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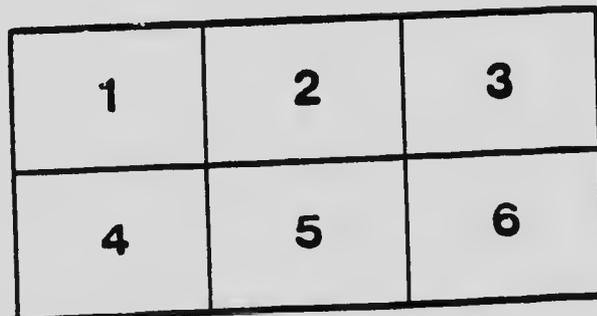
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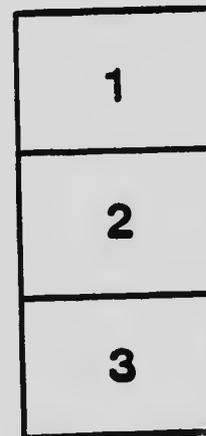
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THE IRISH PROBLEM

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1917

THE IRISH PROBLEM

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THE IRISH PROBLEM

The ancient history of Ireland, with its legends, traditions and stories of times that have merged in the past, is fascinating alike to the student and reader, notwithstanding much that is sad in its pages, and like all history is not without its lessons for those that have the wisdom to interpret and apply them. England found Ireland speaking a different language to her own, and after centuries of effort replaced it with English, without obtaining the expected result of drawing the Irish people more closely to herself. England found Ireland holding the Roman Catholic faith, and after centuries of persecution and proselytism, of religious disability and professed advantage, was forced to recognise the utter

uselessness of such measures, and their complete inefficacy to change the form of worship of a people. She found Irishman divided, and by taking advantage of their divisions bound them in one under her rule, to find the only result was union without unity. She moulded their Parliament on her own lines, and finding the result unsatisfactory deprived them of self government, even in matters purely Irish, to realize after more than a century the necessity of restoring what she had taken away. She planted the country with English and Scotch settlements, expecting their influence would spread, only to find her greatest difficulty in connection with Ireland at the present day is in the result of such action. The lessons are easy to read, but few endeavour, or even care to understand them. Many study history without consideration of its teachings, increasing knowledge without attaining to wisdom, not even suspecting that knowledge and wisdom are not identical. To say that history repeats itself is to affirm that similar causes under like conditions produce the same results, a truth so evident that the wonder is that it is so frequently ignored.

Various races have at different periods of her history settled in

Ireland, either as invaders or immigrants. The Spanish connection and intercourse have left enduring traces in the West. On the East coast the Dane has made his mark. Within the Ancient Pale, which included Dublin, and in parts of Tipperary, all racial results of English settlement have not been lost. In Ulster, especially in the North Eastern counties, it is evident where the ancestors of the people came from, and these are only some of the more recent examples out of many that might be cited. The names Fitzpatrick, Fitzgerald and De La Poer tell their own tale of Norman French invasion from England. In more remote times tradition and ancient records speak of many races that at various periods settled on the coast and spread into the interior, replacing the earlier occupants, or becoming amalgamated with them. But whether Ireland is a Nation or not, it certainly is a country, and though its inhabitants are of various or mixed descent, they are assuredly a people. The land has in some mysterious way claimed them all as her own, and their offspring as her children, so that without exception, Irishmen born and brought up in the country, are equally distinctively and characteristically Irish, just as

the Cornishman and Northumbrian without traceable racial connection, are both unmistakably and evidently English. No difference of religion or ancestry can alter or affect the law that governs such matters, an unwritten and unformulated law as immutable and unchanging as that of gravitation. The influence of the land even extends to those that have resided in it and submitted to its attractive power, for St. Patrick, of Italian descent, born in Scotland and educated in France, died as true an Irishman as ever lived from the love in his heart for the land and its people.

The more modern history of Ireland extending over the past half century, is full of interest, especially to those that day by day, with ever increasing absorption watched the pages of its drama unfold. It, too, is not without deep sadness. Time and again the clouds have broken, and gleams of sunshine struggled through, only to be replaced by deeper gloom, till it seemed as though some malignant influence blighted every hope ere it could be realized. When everything seemed most full of promise, the Phoenix Park tragedy destroyed in one hour the labor of years, and although the Cavendish family, of which the Duke of Devonshire is

the head, true to its traditions, held Ireland blameless, and did not for a moment falter in regard to her, yet all knew that there was something added to the past that could not be obliterated, and a stain on one page of Ireland's history that could never be cleansed. Then again came deeper sorrow, for there are things even harder to bear than the death of a brave and good man slain in the path of duty. When Ireland's sons, and those that loved her as truly as her sons, found their idol had feet of clay, and that he for whom they would have given their heart's blood had broken the tie which all true Irishmen hold most sacred, they could only say with Gladstone "A pure man for a righteous cause," and turn to find another leader, till when less than a year had passed away, standing by his open grave at Glasnevin, they remembered all he had been to them and all he had done for Ireland, and there was none to cast a stone at his memory.

But through all changes and chances there were many alleviations and at times success and advance that gave fresh courage and renewed hope. In 1869 the Church of Ireland was disestablished and disendowed, so finally ending every trace of religious domination in

Ireland. Land Courts were established later on to fix fair rentals for farms and agricultural holdings over a term of years. Compensation for improvements was made obligatory on an evicting landlord, or on the termination of tenancy. British credit was largely used to enable agricultural tenants to become proprietors on easy terms by moderate annual payments. The tenant farmer became the best off occupier of rented agricultural land in the world, for in no other country is he in nearly so favorable a position. Previously he had been for long years the worst off, living at the mercy of his landlord on a yearly tenancy, liable to eviction on twelve months' notice, or without notice at all in case of nonpayment of rent, and without compensation for improvements in either case, even when the improvements, continued from year to year by the tenant without assistance from the landlord, had given its value to the farm or holding. British statemanship and British capital wrought the change, but it had only resulted from continued agitation, and the people know it. Roman Catholic university education was provided for in 1908 by the Irish University Act, the Religious Test Act that governed admission to Trinity Coll-

ege University in Dublin, having been repealed in 1873.

With Fair Rents, Free Sale and Fixity of Tenure established by the Land Act of 1881, and assured by the authority of the Land Court, with thirty million pounds sterling provided under the Purchase Act of 1891, to enable tenant farmers to become proprietors on easy terms, with Religious Ascendency as a State institution finally ended, and the long standing University difficulty disposed of, there only remained the present Irish Question of Home Rule, involving in the first place a definition of the description of Home Rule desired. As all Canadians know, and as all Americans should know, the Home Rule that Canada or any other Dominion enjoys in her relation to the United Kingdom differs little from independence in its form, and were it not for the strong and enduring tie of sentiment, might lead to separation. While human nature remains what it is, and there is no sign or record of it ever having changed or altered in the slightest degree since man was man, sentiment will be, as it ever has been, the most binding and strongest tie or force that influences or controls the actions of human beings. The Home Rule that each

State in the Union, or each Province in the Dominion possesses, is similar in principle, but though the same in kind is distinctively different in the powers it confers and their limitations. Dominion Home Rule without the binding tie of sentiment would mean separation and independence, and in the evident absence of that tie Great Britain finds herself unable to concede to Ireland such Home Rule as she has freely granted to the Dominions, just as the United States found itself unable to concede separation and independence to the seceding Southern States. They, however, still retain the Home Rule in each individual State that they have always possessed. Great Britain has conceded Provincial Home Rule to Ireland. A Home Rule Bill has been passed and is on the Statute Books, but has been suspended during the war, because it was found that any attempt to enforce it would be met with armed resistance in Ulster, which the army could evidently not be relied upon to suppress, and that sympathy with the Province of Ulster would lead to disastrous division in England if Civil war broke out in Ireland. Ulster is a Province, containing nine Counties, and would have as good a case for Home Rule in an

independent Ireland as Ireland has to-day in the United Kingdom. The present position is not generally understood, especially in the United States and the Dominion, where the general impression prevails that England refuses to concede to Ireland such management of her affairs as Home Rule would give. Nothing could be further from the actual truth. The Home Rule Bill was passed by England, Scotland and Wales with the concurrence of the Nationalist Irish members against the protests of the Unionist Irish representatives, and over the veto of the House of Lords. Nothing prevents the Home Rule Bill being put into force but dissension amongst Irishmen in Ireland. The feeling evoked in England, which had the support of the late Lord Roberts, was not at all against Home Rule for Ireland, but solely and altogether against the coercion of Ulster.

Coercion has been many times tried in Ireland with the sole result. of further alienating the people. There is no reason to believe that the coercion of Ulster, were it possible, which it certainly is not, would result more happily than the coercion of Leinster, Munster and Connaught has done. Conciliation has been tried again and again,

without encouraging results, the last attempt to conciliate by inaction and non-interference resulted in terrible loss of life and destruction of property in Dublin. It is possible the Heavens would not fall if instead of coercion and conciliation even-handed justice administered without fear or favor were given, possibly for the first time, a fair trial in Ireland. Gun running in the North, however, systematically and ably carried out, is just as reprehensible as gun running in the South, however, stupidly and foolishly conducted. The shooting of peaceable citizens in the streets, and of unarmed soldiers, is just as deserving of adequate punishment, as the shooting of a Sinn Feiner who was doing all in his power to lessen the consequence of the rising.

All Irishmen may be divided into Nationalists and Unionists. The Nationalists may again be divided into Home Rulers and Separatists, but are at present represented at Westminster by Home Rulers only, with the exception of the two recently elected Sinn Fein members who defeated Nationalist Home Rule candidates at the polls, and rank as Separatists. The Home Rulers in the House of Commons are divided into two parties, the Nationalists controlled by John Red-

mond, and the Independent Nationalists, led by William O'Brien. The Home Rulers ask for Provincial Home Rule, on somewhat similar lines to the home rule of the Province of Quebec or State of New York. The Separatists want separation and independence, such as the Southern States once aspired to or at least such home rule as governs the relation of the Dominion to the United Kingdom. In what proportions the Nationalists in Ireland are at present Home Rulers or Separatists is uncertain, or how far the Irish members at Westminster are now really representative of the people that elected them, but John Redmond still has the loyal support of the Nationalist members who form the great majority of Irish deputies in the House of Commons. Recent developments may have the happy result of bringing Home Rulers and Unionists closer together, or even induce them to earnestly endeavour to find some way of bridging over their present differences with a view of joining forces in a Coalition Government, composed of the leading men of both parties, united to oppose the Separatists, whose procedure, if not promptly checked, threatens to end not only in rebellion but anarchy. If ever there

were good reason for government coalition, it exists in Ireland to-day.

About three-quarters of the people of Ireland are Roman Catholics, and about one-quarter Protestants. Probably Nationalists and Unionists are approximately in the same proportion, though this is by no means certain, as there are Protestant Home Rulers and Roman Catholic Unionists. It is beyond question, however, that in every constituency the Roman Catholics would return a Nationalist candidate, and the Protestants a Unionist one, if they voted separately. Rather over one-fifth of the Roman Catholics are in Ulster, and a similar proportion of the Protestants in the other Provinces.

The Home Rule Bill, now on the Statute Book, but suspended from operation during the war, gives Provincial Home Rule to Ireland, with a reduced representation at Westminster. The present representation, which has become disproportionate through the increase of the population of Great Britain and the reduction of that of Ireland, was fixed in 1801, by the Act of Union, and cannot be altered without the consent of Ireland, which is withheld till either the present Bill is put into operation, or Home Rule finally adjusted to the satisfac-

tion of a majority of the Irish members.

The Home Rulers press for the immediate putting into force of the Bill, or a binding guarantee that it will be enforced after the war, alleging that the present delay and uncertainty are driving Home Rulers into Sinn Fein associations, an assertion that the recent by-election confirms. The Unionists of Ulster declare they will not have Home Rule, as they would be a helpless minority under the heel of the Nationalists were it established. With the present franchise they certainly would be under their rule and governance, and no protective guarantee or assurance of fair, kindly and considerate treatment can reconcile them to accepting that position, either as a permanent or initial one.

The Nationalist Home Rulers want one Government for an undivided Ireland, which they as the majority would evidently control, but are careless, as they always have been, respecting representation at Westminster, except as a means of advancing their views in connection with Ireland. Were Home Rule once in being there would be no reason to fear the interference of Irish members in connection with purely English, Scotch or Welsh legislation.

There have always been Separatists in Ireland since the Union was consummated, in varying numbers and under different names. The Sinn Feiners, whose designation means "Ourselves alone," were preceded by the Fenians, and they by other similar bodies. To Charles Stewart Parnell is the Kingdom and Empire indebted for the Home Rule movement being mainly and in principle one of constitutional and Parliamentary agitation. To his most worthy successor, John Redmond, are all men of good will most deeply indebted for all that he has done in the cause of civilization and freedom, at the risk of his political life and leadership; for the result of his determination not to embarrass the Government during the war has alienated many of his followers, though it has not diminished the loyal support he has always received from their parliamentary representatives. There is no greater general favorite in the House of Commons than Major William Redmond, brother of the Irish leader, who has not allowed his parliamentary responsibility to Ireland to interfere with doing his bit at the front effectively and well. Both have subordinated their own special interests to the general good, and England must never forget it, nor

will Ireland in the days to come, when neither Danish, Spanish, Scottish, English, Celtic or mixed descent, or any difference of creed, will count at all against Irish birth and brotherhood.

Considering that Ireland is not only an agricultural country, but a land of small farm and holdings, and that in her case there has been no attempt to enforce compulsory service, her contingent has been a very creditable one. The people of the North have a grievance in the Home Rule Bill being forced through against the protest of their representatives, and the Southern population, finding the Bill inoperative and likely to remain so, feel they have been deceived and misled, yet North and South have alike sent many of their sons to fight in a cause that is not specially theirs, except as it is the cause of wronged people and small nations. If anything is lacking in numbers it has been made up for otherwise, for of ninety Victoria Crosses awarded thirty have gone to Irishmen. It was Ireland as a recruiting ground that enabled England to continue the long and bitter Napoleonic struggle, and ensured final victory at Waterloo. If there had been no Ireland, or if it had been occupied by a hostile nation, England would have

been to-day on the verge of starvation, for the annual value of food products exported from Ireland to Great Britain equals that of such exports from the United States to the United Kingdom. For the second time Ireland has saved England.

Ireland is divided into four Provinces, which again are divided into Counties, of which Ulster contains nine, comprising 36 per cent of the land of Ireland and by a strange coincidence containing 36 per cent of the population. About half the people of Ulster, or almost 18 per cent of the entire population of Ireland, are in the counties of Antrim and Down, which are both predominately Protestant and strongly Unionist. In Armagh and Londonderry there are Unionist majorities, in Tyrone and Fermanagh Nationalist ones, but in none of these counties is the majority very great. These make up the six North Eastern counties. In Monaghan, Donegal and Cavan the Nationalists are strong in numbers, comprising about 80 per cent of the people. Although the wealth of Ireland is not very disproportionately in Ulster, as some suppose, for the rateable valuation of Dublin and its Suburbs is not greatly different to that of Belfast, and the

value of the agricultural land and farm stocks of the other Provinces is very great, the manufacturing, ship-building and trading interests concentrate there, and have been built up by the ability, industry and energy of the business men of Belfast and its neighbourhood, with the result that the Province which has the fewest natural advantages, and which at one time was the poorest in Ireland is now probably the most wealthy. The linen industry centres in Belfast, the finest ship-building yards, not only in the Kingdom but in the world, are there, the temperance drinks made in Belfast have as wide a reputation as Guinness' Stout or the Bitter of Bass, and the tobacco industry gives employment to many people. The Red Hand of Ulster on the flag of the Head Line is well known in Canadian and other ports, and the coasting passenger and freight steamboat service is unrivalled.

The Government, realizing the impossibility of coercing Ulster, has recently declared it will not do so, and proposed to put the Home Rule Bill into immediate force for such parts of Ireland as show a majority in its favor, giving any county the option of voting itself out of its operation. This would involve not only the division of Ireland,

which the Nationalists refuse to consider except as a temporary measure with a limited and defined duration, but also the division of Ulster, and probably the division of the six North Eastern Counties. It is quite certain that Antrim in which Belfast is situated would vote itself out, if this proposition were carried out, as would also Down, and in all probability Armagh and Londonderry. Tyrone and Fermanagh might possibly show a Nationalist majority and come under Home Rule or Nationalist authority, but the Unionist minority would only do so with bitterness and heart-burning. There would be every likelihood of trouble in either county between the defeated minority and the triumphant majority, on the outbreak of which the Unionists would have the sympathy and assistance of the four counties. Those who know anything of the intensity of feeling in North-East Ulster, or the difficulty of controlling Belfast rioters might well dread the possible consequences.

Nothing but trouble ever yet came of dividing a Province, for strange as it may appear, such division is attended by greater difficulties than that of a country. The most recent instance is the division of the Province of Bengal,

which had to be rescinded because its people, though easily governed and not naturally militant, would not submit to it. The analogy would be the division of the State of New York, with New York city included in much the smaller portion, or the division of the Province of Quebec by allowing Hochelega and the adjacent counties to vote themselves out of it, so separating Montreal and the vicinity from the remainder of the Province. Neither of such divisions would be for a moment entertained.

If division there must be, far better to divide on Provincial lines and give Home Rule to an undivided Ulster, with separate Home Rule to a combined Leinster, Munster and Connaught, though even that would deprive the South of Ireland of the constructive ability and enterprise that has built up the industries of the North, and given Belfast a civic administration that is unsurpassed for honesty and efficiency. The division of Ireland can only be defended as a regrettable necessity, the division of the Province of Ulster cannot be defended at all, as it would be nefarious, but the division of the six counties would be that of deliberately seeking trouble by acting in defiance of the teachings of history and the dictates of common sense.

Recent developments have made it evident that the stated policy of the Government must be revised, for how could counties that voted themselves out of Home Rule as Sinn Fein or Separatist be dealt with? Such a contingency was not contemplated, as it should have been when Lloyd George made his declaration and consequently was not provided for.

As the Nationalists will be satisfied with nothing less than Home Rule for an undivided Ireland, and the Unionists decline to come under Home Rule with the certainty of being in a legislative minority, it is clear, as coercion is not only inadvisable but impossible and conciliation useless, there only remains concession. The Nationalist leader, John Redmond, has publicly stated the readiness of his party to make almost any concession to gain Home Rule for an undivided Ireland by consent. Would they concede equal representation for Unionists and Nationalists, not as individuals but as bodies, in a single Irish House. The Nationalists would then gain the Home Rule they desire, and the Unionists would be protected from the domination they dread.

To everything there is a price, not necessarily a money one. The

cost of freedom cannot be paid in gold, nor happiness be bought with money, yet they both have a price. If the price of equal representation is too high to be paid for Home Rule by consent for an undivided Ireland, then separate home rule for an undivided Ulster, and a combined Leinster, Munster and Connaught, may have to be accepted in its stead. Very probably this would eventually result in union, for Ulster is bound by ties of interest, business and sentiment to the rest of Ireland. Division, except on Provincial lines, could not result happily, and would probably produce immediate consequences that all would deeply regret. Coercion is no more likely to result well in Ulster than it has done in Leinster, Munster and Connaught. It has had a long trial and stands discredited, as also does conciliation.

Presuming the Nationalists would concede equal representation to the Unionists in order to obtain Home Rule by consent for an undivided Ireland, and the Unionists would accept Home Rule on such terms, an equally divided House, in which the minorities in Ulster and the other three provinces would be protected by representation, might be elected under dual representation of each constituency, under a differ-

ential franchise, in a single House. If the Roman Catholics of each constituency returned a member, and the Protestants returned a member, an equally divided House would result. The possibility of deadlock might be avoided by the first Government being a coalition one by previous understanding, including the leading and most representative men of both parties. It would find quite sufficient to occupy it in framing rules and regulations, getting matters put in proper working order, and many other things not specially contentious or controversial. The clear headed business constructive and administrative talent of the North would unite with the ready wit and quick insight of the South in working together for the good of the entire country, and neither party nor individual throughout the land would be without that protection and influence that representation alone can effectively ensure. Nothing could better meet present Irish conditions than a Coalition Government with an equally divided House.

There is another differential franchise that might work equally well, but would probably not obtain the same consideration in Ulster, as it would not be so certain to divide the House equally. If income tax-

payers elected one member in each constituency, and the other were elected by the remaining voters under manhood suffrage, all interests would be protected and fair representation given. No other property franchise would have the same results, for very evident reasons.

An association, including Professor J. P. Mahaffy, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and other influential men, was formed some years ago to prevent the proposed division of Ireland or of Ulster by conceding Home Rule to the Nationalists on condition that the Protestants should be allowed a larger representation than their number entitled them to, so reducing the Nationalist majority though without disposing of it. The same idea has recently been put forward in the Sunday Times by Lord MacDonnell of Swinford. It did not when first put forward meet with the approval or acceptance of the Unionists nor is it likely to do so now, as they refused and still refuse, to consider any arrangement that would put them in either an initial or permanent minority, arguing that a minority is a minority, whether small or great, and that as a minority they would be under the heel of the Nationalists, as they certainly would be under

their rule and governance. Nothing but an equal voice in parliamentary legislation will ever sufficiently satisfy them and induce their acceptance of Home Rule.

There was one sentence in a statement issued by the association referred to that admirably indicates a leading reason for the Unionist opposition, "A large proportion of the commercial, manufacturing, industrial and banking undertakings of the country rests in the hands of the minority, and fears as to their safety, on which the prosperity of many districts depends have largely animated the hostility to Home Rule." This is exceedingly true. A man will die for his religion, but this is no religious question, only a sectarian one at best. Still, a man will fight for his creed; but what will he not do to protect his credit and business? With Ireland united under a Coalition Government including the best business men in the country, her credit would be assured, and that capital which is so sorely needed for the development of her water power and many other matters would be readily obtained on reasonable terms. How important a consideration this is, only those well acquainted with Ireland can begin to realize.

One very important recommenda-

tion that the separate representation of Roman Catholics and Protestants possesses is that the electors would vote for different candidates, preferably at separate polling booths or on consecutive days. There would be no reason to fear trouble during elections.

It may very reasonably be asked: Would Home Rule dispose of all Irish questions? The former ones, connected with the Protestant Church of Ireland, Roman Catholic University Education and the Tenancy of Farms and Agricultural Holdings have all been dealt with and practically settled by England to meet Irish agitation, yet still that agitation continues. The answer is that under Home Rule the decision of all Irish questions would rest with Ireland, and Irishmen alone would have to satisfy their own fellow countrymen, as in all constitutionally governed countries or provinces.

Ireland would not require a second Chamber or Upper House under the dual representation of each constituency, for property and all other interests would be fully protected. To form and maintain a satisfactory Upper House, appears almost to pass the wit of man, and Provincial Government does not call for one.

The Province of Ontario, with a population of over two and a half millions, the largest in the Dominion has been excellently well governed through a single House during almost half a century that has elapsed since Confederation. Only two provinces now maintain a Legislative Council as well as a Legislative Assembly. In Prince Edward Island the two Houses were amalgamated, so adjusting a long standing difficulty that for long had defied settlement. It was between real estate interests and those that had a right to vote but owned no land. The conflict between the two interests became at times very serious. An attempt was made to settle the trouble by having two elective chambers. The real estate owners elected the Legislative Council, and those who owned no land elected the Lower House. Still there was trouble. Then a compromise was effected by abolishing the Legislative Council and having one House elected by the people under different franchises. Each constituency elects two representatives, One of these is voted for only by those who own land, and the other by ordinary manhood suffrage. It has worked like a charm, and a trouble which bid fair at one time to cause serious conflict has been settled, and apparently settled for ever.

So much for the principle of dual representation of each constituency under a differential franchise in a single House. What has been entirely successful in Canada may well prove equally so in Ireland.

The present Government proposals will probably result in the assembly of a convention of Irishmen of all parties for the purpose of arranging matters. There is only one way of giving equal rights to Roman Catholics and Protestants to Nationalists and Unionists alike, in Ireland, and that is by giving them equal representation, not as individuals, but as bodies. There is only one way in which efficient protection can be given to the minorities, small and large, that exist throughout Ireland, not only in Leinster, Munster and Connaught, but also in every county in Ulster, and that is by giving them individual parliamentary representation. The suggestions elaborated in this paper have been widely published on both sides of the Atlantic, and sent to all Irish and Scotch members of the Parliament of the United Kingdom and to all its Cabinet Ministers. Meantime, all can fervently and reverentially join in what has become Ireland's watchword, but is also, and no less, an appeal to the Great Disposer and Ruler over all mortal affairs, and cry "God save Ireland!"



THE IRISH PROBLEM

Since I published a solution of the Irish problem by dual representation of each constituency under a differential franchise in a single House, the franchise being so framed as to give equal parliamentary representation to the Unionist and Nationalist parties, I have been asked how this can be reconciled with the democratic principles of every qualified voter having one vote, and every vote being of equal value; or with the spirit of the age, which is certainly democratic.

This is a perfectly fair and proper question, especially when it comes from those who know my convictions are radical in the proper sense of that term, for in connection with the government of Great Britain I have long advocated the old chartist points of "One man, one vote," and "Equal electoral dis-

tricts," and would apply the same principles to Irish representation at Westminster if the Act of Union did not make it at present impossible. I trust in the Dominion, whenever redistribution and rearrangement come, it will be on those lines.

My solution can only be justified from a democratic standpoint on the ground that the present conditions in Ireland are such as to justify exceptional measures, and the grand liberal principle of trust in the people must in this instance be tempered with prudence.

When He who spoke as never man spake, was on earth, he taught that a man's nearest relation is his wife, and as the Creator from the beginning made them male and female, man should not put asunder what God has joined together. The Jews, well acquainted with the Law, asked Him why then Moses sanctioned the giving of a bill of divorcement and putting away. The answer came without hesitation. "Moses, for the hardness of your hearts gave you this precept." In like manner, though not for precisely the same reason, my solution is given, for the only justification for a dual franchise or for unequal value of individual votes in Ireland, is the unhappy division

amongst Irishmen themselves. If they were united in national brotherhood as they should be, and recognized that any differences of race or creed are as dust in the balance against common nationality in its widest sense, I would at once say for them too, one man, one vote, and equal electoral districts. The constitution of the United States is certainly democratic, yet in several of the Southern States the minority rules for good and sufficient reason, forming a notable and justifiable exception from a great and accepted principle.

Now, let no one misunderstand me. Unionist ascendancy is as indefensible and objectionable as Nationalist domination, in my opinion, and I trust no one will for a moment suppose I am comparing Irishmen with Jews, or any portion of them to such majorities in the Southern States as include all who have the most remote trace of negro blood, or accusing anyone of hardness of heart. Nothing is further from my intention. I know Ireland and Irishmen too well for that, but it is sorrowfully true that nothing now stands in the way of Home Rule for a United Ireland, but division amongst Irishmen themselves, and just as the Jews paid the penalty of hardness of heart in receiving a law of

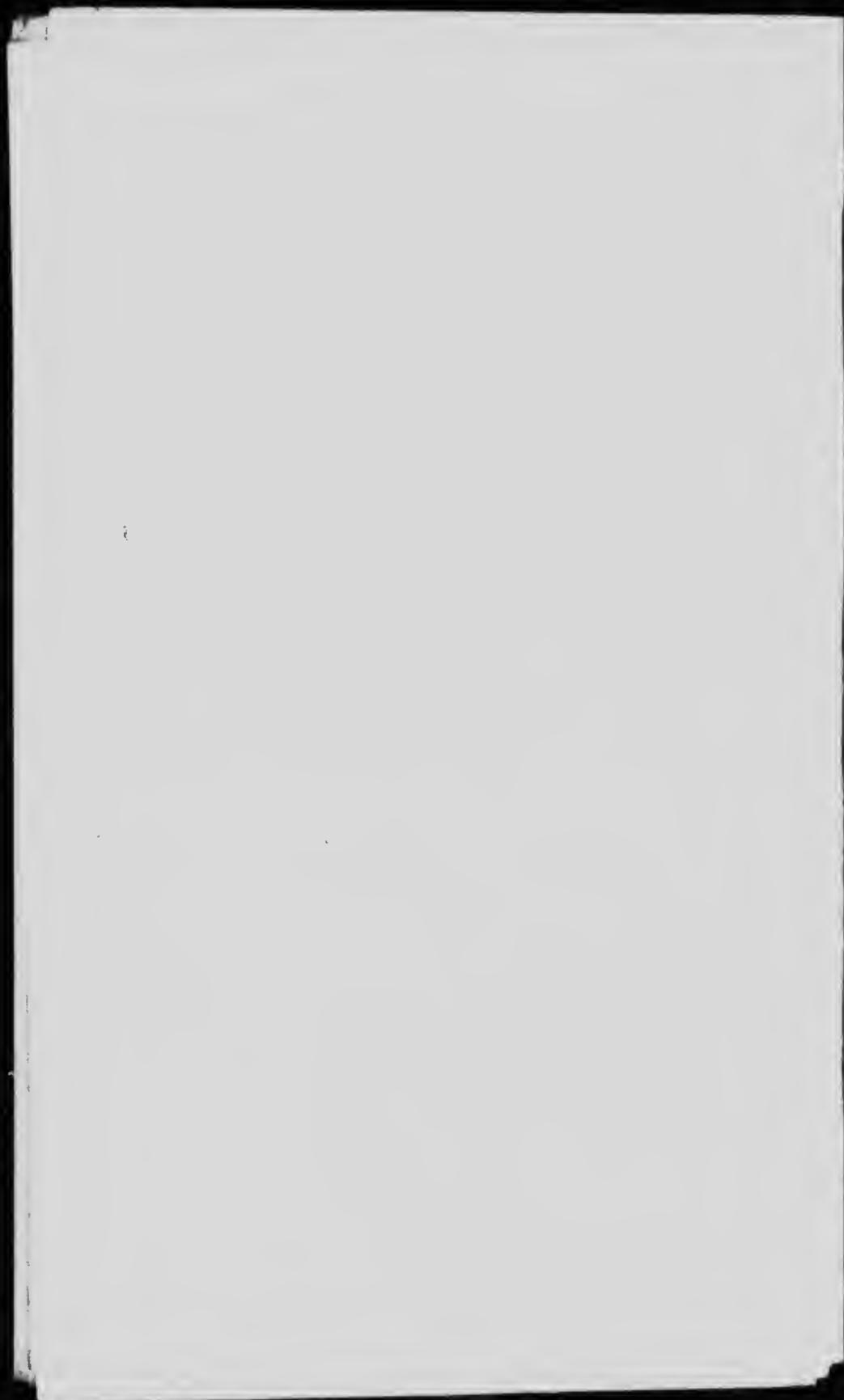
expediency, instead of one of perfection, so Irishmen must pay the penalty of division in receiving a solution that is rather a workable compromise than an ideal settlement. It puts all on an exactly equal footing in the result however, so the end is truly democratic though the means may not be.

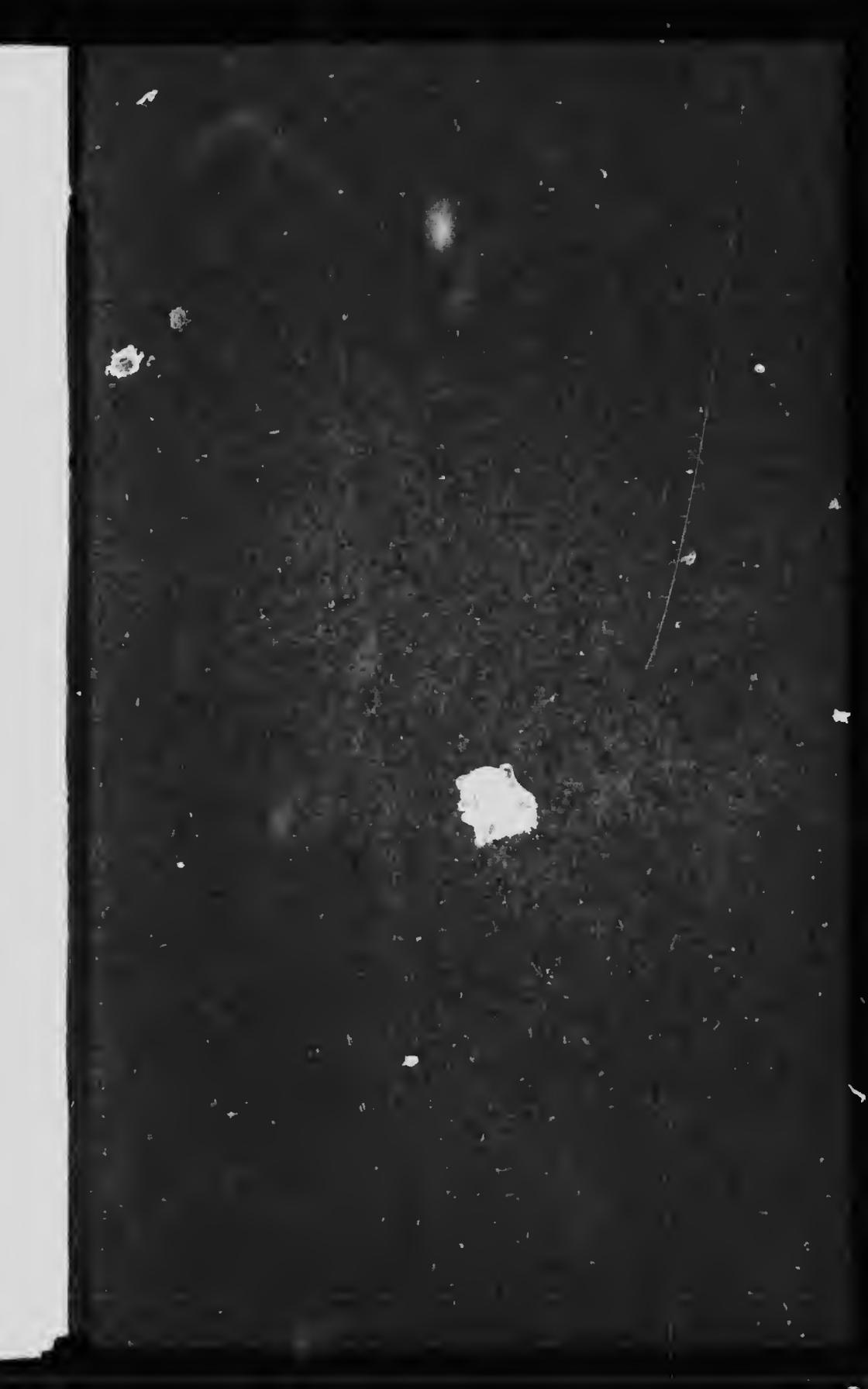
In the day to come, which is now dawning in fire and blood, when race and creed no more shall part, those who have faced and overcome common danger and endured common hardship, will be drawn together in the spirit of common brotherhood and finally settle on broad lines the questions that now divide and perplex and trouble us. Our present duty towards this is expressed in an old Irish cry, **Faugh a ballagh**, or **Clear the Way**. All that can be said for my solution is that it is the best present conditions permit, and the need for action is pressing.

ED. HARPER WADE.

Quebec, June 1, 1917.







The riddle of the sphynx found eventual answer, though many perished in trying to solve it.

When the Gordian Knot could not be untied it had to be cut, and the Oracle declared Alexander's unprecedented solution was the right one.

