by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, its rateable proportion of Imperial expenditure in virtue of its being a portion of the United Kingdom. Northern Ireland benefits by this Imperial expenditure but leaves the Northern Ireland share of the cost to be paid by Britain by indirect subsidy.

14. *That is a striking result. What are the economic prospects to which you refer?*

The answer to that is indirect but significant. In the spring of 1938 Britain bound itself by an agreement³ to make good any budgetary deficits in Northern Ireland so long as taxation remains unreduced and so long as social service expenditure is on no more generous a scale than in Britain. This Agreement was expressly designed to enable Northern Ireland to maintain as generous a scale of social service expenditure as Britain. In short, the poor relation is to have the more expensive establishment.

15. *"More expensive"? How is that?*

The cost per head in Northern Ireland of its domestic government is £4 19s. 9d., whilst the corresponding figure for wealthy Britain is only £3 18s. 5-97d. That was shown in 1925 by Lord Colwyn and Sir Josiah Stamp (now Lord Stamp). Thus, with equal social services, which its economic resources do not warrant, Northern Ireland has the more expensive establishment, even at the cost of getting all its share of United Kingdom and Imperial services free and of charging its Budgetary deficits, if any, to Britain.

16. *Why do you say that the economic resources of Northern Ireland do not warrant the adoption of the British standard of social services?*

¹ See Appendix A, pp. 14-15.

² See Appendix A, pp. 14-15.

³ See Appendix B, pp. 15-16.

The answer is, in broad terms, because the cost is so high that the Northern Ireland Government cannot discharge its full financial obligations and balance its Budget. A special answer is that unemployment in Northern Ireland maintains chronically a very high rate. The farming industry, for example—and there are nearly 85,000 farmers of less than 50 acres¹—cannot pay wages that compete with the unemployment benefit rates. The standard of living of the majority of these farmers is lower than that of the unemployed agricultural labourer who is drawing benefit. Thus, farming in Northern Ireland suffers from lack of labour: unemployment is encouraged and increased and the drift to the towns or the emigrant ship is accentuated.

17. *But what makes the cost per head of the Northern Ireland Government so much higher than that of Britain?*

In part it is due to the expense of a double administration and the burden of maintaining elaborate and pretentious institutions with numerous, highly-paid functionaries, for so small a community. But, even more, it is due to the fact that the Government is an oppressive and tyrannical government, that by no means practises government with the consent of the governed. Thus there is the Royal Ulster Constabulary, a regular force of fully sufficient strength for all normal police purposes. For abnormal purposes it has the right to call upon the British Army, of which large, and now increasingly large, detachments are maintained in Northern Ireland. In addition, however, there have been, from time to time, large bodies of "Special Constables," recruited upon sectional and sectarian lines. The numbers have varied. At one time they amounted to not less than 35,000 to 40,000. In 1926 the British Government announced that these special forces would be disbanded. But the "B" Specials still exist to a number of some 12,200, and their occasional mobilizations, training and armament are necessarily costly. Their existence represents a very sinister factor in the situation.

18. *In what respect is the Government of Northern Ireland an oppressive and tyrannical Government?*

The answer is threefold:

(a) The Nationalist, or Catholic, minority has been deprived by unjust laws of its proportionate share of electoral power both for parliamentary and for local government elections. This has been effected by manipulating, or "gerrymandering", the constituencies so as to provide numerous constituencies with slender Ascendancy majorities and fewer constituencies with very large Nationalist majorities.

(b) There is systematic discrimination against Catholics (who form the bulk of the Nationalist minority) in respect of employment and

¹ *Ulster Year Book*, 1936, p. 33.

education. Ministers avow, and publicly advocate, the withholding of employment from Catholics by Government Departments and private individuals. Government subventions to education work out most disadvantageously for Catholic education as compared, on any reasonable or proportionate basis, with Protestant education, having regard to the relative numbers.

(c) The principal guarantees of the liberty of the subject under the British Constitution have been abolished in Northern Ireland, notwithstanding the fact that it forms part of the United Kingdom. In a code of statutory Regulations which makes the executive supreme over the citizen are provisions allowing for arrest without warrant upon mere suspicion and imprisonment of indefinite duration without trial. The prisoner has no right of access to the Law Courts, to his solicitor, or to his relatives or friends. Constitutional liberty does not exist.

19. *Can you illustrate the effect of the "gerrymandering" of constituencies?*

(a) The late Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., told the House of Commons at Westminster that in the Northern Ireland Parliament he, as a Nationalist, represented 60,000 votes, whilst a Unionist member nearby only represented 20,000 votes.

(b) At Westminster the Counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh which are quite 56 per cent Nationalist, return jointly two Nationalist M.P.s. For the Northern Ireland Parliament these counties are divided into eight constituencies, of which only four are able to return a Nationalist representative to the Parliament in Belfast.

(c) In the Rural District of Omagh, Co. Tyrone, the Nationalists returned 26 out of 39 representatives under Proportional Representation, as enacted by the British Parliament in 1919. The Northern Ireland Government abolished Proportional Representation and "gerrymandered" the system. Thereafter the Nationalists could only secure 18 out of 39 representatives. Examples of this system could be multiplied.

20. *And has the British Government permitted all this?*

Yes. The British Government has express statutory powers for dealing with such matters. Thus it could have tested the constitutionality (which in parts is quite clearly disputable) of the repressive legislation of the Government of Northern Ireland by referring it to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Furthermore, it could have directed the Governor to withhold the Royal Assent from objectionable laws. And in addition it left all its statutory over-riding powers unused. It is thus demonstrably responsible for what has been done, and is being done, in Northern Ireland.¹

¹ See the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and the Irish Free State (Consequential Provisions Act), 1922.

Not only has the British Government permitted it, but it has assisted in it, and is continuing to assist in it, by its financial indulgences to the Government of Northern Ireland. If it had held that Government to its statutory financial obligations, Northern Ireland could not have continued to function. If financial concessions were sought, as they have been continuously sought from the very outset, the British Government could have imposed terms before granting its aid.

21. *Do you mean that the British Government has incurred a moral responsibility for these things?*

Yes. But much more than that. Great Britain and its Government are responsible, in the international sphere, for what is done in any and every part of "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland." Ireland, in her justifiable complaint of the hardships and injustice suffered by hundreds of thousands of her own stock and faith, within sight of her eyes, on the further side of an arbitrary territorial boundary, can only, in accordance with international law and usage, address herself to the British Government. Furthermore, the complaint, grave as it is in its essence, has a disturbing and prejudicial effect on great matters of national policy in which the British and the Irish Governments are jointly and severally interested, such as foreign policy, Commonwealth co-operation and the naval, military and air defence of the two countries against external attack—matters which, as regards the United Kingdom, are solely within the competence and control of the British Government.

22. *And does the British Government disclaim these responsibilities?*

The attitude of the British Government has so far been ambiguous. It is perhaps correct to say that it has not been finally defined. But it will soon have to be defined, having regard to the world situation. British, Commonwealth and Allied interests obviously require this. And is not Britain's reputation for consistency, honour and good faith clearly at stake? On general grounds, the Britain that has put pressure on Czechoslovakia in the interests of the allegedly oppressed minority of Sudeten Deutsche can hardly tell the world that it has no right to move in the interests of an obviously oppressed minority in the United Kingdom under its own British sovereignty and within the sphere of its own legal, constitutional and effective control.

23. *Is there any real impediment to Britain's honouring these responsibilities?*

A definite reply is impossible, because the facts are not fully disclosed. There have been substantial indications, from time to time, of the existence of a secret compact between an influential section of the British governing class and the leaders of the Ascendancy faction in Northern Ireland, if not actually between the British and the Northern Ireland Governments. On no other basis can certain of the

facts be explained. Thus, the British Exchequer gave millions in subsidies to maintain the "Ulster" Special Constabulary at a time when Lord Craigavon, the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, was announcing publicly that that body would be used to resist by armed force any alteration of the Boundary of the partitioned area to which he might object. That fact rests upon the responsible utterances of the Prime Minister (Mr. Baldwin) and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Churchill) in the House of Commons in December, 1925.¹ Britain was thus in the strange and anomalous position of taking part in a statutory arbitration whose award she was bound by the express terms of the Anglo-Irish Treaty to accept and of, simultaneously, paying for an armed force of her own citizens to provide armed resistance, within her own jurisdiction in defiance of law, constitution and good faith, to that award in case it should happen to take a particular shape. In 1938 the same armed force exists, thanks to Britain's financial indulgence to the Government of Northern Ireland. On 27th October, 1938, Lord Craigavon, the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, interviewed by the *Chicago Tribune* rejected all possibility of any concession to Irish anti-partitionist sentiment. He said: "The last resort is arms. I do not believe in threats, but feel it much more honourable to say that plainly now before it is too late."

In the same interview Lord Craigavon alluded to the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, as having been founded on and governed by an agreement between certain parties whose identity he did not disclose.

And contemporary records of the last twenty years contain many references to "pledges to Ulster" described as being of a sovereign validity in British policy. They are, of course, nowhere defined, and no revelation is vouchsafed as to who gave or received them, nor what authority, either prerogative or legislative, sanctioned the giving or receiving of them. Nor does it appear conceivable that there can possibly exist any valid pledges binding Britain to continue to permit unconstitutional oppression on sectarian and political lines of a population of nearly half a million persons living under the Union Jack whom she claims as subjects and citizens of the United Kingdom and who are represented in and taxed by the United Kingdom Parliament at Westminster.

Thus it would appear that, in the end, the British Government will have to choose between the obligations of public good faith and of the comity of nations, on the one hand, and the commitments of a private inter-party agreement which was never disclosed to, or sanctioned by, the British Legislature or the British people, on the other. Until that choice is made in the open light of day, the action and professions of

¹ See *Hansard*, 8th December, 1925, Cols. 310 and 361.

Britain in Anglo-Irish affairs must remain, at the best, ambiguous and suspect. Until that choice is made British interests and Britain's reputation in the world sphere will continue to be imperilled.

24. *Finally what do you ask that Britain should do?*

The answer is clear. She should hold the balance even. Britain should take immediate steps to terminate the unconstitutional oppression of the Nationalist or Catholic minority in Northern Ireland. Britain should also forthwith terminate her financial support of the Partition of Ireland by direct and indirect subsidies.

Northern Ireland of its own free will would then decide its own fate. It could lapse into the British system for all purposes and become an undifferentiated fragment of the United Kingdom, if it so desired. There is little doubt, however, that, sooner or later, it would rejoin the parent body of Ireland on fair and freely negotiated terms.

As soon as it ceases to be a British Imperial interest (whether avowedly or covertly pursued) to keep Ireland divided by fomenting religious differences, Irishmen of the North and Irishmen of the South, whether Protestant or Catholic, will come together in cordial fraternization as they did in immense numbers in the Great War on the Western Front.

Let Britain make an end of her old policy of *Divide et Impera*.

APPENDIX A

NORTHERN IRELAND

(IMPERIAL LIABILITIES AND CONTRIBUTION)

MR. BUCHANAN asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer what was the Imperial contribution fixed for Northern Ireland as a result of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920; what amounts Northern Ireland has contributed for the past 18 years ended March last; and whether he can also give the amounts of grants which have been paid from the Exchequer to Northern Ireland for special police, unemployment insurance, and provision of buildings?

SIR J. SIMON: Under Section 23 of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and the Irish Free State (Consequential Provisions) Act, 1922, Schedule 1, paragraph 4, the proportion of Imperial liabilities and expenditure to be contributed by Northern Ireland is such as the Joint Exchequer Board, having regard to the relative taxable capacities of Northern Ireland and of Great Britain and Ireland, determine to be just. The principles adopted for determining the relative taxable capacities referred to have been those recommended by the Special Arbitration Committee (Command Papers 2072 of 1924 and 2389 of 1925). In reply to the second and third parts of the question, the Northern Ireland contribution in respect of the financial years 1935, 1936 and 1937 has amounted to £365,000, £900,000 and £1,100,000 (provisional) respectively, and the payments to Northern Ireland during the same years have amounted to £762,500, £937,000 and £1,607,000 (provisional). As regards the figures for earlier years I would refer the hon. Member to the reply given on 6th May, 1937, of which I am sending him a copy.

[Hansard, 28th July, 1938, Cols. 3310-1.]

NORTHERN IRELAND

(IMPERIAL CONTRIBUTION AND EXCHEQUER GRANTS)

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: As the answer is in tabular form, I will, with the hon. Member's permission, circulate it in the OFFICIAL REPORT.

Following is the answer:

The following table shows in column 1 the Imperial Contribution paid by the Government of Northern Ireland.

Column 2 shows the payments from the Exchequer to Northern Ireland (a) under the Unemployment Insurance Agreements; (b) as

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special grants for Special Constabulary, Malicious Injuries, etc., in the initial years of separation; (c) for buildings under Sections 24 and 34 of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920.

Column 2 does not include the amount, approximately £656,000 a year, collected from tenants and retained by the Government of Northern Ireland under Section 26 of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, in respect of land purchase annuities under agreements entered into before the passing of the Act. (An equivalent sum is paid as a non-recoverable charge out of the Imperial Exchequer to the National Debt Commissioners.)

	Northern Ireland Contribution. (1)	Payments to Northern Ireland. (2)
	£	£
1922-23	6,685,600	3,994,200
1923-24	4,517,900	3,321,100
1924-25	3,175,000	1,420,800
1925-26	2,275,000	2,073,700
1926-27	1,350,000	1,012,300
1927-28	1,450,000	421,300
1928-29	1,175,000	667,100
1929-30	855,000	588,200
1930-31	545,000	827,400
1931-32	298,000	474,900
1932-33	75,000	182,800
1933-34	76,000	43,700
1934-35	24,000	500
1935-36	(a) 365,000	753,600
1936-37	(b) 500,000	1,040,200

(a) Anticipated.

(b) This was the provisional figure at the beginning of the year. The provisional out-turn shows that the amount available for Imperial Contribution and surplus was £880,000 instead of £503,000 as originally estimated.

[Hansard, 6th May, 1937, Cols. 1241-2.]

APPENDIX B

NORTHERN IRELAND (FINANCIAL AGREEMENT)

MR. NEIL MACLEAN asked the Prime Minister whether he will make an early statement to the House of the details, financial or otherwise, of any agreement recently concluded with the Government of Northern Ireland?

SIR J. SIMON: Arrangements are being made for the circulation in the

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OFFICIAL REPORT of the terms of a Memorandum which embodies the Agreement reached with the Government of Northern Ireland on certain financial matters. As the House will be aware, a statement on these matters was made by the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland in the Northern Ireland Parliament on 26th April. No other agreement, financial or otherwise, has recently been concluded with the Government of Northern Ireland.

SIR J. SIMON: I would ask the right hon. Gentleman to look at the Memorandum. If there is any question that it is desired to raise on it, perhaps it can be raised later.

Following is the memorandum:

MEMORANDUM embodying the Agreement reached with the Government of Northern Ireland on certain financial matters.

1. Despite the fact that agriculture in Northern Ireland is a Transferred Service, it is agreed that where agricultural subsidies are granted in Great Britain and circumstances are such as to justify corresponding subsidies in Northern Ireland, no objection will be raised to the cost being borne on the Vote of the Ministry of Agriculture of Great Britain. The application of this principle in individual cases will form the subject of inter-Departmental discussions between the United Kingdom Government and the Government of Northern Ireland so far as may be necessary.

2. Under present circumstances it is not considered that there is any prospect of a deficit on the Northern Ireland Budget during the period of the proposed Trade Agreement with Eire. If, however, in some future and different circumstances there were a deficit on the Northern Ireland Budget which was not the result of a standard of social expenditure higher than that of Great Britain nor the result of a standard of taxation lower than that of Great Britain, the United Kingdom Government agree that it would be equitable that means should be found to make good this deficit in such a way as to ensure that Northern Ireland should be in a financial position to continue to enjoy the same social services and have the same standards as Great Britain.

3. So long as the Trade Agreement with Eire is in force, the United Kingdom Government will not exercise their right to reopen the question of the amount of the contribution of the United Kingdom Exchequer under the Northern Ireland Unemployment Insurance Agreement of the 29th April, 1935, if such a contribution exceeds £1,000,000.

[*Hansard*, 12th May, 1938, Cols. 1708-9.]

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

PARNELL VINDICATED

(Constable, 1931)

"It is impossible to understand Parnell's extraordinary career without some knowledge of the liaison story. Mrs. Parnell's book, which threw half-lights on it, appeared in 1914; but the main, final source of elucidation (*Parnell Vindicated*, by Captain Henry Harrison) not until 1931." *The Oxford History of England*, "England 1870-1914," Appendix B, pp. 564-6.

"Mrs. Parnell, in the book she published in her old age, writes as though the version put forward in the Divorce Court were true. Captain Harrison's reply is that she wrote under the influence of members of the O'Shea family, and that the singular omissions and discrepancies of the text deprive her book of serious value. It must be admitted that at all the main points of his case Captain Harrison puts forward reasons and evidence that are impressive."

The Times Literary Supplement, 23rd April, 1931.

"But to those who remember the cold, impassive bearded figure that used to sit, menacing and formidable, at the head of that phalanx, in the corner seat below the gangway, he will remain, next to Gladstone, the most vivid memory of the Parliamentary past, and to history he will always have the fascination exercised by an inscrutable and mysterious personality. The measure of that fascination is illustrated by the work of 'restoration' which one of his most devoted disciples, Mr. Henry Harrison, has just published to the world. It is a moving, restrained and noble act of piety.

"The theme is simple. It does not deal with Parnell's political career. It is limited to his love-story and its purpose is to cleanse that story and the names of Parnell and of the woman who became his wife of the dishonouring imputations that attach to them. . . .

"There was concealment of the relationship from the public, for reasons which are abundantly explained: but there was no concealment from O'Shea. Mr. Harrison piles up irrefutable documentary evidence of the fact that O'Shea knew and that he exploited the knowledge for his political advantage, and only exploded the public mine, nearly ten years later, for the same personal consideration. Nor was the fact that in all but name Mrs. O'Shea was Parnell's wife unknown to his contemporaries. Harcourt became aware of it when he was Home Secretary. . . .

"In setting that tale in its true light before the world Captain Harrison has done an act of justice to a famous man and a moving episode in history."

A. G. GARDINER, the Biographer of Sir William Harcourt, Review in *The Star*, 9th April, 1931.

**PARNELL, JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN AND
MR. GARVIN**

(Robert Hale 1938)

"... It is one of the most forcible historical exposures I have ever read and I am not surprised that Mr. Garvin was content to attack the author without examining his arguments or considering his documents. It is written in measured and careful language, though tinged with an engaging irony, and it gives precise details for every section of its thesis. Mr. Garvin, it alleges, has for some reason or other dismissed the documentary evidence that Chamberlain knew of the relations between Parnell and Mrs. O'Shea, and as a result of that and other extraordinary omissions given a very dubious version of the unpleasing story. . . .

"Unless Mr. Garvin can descend from these Olympian heights and produce evidence which refutes Mr. Harrison, we must continue to ask whether disappointment at his failure to grasp the Premiership when he thought it was his, led Joseph Chamberlain to seek to re-establish himself by the most unsavoury of political intrigues, and that Mr. Garvin was so anxious to eulogize his hero that he was incapable of any objective examination of the evidence."

The New Statesman, 3rd September, in "A London Diary."

"Mr. Harrison's book is of capital importance for the study of the momentous quarrel between Chamberlain and Parnell: momentous for it had a direct bearing on the fate of Home Rule. . . .

"This relationship of Chamberlain and O'Shea and its place in the bitter quarrel between Chamberlain and Parnell is the subject of his new book. As this quarrel had a great political importance the whole question is well worth the careful study Mr. Harrison has given to it. He examined in particular the story of the Kilmainham Treaty, the negotiations over Chamberlain's Central Board Scheme in 1885, and the political intrigues that led to the O'Shea divorce suit. On the first he has no difficulty in showing that it was Chamberlain's action that brought the Gladstone Government into suspicion of base motives, and that it was Chamberlain, and not Parnell, who wished O'Shea to be the go-between. On the second he shows that there is a good deal of mystery about Chamberlain's conduct, and he gives reasons for doubting whether Chamberlain's plea that he was deceived by O'Shea is justified. On the third we know from the evidence of an unimpeachable authority, the late Sir Alfred Robbins, that it was the Liberal Unionists who persuaded O'Shea to bring his suit, in the hope of ruining Parnell."

JOHN L. HAMMOND, author of "Gladstone, and the Irish Nation,"
Manchester Guardian, 1st November, 1938.