

politics. But he had a thoroughly Irish heart withal, and its promptings, seconded by the force of reason, brought him in 1844 into the ranks of the national movement. This act—the result of pure self-sacrificing conviction and sense of duty—sundered all the ties of his past life, and placed him in utter antagonism with his nearest and dearest relatives and friends. He was a man endowed with all the qualities of soul that truly ennobles humanity; a lofty integrity, a proud dignity, a perfect inability, so to speak, to fall into an ignoble or unworthy thought or action. Unfriendly critics called him haughty, and said he was proud of his family; and there was a proportion of truth in the charge. But it was not a failing to blush for, after all, and might well be held excusable in a scion of the royal house of Thomond, filled with the glorious spirit of his ancestors.

Such was the man—noble by birth, fortune, education, and social and public position—who, towards the close of 1848, lay in an Irish dungeon awaiting the fate of the Irish patriot who loves his country “not wisely but too well.”

(To be continued.)

Back to Tribalism

In his letter to President de Valera dated September 7, 1921 (says the *Irish Bulletin* for September 21), Mr. Lloyd George stated that the principle of government by consent of the governed is “the foundation of British constitutional development,” but added that the British Government could not accept an interpretation of that principle which would give Ireland national independence and separation from the British Empire.

“You must be aware that conference on such a basis is impossible. So applied the principle of government by the consent of the governed would undermine the fabric of every democratic State and drive the civilised world back to tribalism.”

Obviously government by consent of the governed does not mean that each individual has the right to choose his own government, or that each group of individuals has the right to choose its own government. It means that each nation has the right to choose its own government. Ireland is a nation, as Mr. Lloyd George has again and again admitted, and it is as a nation that Ireland claims the right to self-determination.

The Creation of the Tribal State

It is certainly desirable that any settlement that may be arrived at as a result of the present negotiations should not undermine the fabric of any democratic State, and should not tend to drive the civilised world back to tribalism. The independence of Ireland would have no such effect. It is the attempted partition of Ireland which makes for tribalism, for tribalism enters in when self-determination is applied to something which is not a nation. Ireland has declared her willingness to meet any legitimate claims Mr. Lloyd George may put forward, though these claims may have the effect of limiting to some extent the exercise of her indefeasible right. In spite of this Mr. Lloyd George says that the nation of Ireland demands more than she has the right to demand, but at the same time he gives to North-East Ulster, which does not pretend to be a province still less a nation, the right to refuse any settlement whatever which does not conform to her wishes in every particular. And to reinforce her in this position he arbitrarily establishes a portion of Ulster as a State.

This partition policy is not proposed by Ireland but is proposed by the British Government. In establishing this State Mr. Lloyd George departed from the national basis. He ignored the laws of history, tradition, and geography. “Northern Ireland” as his absurd effort in nation-building is absurdly called, consists of six of the 32 counties in Ireland. The historical province of Ulster consists of nine counties, but though this province has some claim to a geographical and historical unity within Ireland and as part of an Irish Commonwealth, Mr. Lloyd George durst not select it as the area of his new State because its population is almost equally Nationalist and Unionist, and any Government set up for the whole province would have no stable Protestant majority, which was primarily what he sought. Mr. George, therefore, chose

an unnatural unit having no boundaries, having no previous historical existence, and having no claim to separation from the rest of Ireland on any grounds that would convince an impartial judge.

The Geographical Position of Northern Ireland

It is worth while to consider the geographical position of the Six-County State. Although named “Northern Ireland,” Donegal, one of the counties included in Mr. Lloyd George’s “Southern Ireland,” is more northerly than any portion of it. Fermanagh, which is included in the area, has a majority of Republicans, and is geographically propinquitous to none of the five other counties except the county of Tyrone, which also is and has been Nationalist in politics and Catholic in majority. Fermanagh lies across the inland route between the rest of “Southern Ireland” and the county of Donegal, with the result that this maritime county is cut off from the main portion of the nation by a Nationalist county forced against its will under a Parliament foreign to it in faith, ideals, needs, and interests. By whatever argument the conversion of the other four counties of North-East Ulster into a separate State may be superficially justified, the inclusion of Tyrone and Fermanagh has not one sound argument to support it; unless it be that if these two Catholic counties were, as they should be, attached to “Southern Ireland” the insignificant size of “Northern Ireland” would itself have killed the Partition scheme with ridicule—for Tyrone and Fermanagh, both Republican, form no less than a third of the whole of the six-county area.

The Four Counties not Homogeneous

But even the four-county area is not homogeneous. The protests already made by the counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh are being taken up by the electoral constituencies of South and East Down and South Armagh. These districts about the counties of Louth and Monaghan, both of which have Republican majorities and are included in the area of “Southern Ireland.” Both in South and East Down and in South Armagh the majority of the population is Catholic and Nationalist, and any boundary drawn with regard to the wishes of the people would have placed them in Southern Ireland.

In the whole area of South and East Down every elective body with but one exception has been returned with a majority opposed to Partition, and this despite every effort made by the British Local Government Board in Ireland to arrange the constituencies so that the Unionist party would have control of the county. Downpatrick, the capital town, has elected Republicans as the chairmen of its three public bodies, the Town Commissioners, the Board of Guardians, and the Rural District Council. One of the Parliamentary representatives for the county is Mr. Patrick O’Neill, who appeared before the Cabinet of Dail Eireann on September 8 to protest against the inclusion of South and East Down in the Partition area.

Again of the two cities within the Four-County area—Belfast and Derry—one, Derry City, has a Republican majority, and has elected as its parliamentary representative Dr. Eoin MacNeill, Speaker of Dail Eireann, and as its City Council a Corporation in the majority vehemently opposed to partition.

Of the four counties Down, Derry, Antrim, and Armagh, the Catholic population in Derry and Armagh is greater than either the Presbyterian, the Episcopalian, or the Methodist, and in Down the Catholic population is greater than the Episcopalian and the Methodist and is only six per cent. less than the Presbyterian. In the six counties taken together the Catholic population is 41.3 per cent. of the whole, the Presbyterian 26.7 per cent., the Episcopalian 25.4 per cent., the Methodist 3.3 per cent., and all others 2.3 per cent.

Ulster and the Irish Nation

This then is the area that Mr. Lloyd George would partition from the rest of Ireland, forcing upon it a separate statehood it has never demanded and now accepts with unconcealed reluctance. At the same time he preaches the doctrine that self-determination cannot be exercised by a nation five times as great as North-East Ulster without resulting in the destruction of all democratic States and the revival of prehistoric barbarism. On the very