

## II

It is remarkable that Ulster should be preparing to establish a legislature with powers of self-government which its people have never demanded. The Home Rule Act which has been finally adopted by the Imperial Parliament provides for parliaments in Northern and Southern Ireland. In the North the House of Commons will have fifty-two members while in the South there will be a House of Commons of 128 members. But, hereafter, Ireland will send only forty-six members to the Parliament of the United Kingdom. The Act also establishes a Council which will have, if it is ever constituted, twenty members from each Parliamentary area with a President appointed by the Sovereign. Each Parliament must also create a Senate and send to the Council seven members from the Senate and thirteen from the Commons. Of supreme significance is the provision that the two Parliaments may by common action establish a single Parliament for Ireland or delegate powers to the Council of Ireland.

The Irish Parliaments may not make war in respect of the Crown; peace or war; the navy, the army or the air force; treaties or foreign relations; dignities or titles; treason, alienage or naturalization; trade outside Ireland; submarine cables wireless telegraphy or aerial navigation; coinage or legal tender; the Lord Lieutenancy continues and Irish ministers must be Privy Counsellors and members of one or other of the Irish Parliaments. For three years the police forces will remain under Imperial control. The Postal Service, stamp designs and the Public Record office will pass under Irish control when Irish Parliamentary union is completed, or they can be taken over by identical Acts of the two Irish Legislatures. These Parliaments cannot levy a capital tax, nor will they have authority over customs, excise, excess profits taxes or corporation or income taxes, but they will have full power over local taxation. It is provided that Ireland shall contribute £18,000,000 annually towards Imperial expenditures and liabilities of which forty-four per cent. shall be provided by Northern and fifty-six per cent. by Southern Ireland, and that to Ireland the product of Irish land purchase annuities shall be credited. The Act also provides High Courts of Justice for North and South with an Irish High Court of Appeal. As significant as the provision for the creation of a common Parliament by mutual action of North and South is that which stipulates that if either Irish Legislature is not constituted within three and a half years the Act becomes inapplicable to the contumacious district and in the meantime the section which fails to accept the measure will be administered as a Crown Colony.

No doubt the Act falls short of "Dominion Home Rule", but it gives a great measure of local self-government and affords the Irish people opportunity to reconcile their differences and prove whether or not they are equal to common political action in the general interest of the country. At the moment the Sinn Fein separatists will have nothing to do with the Act, will have no reconciliation with Ulster, will have only an Irish Republic with its seat at Dublin. But even De Valera and his insensate extremists must sooner or later abandon the hopeless struggle in which they are engaged. There cannot be "self-determination for Ireland" until Great Britain is ready to strike a mortal blow at British prestige the world over and confess its inability to maintain the authority of its government and Parliament.

The story of Ireland since the war constitutes one of the most distressing chapters in all its tragic history. There can be no doubt that the excesses of the Sinn Fein faction have led multitudes all over the world in natural sym-