

REPORT
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
IRISH CONVENTION.

Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty.



DUBLIN:
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1918.

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[Cd. 9019.]

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LETTER OF TRANSMISSION

FROM THE

CHAIRMAN OF THE IRISH CONVENTION

TO

THE PRIME MINISTER.



The Right Honorable D. LLOYD GEORGE, M.P.,

Prime Minister,

10 Downing Street,

London,

SIR,

I have the honour to transmit herewith the Report of the Proceedings of the Irish Convention.

For the immediate object of the Government the Report tells all that needs to be told: it shows that in the Convention, whilst it was not found possible to overcome the objections of the Ulster Unionists, a majority of Nationalists, all the Southern Unionists, and five out of the seven Labour representatives were agreed that the scheme of Irish self-government set out in Paragraph 42 of the Report should be immediately passed into law. A minority of Nationalists propose a scheme which differs in only one important particular from that of the majority. The Convention has, therefore, laid a foundation of Irish agreement unprecedented in history.

I recognise that action in Parliament upon the result of our deliberations must largely depend upon public opinion. Without a knowledge of the circumstances which, at the termination of our proceedings, compelled us to adopt an unusual method of presenting the results of our deliberations, the public might be misled as to what has actually been achieved. It is, therefore, necessary to explain our procedure.

We had every reason to believe that the Government contemplated immediate legislation upon the results of our labours. The work of an Irish settlement, suspended at the outbreak of the war, is now felt to admit of no further postponement.

In the Dominions and in the United States, as well as in other allied countries, the unsettled Irish Question is a disturbing factor, both in regard to war effort and peace aims. Nevertheless, urgent as our task was, we could not complete it until every possibility of agreement had been explored. The moment this point was reached—and you will not be surprised that it took us eight months to reach it—we decided to issue our Report with the least possible delay. To do this we had to avoid further controversy and protracted debate. I was, therefore, on March 22nd, instructed to draft a Report which should be a mere narrative of the Convention's proceedings, with a statement, for the information of the Government, of the conclusions adopted, whether unanimously or by majorities.

It was hoped that this Report might be unanimously signed, and it was understood that any groups or individuals would be free to append to it such statements as they deemed necessary to give expression to their views. The Draft Report was circulated on March 30th, and discussed and amended on April 4th and 5th. The accuracy of the narrative was not challenged, though there was considerable difference of opinion as to the relative prominence which should be given to some parts of the proceedings. As time pressed it was decided not to have any discussion upon a Majority Report, nor upon any Minority Reports or other statements which might be submitted. The Draft Report was adopted by a majority, and the Chairman and Secretary were ordered to sign it, and forward it to the Government. A limit of twenty-four hours was, by agreement, put upon the reception of any other reports or statements, and in the afternoon of April 5th the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

The public is thus provided with no Majority Report, in the sense of a reasoned statement in favour of the conclusions upon which the majority are agreed, but is left to gather from the narrative of proceedings what the contents of such a report would have been. On the other hand, both the Ulster Unionists and a minority of the Nationalists have presented Minority Reports covering the whole field of the Convention's enquiry. The result of this procedure is to minimise the agreement reached, and to emphasise the disagreement. In these circumstances, I conceive it to be my duty as Chairman to submit such explanatory observations as are required to enable the reader of the Report and the accompanying documents to gain a clear idea of the real effect and significance of the Convention's achievement.

I may assume a knowledge of the broad facts of the Irish Question. It will be agreed that, of recent years, the greatest obstacle to its settlement has been the Ulster difficulty. There seemed to be two possible issues to our deliberations. If a scheme of Irish self-government could be framed to which the Ulster Unionists would give their adherence, then the Convention might produce a unanimous Report. Failing such a consummation, we might secure agreement, either complete or substantial, between the Nationalist, the Southern Unionist and the Labour representatives. Many entertained the hope that the effect of such a striking and wholly new development would be to induce Ulster to reconsider its position.

Perhaps unanimity was too much to expect. Be this as it may, neither time nor effort was spared in striving for that goal, and there were moments when its attainment seemed possible. There was, however, a portion of Ulster where a majority claimed that, if Ireland had the right to separate herself from the rest of the United Kingdom, they had the same right to separation from the rest of Ireland. But the time had gone by when any other section of the Irish people would accept

the partition of their country even as a temporary expedient. Hence, the Ulster Unionist members in the Convention remained there only in the hope that some form of Home Rule would be proposed which might modify the determination of those they represented to have neither part nor lot in an Irish Parliament. The Nationalists strove to win them by concessions; but they found themselves unable to accept any of the schemes discussed and the only scheme of Irish government* they presented to the Convention was confined to the exclusion of their entire Province.

Long before the hope of complete unanimity had passed, the majority of the Convention were considering the possibilities of agreement between the Nationalists and the Southern Unionists. Lord Midleton was the first to make a concrete proposal to this end. The Report shows that in November he outlined to the Grand Committee, and in December brought before the Convention, what looked like a workable compromise. It accepted self-government for Ireland. In return for special minority representation in the Irish Parliament, already conceded by the Nationalists, it offered to that Parliament complete power over internal legislation and administration and, in matters of finance, over direct taxation and Excise. But, although they agreed that the Customs revenue should be paid into the Irish Exchequer, the Southern Unionists insisted upon the permanent reservation to the Imperial Parliament of the power to fix the rates of Customs duties. By far the greater part of our time and attention was occupied by this one question, whether the imposition of Customs duties should or should not be under the control of the Irish Parliament. The difficulties of the Irish Convention may be summed up in two words—Ulster and Customs.

The Ulster difficulty the whole world knows; but how the Customs question came to be one of vital principle, upon the decision of which depended the amount of agreement that could be reached in the Convention, needs to be told. The tendency of recent political thought among constitutional Nationalists has been towards a form of government resembling as closely as possible that of the Dominions, and, since the geographical position of Ireland imposes obvious restrictions in respect of naval and military affairs, the claim for Dominion Home Rule was concentrated upon a demand for unrestricted fiscal powers. Without separate Customs and Excise Ireland would, according to this view, fail to attain a national status like that enjoyed by the Dominions.

Upon this issue the Nationalists made a strong case, and were able to prove that a considerable number of leading commercial men had come to favour fiscal autonomy as part of an Irish settlement. In the present state of public opinion in Ireland, it was feared that without Customs no scheme the Convention recommended would receive a sufficient measure of popular support to secure legislation. To obviate any serious disturbance of the trade of the United Kingdom, the Nationalists were prepared to agree to a free trade arrangement between the two countries.† But this did not overcome the difficulties of the Southern Unionists, who on this point agreed with the Ulster Unionists. They were apprehensive that a separate system of Customs control, however guarded, might impair the authority of the United Kingdom over its external trade policy. Neither could they consent

* See Appendix XIV.

† As to the reservation to the Imperial Government of the power to negotiate commercial treaties, see paragraph 19 of the Report signed by the Nationalist minority, p. 39 *infra*.

to any settlement which was, in their judgment, incompatible with Ireland's full participation in a scheme of United Kingdom federation, should that come to pass.

It was clear that by means of mutual concessions agreement between the Nationalists and the Southern Unionists could be reached on all other points. On this important point, however, a section of the Nationalists, who have embodied their views in a separate Report, held that no compromise was possible. On the other hand, a majority of the Nationalists and the whole body of Southern Unionists felt that nothing effective could result from their work in the Convention unless some understanding was reached upon Customs which would render an agreement on a complete scheme attainable. Neither side was willing to surrender the principle; but both sides were willing, in order that a Parliament should be at once established, to postpone a legislative decision upon the ultimate control of Customs and Excise.* At the same time each party has put on record, in separate notes subjoined to the Report, its claim respecting the final settlement of this question. A decision having been reached upon the cardinal issue, the majority of the Convention carried a series of resolutions which together form a complete scheme of self-government.

This scheme provides for the establishment of a Parliament for the whole of Ireland with an Executive responsible to it, and with full powers over all internal legislation, administration and direct taxation. Pending a decision of the fiscal question, it is provided that the imposition of duties of Customs and Excise shall remain with the Imperial Parliament, but that the whole of the proceeds of these taxes shall be paid into the Irish Exchequer. A joint Exchequer Board is to be set up to determine the Irish true revenue, and Ireland is to be represented upon the Board of Customs and Excise of the United Kingdom.

The principle of representation in the Imperial Parliament was insisted upon from the first by the Southern Unionists, and the Nationalists conceded it. It was felt, however, that there were strong reasons for providing that the Irish representatives at Westminster should be elected by the Irish Parliament rather than directly by the constituencies, and this was the arrangement adopted.

It was accepted in principle that there should be an Irish contribution to the cost of Imperial services but, owing to lack of data, it was not found possible in the Convention to fix any definite sum.

It was agreed that the Irish Parliament should consist of two Houses—a Senate of 64 members and a House of Commons of 200. The principle underlying the composition of the Senate is the representation of interests. This is effected by giving representation to commerce, industry, and labour, the County Councils, the Churches, learned institutions and the Peerage. In constituting the House of Commons the Nationalists offered to guarantee forty per cent. of its membership to the Unionists. It was agreed that, in the South, adequate representation for Unionists could only be secured by nomination; but, as the Ulster representatives had informed the Convention that those for whom they spoke could not accept the principle of nomination, provision was made in the scheme for an extra representation of Ulster by direct election.

The majority of the Labour representatives associated themselves with the Nationalists and Southern Unionists in building up the constitution, with the provisions of which they found themselves in general agreement. They frankly

* See Prime Minister's letter of 25th February, 1918, p. 20 *infra*.

objected, however, to the principle of nomination and to what they regarded as the inadequate representation of Labour in the Upper House. Throughout our proceedings they helped in every way towards the attainment of agreement. Nor did they press their own special claims in such a manner as to make more difficult the work, already difficult enough, of agreeing upon a constitution.

I trust I have said enough to enable the reader of this Report and the accompanying documents to form an accurate judgment upon the nature and difficulties of the task before the Convention and upon its actual achievement. While, technically, it was our function to draft a constitution for our country, it would be more correct to say that we had to find a way out of the most complex and anomalous political situation to be found in history—I might almost say in fiction. We are living under a system of government which survives only because the Act abolishing it cannot, consistently with Ministerial pledges, be put into operation without further legislation no less difficult and controversial than that which it has to amend. While the responsibility for a solution to our problem rests primarily with the Government, the Convention found itself in full accord with your insistence that the most hopeful path to a settlement was to be found in Irish agreement. In seeking this—in attempting to find a compromise which Ireland might accept and Parliament pass into law—it has been recognised that the full programme of no party could be adopted. The Convention was also bound to give due weight to your opinion that to press for a settlement at Westminster, during the war, of the question which, as I have shown, had been a formidable obstacle to agreement would be to imperil the prospect of the early establishment of self-government in Ireland.

Notwithstanding the difficulties with which we were surrounded, a larger measure of agreement has been reached upon the principle and details of Irish self-government than has ever yet been attained. Is it too much to hope that the scheme embodying this agreement will forthwith be brought to fruition by those to whose call the Irish Convention has now responded?

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your obedient servant,

HORACE PLUNKETT.

8th April, 1918.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

IRISH CONVENTION.



1. The nature of the task which the Irish Convention was called into existence to perform is described in the letter which the Prime Minister addressed to the late Mr. John Redmond on the 16th May, 1917. This letter is reprinted as the First Appendix to this Report. In the letter of invitation which the Prime Minister addressed to the members of the Convention the scope of its work is described in the words quoted below:—

“The terms of reference to the Convention are set forth in the following passage from a letter on the subject which was lately addressed to the leaders of the principal Irish parties in the House of Commons:—

‘Would it be too much to hope that Irishmen of all creeds and parties might meet together in a Convention for the purpose of drafting a constitution for their country which should secure a just balance of all the opposing interests, and finally compose the unhappy discords which have so long distracted Ireland and impeded its harmonious development?’

I further referred to this matter in the House of Commons in these words:—

‘The Government therefore propose to summon immediately on behalf of the Crown a Convention of representative Irishmen in Ireland, to submit to the British Government a constitution for the future government of Ireland within the Empire.’”

2. Invitations were extended to the Chairmen of the thirty-three County Councils, the Lord Mayors or Mayors of the six County Boroughs; whilst the Chairmen of the Urban Councils throughout Ireland were requested to appoint eight representatives, two from each province. The Irish Parliamentary Party, the Ulster Parliamentary Party and the Irish Unionist Alliance were each invited to nominate five representatives. An invitation was extended to the Roman Catholic Hierarchy to appoint four representatives; the Archbishop of Armagh and the Archbishop of Dublin were appointed to represent the Church of Ireland, and the Moderator of the General Assembly to represent the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. Invitations were also extended to the Chairmen of the Chambers of Commerce of Dublin, Belfast and Cork, and to Labour organisations, and the representative peers of Ireland were invited to select two of their number. All these invitations were accepted except by one Chairman of a County Council. Invitations intended to secure representation of the Sinn Féin party and the All for Ireland party were declined, as were the invitations extended to the Trades Councils of Dublin and Cork. Subsequently, in addition to one member selected to represent the Trades and Labour Council of Belfast, six persons were appointed to represent various labour organisations, and fifteen other persons were nominated by the Government, making the total membership of the Convention ninety-five.* During the course of its proceedings the Convention lost three of its members by death (Sir Henry Blake, Mr. Redmond, and Sir Alexander McDowell), and two by resignation (Mr. Lysaght and Mr. Russell) which reduced the number to ninety.

3. The first meeting of the Convention was held on July 25th, 1917, in the Regent House, Trinity College, which, together with a large number of rooms for offices, had, by the courtesy of the Provost and Fellows of Trinity College, been placed at the disposal of the Convention. The Chair was taken by the Chief Secretary, who delivered an address, and the Convention then proceeded to elect Sir Horace Plunkett as Chairman, and Sir Francis Hopwood, now Lord Southborough, as

CONVENTION.
1st to 4th Sessions.
July 25th–Aug. 9th.

*A list of the members of the Convention Secretariat and Committees will be found in Appendix II.

Secretary. The second, third, and fourth meetings were occupied with the adoption of Standing Orders, the consideration of the general course of procedure to be followed, and the appointment of a Grand Committee of twenty members for the purpose of consulting with the Chairman as to the general procedure to be adopted by the Convention, and of exercising such powers as might from time to time be delegated to it by the Convention. This Committee held twenty-two meetings.

4. The procedure adopted by the Convention was carefully thought out, and is fully explained in the letter of the Chairman to the members, dated 17th August, 1917, which is printed as the Third Appendix to this Report. Its object was to ensure the fullest and frankest expression of opinion, to enable members to know each other's point of view and, at the same time, to avoid raising contentious issues in such a way as to divide the Convention upon party lines. This end was successfully attained by means of what came to be called the Presentation Stage. It was decided that the various schemes for the future government of Ireland which had been submitted to the Convention, whether by members or by persons who were not members, should be first considered by the Grand Committee. All the schemes that this body thought suitable for discussion were then to be presented in turn to the Convention. While they were being debated no decisions were to be taken, and it was generally understood that criticism, whether destructive or constructive, was to be directed towards their improvement so that the several proposals should be placed before the Convention in the best form. When this stage had been concluded, the future procedure was to be decided by the Convention. The speeches made were not officially reported, and the communications issued to the press were worded so as to avoid any undue or premature disclosure of the deliberations of the Convention. It was thought that under these conditions a more unrestrained exchange of views would be possible than under circumstances of greater publicity.

5. A short adjournment was found necessary in order to enable the Grand Committee to carry out the preliminary work, and the actual business of considering proposals for the future government of Ireland which the Grand Committee thought suitable for discussion did not begin until the fifth meeting on August 21st. From this date until the twenty-second meeting, on September 27th, the Convention, which met for three days in each week, was occupied with the general consideration of the schemes which had been presented. Most of these schemes followed in their main outline the form of government enjoyed by the Dominions, but they exhibited, in a varying degree, a certain measure of departure, which was thought by their authors to be necessitated by the special circumstances of Ireland, from the normal type of Dominion self-government. In some schemes the departure from this type was more marked, and these plans more closely approximated to the Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1893 and the Government of Ireland Act of 1914. Two of the schemes provided for the continued representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament, and were framed with the special view of enabling the new Irish constitution to fit into a future complete federalisation of the United Kingdom. Several of the schemes provided that, in addition to a central Irish Parliament, there should be established provincial legislatures; whilst some which favoured the creation of a single Irish legislature suggested that the members representing each province in the Irish Parliament should be constituted into a Provincial Grand Committee with special powers of veto, and possibly of initiative, in respect of legislation or administration so far as that province was concerned.* Most of the schemes claimed for an Irish Parliament full control over all Irish taxation, including Customs and Excise.

6. Apart from the main question whether an Irish Parliament, with an executive responsible thereto, should be established, debate on the schemes submitted chiefly centred on the extent of the power that the Irish Parliament should possess over taxation; the question whether Ireland should make a statutory or voluntary contribution to Imperial expenditure, including the national debt; the constitution of the two Houses of the Irish Parliament, with special reference to the adequate representation of minorities; what power, if any, Ireland should have in connection with defence; what should be the respective obligations of the British and Irish Exchequers with regard to land purchase; and the question whether there should be provincial legislatures.

* A Memorandum on the subject of Provisional Grand Committees was circulated to the Convention by Lord MacDonnell.

7. Of the first twenty-two meetings, sixteen were held in Dublin, three in the City Hall, Belfast, and three in the Crawford Technical Institute, Cork. It was generally felt that the hospitable invitations received from these two cities ought to be accepted in view of the opportunity thus afforded to members of familiarising themselves with the widely different social and economic conditions which characterise different parts of the country. Full advantage was taken of this opportunity, and it was the opinion of all members that the results of these two visits in promoting a fuller knowledge and understanding of Ireland more than compensated for any delays which they entailed.

8. Before the sittings in Cork had concluded on September 27th, the following resolutions were carried unanimously :—

1. "That on the conclusion of the debate at the present sittings of the Convention, the various schemes which have been submitted to and discussed in the Convention be referred to the Grand Committee in order if possible to prepare a scheme for submission to the Convention which would meet the views and difficulties expressed by the different speakers during the course of the debate."

2. "That the Convention stand adjourned after this week's sitting until the Grand Committee is in a position to report."

9. In order that the Grand Committee might fulfil the task thus delegated to it, the Chairman decided to ask one of its members to draft the Heads of a Scheme which might form a basis of discussion in the Grand Committee and ultimately be placed before the Convention, if possible, in the form of a complete agreed scheme. Mr. Redmond, as representing the largest section in the Convention, was first asked to render this service, but he preferred that it should be undertaken by someone other than a political leader. The Chairman then approached the Bishop of Raphoe, who consented to present the Heads of a Scheme.

10. A short interval was found necessary in order to enable preparations for the work of the Grand Committee to be carried out. That Committee, which had been reconstructed for its new work, met on October 11th, and decided that the most effective means of carrying out its task would be, in the first instance, to delegate the duty of finding a basis of agreement to a Sub-Committee of nine members. Subsequently, on the suggestion of the Chairman, three other Sub-Committees were appointed to deal with Electoral Systems and Areas, Defence and Police, and Land Purchase.

GRAND
COMMITTEE,
11th Oct., 1917

11. The Sub-Committee of Nine held fourteen meetings, and made two Reports to the Grand Committee, an Interim Report dated November 15th and a Final Report dated November 21st.* The procedure which they followed was to go through *seriatim* the Heads of the Scheme referred to above. They succeeded, as they informed the Grand Committee, in arriving at certain provisional conclusions on most of the Heads, but these provisional understandings were all contingent on full agreement on the general scheme being reached.

SUB-COMMITTEE
OF NINE,
11th Oct.—21st Nov

12. The following statement shows (column 1) the Heads of the Scheme presented by the Bishop of Raphoe, and (column 2) the provisional conclusions arrived at by the Sub-Committee of Nine :—

HEADS OF SCHEME.

PROVISIONAL CONCLUSIONS.

(The Act referred to in brackets is the Government of Ireland Act, 1914).

1. THE IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to consist of the King, an Irish House of Lords and an Irish House of Commons.

The establishment of an Irish Parliament is accepted as the basis of the deliberations.

2. POWERS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to have the general power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Ireland *subject* to the exclusions and restrictions specified in 3 and 4 below.

The powers of the Irish Parliament are to be those set out in the scheme.

* See Appendix IV.

3. EXCLUSIONS FROM POWER OF IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to have no power to make laws on the following matters:—

- (1) Crown and succession (Act, sect. 2 (1)).
- (2) Making of peace and war (including conduct as neutrals). (Act, sect. 2 (2)).
- (3) The Army and Navy, but
 - (a) Assent of Irish Parliament required for conscription.
 - (b) The Irish Parliament may after five years raise and maintain a territorial force subject to the authority of the King, provided that the Imperial Conference, in which Ireland would be represented, assents.
- (4) Treaties and foreign relations (including extradition).
Ireland to have power similar to the dominions in respect of commercial treaties.
- (5) Dignities and titles of honour.
- (6) Any necessary control of naval harbours, and certain powers as regards lighthouses, buoys, beacons, cables, wireless terminals, to be settled with reference to the requirements of the Military and Naval forces of His Majesty in various contingencies.

The restrictions are accepted generally, subject to the following qualifications:—

Sub-head (3), (a) and (b). These were deferred for further consideration, pending the Report of the Sub-Committee on Defence.

Sub-head (4) is reserved for consideration in connection with the general question of finance, in so far as it gives to Ireland the powers of a Dominion in regard to Commercial Treaties.

Sub-head (6). It is considered that "control of harbours for naval and military purposes" should be substituted for "control of naval harbours."

4. RESTRICTIONS ON POWER OF IRISH PARLIAMENT ON MATTERS WITHIN ITS COMPETENCE.

- (1) Prohibition of laws interfering with religious equality (Act, sect. 3).

N.B. A sub-section should be framed to annul any existing legal penalty, disadvantage or disability, on account of religious belief.

- (2) Safeguard (if desired) for Trinity College and Queen's University similar to section 42 of Act.

- (3) Money bills to be founded only on Vice-regal message (Act, sect. 10 (2)).

- (4) Privilege of members of Irish Parliament to be limited as in Act (Act, sect. 12).

- (5) Rights of existing Irish Officers to be safeguarded (Act, sects. 32-7).

5. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS. The power of the Irish Parliament to amend its constitution is a subject which should be considered by a Sub-Committee.

Is accepted. With regard to sub-head 1, the provision for equal treatment of religious denominations in future must proceed from a basis of equal treatment at present. That is, the disabilities, etc., remaining under the Act of 1829 should be annulled.

It is agreed that the question of the power of the Irish Parliament to amend its Constitution should be considered by a Sub-Committee.

6. EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY. The executive power in Ireland to continue vested in the King, but exercisable through the Lord Lieutenant on the advice of an Irish Executive Committee in the manner set out in Act (sect. 4).

Is accepted, with the understanding that the Lord Lieutenant is to be a non-political personage.

7. DISSOLUTION OF IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to be summoned, prorogued and dissolved as set out in Act (sect. 6).

Is accepted.

8. ASSENT TO BILLS. Royal assent to be given or withheld as set out in Act (sect. 7).

9. CONSTITUTION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

(1) Lord Chancellor	...	1
(2) Four Archbishops or Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church	...	4
(3) Two Archbishops or Bishops of the Church of Ireland	...	2
(4) The Moderator of the General Assembly	...	1
(5) The Lord Mayors of Dublin, Belfast and Cork	...	3
(6) Thirty-nine Temporal Lords	...	39
		<hr/> 50

Is accepted, subject to a preference being expressed for the reservation of Bills instead of their postponement.

The title of Senate was preferred to that of House of Lords.

The following modification of the proposals in the scheme was provisionally approved:—

CONSTITUTION OF SENATE.

Lord Chancellor	...	...	1
Archbishops or Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church	...	...	4
Archbishops or Bishops of the Church of Ireland	...	...	2
Moderator of the General Assembly	...	...	1
Lord Mayors of Dublin, Belfast and Cork	...	...	3
Peers resident in Ireland	...	...	15
Privy Councillors	...	...	15
Representatives of Commerce nominated by Lord Lieutenant	...	...	15
Labour Representatives (1 from each province)	...	...	4

Total 60

It was suggested that the Secretary of the General Assembly might be added. In that event it was intimated that an addition to the number of Roman Catholic Bishops would be expected.

It was also suggested that the Privy Councillors selected should be of two or three years' standing.

The size of the Senate must be considered in relation to the size of the Lower House, and it was subsequently considered that if the Lower House came down to 100 or 120 members it might be convenient to reduce the Senate to 40 members. This would involve a reconsideration of the details of the above scheme.

It was agreed that the members of the Upper House should be nominated for, say, seven years.

10. CONSTITUTION OF HOUSE OF COMMONS. The Irish House of Commons to consist of 168 members—162 elected by constituencies similar to those set out in the memorandum of the Irish Trades Union Congress, and two each by Dublin University, the National University and the Queen's University.

The principle of proportional representation with a single transferable vote to be observed wherever a constituency returns three or more members, and no constituency to return more than seven.

During the first ten years of the Irish House of Commons twelve additional members to be nominated to represent the industries, commerce and trade of the North-east of Ireland, and twelve to represent the Southern Unionists.

The House of Commons to continue for five years unless previously dissolved.

It was agreed that the Unionists should be offered, by effective means, a proportion of forty per cent. in the Lower House; and that in the Upper House of, say, forty, thirty should be men with a substantial stake in the country. The exact method of arriving at this result was left for further consideration, but it was agreed that it could only be obtained by including a substantial number of nominated members. It was suggested that, in order to reduce to a minimum this undemocratic element in the House, the size of the House should be smaller than that proposed in the scheme.

It was stipulated that the nominated element in the Lower House should continue for not less than ten years.

Lord Midleton suggested that, on the disappearance of this nominated element, an addition should be made to the numbers of the Upper House. This might be done and was reserved for further consideration.

N.B.—The interim Report of the Sub-Committee of Nine stated that after these provisional conclusions had been arrived at (7th Nov.), it was considered desirable that the Ulster representatives should communicate with their Advisory Committee with a view to discovering how far the arrangement proposed with regard to the composition of the two Houses of Parliament was likely to prove acceptable. Having taken this course,

HEADS OF SCHEME.

PROVISIONAL CONCLUSIONS.

they intimated, on November 13th, that the Advisory Committee were unable to approve of the suggestion that the Ulster representation in the Lower House should be strengthened by the addition of a number of nominated members. They considered that the proposal to include nominated members to represent Southern Unionists could be defended and might be accepted, but the same considerations did not apply in the case of Ulster. The Ulster representatives undertook to submit proposals for safeguarding the interests of Ulster by means other than the extra representation which had been contemplated.*

11. MONEY BILLS. Money bills to originate only in the House of Commons and not to be amended or rejected by the House of Lords (Act, sect. 10).

12. DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN HOUSES. Disagreements between the two Houses to be solved by joint sittings as set out in Act (sect. 11).

13. REPRESENTATION AT WESTMINSTER. Representation in the Parliament of the United Kingdom to cease until there is a federal parliament.

It was agreed that the Senate should have power to force a joint sitting of both Houses over money bills.

Agreed.

REPRESENTATION AT WESTMINSTER. The Unionist representatives intimated that this was a *sine qua non*. On the Nationalist side it was stated that, while they did not favour the continuance of representation in the Imperial Parliament, pending Federation of the United Kingdom, they did not look upon its cessation as a *sine qua non*.

It was agreed that any Irish representatives at Westminster must have full power to deliberate and vote on all questions.

The question whether Irish representatives at Westminster should be directly elected or delegated by the Irish Parliament was reserved for further consideration. It was suggested that the presence of a nominated element in the Irish House of Commons would probably give the Unionists for a time larger representation in a delegation appointed by that House than by members directly elected.

14. FINANCE. The provision (No. 2 above) as to the powers of the Irish Parliament gives it complete control over finance, including customs and excise.

An Irish exchequer and consolidated fund to be established and an Irish Controller and Auditor-General to be appointed as set out in Act (sect. 14 (1) and sect. (21).

If necessary, it should be declared that all taxes at present leviable in Ireland should continue to be levied and collected until the Irish Parliament otherwise decides.

The necessary adjustments of revenue as between Great Britain and Ireland during the transition period should be made.

15. As soon as may be after the passing of the Act a joint Commission, one-half the members of which shall be chosen to represent Ireland and the other half to represent Great Britain shall be appointed by His Majesty to negotiate and agree upon a trade, postal, and customs union between Great Britain and Ireland, which shall aim at securing and promoting the mutual interests of both countries in all such matters where their interests are common, or connected or parallel or capable of being united for mutual advantage; and in other matters where their interests are separate or competitive to provide for the fair pursuit of these interests with the least prejudice to both countries.

Reserved for further consideration.

The Nationalist Representatives were prepared to accept a guarantee of Free Trade between Great Britain and Ireland, at any rate for a term of years. The Unionists were of opinion that such a guarantee was inconsistent with the Irish control of Customs and Excise.

* These proposals were not submitted under the circumstances explained in Appendix IV. (See p. 59).

HEADS OF SCHEME.

PROVISIONAL CONCLUSIONS.

The convention as agreed shall be submitted to the parliaments of both countries, and, if not disapproved of within the next 30 days, shall become of force and effect for a period of 10 years subject to modification or renewal by mutual agreement. Every modification or removal shall in like manner be submitted to both parliaments, and be subject to their approval.

If the Commission fails to arrive at an agreement, or if the convention agreed upon is disapproved of by either parliament, the most favoured nation terms in force relating to the matter in question, whether with a foreign country or with a dominion government, shall become operative as between both countries, and shall be brought into force by a proclamation of His Majesty.

✓ 16. IMPERIAL CONTRIBUTION. The Irish Parliament shall fix the contribution which Ireland shall make to the cost of Imperial defence and administration, considering the financial and economic ability of her population, and the protection which Ireland receives from the army and navy. The over-taxation of Ireland in the past and her share in the national debt may be set off against each other.

Ireland to have no share in the miscellaneous revenue of the Imperial Government (Suez Canal Shares, etc.)

As from the passing of the Act or the transfer of any services, the Irish Government should assume liability for all loans that have been made in Ireland, and for deposits in savings banks, etc.

The question of land purchase is dealt with in the next section.

17. LAND PURCHASE. The Irish Government to assume all responsibility for land purchase loans, excess stock, and bonus, and to be entitled to receive all payments to be made by tenant purchasers.

Future loans to be made on the credit of the Irish Government, or, if satisfactory arrangements can be made, on the credit of the Imperial Government.

An equitable scheme of land purchase that would be compulsory on owner and tenant alike, where voluntary bargains are not forthcoming after a certain period, could be sanctioned. The total provision for excess stock and bonus at present amounts to £800,000 a year.

The subsidy from the tax payer for pending agreements will, owing to changes in the price of money, be at a much greater rate in pending cases than it was in the cases already completed. Another million, or more, may be needed for the unsold areas. The whole obligation is largely an Imperial one, and Ireland should get credit for discharging it in considering the question of an Imperial contribution.

18. JUDICIAL POWER. The following provisions of the Government of Ireland Act to be adopted:

(a) Safeguarding position of existing Irish Judges (Act, sect. 32).

(b) Leaving appointment of future Judges to the Irish Government and their removal to the Crown on address from both Houses of Parliament (Act, sect. 27).

Reserved for further consideration in connection with the question of Finance. The Nationalist members of the Sub-Committee recorded their recognition of the principle of such a contribution, though reserving their views as to method and amount.

Reserved for consultation with the Sub Committee investigating this question.

Agreed, conditionally upon the Unionists having effective representation in the Irish Parliament. It was agreed that the Lord Chancellor should not be a political officer, but that his salary as Speaker of the Senate should be placed on the Estimates.

- (c) Transferring appeals from the House of Lords to the Judicial Committee, strengthened by Irish Judges (Act, sect. 28).
- (d) Extending right of appeal to this Court. (Act, sect. 28 (4) and sect. 30 (1-2)).
- (e) Provision as to reference of questions of validity to Judicial Committee (Act, sect. 29).

19. LORD LIEUTENANT. The Lord Lieutenant to hold office for 6 years, and to be subject to no religious disqualification (Act, sect. 31).

20. CIVIL SERVICE. A Civil Service Commission to be appointed to regulate competitive examinations for admission to the public service, promotions, and the exercise of higher patronage.

Provision should be made for ensuring that in the future the salaries of Irish public officials, appointed after the passing of the Act, shall be upon a scale appropriate to Ireland.

It was agreed that the salary of the Lord Lieutenant should be sufficient to throw the post open to men not of great wealth.

It was agreed that the Lords Justices should be subject to no religious disqualifications.

It was agreed that a strong Civil Service Commission should be established, and the following composition was suggested:—

Lord Chancellor, Chairman; two permanent members appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, and holding office during good behaviour.

The practice of the English Civil Service Commission to be followed as far as possible.

Competitive examinations to regulate admission to the Service as far as possible.

The Unionist members having expressed anxiety as to the exercise of patronage in Ulster, it was suggested that two additional members might be added to the Commission to protect their interests.

It was agreed that the present exercise of patronage by the Lord Chancellor would require to be reviewed, and that there should, in future, be no unpaid Magistrates.

A clause should be inserted requiring the Civil Service Commissioners to prepare a scheme for future appointments to the Public Service, such scheme to be laid before both Houses before any such appointments are made. It might be an instruction to the Commissioners, in framing such a scheme, to devise a scale appropriate to the financial and other circumstances of Ireland.

21. DEFERRING TAKING OVER CERTAIN IRISH SERVICES. Arrangements to be made to permit the Irish Government, if they so desire, to defer taking over the services relating to Land Purchase, Old Age Pensions, National Insurance, Labour Exchanges, Post Office, Trustee Savings Banks, and Friendly Societies.

Reserved for further consideration.

SUB-COMMITTEE OF NINE.

13. It will be seen that on the majority of the above Heads there was no marked disagreement in the Sub-Committee of Nine, though it was found necessary to reserve certain Heads or parts of Heads (viz., Head 3, sub-heads (3) and (4), Heads 9, 10, 13-17 and 21) for further consideration. On two Heads, 14 and 15 dealing with Finance, agreement could not be reached, and it was the divergent views held on this matter which prevented the Sub-Committee from reaching that full agreement on the general scheme which was required to remove the contingent character of the conclusions arrived at on the other points.

14. The position of the Sub-Committee of Nine as regards the fiscal issue is set out in Appendix IV. and may be summarised as follows:—

The Scheme presented contemplated that, pending federation of the United Kingdom, there should be no Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament, and provided for the exercise by the Irish Parliament of complete control over finance, including Customs and Excise, and suggested the appointment of a Commission to negotiate a Trade, Postal, and Customs Union between Great Britain and Ireland. The Unionist representatives demurred to these proposals, those from Ulster insisting that full control over finance should be left to the Imperial Parliament, while the Southern Unionists were prepared to agree that Excise might be the subject of special consideration.

15. Lord Southborough, in an endeavour to find a compromise, submitted to the Sub-Committee of Nine certain proposals for giving to the Irish Parliament full control of taxation, subject to an arrangement for Free Trade between Great Britain and Ireland, and special provisions to meet the case of dumping (see Appendix IV., Schedule III.). Lord Southborough also submitted further proposals, which were a development of a suggestion previously made by Lord Middleton, that Customs should be reserved to the Imperial Parliament and that Excise should be specially considered. Under these proposals (see Appendix IV., Schedule VIII.) the imposition of Customs Duties would remain with the Imperial Parliament, the collection would be carried out under the authority of a Joint Board, and an Irish contribution to Imperial Services would be made a first charge against the Customs revenue. The remaining sources of revenue would be under the control of the Irish Parliament.

16. It was not found possible to reach an agreement upon these lines, and it was feared that the Sub-Committee of Nine might have no alternative but to report to the Grand Committee to that effect. The Chairman of the Convention was, however, anxious that the Sub-Committee should make a closer examination of the arguments on the one side and the other. He embodied this view in a letter dated November 6th, enclosing certain questions addressed to the Ulster and Nationalist representatives respectively, with a list of possible compromises (see Appendix IV., Schedule IV.).

17. Two sets of replies were submitted by the Nationalist representatives, one signed by four members (see Appendix IV., Schedule V.), the other by one member (see Appendix IV., Schedule VI.). The signatories of the former set demanded fiscal autonomy (including control over Customs and Excise as well as direct taxation) similar to that enjoyed by self-governing colonies, but they were prepared to agree to an arrangement for securing for a term of years free trade between Great Britain and Ireland, except in excisable articles, with a proviso against dumping. The reasons which made them unwilling to accept any smaller measure of Irish control over taxation will be found in their answers. These also contained alternative proposals for meeting the fears of Unionists in respect of fiscal autonomy.

18. The Nationalists replies were communicated to the Ulster representatives, and considered by them. They felt that in the circumstances the divergence of views disclosed was so great that no useful purpose would be served by a formal reply to the questions submitted to them, and on November 14th they addressed to the Chairman of the Convention a letter containing a general statement of their attitude on the financial problem, and declaring their opinion that for Ireland and for Great Britain a common system of Finance, with one Exchequer, was a fundamental essential (see Appendix IV., Schedule VII.).

19. The Chairman did not consider it necessary to address any questions to the representative of the Southern Unionists, who occupied an intermediate position, Lord Middleton having already, on their behalf, put forward a suggestion that Customs should be reserved to the Imperial Parliament, and that Excise should be specially considered.

20. In their Final Report of November 21st, the Sub-Committee of Nine stated that, in consequence of the continued divergence of their views on the financial question, their endeavour to find a basis for agreement had not proved successful.*

21. In consequence of this report, the Grand Committee, on November 22nd, took up the task of attempting to frame a scheme for the future government of Ireland. Eight meetings were held between November 22nd and December 13th; the proceedings being interrupted during the first week in December owing to the Parliamentary duties of several members.

GRAND
COMMITTEE,
Nov. 22nd-Dec. 13th

22. During these meetings the Grand Committee considered the provisional conclusions which had been reached by the Sub-Committee of Nine on the Heads of the Scheme submitted to them. The Report of the Sub-Committee on Electoral Systems and Areas (see Appendix V.) was considered in connection with Heads 9 and 10 relating to the constitution of the Senate and the House of Commons, and the recommendations of the Sub-Committee were, for the most part, accepted and utilised. In accordance with the suggestion made by the Sub-Committee of

Nine, a special Sub-Committee was appointed to consider the question of constitutional amendments. The Report made by this Sub-Committee was adopted by the Grand Committee, and incorporated in Head 5 of their Provisional Conclusions (Appendix VI.). As in the Sub-Committee of Nine, provisional agreements, contingent on the acceptance of a general scheme, were arrived at on most of the Heads, though certain Heads had to be reserved for future consideration.* Agreement upon the fiscal issue, however, could not be reached, and the conflict of opinion on this issue again prevented the attainment of a full agreement on a general scheme.

23. During the proceedings of the Grand Committee, the views of Nationalists in favour of fiscal autonomy, and of Ulster Unionists in favour of fiscal unity, as set forth in their answers to the Chairman's inquiries (see Appendix IV.), were further expounded, and Lord Midleton, on the 28th November, on behalf of the Southern Unionists, laid before the Grand Committee a memorandum defining their attitude on this question (see Appendix VII.). The Grand Committee, however, were unable to reach an agreement upon the fiscal issue, and they came to the conclusion that the matter must be referred to the Convention.

CONVENTION,
23rd to 36th
Sessions.
18th Dec., 1917.
24th Jan., 1918.

24. Owing to important parliamentary business requiring the attendance at Westminster of some members, the Convention could not meet until the 18th December, when a statement was made by the Chairman, showing what progress had been made and what difficulties encountered (see Appendix VIII.). The Report of the Sub-Committee of Nine, (Appendix IV.) already referred to, was circulated amongst the Convention together with a statement of the provisional conclusions arrived at by the Grand Committee upon the Heads of the Scheme and the findings of the Sub-Committee of Nine thereon (Appendix VI.). The Reports of the Sub-Committees on Electoral Systems and Areas, (Appendix V.), and on Land Purchase (Appendix IX.) were also circulated; but the principal work of the Convention during the fourteen meetings held between the 18th December, 1917 and the 24th January, 1918 was the consideration of the fiscal difficulty.

25. In pursuance of his attempt to find a compromise between the demand for complete fiscal autonomy for Ireland and the demand for the complete fiscal unity of the United Kingdom, Lord Midleton on the 2nd January, 1918, introduced the following Resolution:—

That, in the event of the establishment of an Irish Parliament, there shall be reserved to the Parliament of the United Kingdom full authority for all Imperial services, including the levying of Customs duties, but subject to the above limitations the Irish Parliament shall control all purely Irish services, including Judicature and Police with internal taxation and administration.

26. Lord Midleton's proposals were amplified from time to time, in a series of memoranda (see Appendix VII.). He proposed that during the war the proceeds of Customs and Excess Profits duties should go to the Imperial Exchequer, the Irish Exchequer receiving the proceeds of other taxes, and any additional amount that might be necessary to cover the ascertained cost of Irish services. Subject to the above, all forms of taxation, including Excise, but excluding Customs duties, were to be controlled by the Irish Parliament. After the war Customs duties would continue to be imposed under the authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. The Imperial Exchequer would, however, retain only so much of the receipts from such duties as would represent a fair contribution to the cost of Imperial services, the amount of such contribution to be determined after enquiry by a Commission representing both Great Britain and Ireland.

27. Lord Midleton proposed, further, that a permanent Joint Revenue Board should be set up and invested with the following functions:—

- (1) To determine the true Customs revenue of Ireland.
- (2) To secure co-operation between the revenue authorities of the two countries with regard to traffic in excisable articles.

* The provisional agreements arrived at are recorded in Appendix VI.

(3) To determine the respective claims of the British and Irish Governments to levy direct taxation on the property or income of persons resident partly in Ireland, partly in Great Britain.

(4) To advise with regard to alleged cases of dumping to the injury of Irish industries.

(5) To recommend reductions in Customs duties on articles of general consumption in Ireland, in the event of the proportion of Customs and Excise duties to the total tax revenue in Ireland exceeding the similar proportion, in the case of Great Britain, by fifteen per cent., in two successive years.

28. Various amendments to Lord Midleton's resolution were proposed and discussed at the meetings of the Convention on January 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 22nd, 23rd and 24th.* The most important amendments were designed to withdraw Customs from the control of the Imperial Parliament, and leave the raising of all taxes to an Irish Parliament. In the course of the debate, Lord Midleton's proposal received support from a number of Nationalist members, who, while retaining the view that Ireland ought to control all sources of taxation, were willing to accept his compromise in order to secure agreement; and the majority of the Labour representatives expressed their readiness to follow the same course. On the other hand, a number of Nationalists were unable to accept any arrangement which deprived the Irish Parliament of the control of Customs; nor did Lord Midleton's proposals meet the objections of the Ulster Unionist representatives.

29. It therefore became apparent that on the financial issue there were three clearly defined bodies of opinion in the Convention: the Ulster Unionists, advocating the maintenance of the fiscal unity of the United Kingdom; a section of Nationalists insisting on complete fiscal autonomy for Ireland; and the Southern Unionists, with the adherence of other Nationalists and the majority of the Labour members, advancing a compromise which left to Ireland the proceeds of all sources of revenue, and the imposition of all taxes other than Customs. In these circumstances, the Chairman considered it to be his duty to communicate to the Convention on January 24th the following letter which the Prime Minister had sent him to use at his discretion:—

10 DOWNING STREET,

WHITEHALL, S.W. 1.

21st January, 1918.

DEAR SIR HORACE PLUNKETT.

In our conversation on Saturday you told me that the situation in the Convention has now reached a very critical stage. The issues are so grave that I feel the Convention should not come to a definite break without the Government having the opportunity of full consultation with the leaders of the different sections. If, and when, therefore, a point is reached at which the Convention finds that it can make no further progress towards an agreed settlement, I would ask that representatives should be sent to confer with the Cabinet. The Government are agreed and determined that a solution must be found. But they are firmly convinced that the best hope of a settlement lies within the Convention and they are prepared to do anything in their power to assist the Convention finally to reach a basis of agreement, which would enable a new Irish Constitution to come into operation with the consent of all parties.

Yours sincerely,

D. LLOYD GEORGE.

* The sessions of the Convention held on the 8th, 9th, and 10th January, 1918, were devoted to the consideration of the Report of the Sub-Committee on Land Purchase. (See paragraph 40 *infra*).

30. The debate on Lord Midleton's motion and on an amendment thereto moved by the Bishop of Raphoe, claiming control of Customs for the Irish Parliament, having been suspended, the Convention considered the Prime Minister's letter and, after an exhaustive discussion, passed the following resolution :—

"That the Convention thanks the Prime Minister for his letter, and, though it does not feel the possibilities of agreement are exhausted, it considers that they may be increased by the acceptance of his offer, and it is, therefore, nominating delegates to confer with the Cabinet."

DELEGATION TO
LONDON.

31. In accordance with this decision, a Delegation representative of all sections proceeded to London, and had interviews severally and collectively with the Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet.

CONVENTION,
37 h to 49th
Sessions.
26th Feb.-Mar. 22nd

32. The Convention reassembled for its thirty-seventh session on the 26th February, when the Chairman made a report on the interviews that had taken place between the Delegation and the Cabinet, and read the following letter from the Prime Minister :—

10, DOWNING STREET,

LONDON, S.W.,

25th February, 1918.

DEAR SIR HORACE PLUNKETT,

I had the privilege of discussing, during the last three weeks, the situation in the Irish Convention with the delegates whom the Convention appointed to confer with the Government. You will allow me to thank the Convention for sending over a delegation so representative of all groups of opinion within the Convention. The Government have thereby been enabled to learn the views of different parties, and to appreciate better than would otherwise have been possible the position that has now been reached within the Convention. I regret that the urgency of questions vital to the immediate conduct of the war has protracted the meetings with various groups longer than it was hoped would be necessary, but I am confident the Convention will recognise the exceptional circumstances of the time and will understand there has been no avoidable delay.

The conclusions to which the Government have come as a result of their interviews with the representatives of the Convention may be stated as follows :—

The Government are determined that, so far as is in their power, the labours of the Convention shall not be in vain. On receiving the report of the Convention, the Government will give it immediate attention, and will proceed with the least possible delay to submit legislative proposals to Parliament. They wish, however, to emphasise the urgent importance of getting a settlement in and through the Convention. The Convention has been brought together to endeavour to find a settlement by consent. If the Convention fails to secure this, the settlement of the question will be much more difficult, but it will be a task incumbent on the Government. It is, therefore, of the highest importance both for the present situation and for future good relations in and with Ireland that the settlement should come from an Irish assembly, and from mutual agreement among all parties. To secure this there must be concessions on all sides. It has been so in every Convention, from that of the U.S.A. to that of South Africa.

There is, however, a further consideration which has an important bearing on the possibilities of the present situation. During the period of the war it is necessary to proceed as far as possible by agreement. Questions on which there is an acute difference of opinion in Ireland or in Great Britain must be held over for determination after the war. At the same time it is clear to the Government, in view of previous attempts at settlement, and of the deliberations of the Convention itself, that the only hope of agreement lies in a solution which, on the one side, provides for the unity of Ireland under a single Legislature with adequate safeguards for the interests of Ulster and the Southern Unionists, and, on the other, preserves the well-being of the Empire and the fundamental unity of the United Kingdom.

It is evident that there is on the part of all parties in the Convention a willingness to provide for and safeguard the interests of the Empire and of the United Kingdom. A settlement can now be reached which will reserve by common consent to the Imperial Parliament its suzerainty, and its control of Army, Navy, and Foreign Policy and other Imperial services, while providing for Irish representation at Westminster, and for a proper contribution from Ireland to Imperial expenditure. All these matters are now capable of being settled within the Convention on a basis satisfactory both to the Imperial Government and to Ireland.

There remains, however, the difficult question of Customs and Excise. The Government are aware of the serious objections which can be raised against the transfer of these services to an Irish Legislature. It would be practically impossible to make such a disturbance of the fiscal and financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland in the midst of a great war. It might also be incompatible with that federal re-organisation of the United Kingdom in favour of which there is a growing body of opinion. On the other hand, the Government recognise the strong claim that can be made that an Irish Legislature should have some control over indirect taxation as the only form of taxation which touches the great majority of the people, and which in the past has represented the greater part of Irish revenue.

The Government feel that this is a matter which cannot be finally settled at the present time. They therefore suggest for the consideration of the Convention that, during the period of the war and for a period of two years thereafter, the control of Customs and Excise should be reserved to the United Kingdom Parliament; that, as soon as possible after the Irish Parliament has been established, a Joint Exchequer Board should be set up to secure the determination of the true revenue of Ireland—a provision which is essential to a system of responsible Irish Government and to the making of a national balance sheet, and that, at the end of the war, a Royal Commission should be established to re-examine impartially and thoroughly the financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland, to report on the contribution of Ireland to Imperial expenditure, and to submit proposals as to the best means of adjusting the economic and fiscal relations of the two countries.

The Government consider that during the period of the war the control of all taxation other than Customs and Excise could be handed over to the Irish Parliament; that, for the period of the war and two years thereafter an agreed proportion of the annual Imperial expenditure should be fixed as the Irish contribution; and that all Irish revenue from Customs and Excise as determined by the Joint Exchequer Board, after deduction of the agreed Irish contribution to Imperial expenditure, should be paid into the Irish Exchequer. For administrative reasons, during the period of the war it is necessary that the Police should remain under Imperial control and it seems to the Government to be desirable that for the same period the Postal service should be a reserved service.

Turning to the other essential element of a settlement—the securing of an agreement to establish a single Legislature for an united Ireland—the Government believe that the Convention has given much thought to the method of overcoming objection on the part of Unionists, North and South, to this proposal. They understand that one scheme provides for additional representation by means of nomination or election. They understand further that it has also been suggested that a safeguard of Ulster interests might be secured by the provision of an Ulster Committee within the Irish Parliament, with power to modify, and if necessary to exclude, the application to Ulster of certain measures either of legislation or administration which are not consonant with the interests of Ulster. This appears to be a workable expedient, whereby special consideration of Ulster conditions can be secured and the objections to a single Legislature for Ireland overcome.

The Government would also point to the fact that it has been proposed that the Irish Parliament should meet in alternate sessions in Dublin and Belfast, and that the principal offices of an Irish Department of manufacturing industry and commerce should be located in Belfast. They believe that the willingness to discuss these suggestions is clear evidence of the desire to consider any expedient which may help to remove the causes of Irish disunion. The fact that, in order to meet the claims of different parts of the community, the South African Convention decided that the Legislature was to be established in Cape Town, the Administrative

Departments to be situated in Pretoria, and the Supreme Court was to sit in Bloemfontein, is a proof that proposals such as these may markedly contribute to eventual agreement.

Finally, the Government have noted the very important Report which has been prepared on the subject of Land Purchase and on which an unanimous conclusion has been reached by the Committee of the Convention set up to consider this subject. If this Report commends itself to the Convention, the Government would be prepared to introduce in Parliament as part of the plan of settlement (and simultaneously with the Bill amending the Government of Ireland Act, 1914) a measure for the purpose of enabling Parliament to give effect to the recommendations of the Convention on the subject of Land Purchase. The Government have also had submitted to them by the Labour representatives in the Convention the need of provision for dealing with the urgent question of housing in Ireland, and on receiving recommendations from the Convention on the subject they would be prepared to consider the inclusion in the scheme of settlement of a substantial provision for immediately dealing with this vital problem.

There thus seems to be within the reach of the Convention the possibility of obtaining a settlement which will lay the foundation of a new era in the government both of Ireland and of Great Britain. It is a settlement which will give to Irishmen the control of their own affairs, while preserving the fundamental unity of the United Kingdom, and enabling Irishmen to work for the good of the Empire as well as for the good of Ireland. With all the earnestness in their power the Government appeal to the members of the Convention to agree upon a scheme which can be carried out at once and which will go a long way towards realising the hopes of Irishmen all over the world, without prejudice to the future consideration of questions on which at present agreement cannot be attained in Ireland and which are also intimately connected with constitutional problems affecting every part of the United Kingdom, the consideration of which must be postponed till the end of the present war. This is an opportunity for a settlement by consent that may never recur, and which, if it is allowed to pass, must inevitably entail consequences for which no man can wish to make himself responsible.

Yours sincerely,

D. LLOYD GEORGE.

CONVENTION,
26th-28th February

33. The consideration of the views expressed by the Cabinet to the Delegation and by the Prime Minister in his letter occupied the sessions of February 26th, 27th and 28th. It was felt that a new situation had been created, and the discussion was directed to seeing whether the suggestions made in the Prime Minister's letter could be made the basis of an agreement in the Convention. One suggestion was at once adopted, a Committee being appointed to consider under what conditions assistance could best be given to Housing in Urban Areas in Ireland.

March 5th-6th.

34. On March 5th the Convention decided not to resume the consideration of the motion introduced by Lord Midleton on January 2nd, but to take up a resolution which had been submitted by Lord MacDonnell and which, in effect, embodied, with variation in detail, some of the suggestions contained in the Prime Minister's letter. The first part of this resolution was in the following terms:—The matters specified as unfitted for immediate legislation, namely, control of Customs and Excise by an Irish Parliament, be postponed for further consideration until after the war, on the condition that such control of Customs and Excise by the Irish Parliament shall come into effect automatically three years after the cessation of hostilities unless the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall otherwise decide. Another part of the resolution proposed that during this interim period the Board of Customs and Excise should include a person, or persons, nominated by the Irish Treasury, and also provided for the creation of a Joint Exchequer Board to secure the determination of the true revenue of Ireland. These propositions raised in a definite form the fiscal issue which had been debated at length in the Convention, first during the Presentation Stage, then on Lord Midleton's motion of the 2nd January and the amendments thereto, and finally on the Prime Minister's letter.

35. The consideration of Lord MacDonnell's motion was postponed owing to Mr. Redmond's death and the adjournment until after the funeral. When the Convention re-assembled on March 12th the first part of Lord MacDonnell's resolution (see Appendix X.) appeared in another form. It proposed that the imposition of Customs and Excise should be under the control of the Imperial Parliament during the war and thereafter until the question of such control had been considered and a decision arrived at by the Imperial Parliament, the decision to be taken not later than seven years after the conclusion of peace. The first part of Lord MacDonnell's resolution was put to the vote and carried by 38 votes to 34. The text of the resolution and full particulars of the amendments proposed and divisions taken will be found in Appendix X.

42nd-49th
Sessions.
March 12th-22nd

36. The opinion of the majority upon the main financial question having now been formally expressed, the Convention decided to resume the consideration of the statement of provisional conclusions reached in the Grand Committee (see Appendix V.). These were considered on the 14th, 15th, 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22nd March. The Heads on which there was provisional agreement in Grand Committee were adopted with but little alteration, and discussion mainly centred on those Heads reserved by the Grand Committee for consideration by the Convention. The text of the Heads and of the amendments proposed and particulars of the divisions taken will be found in Appendix XI.

37. One amendment calls for particular notice. On Head 2, Mr. Barrie proposed to exclude from the power and authority of the Irish Parliament the province of Ulster, referred to as "The Excluded Area." Mr. Barrie had on the 12th March circulated an outline of a scheme of Irish Government based on the Amending Bill of 1914, (see Appendix XIV.), and had placed on the Agenda Paper a motion to consider it. The motion, however, was not pressed in view of his amendment which raised the same issue. This amendment was discussed on March 14th and 15th and rejected by 52 votes to 19. (See Appendix XI).

38. It will be remembered that the Grand Committee had appointed three Sub-Committees to deal with specific questions. The Report of the Sub-Committee on Electoral Systems and Areas (see Appendix V.) was not formally considered by the Convention, but its recommendations were discussed in connection with the constitution of the Senate and the House of Commons and were largely incorporated in the proposals adopted by the Convention under these Heads.

ELECTORAL
SYSTEMS AND
AREAS.

39. The Report of the Sub-Committee on Defence and Police (see Appendix XV.) was considered by the Convention and adopted on 14th March by 54 votes to 17. The amendments proposed and the divisions thereon are recorded in Appendix XII.

DEFENCE AND
POLICE.

40. The Report of the Sub-Committee on Land Purchase, which was accepted in principle by the Grand Committee, had been discussed in the Convention on the 8th, 9th and 10th January, and certain suggested amendments were referred to the Sub-Committee for their consideration. The final Report of the Sub-Committee (see Appendix IX.) was considered by the Convention on the 22nd March and after discussion unanimously adopted. It should be noted that the Report of the Sub-Committee on Land Purchase, which contains detailed recommendations for a complete settlement of the agrarian question, was based on the assumption that the duty of the Sub-Committee was to inquire into the problems presented by Land Purchase, not under the existing form of government, but as part of a large scheme for recasting the framework of government in Ireland, and they stated that their recommendations could not be taken as agreed to on any other hypothesis. The amendments proposed to the Report on 22nd March and the divisions thereon are recorded in Appendix XIII.

LAND PURCHASE

41. The Report of the Committee appointed, in accordance with the suggestion contained in the Prime Minister's letter of the 25th February, 1918, to consider the question of Housing in Urban Areas in Ireland (see Appendix XVI.), was considered by the Convention on the 5th April, and unanimously adopted.

51st Session.
HOUSING.

42. We have now set out in order the proceedings of the Convention throughout the eight months of its deliberations. The answer to our Reference, is to be found in the following statement. This statement embodies the conclusions arrived at by majorities, full particulars of which will be found in Appendices X. to XIII.

STATEMENT OF CONCLUSIONS.*

1. THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

- (1) The Irish Parliament to consist of the King, an Irish Senate, and an Irish House of Commons.
- (2) Notwithstanding the establishment of the Irish Parliament or anything contained in the Government of Ireland Act, the supreme power and 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.

Section carried by 51 votes to 18. (See Division List No. 6).

2. POWERS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to have the general power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland, subject to the exclusions and restrictions specified in 3 and 4 below.

Section carried by 51 votes to 19. (See Division List No. 8).

3. EXCLUSIONS FROM POWER OF IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to have no power to make laws on the following matters :—

- (1) Crown and succession (See 1914 Act sect. 2 (1)).
- (2) Making of peace and war (including conduct as neutrals). (Act, sect. 2 (2)).
- (3) The Army and Navy.

*** In this connection reference should be made to the Report of the Sub-Committee on Defence and Police (Appendix XV.) which was adopted by the Convention by 54 votes to 17.*

(For Divisions see Appendix XII. and Division Lists Nos. 14-20).

- (4) Treaties and foreign relations (including extradition). (Act, sect. 2 (4)).
- (5) Dignities and titles of honour. (Act, sect. 2 (5)).
- (6) Any necessary control of harbours for naval and military purposes, and certain powers as regards lighthouses, buoys, beacons, cables, wireless terminals, to be settled with reference to the requirements of the Military and Naval forces of His Majesty in various contingencies. (Act, sect. 2 (9)).

Sub-section carried by 41 votes to 13. (See Division List No. 9).

- (7) Coinage; legal tender; or any change in the standard of weights and measures. (Act, sect. 2 (10)).

- (8) Copyright or patent rights.

Section carried by 49 votes to 16. (See Division List No. 21).

*The Statement shows the votes for and against each section and sub-section (where a division was taken). Particulars of all amendments and the voting thereon will be found in Appendices X.-XIII. The division lists will be found in Appendix XVII.

TEMPORARY AND PARTIAL RESERVATION. The Imperial and Irish Governments shall jointly arrange, subject to Imperial exigencies, for the unified control of the Irish Police and Postal services during the war, provided that as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities the administration of these two services shall become automatically subject to the Irish Parliament.

Carried by 37 votes to 21. (See Division List No. 5).

* * * *In this connection reference should be made to the Report of the Subcommittee on Defence and Police, and also to their Supplementary Report, which were adopted by the Convention (Appendix XV.).*

(For Divisions see Appendix XII. and Division Lists Nos. 14-20).

4. RESTRICTION ON POWER OF IRISH PARLIAMENT ON MATTERS WITHIN ITS COMPETENCE.

(1) Prohibition of laws interfering with religious equality. (Act, sect. 3).

N.B. A sub-section should be framed to annul any existing legal penalty, disadvantage or disability on account of religious belief. Certain restrictions still remain under the Act of 1829.

(2) Special provision protecting the position of Freemasons. (Act, sect. 43 (1) and (2)).

(3) Safeguard for Trinity College, and Queen's University similar to sect. 42 of Act.

(4) Money bills to be founded only on Viceregal message. (Act, sect. 10 (2)).

(5) Privileges, qualifications, etc., of members of Irish Parliament to be limited as in Act. (Act, sect. 12).

(6) Rights of existing Irish Officers to be safeguarded. (Act, sects. 32-7).

Section carried by 46 votes to 15. (See Division List No. 11).

5. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS. Section 9 (4) of the Act of 1914 to apply to the House of Commons with the substitution of "ten years" for "three years." The constitution of the Senate to be subject to alteration after ten years, provided the Bill is agreed to by two-thirds of the total number of members of both Houses sitting together.

Section carried by 46 votes to 15. (See Division List No. 12).

6. EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY. The executive power in Ireland to continue vested in the King, but exercisable through the Lord Lieutenant on the advice of an Irish Executive Committee in the manner set out in Act. (sect. 4).

Section carried by 45 votes to 15. (See Division List No. 13).

7. DISSOLUTION OF IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to be summoned, prorogued, and dissolved as set out in Act. (sect. 6).

Section carried by 45 votes to 15. (See Division List No. 13).

8 ASSENT TO BILLS. Royal Assent to be given or withheld as set out in Act (sect. 7) with the substitution of "reservation" for "postponement."

Section carried by 45 votes to 15. (See Division List No. 13).

D

9. CONSTITUTION OF THE SENATE.

(1) Lord Chancellor	...	...	...	...	1
(2) Four Archbishops or Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church					4
(3) Two Archbishops or Bishops of the Church of Ireland	...				2
(4) A Representative of the General Assembly	...	...			1
(5) The Lord Mayors of Dublin, Belfast, and Cork	...	...			3
(6) Peers resident in Ireland, elected by Peers resident in Ireland					15
(7) Nominated by Lord Lieutenant:—					
Irish Privy Councillors of at least two years' standing	...				4
Representatives of learned institutions	...	...			3
Other persons	...	...	...	...	4
(8) Representatives of Commerce and Industry	...	...			15
(9) Representatives of Labour, one for each Province	...				4
(10) Representatives of County Councils, two for each Province					8
					64

On the disappearance of any nominated element in the House of Commons an addition shall be made to the numbers of the Senate.

Section carried by 48 votes to 19. (See Division List No. 24).

10. CONSTITUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

- (1) The ordinary elected members of the House of Commons shall number 160.
- (2) The University of Dublin, the University of Belfast, and the National University shall each return two members. The graduates of each University shall form the constituency.
- (3) Special representation shall be given to urban and industrial areas by grouping the smaller towns and applying to them a lower electoral quota than that applicable to the rest of the country.
- (4) The principle of Proportional Representation, with the single transferable vote, shall be observed wherever a constituency returns three or more members. (Act, sect. 9 (2)).

Sub-section carried by 47 votes to 22. (See Division List No. 25).

- (5) The Convention accept the principle that forty *per cent.* of the membership of the House of Commons shall be guaranteed to Unionists. In pursuance of this, they suggest that, for a period, there shall be summoned to the Irish House of Commons 20 members nominated by the Lord Lieutenant, with a view to the due representation of interests not otherwise adequately represented in the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, and that 20 additional members shall be elected by Ulster constituencies, to represent commercial, industrial and agricultural interests.
- (6) The Lord Lieutenant's power of nomination shall be exercised subject to any instructions that may be given by His Majesty the King.
- (7) The nominated members shall disappear in whole or in part after 15 years, and not earlier, notwithstanding anything contained in Clause 5.
- (8) The extra representation in Ulster not to cease except on an adverse decision by a three-fourths majority of both Houses sitting together.

Sub-section carried by 27 votes to 20. (See Division List No. 26).

- (9) The House of Commons shall continue for 5 years unless previously dissolved.
- (10) Nominated members shall vacate their seats on a dissolution but shall be eligible for renomination. Any vacancy among the nominated members shall be filled by nomination.

Section carried by 45 votes to 20. (See Division List No. 27).

11. MONEY BILLS.

- (1) Money bills to originate only in the House of Commons, and not to be amended by the Senate (Act, sect. 10).
- (2) The Senate is, however, to have power to bring about a joint sitting over money bills in the same session of Parliament.
- (3) The Senate to have power to suggest amendments, which the House of Commons may accept or reject as it pleases.

Section carried by 45 votes to 22. (See Division List No. 28).

12. DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN HOUSES. Disagreements between the two Houses to be solved by joint sittings as set out in Act (sect. 11), with the proviso that if the Senate fail to pass a money bill such joint sitting shall be held in the same session of Parliament.

Section carried by 45 votes to 22. (See Division List No. 28).

13. REPRESENTATION AT WESTMINSTER.

- (1) Representation in Parliament of the United Kingdom to continue. Irish representatives to have the right of deliberating and voting on all matters.
- (2) Forty-two Irish representatives shall be elected to the Commons House of the Parliament of the United Kingdom in the following manner:—

A Panel shall be formed in each of the four Provinces of Ireland, consisting of the members for that Province in the Irish House of Commons, and one other Panel shall be formed consisting of members nominated to the Irish House of Commons. The number of representatives to be elected to the Commons House of the Imperial Parliament shall be proportionate to the numbers of each Panel and the Election shall be on the principle of Proportional Representation.

Sub-section carried by 42 votes to 24. (See Division List No. 29).

- (3) The Irish representation in the House of Lords shall continue as at present unless and until that Chamber be remodelled, when the matter shall be reconsidered by the Imperial and Irish Parliaments.

Section carried by 44 votes to 22. (See Division List No. 31).

14. FINANCE.

- (1) An Irish Exchequer and Consolidated Fund to be established and an Irish Controller and Auditor-General to be appointed as set out in Act (sect. 14 (1) and sect. 21).
- (2) If necessary, it should be declared that all taxes at present leviable in Ireland should continue to be levied and collected until the Irish Parliament otherwise decides.
- (3) The necessary adjustments of revenue as between Great Britain and Ireland during the transition period should be made.

Section carried by 51 votes to 18. (See Division List No. 32).

15. FINANCIAL POWERS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

- (1) The control of Customs and Excise by an Irish Parliament is to be postponed for further consideration until after the war, provided that the question of such control shall be considered and decided by the Parliament of the United Kingdom within seven years after the conclusion of peace. For the purpose of deciding in the Parliament of the United Kingdom the question of the future control of Irish Customs and Excise, a number of Irish representatives proportioned to the population of Ireland shall be called to the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

Sub-section carried by 38 votes to 34. (See Division List No. 1).

- (2) On the creation of an Irish Parliament, and until the question of the ultimate control of the Irish Customs and Excise services shall have been decided, the Board of Customs and Excise of the United Kingdom shall include a person or persons nominated by the Irish Treasury.

Sub-section carried by 39 votes to 33. (See Division List No. 2).

- (3) A Joint Exchequer Board, consisting of two members nominated by the Imperial Treasury, and two members nominated by the Irish Treasury, with a Chairman appointed by the King, shall be set up to secure the determination of the true income of Ireland.

Sub-section carried by 39 votes to 33. (See Division List No. 2).

- (4) Until the question of the ultimate control of the Irish Customs and Excise services shall have been decided, the revenue due to Ireland from Customs and Excise, as determined by the Joint Exchequer Board, shall be paid into the Irish Exchequer.

Sub-section carried by 38 votes to 30. (See Division List No. 34).

- (5) All branches of taxation, other than Customs and Excise, shall be under the control of the Irish Parliament.

Sub-section carried by 38 votes to 30. (See Division List No. 34).

16. IMPERIAL CONTRIBUTION. The principle of such a contribution is approved.

Section carried unanimously.

17. LAND PURCHASE. The Convention accept the recommendations of the Sub-Committee on Land Purchase. (See Appendix IX.).

Section carried unanimously.

18. JUDICIAL POWER. The following provisions of the Government of Ireland Act to be adopted:—

- (a) Safeguarding position of existing Irish Judges (sect. 32).
- (b) Leaving appointment of future Judges to the Irish Government and their removal to the Crown on address from both Houses of Parliament (sect. 27).
- (c) Transferring appeals from the House of Lords to the Judicial Committee, strengthened by Irish Judges (sect. 28).
- (d) Extending right of appeal to this Court. (Sect. 28 (4) and sect. 30 (1-2)).
- (e) Provision as to reference of questions of validity to Judicial Committee (see sect. 29).

The Lord Chancellor is not to be a political officer.

Section carried by 43 votes to 17. (See Division List No. 36).

19. LORD LIEUTENANT. The Lord Lieutenant is not to be a political officer. He shall hold office for 6 years, and neither he nor the Lords Justices shall be subject to any religious disqualification (see Act of 1914, sect. 31). His salary shall be sufficient to throw the post open to men of moderate means.

Section carried by 43 votes to 17. (See Division List No. 37).

20. CIVIL SERVICE.

- (1) There shall be a Civil Service Commission consisting of representatives of Irish Universities which shall formulate a scheme of competitive examinations for admission to the public service, including statutory administrative bodies, and no person shall be admitted to such service unless he holds the certificate of the Civil Service Commission.
- (2) A scheme of appointments in the public service, with recommendations as to scales of salary for the same, shall be prepared by a Commission consisting of an independent Chairman of outstanding position in Irish public life, and two colleagues, one of whom shall represent Unionist interests.
- (3) No appointments to positions shall be made before the scheme of this Commission has been approved.

Section carried by 42 votes to 18. (See Division List No. 38).

21. DEFERRING TAKING OVER CERTAIN IRISH SERVICES. Arrangements to be made to permit the Irish Government, if they so desire, to defer taking over the services relating to Old Age Pensions, National Insurance, Labour Exchanges, Post Office Trustee Savings Banks, and Friendly Societies.

Section carried by 43 votes to 18. (See Division List No. 39).

43. In conclusion, we have pleasure in recording our high appreciation of the unremitting service rendered to us by our Secretary, Lord Southborough, at every stage of our protracted labours. He has placed at our disposal the wise counsel and ripe experience of a distinguished public servant, and to him and all the members of our efficient Secretariat we tender our cordial thanks.

44. The Chairman and Secretary have the honour, by direction of the Convention, to submit the foregoing Report of its Proceedings to His Majesty's Government.

Paragraph 44 carried by 42 votes to 35. (See Division List No. 51).

The whole Report carried by 44 votes to 29. (See Division List No. 52).

SOUTHBOROUGH,
Secretary.

HORACE PLUNKETT,
Chairman.

5th April, 1918.

REPORT

OF

ULSTER UNIONIST DELEGATES

TO

IRISH CONVENTION.

1. We, the Ulster Unionist Members of the Convention, find ourselves unable to concur in the Chairman's Draft Report. We protest against its implication that a measure of agreement regarding Irish Self-Government was attained, which in fact was not the case as is evidenced by the record of the Divisions. The provisional conclusions on minor matters which were arrived at in Committee were strictly contingent on agreement on the vital issues. These were fundamental—and upon them no agreement was at any time visible. On many of the important questions the Nationalists were sharply divided. All discussions were “without prejudice” and subject to complete agreement being reached on the whole Scheme. Absolute freedom of action as regards decision in Convention on all points was reserved and this was clearly indicated throughout the proceedings.

2. In confirmation of this statement the following extract from Lord MacDonnell's Memorandum (see Appendix XIX.) issued to the Convention on 8th March, 1918, may be quoted :—

“It is true that this report does not bind the Grand Committee, still less the Convention, even on the points on which no difference of opinion is recorded, because all the provisional understandings which were arrived at were contingent on a full agreement on the general scheme being reached; and it cannot be said this agreement has been reached.”

3. In order that an accurate estimate may be formed of the origin and purpose of the Irish Convention, it is necessary to recall the political situation as it existed in the early summer of 1917.

4. The Home Rule Act of 1914, to which Ulster was inexorably opposed, had been placed on the Statute Book, in disregard of the truce entered into at the beginning of the war, at which time an Amending Bill excluding Ulster from the Act had passed through its initial Parliamentary stages with general consent and was postponed in consequence of the European situation.

5. Yielding to the demands of the Nationalists, the Prime Minister, in a letter addressed to Mr. John Redmond, on 16th May, 1917, offered :—

(a) A “bill for the immediate application of the Home Rule Act to Ireland, but excluding therefrom the six Counties of North-East Ulster”; or, alternatively,

(b) A Convention of Irishmen “for the purpose of drafting a Constitution for their country . . . which should secure a just balance of all the opposing interests.”

6. Mr. Redmond refused the first proposal, but acquiesced in the suggestion of a Convention, in which Ulster Unionists were invited to join. On 21st May, 1917, in announcing the Government's intention to summon the Convention, the Prime Minister said: “No one—I want to make this quite clear—by the mere fact of going to the Convention can be assumed to be pledged to the acceptance or the rejection of any particular proposal or method for the Government of Ireland.”

7. Ulster Unionists felt some natural hesitancy in sending delegates to the Convention, but relying absolutely on this pledge, and on further pledges given by the Prime Minister and Mr. Asquith, that Ulster would not be forced to come under a Dublin Parliament, they ultimately consented. In taking this course the Ulster Unionists were animated by the desire to do what was best for the Empire, for Great Britain, and for Ireland. They were satisfied with the Constitution under which they had lived and prospered, and they desired to continue under the Union which they still believe to be the form of Government best suited to the needs of Ireland and best calculated to maintain the stability of the Empire. They were ready, however, to consider any plan that might be put forward, provided it would increase the happiness and comfort of the people and at the same time maintain the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament.

8. Ulster Unionists, who have thrown themselves whole-heartedly into the war, deplore the fact that in this great world crisis, when their entire energies ought to be devoted to providing men and munitions, they should be even temporarily diverted from vital national issues on which the very existence of the Empire depends in order to again take up a subject the consideration of which had been rightly postponed on the outbreak of hostilities.

9. In view of Ulster's well-known doubts and fears and of the undeniable fact that the declared object of the Convention was to "secure a just balance of all opposing interests" it was not unnatural to assume that the Nationalists were prepared to offer a *modus vivendi*, and formulate proposals of local Parliamentary government for Ireland which would at least :—

- (1) Provide for the absolute supremacy of the Imperial Parliament ;
- (2) Maintain the existing fiscal unity ;
- (3) Guarantee protection for the undoubted rights of the Unionist minority ;
- (4) Ensure the safety of Irish industrial enterprises, the vast proportion of which are situated in the North-Eastern Counties of Ulster, and from which the bulk of the Irish Revenue is derived.

10. We expected that the real work of the Convention would have been directed to a sincere and patriotic endeavour to find common ground somewhere between the 1914 Act on the one hand, and the views of Ulster on the other. From the first week in which the Convention sat we urged this course, and repeatedly expressed our disappointment that almost every Nationalist speech outlined a form of Home Rule far in advance of any previous claim.

11. The Scheme which was finally brought forward by the Bishop of Raphoe on behalf of the Nationalists included the following demands :—

First—A Sovereign Independent Parliament for Ireland co-equal in power and authority with the Imperial Parliament.

Second—Complete Fiscal Autonomy for Ireland, including :—

- (a) Power of imposing tariffs and control of Excise, involving, as it would, the risk of hostile tariffs against Great Britain and the disturbance of free intercourse between the two countries ;
- (b) Right of making Commercial Treaties with foreign countries ;
- (c) Full powers of direct taxation.

Third—Right to raise and maintain a Military (territorial) Force in Ireland.

Fourth—Repudiation of any liability for the National Debt on the plea of over-taxation of Ireland in the past. Subject to the consent of the Irish Parliament, the principle of a small annual contribution towards Imperial expenditure was admitted.

Fifth—Denial of the right of the Imperial Parliament to impose Military Service in Ireland unless with the consent of the proposed Irish Parliament.

12. When the Clause claiming Fiscal Autonomy for Ireland was reached, it soon became evident that no real approach towards agreement was possible. At that stage the Chairman endeavoured to get over the deadlock by putting a series of questions to the Nationalists and to the Ulster Unionists, and the replies sent in speak for themselves. The real object of these proposals was clearly apparent in the official reply to the Chairman's queries of 6th November, signed by the following Nationalist Leaders:—John Redmond, the Lord Bishop of Raphoe, Joseph Devlin, George Russell.

13. In this document the Nationalists again emphatically insisted upon their demand for Ireland's fiscal independence, and crystallised their argument in the following terms:—"We regard Ireland as a Nation, an economic entity. Self-government does not exist where those nominally entrusted with affairs of Government have not control of fiscal and economic policy."

14. It is, therefore, clear that Fiscal Autonomy including the control of Customs and Excise and National taxation is valued by the Nationalists not only on the ground of supposed economic advantage but as an essential symbol of National independence. In opposition to this Ulster takes a firm stand on the basis of the people's common prosperity, and maintains that the Fiscal unity of the United Kingdom must be preserved intact, carrying with it as it does the sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament and due representation therein.

15. The important question of how far Ireland should contribute to Imperial taxation raised much controversy. In the earlier stages of the discussions some prominent Nationalists stated quite frankly that they recognised no responsibility for any portion of the pre-war National Debt, nor for the present war expenditure, whilst we claimed that in justice and in honour Ireland must continue to pay her full share of both. The majority of the Nationalists declined to admit such liability.

16. During the financial year just ended Ireland's Imperial contribution will, it is estimated, amount to about thirteen millions sterling, and possibly to twenty millions next year. An important section of the Nationalists objected to any Imperial contribution being paid, but the larger number favoured a contribution ranging from two and a half to four and a half millions sterling per annum. It was invariably a condition that the contribution should be purely voluntary and at the pleasure of the Irish Parliament. We listened to these suggestions with keen disappointment, knowing of no reason why Ireland, which is abundantly prosperous, should not in the hour of the Empire's need contribute her full share of men and money. We have always contended that there should be equality of sacrifice in every part of the United Kingdom.

17. As already pointed out, a further Clause in the Bishop of Raphoe's Scheme with which we found it impossible to agree claimed that compulsory Military Service could not be imposed upon Ireland by Great Britain unless with the consent of the Irish Parliament, and this demand was supported by a majority vote of the Convention.

18. Again, it was claimed that, in contradistinction to the provisions of all previous Home Rule Bills, the Royal Irish Constabulary, a semi-Military Force, should immediately at the conclusion of the war come under the control of the Irish Parliament. The 1914 Act provided that this Force should remain under Imperial control for a period of six years. In the present state of Ireland such a proposal must be regarded as "excessively dangerous." This is the opinion expressed by the Inspector-General of the Force, whose statement appears in the Appendices I.C. 27.

19. Failing any evidence of an approach to a narrowing of our differences, and in view of the new demands made and adhered to by the Nationalists, we were finally forced to declare that in any such scheme of Self-Government for Ireland Ulster could not participate. We cannot overlook the strong probability that the controlling force in such a Parliament would to-day be the Republican or Sinn Fein Party, which is openly and aggressively hostile to Great Britain and to the Empire. During recent months in many parts of Ireland, outside of Ulster, there has been a great renewal of lawlessness, and crime bordering on anarchy, which unfortunately has not been adequately dealt with by the Irish Executive.

20. A most remarkable situation arose in the Convention when a vote was taken on the proposal to adjourn the proceedings until an assurance was received from the Government that they would promptly take effective steps to restore law and order and repress outrage throughout Ireland. Fifty Nationalist Members voted against that proposal, and 33 Members, including the Ulster Unionists, voted for it.

21. A proposal was brought forward, under which, in an Irish Parliament Unionists should have a temporary representation largely in excess of what they are entitled to on the basis of population. While appreciating the spirit of this offer it was felt, after full consideration, that the undemocratic character of this proposal rendered it wholly unacceptable.

22. On the Land Question a Report containing valuable suggestions was submitted by the Committee to which the subject had been referred. This Report was unanimously adopted as there was a desire amongst all sections to have the great regenerative scheme of Land Purchase completed without further delay.

23. The Committee appointed to consider the urgent necessity for providing additional Workmen's houses in Urban Districts reported in favour of comprehensive schemes being at once undertaken by the Local Authorities, an Imperial grant in aid to be provided by the Treasury. This Report was also unanimously adopted.

24. We regret that instead of proposals being made to remove our objections, the policy pursued by the Nationalists in the Convention strengthened our opinion that Home Rule would intensify existing divisions in Ireland and prove a constant menace to the Empire. Had we thought that the majority of the Convention intended to demand, not the subordinate powers contained in previous Home Rule Bills, but what is tantamount to full national independence, we could not have agreed to enter the Convention.

25. While firmly believing that Home Rule would be inimical to the highest interests of Ireland and the Empire, Ulster Unionists, with the object of meeting the Nationalists, presented an alternative scheme for the exclusion of Ulster based on lines agreed to by the Official Nationalist Party in 1916.

26. The discussions have proved beyond doubt that the aim of the Nationalists is to establish a Parliament in Ireland which would be practically free from effective control by the Imperial Parliament. It is only necessary to draw attention to modern political movements to realise the unwisdom of establishing within the United Kingdom two Parliaments having co-equal powers. All other countries have fought against this disintegrating policy.

27. The Australian States, weary of local commercial disputes, combined in one fiscal unit in which they were joined by Tasmania—an Island much akin to Ireland in the matter of area.

28. The United States of America established, at the cost of much blood and treasure, National unity when the Confederacy claimed, like the Irish Nationalists, the right to set up an Independent Government.

29. With these and other examples before us we cannot help feeling that the demands put forward, if conceded, would create turmoil at home and weakness abroad.

30. One of the many objection to the Scheme presented in the Report is that it would make the future application of Federalism to the United Kingdom impossible.

31. For the reasons stated we could not accept the proposals put forward by the Nationalists. .

32. We desire to record our appreciation of the uniform courtesy and good feeling which characterised the proceedings of the Convention throughout.

HUGH T. BARRIE.

LONDONDERRY.

ABERCORN.

CRAWFORD McCULLAGH.

R. G. SHARMAN-CRAWFORD, COL.

R. N. ANDERSON.

M. E. KNIGHT.

JOHN IRWIN.

JOHN HANNA.

H. B. ARMSTRONG.

J. JACKSON CLARK.

G. S. CLARK.

ROBERT H. WALLACE, COL.

J. STOUPPE F. McCANCE.

H. GRATTAN MacGEAGH.

W. WHITLA.

JAMES JOHNSTON, *Lord Mayor of Belfast.*

H. M. POLLOCK.

JOHN McMEEKAN.

5th April, 1918.

NOTE
BY THE
PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE
AND THE
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

We have not found it possible to vote for the conclusion reached by the majority of the members of this Convention.

It involves, in our opinion, either of two alternatives :—

- (1). The coercion of Ulster, which is unthinkable.
- (2). The partition of Ireland, which would be disastrous.

We have more than once put forward a Federal Scheme based on the Swiss or Canadian precedent, which might ensure a united Ireland with provincial autonomy for Ulster, or any other Province that desired it.

This scheme would also be capable of being adapted to some larger scheme of Imperial Federation for the whole British Empire.

J. P. MAHAFFY,
Provost of Trinity College.

JOHN B. ARMAGH,
Primate.

REPORT

BY THE

UNDERSIGNED NATIONALISTS.

1. The object set before the Convention was to frame a Constitution for Ireland within the Empire. This was the first time the Government had assigned such a commission to a body of Irishmen, and we approached the task with a deep sense of the gravity of the circumstances in which the idea of the Convention originated as well as of the responsibility which rested upon us of giving the best answer in our power to a reference of such supreme importance.

2. Though its function was to draft a Constitution, the Convention was not a Constituent Assembly with a direct mandate from the people to plan the form of Government under which they desired to live. Still it might well claim a considerable measure of authority for its proceedings. Except for some important political and labour abstentions it has worthily reflected almost every phase and interest and class in the varied life of Ireland. But there has been no sure means of knowing how far it exhibited the mind and will of Ireland at the present time, even as regards the parties officially represented in it, nor any guarantee that its decisions, independently of suggestions made by the Government, would take effect in law. The Sinn Fein organisation stood altogether aloof.

3. Nevertheless, whatever the difficulties might be, we determined to make the most of the unique opportunity that presented itself when Irishmen of opposing parties were for the first time to come together in a large body to discuss in friendship the future government of their country at a great crisis in the world's history. To co-operate in devising a scheme of National self-government which would satisfy the reasonable aspirations of our fellow-countrymen, and provide adequate safeguards for minorities, was altogether according to our desires. We believed that if a measure giving us full control over our own affairs was agreed to, and given effect to by the Government, the vast majority of Irish Nationalists would accept it and bend their minds to making it a success, and that the good will to the Constitution which had followed self-government in the Dominions would speedily spring up here.

4. Such hopes as were entertained of success in building a worthy edifice from these foundations were strengthened by the preliminary debates of the Convention, which were upon a high level, and showed a real desire for mutual enlightenment and understanding. It looked as if the gravity of the times, the principles of freedom for which the Allied Nations claimed to stand, the widespread desire for a settlement throughout the Dominions and among our American kindred, and the disastrous consequences of further conflict and disunion, might bring about a spontaneous resolve among all the assembled delegates to establish our country as a free and contented nation within the Empire.

5. These expectations have been only in part realised. The Southern Unionist delegates, abandoning a long tradition of opposition to Home Rule, came forward frankly and fairly to assist in planning a scheme of self-government. We readily

acknowledge the patriotism of their action, and we can only regret deeply that on one point, the control of Customs, which we regarded as vital, they could not see eye to eye with us, and thus effect a complete mutual agreement on a Constitution.

6. The Labour delegates also took a very useful part in the deliberations. As a body they were strongly in favour of a measure of self-government for Ireland.

7. On the other hand, the Ulster Unionists, who were in close touch with their supporters in the North, to our great regret did not see their way to give much co-operation in constructive work along the lines which the Convention was following. The objections which they formulated to our proposals would, if given effect to, reduce the Irish Parliament to a low level at the outset. What their view might be in an Irish Parliament is a different matter. Every one of the Dominions contained a minority of citizens accustomed to identify themselves with Imperial interests who predicted a calamity for their country and the whole Empire if self-government were fully conceded. We are confident that the experience of the Convention will tend to remove any such feeling in Ulster; and, in order to make it easy for our esteemed fellow-countrymen to join on fair terms in one Parliament for the whole country, we went so far as to concede them a large measure of additional elected representation in the Irish House of Commons. They would be a powerful and effective element in an Irish Parliament.

8. We realised clearly from the outset that to obtain an agreement upon Home Rule for a United Ireland, and thus fulfil the purpose of the Convention, compromise was necessary. But we also realised that to carry compromise to the point of agreeing to a scheme which, in our judgment, Ireland would not accept from us would be very unwise, apart from our own decided opinions on the right solution of the Irish problem. The truth is, that it is in the control by Irishmen of the machinery of Irish Government rather than in a reduction of the powers of the Irish Parliament that the best field is to be found for a reasonable compromise. This brings us to the recommendations of our Report.

9. The terms of reference given to the Convention contained the single limitation that the Constitution must be within the Empire.

10. Within the Empire and peculiar to it, there is a form of Constitution, enjoyed by all the self-governing Dominions, which has brought peace, contentment and prosperity to those nations, together with an attachment to the Empire which has grown steadily firmer, even after rebellion and open war. This form of Constitution rests on three main principles (1) the Imperial Parliament retains full control over all Imperial affairs, foreign relations, the making of peace and war, the Army and Navy. (2) The Dominion Parliament is technically a subordinate one, whose Bills must receive the Royal Assent to become valid, and whose Acts may legally be over-ridden by the Imperial Parliament. (3) Subject to these limitations, the Dominion has unfettered power of national self-government, including full control of all taxation.

11. Ireland is a Nation, and it is upon a like foundation that we believe the Irish Constitution should now be built. There is room for compromise on details, and even on secondary questions of principle, and there is abundant room for compromise of the wisest kind in the form of safeguards for the minorities inside Ireland, without limiting the powers of Ireland as a whole. But we think it essential to abide by the principle that Irish affairs, including all branches of taxation, should be under the Irish Parliament.

12. It has often been said in our debates, and outside them, that it would be unsafe for Great Britain to permit an island so near her to have political power resembling in any degree that of the Dominions. As regards national defence, we have allowed a difference to exist; and in the matter of trade there is room for a special arrangement. But, as to the rest, we can only reply that reconciliation between the two countries is made exceedingly difficult unless it can be shown that the British people sincerely believe in liberty for its own sake, and are willing, to apply to Ireland the principle that the supposed military interests of great

states shall not over-ride the rights of small nationalities living alongside them. The noble principle of liberty, which has had such a unifying effect in the Dominions during the war now devastating Europe surely cannot lose its virtue when applied to an island near to Great Britain, where mutual interests and intimate commercial relations ought to promise an even closer friendship.

13. While we think, therefore, that any settlement founded on distrust of Ireland will fail in its effect, and that the nearer the Irish Constitution approaches to that of the Dominions the better will be its prospects, we have striven with earnest sincerity to meet the opposition of Unionist minorities in Ireland, and allay their fears with safeguards which do not infringe any vital principle. We take in turn the points where difference has arisen, and the proposals which we make for compromise.

14. **Customs and Excise.** The principal point of difference arose on finance. We asked for full powers of taxation. The Ulster representatives wished to reserve all powers of taxation to the Imperial Parliament, and only modified this demand to the extent of allowing to the Irish Parliament some undefined taxing power of its own. The Southern Unionists were prepared to concede direct taxation and Excise to the Irish Parliament, and admitted the reasonableness of Ireland's claim to separate Customs treatment by proposing an arrangement which, in effect, would place a moral obligation upon the Imperial Parliament of imposing lower Customs duties in Ireland than in Great Britain upon articles of general consumption. They could not see their way to go further and allow the Irish Parliament control over Customs. Ultimately they acquiesced in a proposition from the Government that leaves the control of Customs and Excise to the decision of the Imperial Parliament after the war. In an Irish Parliament we have no doubt that many of them would claim the fiscal autonomy which more than one of them advocated in the earlier stages of the Convention.

15. The taxing power so deeply affects the welfare and prosperity of the people, the dignity of Parliament, and the wise and economical administration of the Government, that no part of it could be placed under external control without perpetuating friction with Great Britain and discontent in Ireland. The control of indirect taxation, which determines the course of trade and in normal times produced seventy per cent. of Irish tax-revenue, is of especial importance. Irish Government cannot be financed without drawing largely on these sources of revenue, nor can an equitable balance between direct and indirect taxation be obtained if two authorities instead of one are controlling them. Moreover, the indirect taxes affect articles of general consumption among the mass of the population, including necessities of life.

16. Economically, Ireland is, and always has been, different from Great Britain. It is a much poorer country, and a country with few manufacturing industries. It has suffered severely from over-taxation under the Union, and urgently needs a separate fiscal system under Irish control. There is not an instance in the world of an island differing so radically from a powerful neighbouring country being united with it under a common fiscal system.

17. No exception can be made in the case of Customs, which, under the present free trade system, comprise the duties on such important articles as sugar, tea, coffee and tobacco. Moreover fiscal systems everywhere are in the melting pot, and there is a likelihood of radical change in the British system. No change could possibly affect Ireland and Great Britain in the same way, and we consider it necessary that Ireland should have the right of guarding her own trade interests and controlling her own trade policy. It may be said with truth that the power of each state within the Empire to control the whole of its own taxation, and especially its Customs, is the very corner-stone of Imperial unity.

18. Federation is not in view. Even if it were, and Ireland were still intent on retaining control of her Customs, her sea boundary and her distinct national character and economic interests would give her a claim in that respect which no member of a federation anywhere else can advance.

19. It has been said that to give the Irish Government the power of negotiating commercial arrangements with foreign countries will complicate foreign relations and place her in an unwarrantably privileged position. We answer that no such complications arise in the case of the Dominions, and that what we ask for implies, in our own case as in theirs, no diminution of Imperial authority. Any such trade arrangement has to be negotiated through the agency of the Colonial Office, as representing the Imperial Government, in which the treaty-making power alone resides.

20. Another objection was the inconvenience to trade if a Customs barrier were set up and ships were searched for dutiable articles. But the system was in force here until the middle of the last century. It still prevails in trade, not only with America, France, and foreign countries generally, but with the Dominions, the Crown Colonies, and even the Channel Islands. It is, moreover, the only effective means of ascertaining what the true income of Ireland amounts to. The revenue at present attributed to Ireland in respect of tea and other dutiable commodities is official guesswork, founded mainly on the numbers of the population.

21. But the strongest objection made to the control of Customs, an objection urged principally by the Ulster Unionists, was that it might interrupt free trade between Ireland and Great Britain. They stated that the raw materials of Ulster industry were drawn mainly from Great Britain, which was also the market for much of their finished produce, and that close commercial intercourse was therefore essential. But this is true also of Irish agriculture, for whose products, which are perishable, and are exported in normal times to a greater value than the products of all the Ulster industries combined, Great Britain is at the present time the best and practically the only market. It would be folly to offend our best customer.

22. As both countries are so deeply interested in free access to one another's markets, we believe that mutual advantage would be a surer guarantee of free and friendly intercourse than any legal restrictions. But, in order to meet Unionist fears, we are ready to agree to provisions in the Constitutional Act maintaining free trade between the two countries in articles of home produce, subject to safeguards against dumping, for a reasonable term of years, and thereafter by mutual agreement. This would ensure that if any change became absolutely necessary, owing either to an altered tariff policy in Great Britain, or to any other reason, it could not be made without prolonged deliberation in the Irish Parliament.

23. We desire to recall the fact that in proposing full powers of taxation for Ireland we are not making a new or unsupported claim. The three most eminent financial authorities upon the Financial Relations Commission of 1895—Lord Farrer, Lord Welby, and Mr. Bertram Currie—reported in a powerful reasoned argument, while disclaiming all political prepossessions, that this was the only sound method of solving the question. The Primrose Committee of financial experts, no longer ago than 1911, unanimously and with equal emphasis reported to the same effect, recommending the Irish control of Customs with arrangements for free trade between the two countries. None of the arguments used by these high authorities, after exhaustive investigation, have lost their weight, and some have gained strength.

24. The Act of 1914, which gives Ireland some restricted powers in regard to Customs, contains in Section 26 a distinct guarantee that when Irish revenue had met Irish expenditure for three successive years, the financial arrangements would be revised for the express purpose of increasing the powers of the Irish Parliament over taxation, as well as for settling an Imperial contribution. The condition is now fulfilled. A large balance of revenue over expenditure has been growing for three years, and it can no longer be said that an estimated deficit justifies any curtailment of Irish control over Irish finance.

25. We fully agree that there should be some regular machinery for ensuring close co-operation between Great Britain and Ireland in commercial and postal matters; and we, therefore, propose the establishment of a Joint Advisory Commission with power to make agreements and recommendations on these important matters.

26. The Imperial Contribution. A most important financial question is the nature and amount of the contribution to be made by Ireland to Imperial services. The obligation of Ireland to contribute according to her means we accept without question. As to the method, our view is that this is another case where the greatest wisdom would lie in following the Dominion precedent—that is, in making the matter one of voluntary negotiation between the Irish and Imperial Governments, the contribution taking the form of payment for services of an Imperial nature, as by the maintenance of forces for local defence or the provision of ships. Ireland, on her side, would renounce all claim to subsidies or payments of any kind from the British Exchequer. This would make a clean financial settlement. Great Britain would not be exacting what many might regard as tribute. Ireland would wipe out bitter memories of over-taxation and neglect, and face the future not only as a self-reliant country, but as a more willing because a more free contributor to the common defence. It must be recognised that if this plan is not adopted and a statutory contribution is to be enforced by law, there is no logical course but to re-open intricate questions of taxable capacity, which will inevitably bring into prominence the over-taxation of Ireland in the past, and will be held to justify claims for compensation.

27. In view of strong Unionist feeling, however, we do not press our views upon the point, and are willing to agree to a statutory payment, to be fixed provisionally at the outset and afterwards by agreement between the Imperial and Irish Governments. We only stipulate that the annual expenses of Land Purchase, which must be regarded as an Imperial obligation, though an Irish service, as well as the cost of any defence forces that may be raised and maintained in the future by the Irish Government, shall be set off against the sum so fixed. The same applies, in a large measure, to the Housing scheme. The balance could best be paid in kind by the provision of ships or other war material manufactured in Ireland.

28. Local Forces. Any settlement which prohibited Ireland, as a matter of principle, from providing military forces for her own local defence in the constitutional manner customary in the Dominions would, in our opinion, be unacceptable. The confidence shown by entrusting her with such a power would, we are convinced, be repaid a thousandfold. But here, again, we have felt it our duty to give way to cautious views, and we propose that the power should remain in abeyance for five years, and should then depend on the consent of the Imperial Conference, upon which Ireland should be duly represented.

29. As regards the question of conscription, we are ready to take it for granted that no attempt would be made to apply it to Ireland without the consent of the Irish Parliament. Any attempt to impose conscription upon a nation without its sanction is utterly impolitic and unjust, and is bound to end in disaster.

30. Representation at Westminster. We preferred that this representation should cease until such time as a Parliament is created in which all parts of the Empire or the Realm could be properly and equitably represented. Until that time we believe that every purpose served by representation could be better served by arrangements for regular and systematic conference between the Irish and British Governments in a permanent consultative council. By sending members to the British Parliament at Westminster, after we have obtained a Parliament of our own, we risk incurring the odium of disturbing the balance of English parties and influencing questions on which we are not concerned, without any security that in matters where Ireland is properly concerned her voice will carry its due weight, since in order to avoid too much dislocation it is necessary to reduce her membership far below the number to which her population entitles her. But in view of the great importance attached by Unionists to this representation, we were reluctant to maintain our opposition, and we accordingly agreed to a delegation of 42 Irish members being sent to Westminster by the Irish Parliament. That is the form of representation at Westminster that will least distract Irish attention from the necessary concentration at home, and least divide the views of our members in London from those of the Irish Parliament.

31. Safeguards for Minorities. All the points we have hitherto dealt with are concerned with the future constitutional relations between Ireland and Great Britain, and the powers to be exercised by the Irish Parliament. In regard to safeguards for minorities in Ireland against any misuse of these powers that they might fear, we have gone to extreme lengths in our anxiety to reach a settlement.

32. That political parties will long continue on existing lines seems most unlikely. But we have agreed that an Irish House of Commons at the outset shall have a Unionist strength of 40 per cent. and that the Upper House shall consist of nominated and *ex officio* members, of peers elected by their own order, and of other members elected by their own class. The two Houses would sit and vote together on questions in dispute between them, including Money Bills.

33. These arrangements are intended to give to commercial and industrial interests, and to Unionist views generally, a powerful voice in the final decision of all legislative questions, including financial measures.

34. We are aware that in agreeing to these arrangements we put a severe strain on the Irish democracy, and hazard the adverse opinion of the outside world. But we take the risk on condition that full powers of self-government, especially full economic and financial powers, are entrusted to the Parliament so constituted. We believe the guarantee offered against the wrongful and imprudent exercise of these powers to be needless. But, provided that Irish questions are left to the decision of the Irish Parliament, we trust our countrymen of North, South, East and West to act loyally and patriotically in the interests of Ireland.

35. The nomination of some Members to the Lower House appears to be the only sure and practicable way of providing adequate minority representation for the Southern Unionists. In the case of the Ulster Unionists, who prefer election, we should be willing to agree to securing larger representation for them by arranging for smaller electoral quotas or for any electoral expedient which would effect the desired result. As regards the Ulster difficulty, we know of no other plan which would not impair the efficiency of Parliament and keep in being religious antagonisms which all good Irishmen desire to see ended.

36. Civil Service Commissions. We propose the establishment of fairly constituted Civil Service Commissions to regulate competitive examinations and advise on all patronage and appointments.

37. Temporary Arrangements during the War. So far from thinking that the war should further delay the establishment of an Irish Executive and Parliament, we regard a postponement of these measures as a disaster and their prompt passage into law an advantage which no administrative difficulties should be allowed to thwart. We recognise, however, that the abnormal conditions brought about by the war make it difficult to carry out some of the changes required. We do not think these difficulties ought to be magnified. The advantage gained by proofs of a sincere desire to let the Irish people manage their own affairs will far outweigh disturbance of official routine. But, if it is clearly laid down that any reserved power will be operative immediately after the war, a certain amount of postponement is admissible. What we altogether object to is the postponement of vital questions until after the war. Now is the time to decide them in principle. This makes it impossible for us to agree to any suggestions made by the Government during our deliberations to leave the future of Customs and Excise in complete uncertainty.

38. No doubt it might be difficult to transfer the control of these two services during the war, and we therefore consent to their temporary maintenance under Imperial authority. But a Joint Board should be immediately set up to determine the true revenue of Ireland from these taxes, and to allocate their proceeds, as so determined, to the Irish Exchequer.

39. We do not like to contemplate even a temporary reservation of the Police or Post Office. But, to meet the views of others, we have agreed that the Imperial and Irish Governments may jointly arrange for the unified control of either service during the war.

40. **Land Purchase.** It is an important part of any scheme for the settlement of the Irish question that Land Purchase should be completed on terms equitable alike to landlord and tenant; that the administration should be Irish, and that the full cost of Land Purchase, past and future, should be borne by the Irish Government, on the understanding that it be reckoned as part of Ireland's contribution to Imperial services. Happily, no serious difference of opinion has arisen in the Convention on the proposals framed by the able Committee which dealt with Land Purchase, and we recommend that a measure embodying the scheme outlined in its Report shall be annexed to the Constitutional Act.

SUMMARY.

41. To sum up, we propose a Constitution conferring powers on Ireland which are strictly consistent with Imperial unity and strictly conform to the limits set by the reference to the Convention.

42. We propose an Irish Parliament with full powers of legislation in all Irish affairs, subject to the religious safeguards contained in Section 3 of the Act of 1914 (the existing disabilities to be removed in the Constitutional Act), and with full powers of taxation, but with no power to make laws on Imperial concerns; the Crown, foreign relations, peace and war, the Army and Navy and other allied matters duly specified.

43. At the same time, we do our utmost to meet the doubts and objections of Unionists by agreeing to the following provisions :—

- (1) Generous additional representation in the Irish Parliament.
- (2) A guarantee for a reasonable period of Free Trade between Ireland and Great Britain in articles which are the produce or manufacture of either country.
- (3) A Joint Advisory Commission to secure co-operation in commercial and postal matters.
- (4) Continued representation in the Imperial Parliament in such a way as to reflect the views of the different parties in the Irish Parliament.
- (5) A fixed statutory contribution to Imperial expenses.
- (6) Independent Civil Service Commissions.
- (7) Suspension for a term of years of the power to raise local defence forces.
- (8) Suspension till the end of the war of the powers over Customs and Excise, with an arrangement to be made by joint agreement for the control of Police and Post Office by the two Governments for a like period.

We also agree to the scheme adopted by the Convention for the speedy completion of Land Purchase, and express our concurrence in the Housing scheme.

CONCLUSION.

44. Such a Constitution would, we believe, meet with the approval of the great majority of the people of Ireland. It would be accepted by our kindred in the United States and Colonies. It is generous to the Irish Unionists, and good for Great Britain as well as for Ireland. Had it been put into operation at the beginning of the war, the World's history might have been very different in these deciding years. Better late than never.

*J. M. HARTY, *Archbishop of Cashel.*

*PATRICK O'DONNELL, *Bishop of Raphoe.*

*JOSEPH MACRORY, *Bishop of Down and Connor.*

L. O'NEILL, *Lord Mayor of Dublin.*

T. C. BUTTERFIELD, *Lord Mayor of Cork.*

P. O'H. PETERS, *Mayor of Clonmel.*

JOSEPH DEVLIN, M.P., *West Belfast.*

THOMAS LUNDON, M.P., *Limerick East.*

T. J. HARBISON, M.P., *East Tyrone.*

W. M. MURPHY.

H. GARAHAN, *Chairman, Longford County Council.*

JOHN BOLGER, *Chairman, Wexford County Council.*

JOSEPH K. KETT, *Chairman, Clare County Council.*

JOHN McHUGH, *Chairman, Fermanagh County Council.*

THOMAS TOAL, *Chairman, Monaghan County Council.*

WILLIAM R. GUBBINS, *Chairman, Limerick County Council.*

THOMAS DUGGAN, *Chairman, Tipperary (North Riding) County Council.*

JAMES McGARRY, *Chairman, Mayo County Council.*

JAMES DUNLEVY, *Chairman, Donegal County Council.*

P. J. O'NEILL, *Chairman, County Dublin County Council.*

JOHN BYRNE, *Chairman, Queen's County County Council.*

JOHN FLANAGAN, *Chairman, Ballina Urban District Council.*

NOTE

BY THE

MAJORITY OF THE NATIONALISTS.

1. In order to reach an agreement between Unionists and Nationalists, we do not at this moment desire to press our objection to the fiscal proposals contained in the Prime Minister's letter, as we hold it to be of paramount importance that an Irish Parliament with an Executive responsible thereto should be immediately established, and that, concurrently with the legislation necessary to effect that object, measures should be passed by the Imperial Parliament to provide for the entire completion of Land Purchase and the solution of the Housing Problem.

2. In coming to this decision we are largely moved by the belief that the Government we are helping to establish will be an effective instrument in obtaining for Ireland by general consent whatever further powers her material interests require; and that the proposal to pay into the Irish Exchequer the full proceeds of Irish taxation, direct and indirect, subject only to an agreed contribution to Imperial expenditure, will give the Irish Government means for internal development, and will prevent the ruinous increase of burdens which would certainly result if Ireland remained liable to the full weight of Imperial taxation, and jointly responsible for the Imperial debt.

3. But since the decision upon Ireland's claim to full fiscal autonomy is only postponed, we, the undersigned, desire to put on record against the time when that decision has to be made, our conviction that, according to all precedents in the British Empire, an Irish Parliament is entitled, and ought to become the sole taxing authority for Ireland, unless and until, in the general interest it sees fit to part with some portion of its financial independence. We hold, however, that in the common interest of both countries there should be a Free Trade agreement between Great Britain and Ireland.

4. We desire to add that we protest most strongly against the suggestion that alternative sittings of the Irish Parliament might be held in some other place than Dublin, and also against the proposal that there should be set up anywhere in Ireland other than in Dublin a complete branch of the Irish administration.*

*Lord MacDonnell is unable to participate in this paragraph for the following reasons: this matter was never raised or discussed in the Convention, and without the fullest discussion he abstains from expressing an opinion on it; Lord MacDonnell is well aware that the proposal would give rise to vehement opposition in Leinster, Munster and Connaught, and probably amongst the Nationalist population of Ulster; it would certainly impose many hardships upon the great majority of the Irish people; and would unquestionably be productive of extreme administrative inconvenience. But so strong is Lord MacDonnell's desire to meet all reasonable wishes of the Unionists of Ulster that he feels unable to negative the proposal without having before him the Ulster Unionist views upon the point.

5. We further hold that, by the Act constituting an Irish Parliament, power should be taken to prevent dumping, and we believe that this could most conveniently be done by prohibiting the export from Great Britain to Ireland, and *vice versa*, of any article which is being sold under the cost of its production. It should be made a duty of the Joint Exchequer Board to enquire into alleged cases of dumping, and action should originate on a report from them.

M. K. BARRY, *Chairman, Cork County Council.*

WILLIAM BRODERICK, *Vice-Chairman, Youghal Urban District Council.*

J. BUTLER, *Chairman, Kilkenny County Council.*

J. J. CLANCY, M.P., *North Dublin.*

JAMES J. COEN, *Chairman, Westmeath County Council.*

DANIEL CONDREN, *Chairman, Wicklow County Council.*

PATRICK DEMPSEY.

JOHN DOOLY, *Chairman, King's County County Council.*

W. A. DORAN, *Chairman, Louth County Council.*

THOMAS FALLON, *Chairman, Leitrim County Council.*

JOHN FITZGIBBON, M.P., *Chairman, Roscommon County Council.*

M. GOVERNEY, *Chairman, Carlow Urban District Council.*

GRANARD.

STEPHEN GWYNN, M.P., *Galway City.*

THOMAS HALLIGAN, *Chairman, Meath County Council.*

WALTER KAVANAGH, *Chairman, Carlow County Council.*

MARTIN McDONOGH, *Chairman, Galway Urban District Council.*

MACDONNELL.*

JAMES McDONNELL, *Chairman, Galway County Council.*

A. R. MACMULLEN, *Chairman, Cork Chamber of Commerce.*

M. J. MINCH, *Chairman, Kildare County Council.*

JOHN O'DOWD, M.P., *Chairman, Sligo County Council.*

CHARLES P. O'NEILL, *Chairman, Pembroke Urban District Council.*

J. J. O'SULLIVAN, *Mayor of Waterford (1917).*

T. POWER, *Chairman, Waterford County Council.*

D. REILLY, *Chairman, Cavan County Council.*

M. SLATTERY, *Chairman, Tipperary (South Riding) County Council.*

BERTRAM WINDLE.

* See footnote p. 44.

NOTE

BY THE

MAJORITY OF THE LABOUR REPRESENTATIVES.

1. We desire to make it clear that we have supported the agreement which has been brought about in the Convention between Unionists and Nationalists, because we believe that self-government is in the best interests of the country, and that a measure giving it effect should be passed promptly into law.

2. We recognise that an agreement could not have been brought about without certain temporary concessions made in regard to the Constitution of the Irish Parliament which we, as democrats and representatives of Labour, regard with strong dislike. But we feel so deeply the necessity of setting up a Parliament in Ireland, in which Labour amongst other interests, may be able to find a place, that we have been willing to subordinate our democratic beliefs to what we conceive to be the highest interests of Ireland.

SENATE.

3. As to the constitution of the Senate we are still totally opposed to the nominated element believing same should be elected on a democratic vote if Labour is to be given a chance to be represented in that body by its own choice. So strongly do we feel on this point that we are prepared to recommend our fellow workmen not to accept nomination to the chamber.

4. As a compromise we are prepared to agree with the nominations as outlined in Head 9, sub-heads (1) to (5).

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

5. We are of opinion that the elected members of the Irish House of Commons, like the members of the Imperial House of Commons, and of the principal Legislatures in the British Dominions, should receive a salary which we suggest should be at the rate of £400 per annum.

FRANCHISE.

6. We are of opinion that the Representation of the People Act, 1918, should continue to be the law governing the franchise in Ireland.

JAMES McCARRON.

HENRY T. WHITLEY.

ROBERT WAUGH.

JOHN MURPHY.

CHARLES McKAY.

NOTE

BY

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN.

In signing the Report I desire to say :—

I. I regret that no recommendation is made in favour of a Grand Committee composed of Ulster representatives in the new Irish Parliament, who would be empowered to supervise legislative and administrative action seriously affecting the interests of that province.

II. In my opinion Federalism is the best principle upon which to base a Union that will give Ireland the fullest measure of self-government, that will enable the new Irish Constitution to fit into complete federation of the United Kingdom when the appropriate time comes, and to form a consistent link in the chain that may lead to Constitutional synthesis within the Empire.

III. I regret, therefore, that the Convention did not proceed on more definite Federal lines, but the decisions arrived at are not incompatible with a Federal system ; they mark reconciliation between hitherto antagonistic bodies of public opinion ; they indicate the lines which legislation should follow, and I accept them without further reservation.

DUNRAVEN.

NOTE

BY

SOUTHERN UNIONISTS.

We think it necessary to add to the Report of the Proceedings of the Convention a brief statement of our position, because the Resolution introduced by us on January 2nd, 1918, was, owing to circumstances, not brought to a decision.

1. We desire to record our unaltered conviction that the Legislative Union provides the best system of government for Ireland, but having entered the Convention on an appeal from H.M. Government, based on high considerations of Allied and Imperial interests which it was impossible to disregard, we have endeavoured to assist the Convention in devising a Constitution which would meet the aspirations for self-government within the Empire long held by a great majority of the Irish people.

2. We believe that an Irish Parliament can only be established with safety to Imperial interests and security for the minority in Ireland, by the participation of Irishmen of various classes and creeds in the government which is rendered possible by the safeguards agreed with practical unanimity by the Convention and for which no provision was made under the Act of 1914.

3. We regard the following points as vital to any satisfactory settlement, and our action must be subject to these conditions :—

- (1). That Ireland occupy the same position as other parts of the United Kingdom in any scheme for the Federation of the Empire or the United Kingdom.
- (2). That all Imperial questions and services, including the levying of Customs Duties, be left in the hands of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.
- (3). That Ireland send representatives to Westminster.
- (4). That the whole of Ireland participate in any Irish Parliament.
- (5). That the safeguards in the Report agreed to by the Convention be established.
- (6). That an adequate contribution be made by Ireland to Imperial services.

Our lamented colleague, Sir Henry Blake, expressed by letter in January last his concurrence with us on the above points.

(Signed)

MIDDLETON.
EDWARD H. ANDREWS.
DESART.
JOHN DUBLIN.
WILLIAM GOULDING.
ANDREW JAMESON.
MAYO.
ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
J. B. POWELL.
GEO. F. STEWART.

I desire to associate myself with the above, with the exception of paragraph 1.

(Signed) DUNRAVEN.

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APPENDIX I.

LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MR. J. REDMOND
REGARDING IRELAND.

Parliamentary Paper, 1917, (Cd. 8573.)

10, DOWNING STREET,
WHITEHALL, S.W. 1,
16th May, 1917.

DEAR MR. REDMOND,

THE Government have been considering for some time what further action they could take to bring about a settlement of the Irish question. They have approached the subject with a deep desire to put an end to a state of affairs which is productive of immense evil not only to Ireland but to Great Britain and the Empire. The choice of alternatives open to them, however, has been narrowed by the fact that it is impossible for them, in the crisis of a war in which our safety and the liberty of most of the nations of Europe is at stake, to take action which would revive violent political controversy and so weaken or imperil the unity which is essential to the supreme necessity of winning the war. They have therefore felt that any settlement which they could propose during the war must be one which would be substantially accepted by both sides. They would have wished—in accordance with this principle—to enter upon negotiations with the Irish representatives, but this, as you know, was impossible, owing to the decision of your party not to negotiate with the Government.

The idea of the Government has been to try to effect an immediate settlement, conceding the largest possible measure of Home Rule which can be secured by agreement at this moment, without prejudice to the undertaking by Parliament of a further and final settlement of the questions most in dispute, after the war. They are therefore prepared to put forward proposals on the following lines, with a view to present action.

Firstly, they would introduce a Bill for the immediate application of the Home Rule Act to Ireland, but excluding therefrom the six counties of North-East Ulster, such exclusion to be subject to reconsideration by Parliament at the end of five years, unless it is previously terminated by the action of the Council of Ireland, to be set up as hereinafter described.

Secondly, with a view to securing the largest possible measure of common action for the whole of Ireland, the Bill would provide for a Council of Ireland to be composed of two delegations, consisting, on the one hand, of all the members returned to Westminster from the excluded area, and, on the other, of a delegation equal in numbers from the Irish Parliament. This Council could be summoned on the initiative of any six members. It would be empowered by a majority of votes of each of the delegations (a) to pass private Bill legislation affecting both the included and the excluded area; (b) to recommend to the Crown the extension to the excluded area by

Order in Council of any Act of the Irish Parliament; (c) to agree to the inclusion under the Home Rule Act of the whole of Ireland, subject to the assent of the majority of the voters in the excluded area, power to be vested in the Crown in that case to extend the Act to all Ireland by Order in Council; (d) to make recommendations on its own initiative upon Irish questions, including the amendment of the Home Rule Act as finally passed.

The President of this Council of Ireland would be elected by agreement between the delegations, or in default of agreement he would be nominated by the Crown.

Thirdly, the Government consider that the financial proposals of the Home Rule Act are unsatisfactory and ought to be reconsidered. There are a number of important objects, such as the development of Irish industries, the improvement of housing in the towns, and the furtherance of education (including a better scale of remuneration for teachers), which cannot, owing to changed conditions which have arisen since the war, be adequately dealt with under the provisions of that Act without imposing an undue burden on the Irish taxpayer.

Fourthly, the Government would recommend that, after second reading, the Bill embodying the above proposals, together with the Home Rule Act, should be forthwith considered by a conference to be constituted on the lines of the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform, though not consisting exclusively of Members of Parliament, and meeting under the chairmanship of someone commanding the same general confidence in his impartiality and judgment as Mr. Speaker himself. The conference would, of course, have full power to suggest any alterations in the Government scheme upon which it might decide.

The Government feel that a proposal which provides for immediate Home Rule for the greater part of Ireland, while excluding that part of Ireland which objects to coming under the Home Rule Act, for a definite period after which Parliament will consider the matter afresh; which recognises the profound sentiment existing in Ireland for the unity of the country by creating a common council to consider Irish affairs as a whole; which, finally, sets up a representative Conference to attempt to adjust the most difficult questions involved, is as far as they can possibly go towards effecting a legislative settlement in the crisis of a great war.

They are prepared to introduce a Bill on these lines. But they feel that it would be idle, and I am sure you will agree with them, to introduce such a Bill unless it were assured of something like a second reading acceptance from both Irish parties. I sincerely hope that if the Government introduce this Bill the party of which you are the head will give this measure of support to proposals which will give immediate self-government in Ireland to those who wish for it, and will at the same time create and keep continuously in being the means whereby a final reconciliation between the two sections of the Irish people can at any time be brought about.

We earnestly recommend the proposals which I have outlined above to the dispassionate consideration of men of all parties. If upon such consideration a basis for immediate action is found in them we shall proceed at once with the necessary steps to carry them into effect.

If this should not be the case there remains an alternative plan which, though it has been sometimes seriously discussed, has never been authoritatively proposed: that of assembling a Convention of Irishmen of all parties for the pur-

pose of producing a scheme of Irish self-government.

As you will remember the constitution of the Union of South Africa was framed, despite most formidable difficulties and obstacles, by a Convention representative of all the interests and parties in the country, and the Government believes that a similar expedient might, in the last resort, be found effectual in Ireland. Would it be too much to hope that Irishmen of all creeds and parties might meet together in a Convention for the purpose of drafting a Constitution for their country which should secure a just balance of all the opposing interests and finally compose the unhappy discords which have so long distracted Ireland and impeded its harmonious development? The Government is ready, in default of the adoption of their present proposals for Home Rule, to take the necessary steps for the assembling of such a Convention.

I should be much obliged if you found it possible to give me your views on this letter in order to allow the Government to consider the matter before Monday.

Yours sincerely,

D. LLOYD GEORGE.

APPENDIX II.

LIST OF MEMBERS, SECRETARIAT, AND COMMITTEES

Chairman—THE RT. HON. SIR HORACE PLUNKETT

NAME.	REPRESENTATIVE OF
1. THE DUKE OF ABERCORN	Tyrone County Council.
2. SIR R. N. ANDERSON	Londonderry Borough Council
3. E. H. ANDREWS	Dublin Chamber of Commerce
4. H. B. ARMSTRONG	Armagh County Council.
5. H. T. BARRIE	Ulster Party.
6. M. K. BARRY	Cork County Council.
7. THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN (THE MOST Rev. DR. BERNARD).	Church of Ireland.
8. SIR HENRY BLAKE (<i>died 23rd February,</i> 1918).	Southern Unionists.
9. J. BOLGER	Wexford County Council.
10. W. BRODERICK	Munster Urban District Councils.
11. J. BUTLER	Kilkenny County Council.
12. THE LORD MAYOR OF CORK (T. C. BUTTER- FIELD).	Cork Borough Council.
13. J. BYRNE	Queen's Co. County Council.
14. J. J. CLANCY	Irish Party.
15. SIR G. S. CLARK	Ulster Party.
16. COL. J. JACKSON CLARK	Londonderry County Council.
17. J. J. COEN	Westmeath County Council.
18. D. CONDREN	Wicklow County Council.
19. COL. R. G. SHARMAN-CRAWFORD	Down County Council.
20. THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH (THE MOST REV. DR. CROZIER).	Church of Ireland.
21. PATRICK DEMPSEY	Government Nominee.
22. THE EARL OF DESART	Government Nominee
23. J. DEVLIN	Irish Party.
24. J. DOOLY	King's County County Council.
25. CAPT. W. A. DORAN	Louth County Council.
26. T. DUGGAN	Tipperary (North Riding) County Council
27. J. DUNLEVY	Donegal County Council.
28. THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN	Government Nominee.
29. T. FALLON	Leitrim County Council.
30. JOHN FITZGIBBON	Roscommon County Council.
31. J. FLANAGAN	Connaught Urban District Councils.
32. H. GARAHAN	Longford County Council.
33. SIR WILLIAM GOULDING	Government Nominee.
34. M. GOVERNEY	Leinster Urban District Councils.
35. THE EARL OF GRANARD	Government Nominee.
36. WM. GUBBINS	Limerick County Council.
37. CAPT. S. GWYNN	Irish Party.
38. T. HALLIGAN	Meath County Council.
39. J. HANNA	Labour (Shipyards).
40. T. J. HARBISON	Irish Party.
41. THE ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL (THE MOST REV. DR. HARTY).	Catholic Hierarchy.
42. THE MODERATOR OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY (THE RT. REV. JOHN IRWIN).	Presbyterian Church.
43. A. JAMESON	Southern Unionists.
44. THE LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST (J. JOHNSTON).	Belfast Borough Council.
45. THE RT. HON. W. KAVANAGH	Carlow County Council.
46. THE BISHOP OF ROSS (THE MOST REV. DR. KELLY).	Catholic Hierarchy.
47. J. K. KETT	Clare County Council.
48. M. E. KNIGHT	Ulster Party.
49. THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY	Ulster Party.
50. T. LONDON	Labour (Land and Labour Association).
51. E. E. LYSAGHT (<i>resigned 21st January,</i> 1918)	Government Nominee.

NAME.			REPRESENTATIVE OF
52.	J. STOUTPE F. McCANCE	...	Antrim County Council.
53.	J. McCARRON	...	Labour.
54.	SIR CRAWFORD McCULLAGH,	...	Government Nominee.
55.	M. McDONOGH	...	Connaught Urban District Councils.
56.	J. McDONNELL	...	Galway County Council.
57.	THE LORD MACDONNELL OF SWINFORD		Government Nominee.
58.	SIR ALEXANDER McDOWELL (<i>died 17th March, 1918</i>).		Government Nominee.
59.	J. McGARRY	...	Mayo County Council.
60.	H. GRATTAN MACGEAGH	...	Ulster Urban District Councils.
61.	J. McHUGH...	...	Fermanagh County Council.
62.	C. McKAY	...	Labour (Shipbuilding and Engineering Trades Federation).
63.	J. McMEERAN	...	Ulster Urban District Councils.
64.	A. R. MacMULLEN	...	Cork Chamber of Commerce.
65.	THE BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR (THE MOST REV. DR. MACRORY).		Catholic Hierarchy.
66.	THE PROVOST OF TRINITY (THE REV. DR. MAHAFFY).		Government Nominee.
67.	THE EARL OF MAYO...	...	Irish Peers.
68.	THE VISCOUNT MIDLETON	...	Southern Unionists.
69.	M. J. MINCH	...	Kildare County Council.
70.	J. MURPHY	...	Labour (National Union of Railwaymen).
71.	WM. M. MURPHY	...	Government Nominee.
72.	THE BISHOP OF RAPHOE (THE MOST REV. DR. O'DONNELL).		Catholic Hierarchy.
73.	J. O'DOWD	...	Sligo County Council.
74.	C. P. O'NEILL	...	Leinster Urban District Councils.
75.	THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (L. O'NEILL)		Dublin Borough Council.
76.	P. J. O'NEILL,	...	Dublin County Council.
77.	THE LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE	...	Irish Peers.
78.	DR. O'SULLIVAN	...	Waterford Borough Council.
79.	P. O'H. PETERS	...	Munster Urban District Councils.
80.	H. M. POLLOCK	...	Belfast Chamber of Commerce.
81.	J. B. POWELL	...	Southern Unionists.
82.	T. POWER	...	Waterford County Council.
83.	SIR STEPHEN B. QUIN	...	Limerick Borough Council.
84.	J. E. REDMOND (<i>died 6th March, 1918</i>)		Irish Party.
85.	D. REILLY	...	Cavan County Council.
86.	GEORGE RUSSELL (<i>Resigned, 1st Feb., 1918</i>)		Government Nominee.
87.	M. SLATTERY	...	Tipperary (S. Riding) County Council.
88.	G. F. STEWART	...	Southern Unionists.
89.	T. TOAL	...	Monaghan County Council.
90.	COL. R. H. WALLACE	...	Ulster Party.
91.	R. WAUGH	...	Labour (Belfast and District Building Trades Federation).
92.	SIR W. WHITLA	...	Government Nominee.
93.	H. T. WHITLEY,	...	Belfast and District Trades' Council.
94.	SIR B. WINDLE	...	Government Nominee.

Secretary— THE LORD SOUTHBOROUGH.

Secretariat—
 WALTER CALLAN,
 CAPTAIN R. J. H. SHAW, } Assistant Secretaries.
 R. V. VERNON,
 CRUISE O'BRIEN, *Private Secretary to Chairman.*
 HON. F. HOPWOOD, *Private Secretary to Secretary.*
 SQUADRON-OBSERVER ERSKINE CHILDERS, R.N.
 THOMAS MOLES.
 SHAN BULLOCK.
 M. FITZGERALD.

Librarian— MRS. R. V. VERNON.
 E. B. D'ALTON, *Registrar and Chief Clerk.*
 P. E. HOLLAND, *Accountant.*

Sergeant-at-Arms—CAPTAIN BAYLISS.

COMMITTEES AND SUB-COMMITTEES OF THE IRISH CONVENTION.

Under the Standing Orders the Chairman of the Convention was *ex officio* a member of all Committees.

(1).

Committee, appointed July 25th, 1917, to advise on the selection of a Chairman.

Members.

MR. REDMOND, (*Chairman*).
MR. BARRIE.
THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.
MR. DUGGAN.
MR. McDONOGH.
MR. McDOWELL.
LORD MIDLETON.
MR. P. J. O'NEILL.
MR. RUSSELL.
MR. WHITLEY.

(2).

Preliminary Procedure Committee, appointed July 26th, 1917, to draft Standing Orders and proposals for conducting the business of the Convention.

Members.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, (*Chairman*).
MR. BARRIE.
THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.
LORD GRANARD.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.
MR. McDOWELL.
MR. MINCH.
MR. J. MURPHY.
MR. W. M. MURPHY.
MR. POWELL.

(3).

Committee appointed, August 8th, 1917, to advise on the choice of a Grand Committee.

Members.

The same as in No. (1).

(4).

Grand Committee, appointed August 9th, 1917, to consult with the Chairman as to the general procedure to be adopted by the Convention, and to exercise such powers as may from time to time be delegated to it by the Convention.

Members.

MR. (afterwards SIR) R. N. ANDERSON.
MR. BARRIE.
THE LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
THE ARCHBISHOP OF CASHIEL.
THE LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
MR. DEVLIN.
THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.
MR. HARBISON.
MR. LYSAGHT.
ALDERMAN McCARRON.
LORD MACDONNELL.
MR. (afterwards SIR A.) McDOWELL.
LORD MIDLETON.
MR. W. M. MURPHY.
MR. P. J. O'NEILL.
MR. POLLOCK.
MR. STEWART.
MR. WAUGH.

By a vote of the Convention on September 25th, the Grand Committee was reconstructed by the substitution of the following members :—

MR. CLANCY.
LORD LONDONDERRY.
THE MODERATOR OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
MR. POWELL.
THE BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
MR. REDMOND.
THE BISHOP OF ROSS.
MR. RUSSELL.

for the following members :—

MR. ANDERSON.
THE LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
THE ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
THE LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.
MR. HARBISON.
MR. P. J. O'NEILL.
MR. STEWART.

By a resolution of the Convention on December 18th, 1917, THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH was added to the Grand Committee.

MR. LYSAGHT having resigned his membership of the Convention ceased to be a member of the Grand Committee on January 21st, 1918.

MR. RUSSELL having resigned his membership of the Convention ceased to be a member of the Grand Committee on February 1st, 1918.

MR. REDMOND died on March 6th, 1918.

SIR ALEXANDER McDOWELL died on March 17th, 1918.

SUB-COMMITTEES OF THE GRAND COMMITTEE.

(i.) Sub-Committee, appointed August 14th, 1917, to advise the Secretariat on the issue of publications.

Members.

MR. BARRIE.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.
LORD MACDONNELL.

(ii.) Sub-Committee of Nine, appointed October 11th, 1917, to sit in private to endeavour to find a basis for agreement.

Members.

MR. BARRIE.
MR. DEVLIN.
LORD LONDONDERRY.
SIR A. McDOWELL.
LORD MIDLETON.
MR. W. M. MURPHY.
THE BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
MR. REDMOND.
MR. RUSSELL.

SIR ALEXANDER McDOWELL was prevented, by illness, from attending the meetings of this Sub-Committee after the first, and his place was taken by MR. POLLOCK.

(iii.) Sub-Committee, appointed November 1st, 1917, to consider questions of Franchise and Electoral Systems and Areas in relation to an Irish Parliament.

Members.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN (*Chairman*).
SIR WILLIAM GOULDING.
LORD GRANARD.
MR. HARBISON.
MR. LYSAGHT.
MR. MCCARRON.
MR. P. J. O'NEILL.
MR. WAUGH.

For the preparation of the supplemental report MR. ARMSTRONG and SIR CRAWFORD MCCULLAGH joined the Sub-Committee.

(iv.) Sub-Committee, appointed November 1st, 1917, to enquire into the problems presented by Land Purchase in Ireland.

Members.

LORD MACDONNELL (*Chairman*).
MR. BARRY.
MR. CLANCY.
MR. KNIGHT.
LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
THE BISHOP OF ROSS.
MR. STEWART.

(v.) Sub-Committee appointed November 1st, 1917, to consider :—

(a). What powers of local defence might be delegated to an Irish Government, consistent with the requirements of Imperial defence.

(b). The future of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police.

Members.

LORD DESART (*Chairman*).
THE DUKE OF ABERCORN.
CAPTAIN DORAN.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.
MR. POWELL.

(vi.) Sub-Committee appointed November 27th, 1917, to consider the question of the powers of an Irish Parliament to amend its constitution.

Members.

LORD MACDONNELL (*Chairman*).
LORD DESART.
LORD LONDONDERRY.
MR. LYSAGHT.
MR. WAUGH.

(5).

Delegation appointed January 24th, 1918, by the Convention to confer with the Cabinet.

Members.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONVENTION.
MR. BARRIE.
MR. DEVLIN.
THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.
LORD DUNRAVEN.
MR. GUBBINS.
LORD LONDONDERRY.
MR. MCCARRON.
LORD MACDONNELL.
LORD MIDLETON.
MR. W. M. MURPHY.
MR. POLLOCK.
THE BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
MR. REDMOND.
MR. RUSSELL.
MR. WAUGH.

(6).

Committee appointed February 28th, 1918, by the Convention to consider with reference to the Prime Minister's letter under what conditions Government assistance could best be given to housing in urban areas in Ireland.

Members.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (*Chairman*).
SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
THE LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
MR. CLANCY.
THE LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
MR. DEVLIN.
SIR WM. GOULDING.
ALDERMAN MCCARRON.
MR. McDONOGH.
MR. MACGEAGH.
MR. J. MURPHY.
MR. PETERS.
MR. STEWART.
MR. WAUGH.
MR. WHITLEY.

APPENDIX III.

LETTER FROM CHAIRMAN TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION.

KILTERRAGH,
FOXROCK,
CO. DUBLIN,
17th August, 1917.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

On Tuesday next, the necessary preparations having been made, we shall enter upon the definite task entrusted to us, the search for a possible basis of agreement between the different sections of our countrymen upon the future government of our country.

The historic importance of the occasion, and my own special responsibility in regard to it, move me to send you in advance some thoughts upon certain aspects of the work before us. I desire more particularly to explain the procedure for our coming deliberations, which you approved in principle at the Session of August 8-9, as it has since been elaborated by your Grand Committee. I do so because the plan adopted is as unprecedented as the situation for which it was devised.

Those who tell us that our best meant endeavours must come to naught have ample grounds for their pessimism in the history of similar efforts. They see us confronted with a task which has baffled generation after generation of the British people—called upon to overcome the difficulties notoriously incidental to the work of framing a constitution. We have to resolve these difficulties in a time of grave domestic unrest, in an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion, and in the midst of the greatest war in human history! It is true that this is the first attempt to get the Irish question settled by Irishmen in Ireland. But, even so, no man of sense would expect it to succeed unless inside the Convention some wholly new spirit were to prevail. My hopes rest upon the fact that already this necessary condition has been supplied. For the first time, an opportunity has been afforded to reveal the whole of the Irish mind, and the whole of the Irish heart, not to the foreigner whom we have to impress and perhaps are sometimes tempted to fool, but to each other as man to man, with the common aim of the welfare of our common country.

It must be admitted, however, that the best will in the world will not avail unless the right way be found. After searching the precedents of analogous conventions and conferences, a great deal may be learned; but the final conclusion must be that no analogy is perfect, and that a wholly new method of approach to the great difficulties of our task must be discovered. This much has, I believe, been accomplished.

In devising the procedure best calculated to secure ordered, harmonious, relevant, and therefore fruitful, discussion in the Convention we had to take into account the circumstances of its members' lives. We have most of us some acquaintance with public affairs, but very few of us have made a close study of political science and institutions. In order, therefore, to take a useful part in the coming deliberations we shall nearly all of us need a certain minimum of preparation.

We must, of course, have a general knowledge

of the main factors in our political problem and of the various solutions which are known to be seriously proposed. We ought, also, to be fairly familiar with the manner in which similar problems have been solved in other parts of the world, more particularly in the Dominions of the Commonwealth to which we belong. This knowledge is being supplied to us from the Secretariat and will continue to be supplied as the occasion demands. Furthermore, any members wishing either to present proposals of their own, or to discuss proposals put forward by others, can obtain technical assistance from members of the staff and be supplied with books from the Reference Library.

So much for the assistance outside the Convention. I now come to the procedure inside. Before the plan which I shall presently describe was adopted, two other methods were considered. The first was a general discussion upon the existing system of government and the best method of improving it, everybody being allowed to discourse at large upon the whole or any part of this enormous subject. This plan was rejected on the ground that "lean and profitless debate" might weary and disgust business men, that it might lead to angry controversy upon some issue inopportunely raised, or that it might "peter out" and leave us still to decide how to get seriously to work. The second plan, to which the best precedents seemed to point, was a discussion upon a series of resolutions raising the main questions of principle as to which agreement must be reached before it is any use trying to construct a new constitution. This, also, looked too like a blind alley. It would pass the wit of man to frame the resolutions without raising at once issues upon which we have in the past been in violent disagreement. The path of wisdom seemed to be to explore first the regions where we know men have been trying to find common ground.

The procedure adopted is that which, after giving the matter the best thought of which I was capable, I recommended to the Convention at their last Session. On Tuesday next we commence what for convenience we may call the "Presentation Stage." In this, all proposals for the future government of Ireland will be submitted to the Convention in such form and in such order as the Grand Committee, through which they will have passed, direct. Each plan will be discussed in turn, the purpose of the discussion being, not to arrive at any final decision as to its adoption or rejection, but merely to have it thoroughly explained and to have it improved by such amendment as its supporters may think well to adopt in view of the arguments they have heard. It is intended that the Presentation Stage should be continued until the Convention feels that it has before it all the proposals which have any likelihood of being adopted, either wholly or in part. This method can only succeed if it obtains the

general support of the Convention. The purpose in view is, as has been, I trust, made clear above, to enable the different sections of Irishmen in the Convention to know clearly, as they have never known before, what it is in our present system of government that is complained of and exactly what changes the different sections demand. Further, many of us who have indulged political hopes have had no expectation of their early realization. Consequently, we have never presented them in sufficient detail to enable a final judgment to be come to upon their merits. It is hoped that the members of the Convention will do their best, by constructive criticism, to get every proposal in turn presented in the best possible form. The debate should be argumentative and conversational rather than declamatory and impassioned. No man should hesitate to express his views because he has difficulty at first in finding the phraseology which is familiar to few besides Members of Parliament and lawyers. I speak feelingly when I say that the utmost indulgence must be extended to bad speakers.

At the meeting of the Grand Committee on the 14th instant, it was agreed that, after the Presentation Stage, the Convention should be asked to decide upon the future procedure. It was suggested that it might instruct the Grand Committee, or a Committee *ad hoc*, to draft a Bill which, in view of the opinions expressed upon the various proposals which had been submitted for preliminary examination, might possibly form the basis of an agreed measure. The draft would then be re-submitted to the Convention, where it would go through the usual stages of a Bill in the

House of Commons. It may be too much to hope that complete agreement will be come to within the four corners of a single Bill, but I should be grievously disappointed if we did not find ourselves in a position to announce to the world that we were not nearly so far apart in our political views and desires as had been formerly believed.

In concluding this letter—already, I fear, too long—I cannot refrain from adding a few sentences from the speech of Sir Henry de Villiers on the 12th October, 1908, before the South African National Convention, which had just unanimously elected him to preside over its deliberations:—

“The difficulties,” he said, “which we shall have to encounter are great enough without our going out of our way in order to add to them, but I feel confident that they will not prove to be insurmountable. Everything depends upon the spirit with which we approach the performance of our task. Failure is certain if we start with a feeling of distrust and suspicion of each other and with the sole desire to secure as many advantages as we can for our respective political parties or our respective Colonies. Success is certain if we give each other our fullest confidence and act upon the principle that, while not neglectful of the interests of those who have sent us here, we are, for the time being, representatives of the whole of British South Africa.”

He was an optimist crying in a wilderness of pessimists. We know who was right and who was wrong.

I am,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Very faithfully yours,

HORACE PLUNKETT.

APPENDIX IV.

INTERIM AND FINAL REPORTS, TO THE GRAND COMMITTEE, OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF NINE.

(I.C. No. 22.)

NOTE.

By the Resolution passed at Cork on September 25th the Convention referred the various schemes which had been submitted to and discussed in the Convention to the Grand Committee, in order if possible to prepare a scheme for submission to the Convention, which might meet the views and difficulties expressed by the different speakers during the course of the debate.

At its meeting on October 11th the Grand Committee appointed a Sub-Committee, with instructions to sit in private to endeavour to find a basis for agreement, and to report to the Grand Committee from time to time. The fol-

lowing members constituted the Sub-Committee:—Mr. Barrie; Mr. Devlin; The Marquis of Londonderry; Sir A. McDowell; Viscount Midleton; Mr. William M. Murphy; the Bishop of Raphoe; Mr. Redmond, and Mr. Russell.

It was further resolved that the Sub-Committee appoint a Chairman from time to time as they may think it necessary, and that should they require secretarial assistance they should have the services of Sir Francis Hopwood.

The Reports attached hereto are the Reports made by this Sub-Committee to the Grand Committee of the Convention, and taken into consideration by the Grand Committee.

INTERIM REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE TO THE GRAND COMMITTEE OF THE IRISH CONVENTION.

The Sub-Committee appointed by the Grand Committee at their meeting on October 11th, with instructions to sit in private to endeavour to find a basis for agreement, have the honour to submit the following Interim Report:—

We held our first meeting in Dublin on October 11th. We subsequently met in London on October 24th and 25th, and in Dublin on October 30th and 31st, November 1st, 5th, 6th, 7th, 13th, 14th and 15th.

Owing to his serious illness, which we greatly regret, we were deprived of the services of Sir Alexander McDowell after the first meeting. By the unanimous agreement of the Sub-Committee his place was taken by Mr. Pollock, and this was subsequently approved by the Grand Committee.

We decided to take the heads of the scheme submitted by the Bishop of Raphoe to the Grand Committee on October 11th as the basis of our deliberations. A copy of this document is attached (Schedule I.).

By November 7th we had arrived at certain provisional conclusions upon most of the heads of the scheme. These conclusions are set out in Schedule II., which also indicates the points which were reserved for further consideration. At this stage it was considered desirable that the Ulster representatives should communicate with their Advisory Committee with a view to discovering how far the arrangement proposed with regard to the composition of the two Houses of Parliament was likely to prove acceptable. Having taken this course, they intimated to us on November 13th that the Advisory Committee were unable to approve of the suggestion that the Ulster representation in the Lower House should be strengthened by the addition of a number of nominated members. They considered that the proposal to include nominated members to represent Southern Unionists could be defended and might be accepted, but the same considerations did not apply in the case of Ulster. The Ulster representatives undertook to submit proposals to us for safeguarding the interests of Ulster by means other than the extra representation which we had contemplated.

By this time, however, it had become apparent that there was a sharp divergence of opinion in

the Sub-Committee as to the financial powers to be entrusted to the Irish Parliament. The scheme submitted by the Bishop of Raphoe contemplated that, pending federation of the United Kingdom, there should be no Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament, and provided for the exercise by the Irish Parliament of complete control over finance, including Customs and Excise, and suggested the appointment of a Commission to negotiate a Trade, Postal, and Customs Union between Great Britain and Ireland. The Ulster representatives demurred to these proposals, and insisted that full control over finance should be left to the Imperial Parliament.

Lord Southborough submitted to us certain proposals for effecting a compromise by giving to the Irish Parliament full control, subject to an arrangement for Free Trade between Great Britain and Ireland, and special provisions to meet the case of dumping. A copy of these proposals is attached—Schedule III.

It was not found possible to reach an agreement upon these lines, and we appeared to have no alternative but to report to the Grand Committee to that effect. The Chairman of the Convention was, however, anxious that we should not acquiesce in the failure to reach an agreement until there had been a closer examination of the arguments on the one side and the other. He embodied these views in a letter in which he enclosed certain questions addressed to the Ulster and Nationalist representatives respectively, and also a list of possible compromises. Copies of this letter and of its enclosures are attached—Schedule IV.

One set of replies was submitted jointly by Mr. Redmond, the Bishop of Raphoe, Mr. Devlin, and Mr. Russell—Schedule V.

A separate reply was submitted by Mr. Murphy—Schedule VI.

These replies were communicated to the Ulster representatives, and considered by them. They felt that in the circumstances the divergence of views disclosed was so great that no useful purpose would be served by a formal reply to the questions submitted to them, and on November 14th they addressed to the Chairman of the Convention a letter containing a general statement

their attitude on the financial problem. Copies of this letter were communicated at the same time to all members of the Sub-Committee. A copy is attached—Schedule VII.

Lord Southborough also submitted to us proposals for a compromise, which were a development of a suggestion previously made by Lord Middleton that Customs should be reserved to the Imperial Parliament, and that Excise should be specially considered. Under these proposals (of which a copy is attached—Schedule VIII.) the composition of Customs Duties would remain with

the Imperial Parliament; the collection would be carried out under the authority of a Joint Board, and an Irish contribution to Imperial Services would be made a first charge against the Customs revenue. The remaining sources of revenue would be under the control of the Irish Parliament.

We are continuing our sittings, and have still to consider a proposal to be put forward by Lord Londonderry.

15th NOVEMBER, 1917.

SCHEDULE I. HEADS OF THE SCHEME.

1. **THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.** The Irish Parliament to consist of the King, an Irish House of Lords, and an Irish House of Commons.

2. **POWERS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.** The Irish Parliament to have the general power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Ireland *subject to the exclusions and restrictions specified in 3 and 4 below.*

3. **EXCLUSIONS FROM POWER OF IRISH PARLIAMENT.** The Irish Parliament to have no power to make laws on the following matters:—

(1) Crown and succession (See 1914 Act, sect. 2 (1)).

(2) Making of peace and war (including conduct as neutrals). Act sect. 2 (2).

(3) The Army and Navy, but

(a) Assent of Irish Parliament required for conscription.

(b) The Irish Parliament may after five years raise and maintain a territorial force subject to the authority of the King, provided that the Imperial Conference, in which Ireland would be represented, assents.

(4) Treaties and foreign relations (including extradition).

Ireland to have power similar to the dominions in respect of commercial treaties.

(5) Dignities and titles of honour.

(6) Any necessary control of naval harbours, and certain powers as regards lighthouses, buoys, beacons, cables, wireless terminals, to be settled with reference to the requirements of the Military and Naval forces of His Majesty in various contingencies.

4. **RESTRICTION ON POWER OF IRISH PARLIAMENT ON MATTERS WITHIN ITS COMPETENCE.**

(1) Prohibition of laws interfering with religious equality (Act sect. 3).

N.B.—A sub-section should be framed to annul any existing legal penalty, disadvantage or disability, on account of religious belief.

(2) Safeguard (if desired) for Trinity College and Queen's University similar to section 42 of Act.

(3) Money bills to be founded only on Vice-regal message (Act section 10 (2)).

(4) Privilege of members of Irish Parliament to be limited as in Act (sect. 12).

(5) Rights of existing Irish Officers to be safeguarded (Act sects. 32-7).

5. **CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.** The power of the Irish Parliament to amend its constitution is a subject which should be considered by a Sub-Committee.

6. **EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY.** The executive power in Ireland to continue vested in the King, but exercisable through the Lord Lieutenant on the advice of an Irish Executive Committee in the manner set out in Act (Sect. 4).

7. **DISSOLUTION OF IRISH PARLIAMENT.** The Irish Parliament to be summoned, prorogued and dissolved as set out in Act (sect. 6).

8. **ASSENT TO BILLS.** Royal assent to be given or withheld as set out in Act (sect. 7).

9. **CONSTITUTION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.**

(1) Lord Chancellor	...	1
(2) Four Archbishops or Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church	...	4
(3) Two Archbishops or Bishops of the Church of Ireland	...	2
(4) The Moderator of the General Assembly	...	1
(5) The Lord Mayors of Dublin, Belfast and Cork	...	3
(6) Thirty-nine Temporal Lords	...	39
		<hr/> 50

10. **CONSTITUTION OF HOUSE OF COMMONS.** The Irish House of Commons to consist of 168 members—162 elected by constituencies similar to those set out in the memorandum of the Irish Trades Union Congress and two each by Dublin University, the National University, and the Queen's University.

The principle of proportional representation with a single transferable vote to be observed wherever a constituency returns three or more members, and no constituency to return more than seven.

During the first ten years of the Irish House of Commons twelve additional members to be nominated to represent the industries, commerce and trade of the North-east of Ireland, and twelve to represent the Southern Unionists.

The House of Commons to continue for five years unless previously dissolved.

11. **MONEY BILLS.** Money bills to originate only in the House of Commons, and not to be amended or rejected by the House of Lords (see Act sect. 10).

12. **DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN HOUSES.** Disagreements between the two Houses to be solved by joint sittings as set out in Act sect. 11.

13. **REPRESENTATION AT WESTMINSTER.** Representation in the Parliament of the United Kingdom to cease until there is a federal parliament.

14. **FINANCE.** The provision (par. No. 2) as to the powers of the Irish Parliament gives it complete control over finance, including customs and excise.

An Irish exchequer and consolidated fund to be established and an Irish Controller and Auditor-General to be appointed as set out in Act (section 14 (1) and section 21).

If necessary, it should be declared that all taxes at present leviable in Ireland should continue to be levied and collected until the Irish Parliament otherwise decides.

The necessary adjustments of revenue as between Great Britain and Ireland during the transition period should be made.

15. As soon as may be after the passing of the Act a joint Commission, one-half the members of which shall be chosen to represent Ireland and the other half to represent Great Britain, shall be appointed by His Majesty to negotiate and agree upon a trade, postal and customs union between Great Britain and Ireland, which shall aim at securing and promoting the mutual interests of both countries in all such matters where their interests are common, or connected or parallel or capable of being united for mutual advantage; and in other matters where their interests are separate or competitive to provide for the fair pursuit of these interests with the least prejudice to both countries.

The Convention as agreed shall be submitted to the parliaments of both countries, and, if not disapproved of within the next 30 days, shall become of force and effect for a period of 10 years subject to modification or renewal by mutual agreement. Every modification or removal shall in like manner be submitted to both parliaments, and be subject to their approval.

If the Commission fails to arrive at an agreement, or if the Convention agreed upon is disapproved of by either parliament, the most favoured nation terms in force relating to the matter in question, whether with a foreign country or with a dominion government, shall become operative as between both countries, and shall be brought into force by a proclamation of His Majesty.

✓ 16. **IMPERIAL CONTRIBUTION.** The Irish Parliament shall fix the contribution which Ireland shall make to the cost of Imperial defence and administration, considering the financial and economic ability of her population, and the protection which Ireland receives from the army and navy. (The over-taxation of Ireland in the past and her share in the national debt may be set off against each other.)

Ireland to have no share in the miscellaneous revenue of the Imperial Government (Suez Canal Shares, etc.)

As from the passing of the Act or the transfer of any services, the Irish Government should assume liability for all loans that have been made in Ireland, and for deposits in savings banks, etc.

The question of land purchase is dealt with in the next section.

17. **LAND PURCHASE.** The Irish Government to assume all responsibility for land purchase loans, excess stock and bonus, and to be entitled to receive all payments to be made by tenant purchasers.

Future loans to be made on the credit of the Irish Government, or, if satisfactory arrangements can be made, on the credit of the Imperial Government.

An equitable scheme of land purchase that would be compulsory on owner and tenant alike, where voluntary bargains are not forthcoming after a certain period, could be sanctioned. The total provision for excess stock and bonus at present amounts to £800,000 a year.

The subsidy from the tax payer for pending agreements will, owing to changes in the price of money, be at a much greater rate in pending cases than it was in the cases already completed. Another million, or more, may be needed for the unsold areas. The whole obligation is largely an Imperial one, and Ireland should get credit for discharging it in considering the question of an Imperial contribution.

18. **JUDICIAL POWER.** The following provisions of the Government of Ireland Act to be adopted:

- (a) Safeguarding position of existing Irish Judges (sec. 32).
- (b) Leaving appointment of future Judges to the Irish Government and their removal to the Crown on address from both Houses of Parliament (sec. 27).
- (c) Transferring appeals from the House of Lords to the Judicial Committee, strengthened by Irish Judges (sec. 28).
- (d) Extending right of appeal to this Court. (Sec. 28 (4) and Section 30 (1-2)).
- (e) Provision as to reference of questions of validity to Judicial Committee (see section 29).

19. **LORD LIEUTENANT.** The Lord Lieutenant to hold office for 6 years, and to be subject to no religious disqualification (as in Act, sect. 31).

20. **CIVIL SERVICE.** A Civil Service Commission to be appointed to regulate competitive examinations for admission to the public service, promotions, and the exercise of higher patronage.

Provision should be made for ensuring that in the future the salaries of Irish public officials, appointed after the passing of the Act, shall be upon a scale appropriate to Ireland.

21. **DEFERRING TAKING OVER CERTAIN IRISH SERVICES.** Arrangements to be made to permit the Irish Government, if they so desire, to defer taking over the services relating to Land Purchase, Old Age Pensions, National Insurance, Labour Exchanges, Post Office, Trustee Savings Banks, and Friendly Societies.

SCHEDULE II.

A STATEMENT OF THE PROVISIONAL CONCLUSIONS AT WHICH THE SUB-COMMITTEE HAD ARRIVED BY NOVEMBER 7TH.

(The Heads referred to below are those of the scheme submitted.* The provisional understandings arrived at were all contingent on full agreement on the general scheme being reached).

HEAD 1. The establishment of an Irish Parliament is accepted as the basis of the deliberations.

* See Schedule I.

HEAD 2. The powers of the Irish Parliament are to be those set out in the scheme.

HEAD 3. The restrictions are accepted generally, subject to the following qualifications:—

Sub-head (3), (a) and (b). These were deferred for further consideration.

Sub-head (4) is reserved for consideration in connection with the general question of finance, in so far as it gives to Ireland the powers of a Dominion in regard to Commercial Treaties.

Sub-head (6). It is considered that "control of harbours for naval and military purposes" should be substituted for "control of naval harbours."

HEAD 4. Is accepted. With regard to sub-head 1, the provision for equal treatment of religious denominations in future must proceed from a basis of equal treatment at present. That is, the disabilities, etc., remaining under the Act of 1829 should be annulled.

HEAD 5. It is agreed that the question of the power of the Irish Parliament to amend its Constitution should be considered by a sub-committee.

HEAD 6. Is accepted, with the understanding that the Lord Lieutenant is to be a non-political personage.

HEAD 7. Is accepted.

HEAD 8. Is accepted, subject to a preference being expressed for the reservation of Bills instead of their postponement.

HEAD 9. The title of Senate was preferred to that of House of Lords.

The following modification of the proposals in the scheme was provisionally approved:—

CONSTITUTION OF SENATE.

Lord Chancellor	...	...	1
Archbishops or Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church	...	...	4
Archbishops or Bishops of the Church of Ireland	...	...	2
Moderator of the General Assembly	...	...	1
Lord Mayors of Dublin, Belfast and Cork	...	...	3
Irish Peers	...	...	15
Privy Councillors	...	...	15
Representatives of Commerce nominated by Lord Lieutenant	...	...	15
Labour Representatives (1 from each province)	...	...	4
Total	...	...	60

It was suggested that the Secretary of the General Assembly might be added. In that event it was intimated that an addition to the number of Roman Catholic Bishops would be expected.

It was also suggested that the Privy Councillors selected should be of two or three years' standing.

The size of the Senate must be considered in relation to the size of the Lower House, and it was subsequently considered that if the Lower

House came down to 100 or 120 members it might be convenient to reduce the Senate to 40 members. This would involve a reconsideration of the details of the above scheme.

It was agreed that the members of the Upper House should be nominated for, say, seven years.

HEAD 10. CONSTITUTION OF HOUSE OF COMMONS. It was agreed that the Unionists should be offered, by effective means, a proportion of forty per cent. in the Lower House, and that in the Upper House of, say, forty, thirty should be men with a substantial stake in the country. The exact method of arriving at this result was left for further consideration, but it was agreed that it could only be obtained by including a substantial number of nominated members. It was suggested that, in order to reduce to a minimum this undemocratic element in the House, the size of the House should be smaller than that proposed in the scheme.

It was stipulated that the nominated element in the Lower House should continue for not less than ten years.

Lord Midleton suggested that, on the disappearance of this nominated element, an addition should be made to the numbers of the Upper House. This was reserved for further consideration.

HEAD 11. MONEY BILLS. It was agreed that the Senate should have power to force a joint sitting of both Houses over Money Bills.

HEAD 12. DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN HOUSES. Agreed.

HEAD 13. REPRESENTATION AT WESTMINSTER. The Unionist representatives intimated that this was a *sine qua non*. On the Nationalist side it was stated that, while they did not favour the continuance of representation in the Imperial Parliament, pending Federation of the United Kingdom, they did not look upon its cessation as a *sine qua non*.

It was agreed that any Irish representatives at Westminster must have full power to deliberate and vote on all questions.

The question whether Irish representatives at Westminster should be directly elected or delegated by the Irish Parliament was reserved for further consideration. It was suggested that the presence of a nominated element in the Irish House of Commons would probably give the Unionists for a time larger representation in a delegation appointed by that House than by members directly elected.

HEADS 14 AND 15. FINANCE. Reserved for further consideration.

The Nationalist representatives were prepared to accept a guarantee of Free Trade between Great Britain and Ireland, at any rate for a term of years. The Unionists were of opinion that such a guarantee was inconsistent with the Irish control of Customs and Excise.

HEAD 16. IMPERIAL CONTRIBUTION. Reserved for further consideration in connection with the question of Finance.

HEAD 17. LAND PURCHASE. Reserved for consultation with the Sub-Committee investigating this question.

HEAD 18. JUDICIAL POWERS. Agreed, conditionally upon the Unionists having effective

representation in the Irish Parliament. It was agreed that the Lord Chancellor should not be a political officer, but that his salary as Speaker of the Senate should be placed on the Estimates.

HEAD 19. LORD LIEUTENANT. It was agreed that the salary of the Lord Lieutenant should be sufficient to throw the post open to men not of great wealth.

It was arranged that enquiries should be made as to the charges on the Lord Lieutenant's salary at present.

It was agreed that the Lords Justices should be subject to no religious disqualifications.

HEAD 20. CIVIL SERVANTS. It was agreed that a strong Civil Service Commission should be established, and the following composition was suggested:—

Lord Chancellor, Chairman; two permanent members appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, and holding office during good behaviour.

The practice of the English Civil Service Commission to be followed as far as possible.

Competitive examinations to regulate admission to the Service as far as possible.

The Unionist members having expressed anxiety as to the exercise of patronage in Ulster, it was suggested that two additional members might be added to the Commission to protect their interests.

It was agreed that the present exercise of patronage by the Lord Chancellor would require to be reviewed, and that there should, in future, be no unpaid Magistrates.

A clause should be inserted requiring the Civil Service Commissioners to prepare a scheme for future appointments to the Public Service, such scheme to be laid before both Houses before any such appointments are made. It might be an instruction to the Commissioners, in framing such a scheme, to devise a scale appropriate to the financial and other circumstances of Ireland.

HEAD 21. RESERVED SERVICES. Reserved for further consideration.

SCHEDULE III.

PROPOSALS FOR A COMPROMISE.

CUSTOMS AND EXCISE.

The attached draft is an attempt to reconcile three propositions which may appear to be almost irreconcilable. These propositions are:—

1. That Ireland should have complete fiscal autonomy.
2. That there should be Free Trade between Great Britain and Ireland.
3. That Ireland should have power to protect her industries from unfair competition by British Industries.

The draft is only a tentative suggestion, and should the principles underlying it meet with any degree of acceptance, it would require to be revised by experts both in Customs Administration and in the drafting of Bills.

1. The Irish Parliament shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, have full power to impose customs duties on all articles imported into Ireland from outside.

2. (1) The Irish Parliament shall not impose customs duties on articles the produce, growth or manufacture of Great Britain, and the British Parliament shall not impose customs duties on articles the produce, growth or manufacture of Ireland, save as hereinafter provided.

(2) If the Irish Parliament imposes excise duties on any articles of Irish produce, growth or manufacture, it may also impose equivalent customs duties on such articles of British produce, growth or manufacture; and if the British Parliament imposes excise duties on any articles of British produce, growth or manufacture, it may also impose equivalent customs duties on such articles of Irish produce, growth or manufacture.

(3) There shall be established a Board to be called the Joint Customs Board, consisting of two members appointed by the Treasury, and two members

appointed by the Irish Treasury, and a Chairman appointed by His Majesty.

(4) If the Irish Government be of opinion that the producers, growers or manufacturers of any article in Ireland are being subjected to unfair competition through the importation into Ireland from Great Britain of articles which by reason of State aid, industrial combination or other cause are being sold at a price less than the actual cost of manufacture, distribution and sale with the addition of a fair commercial profit; or if the British Government (etc., etc., *mutatis mutandis*); then the Irish Government or the British Government, as the case may be, may require the Joint Customs Board to investigate the matter.

(5) The Joint Customs Board, on being so required, shall investigate the matter with all convenient dispatch, and shall report to both Governments whether in fact such unfair competition exists, and if so, what rate or rates of customs duty or duties would be sufficient to counteract it.

(6) On the issue of such a report, it shall be lawful for the Irish or British Parliament, as the case may be, to impose customs duties on the said articles of British or Irish growth, produce or manufacture to the extent found by the Joint Customs Board to be sufficient to counteract the unfair competition.

(7) Any customs duties imposed in accordance with the provisions of the foregoing paragraph shall be immediately discontinued if the Joint Customs Board shall report that the unfair competition which gave rise to their imposition has ceased.

SCHEDULE IV.

LETTER FROM CHAIRMAN TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF NINE.

IRISH CONVENTION,
DUBLIN, 6th November, 1917.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

At yesterday's meeting of your Sub-Committee a deadlock appeared to have been reached upon the chief practical issue the Convention has to decide before it can frame a system of self-government for Ireland. It was pointed out, on the one hand, that, in the present state of Nationalist opinion in Ireland, it would be useless to propose any such restriction upon the taxing powers of an Irish Parliament as the reservation of Customs and Excise to the British Parliament. On the other hand, the Ulster Unionist members of the Sub-Committee stated that, even if they were in agreement with the Nationalist majority, those whom they represented would not listen for a moment to any proposal which would enable the Irish Parliament to set up a tariff wall between Ireland and Great Britain. On both sides, it seemed to be felt that further negotiation upon this vital issue (between fiscal autonomy and fiscal union) would be a mere waste of time, and that the Grand Committee should be so informed.

At this point I appealed to the Sub-Committee to postpone a final conclusion until I had had an opportunity of putting to them in writing certain questions, the answers to which would at any rate show that the matter in dispute had been fully debated and that the opposite conclusions had been dictated by a genuine wish to promote the best interests of the country.

In taking this course, I had two objects in view—first, I wished the question to be threshed out in its purely business aspects, as it was impossible to avoid the impression that its discussion had been largely influenced by sentiment. It is idle to ignore the fact that, to the great majority of Irish Nationalists, fiscal autonomy, advocated as a means of industrial development at home and of commercial expansion abroad, appeals, perhaps even more strongly, as a symbol of political autonomy. Ulster Unionists know this; and, while they are, no doubt, convinced that, for purely practical reasons, any disturbance of the present fiscal arrangements would be undesirable, they uphold fiscal union as something more than a symbol of political union. Again, while the Nationalists believe that Great Britain's fiscal policy is necessarily governed by British rather than Irish interests, Ulster Unionists fear that an Irish fiscal policy would, in the present state of public opinion down South, be actuated by anti-British motives. And even if, after the settlement of the Irish Question, such matters were sure to be considered on their merits, the business men of Ulster fear that, with the best wishes in the world, a parliament predominantly agricultural would be incapable of understanding the problems of a highly industrialised community.

As long as the practical business questions before us are debated with these mental reservations, we are dealing with false issues. I do not, for a moment, underrate the practical importance of the sentimental considerations involved. They must weigh on both sides; but they can and should be distinguished from the business considerations so that the latter can be discussed upon their merits. To this end we must also assume—and I am sure our Ulster friends will agree to assume—that, in its

economic policy, the Irish Parliament will be guided by common sense. The questions I submit herewith are based on this assumption.

My second purpose in thus addressing you is to call your attention to the critical stage at which we have arrived in the proceedings of the Convention, and to tell you frankly what I, as Chairman, consider its proper course in the discharge of its awful responsibility. It is quite true that if, after the further consideration I am about to ask has been given to the main issue in dispute, no compromise seems possible, we may abandon all hope of an agreed settlement for a united Ireland. But if, unhappily, any group in the Convention is unable to reach agreement on certain vital issues, the responsibility of framing a constitution for Ireland will rest on the main body. Its deliberations should lead, at any rate, to one good result—namely, that the issues of the controversy will be narrowed and defined. While we should not have settled the Irish Question, we should have made it far more amenable to settlement than we found it.

I devoutly hope that some compromise may yet be found upon the crux which has so nearly brought us to a deadlock. What I plead for at the moment is that we should go steadily ahead with our work of exploring the Irish political problem in all its aspects. Then, if we cannot come to a complete agreement, as many of us as possible must endeavour to submit proposals for a broad and equitable settlement of the Irish Question to the judgment of our countrymen and of the world.

Yours faithfully,
HORACE PLUNKETT.

ENCLOSURES.

Questions for Ulster Representatives.
Questions for Nationalist Representatives.
Note on possible Compromises.

QUESTIONS FOR ULSTER REPRESENTATIVES.

1. Are you afraid that an Irish Parliament might impose taxes on the raw material or machinery of your industries?

If so, would your fear be met by a provision that there should be free trade between England and Ireland (i.e., that neither country should impose customs duties on goods produced in the other without imposing an equivalent excise)?

Alternatively, would you be satisfied by a prohibition of import duties in Ireland on specific raw materials or machinery?

2. Are you afraid of your exports being exposed to customs duties in England if England became protectionist?

Would this objection be met by provisions for free trade between the two countries as above?

3. Are you, generally speaking, afraid of friction between Ireland and England, leading to tariff wars?

Would the above safeguard satisfy you?

4. Are you afraid that Ireland's tariff arrangements with foreign countries might cause friction between Ireland and England?

Would not the duties upon foreign goods imported into England from Ireland obviate this danger?

5. Are you afraid that Ulster industries might be unfairly taxed, by income tax or otherwise, in order to provide bounties for southern industries?

Would you be satisfied by a limitation of permissible expenditure on bounties or a limitation of industries on which bounties can be given, or of both?

6. Do you fear that an Irish Government representing agricultural interests would not adequately appreciate industrial and commercial problems?

If so, how far would your fears be met by Parliamentary safeguards in the form of a Provincial veto on legislation or a strong non-elected Upper House, or special representation in the Lower House?

QUESTIONS FOR NATIONALIST REPRESENTATIVES.

1. Are you afraid that unless Ireland has fiscal autonomy the Irish Government will not be able to adjust its controllable tax-revenue to its expenditure?

Would it satisfy you if Ireland had control (a) over direct taxation only or (b) over both direct and indirect taxation subject to the limitation as to free trade with England, or (c) over Excise but not Customs, or (d) over the rates of Customs duties but not over the selection of the articles subjected to them?

2. Are you afraid that if under a fiscal union, England became protectionist, some of the duties imposed might injure Irish interests (e.g., a duty on steel)?

Would you be satisfied if fiscal union only went so far as to secure mutual free trade?

3. Are you afraid that if, under complete fiscal union, England became protectionist and

became involved in tariff wars with foreign countries, Irish industries might suffer?

Would the same remedy meet this fear (Ireland being able to make her own terms with foreign countries)?

4. Are you afraid that under fiscal union Ireland would be unable to encourage new industries or protect industries from "dumping"?

Would this fear be met by power to grant bounties and to impose special duties on goods proved to be "dumped"?

POSSIBLE ARRANGEMENTS FOR COMPROMISE.

1. Ireland to have control over direct taxes. England to impose indirect taxes, and retain their proceeds.

2. Ditto, but Ireland to receive the proceeds.

3. Ditto, but Ireland to receive a specified part of the proceeds.

4. Any of the above, plus the power to Ireland to grant bounties.

5. Any of the above, plus the power to Ireland to protect industries against *dumping*.

6. Ireland to have control over Excise, not over *Customs*.

7. Ireland to have the right to vary the rates of the Customs duties, but not to select the articles subjected to them.

8. Ireland to have control over Excise and Customs subject to free trade between England and Ireland except to excisable articles.

9. Any of the above arrangements combined with Parliamentary safeguards to ensure that minorities may have an adequate force in fiscal policy, e.g., a provincial veto, strong un-elected Upper House, special representation in Lower House.

SCHEDULE V.

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS ADDRESSED TO NATIONALIST REPRESENTATIVES.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

The answers to the questions addressed to Nationalist Representatives were discussed by four members of the Sub-Committee, and there was general agreement with regard to the replies.

It was suggested that as an addendum to these answers containing the general Nationalist view about Customs, Excise, and Taxation, a summary should be given of the various proposals made to safeguard Ulster Unionists and trade interests which might be imperilled by an unwise use of the powers claimed.

The member who added this summary had not an opportunity of showing what he had written to his colleagues, and it has since been pointed out to him that the expression "equality of

voting power between Unionists and Nationalists" (page 67, col. 2, lines 21-2) did not precisely indicate the character of the suggestion made, as it was realised in discussion that it would be impossible to secure a definite political character to members of the Senate, but it was believed to be possible to guarantee in the proportions indicated the presence of substantial men with a stake in the country who would safeguard the interests for which the minority in Ireland were concerned. It is necessary, therefore, to state that the closing paragraphs relating to safeguards were only a summary, and must be taken with the limitations and extensions suggested in the discussion at the sub-committee, of which no doubt all the members have full notes.

QUESTION (1). Yes, we consider it essential that Ireland should be able to finance the whole of her government out of taxes imposed and collected by her own Parliament. Dual control over Irish taxation would prevent the fulfilment of this condition. It would, therefore, hamper efficient and economic government in Ireland, besides

giving opportunities for dangerous friction between two taxing authorities, Imperial and Irish.

Our answers to the four questions put to us under this head are as follows:—

To (a) the answer is No. For the following reasons:—Direct taxes (less excess profits,

which will cease in peace) now bring in less than 7½ millions, a sum not nearly sufficient to cover the cost of Irish government, amounting to over 12½ millions. Customs and Excise duties now yield eleven millions. Even supposing that the proceeds of these duties were credited to Ireland, though their imposition and collection remained in Imperial hands, between 65 and 70 per cent. of Irish tax-revenue would be subject to outside control, while power over the remainder would be gravely curtailed, because even the direct taxes would have to be varied to conform to changes in direct taxation imposed from without. An Imperial general tariff, for example, might raise the yield of Customs and Excise, while a British Labour Ministry, raising money mainly by the high taxation of incomes, and lowering indirect taxation, might compel Ireland automatically to raise her income-tax.

If on the other hand the proceeds of Customs and Excise were paid direct into the Imperial Treasury the position would be worse. A considerable part of these proceeds would have to be paid back as a subsidy to Ireland in order to meet the cost of Irish Government, the balance presumably being retained by Great Britain as a contribution by Ireland towards Imperial expenditure. We regard a system of subsidies, whatever form it might take, as a bad financial device which would sap responsibility and gravely fetter Ireland's power to direct her own legislative and financial policy. Moreover, the amounts available for subsidy and contribution would necessarily vary as indicated above according to British fiscal and social policy for the time being.

It might be proposed (somewhat on the lines of the Act of 1914) to reserve certain Irish services for Imperial control, and to finance these services out of the proceeds of Imperial Customs and Excise duties levied in Ireland. We regard such a course as altogether indefensible. Besides still further complicating financial relations, it would take away from Ireland the responsibility for part of its own government.

Lastly, apart from the effect on the revenue and expenditure of Ireland, the reservation to the Imperial Government of Customs and Excise would remove trade and social policy, so far as they can be influenced by these duties, wholly from the control of the Irish Parliament. We could not agree to such a drastic restriction of what we consider an indispensable power, though in the interests of compromise we might agree to some reasonable concession. (See under (b)).

To (b) the answer is that a compromise might be possible on the lines suggested. That is, an arrangement might be made for Free Trade between Ireland and Great Britain in goods of home produce or manufacture, with the exception in regard to articles subject to Excise. There should also (see under question 3) be a provision to guard against unfair competition or dumping. The arrangement should be terminable and renewable after a fixed period, and should be subject to earlier revision if Great Britain changed her trade policy.

To (c) the answer is No. Control over Excise would involve alterations in Customs Regulations, if exercised freely, and a power of control over Excise hampered by the restriction

that it would involve no interference with Customs would mean that there was no real control even over Excise, and would be of little or no use.

To (d) the answer is No. An Irish Parliament would desire to have the power to select the articles which it proposed to make dutiable, subject, of course, to the restrictions implied in the answer to question (b) should the arrangement there suggested be agreed to.

QUESTION (2). Yes. Our fear is that Great Britain would consult her own economic interests, which are overwhelmingly greater than ours, and that Irish interests would be neglected. This fear is justified by past history. Duties might be imposed on raw materials like steel, which can be produced in Great Britain, but not in Ireland, and of which Ireland is a user, not a manufacturer. This would hamper all industries using steel in Ireland. Or, again, the agricultural interests might be sacrificed to the industrial interests in Great Britain. Protests by labour against any taxation of food—protests likely to become louder after the war—might lead to a policy accepted by the Tariff Reformers a few years ago, which was to admit food free, and to place duties on manufactured articles. That would tell against Irish interests, the most important of which is agriculture, as we should be buying in a protected market, where prices would be artificially sustained, and selling in a market where there was free competition.

With regard to the second part of the question, the answer, as indicated before, is that agreement is possible on these lines with the limitations and provisos suggested.

QUESTION (3). Yes. It is quite possible that tariff wars with foreign countries might under a fiscal union result in the denial to us of necessary raw materials, or, more probably, in high tariffs against Irish linens, cottons, liquors, fish, or other articles.

To the second part of the question the answer is "yes," if Ireland were able to make her own terms with foreign countries the danger would be greatly lessened.

QUESTION (4). Yes, if we had control of Excise we could remove restrictions on the manufacture of industrial alcohol, for example, an industry capable of great development in Ireland, or we could encourage the production of Irish tobacco, or, perhaps, sugar-beet. As it is necessary for us to become more self-supporting in the matter of food, and, therefore, to cultivate a much larger area, it becomes of importance to the agricultural interests to provide that all the crops in rotation shall be profitable. It would be intolerable if the Irish Government were unable to make Excise regulations facilitating the manufacture of industrial alcohol. This is simply by way of illustration. Under the present system new Irish industries, even those which might be deemed proper to Ireland because of our production of raw materials such as hides, wool, etc., suffer severely in competition with long-established leather, boot, shoe, or woollen industries in Great Britain, which have no natural advantages over Irish industries, but the artificial advantage of priority in establishment and large capital reserves, enabling them to undersell for a while at a loss to themselves in order to knock out Irish rivalry.

The fear would be met to some extent by the power inherent in any Government to grant bounties to industry, and by the added power (see answer to question 1 (b)) to impose special duties on goods which proved to be dumped, though we feel bound to point out the difficulty of framing provisions to ensure the proper fulfilment of the latter object.

We wish to add the following supplementary remarks:—

We regard Ireland as a Nation, an economic entity. Governments exist to foster the economic interests of their peoples. Self-government does not exist where those nominally entrusted with affairs of government have not control of fiscal and economic policy. No Nation with self-respect could accept the idea that while its citizens were regarded as capable of creating wealth they were regarded as incompetent to regulate the manner in which taxation of that wealth should be arranged, and that another country should have the power of levying and collecting taxes, the taxed country being placed in the position of a person of infirm mind whose affairs are regulated by trustees. No finality could be looked for in such an arrangement, not even a temporary satisfaction.

It is also, in our opinion, wrong to contemplate continuing these methods of taxation for a poor country as for a rich. It is just as wrong as it would be to have the same five shillings income-tax on the income of the labourer as on the income of the millionaire. In Great Britain the average wealth per head is so much greater than in Ireland that indirect taxation, which can be borne easily even by the labouring classes, inflicts the greatest hardships on the same classes in Ireland.

We also wish to point out that without an Irish collection of taxes, including Custom House inspection of all imported goods, it would be impossible for us to discover what was the true Irish revenue. It has been admitted that the figures attributed to Ireland in the past in respect of income-tax and on dutiable articles like tea are largely based on guess work. Without accurate knowledge of our true tax revenue there would always be suspicions on the part of Ireland that it was mulcted in sums which did not appear in the Treasury Papers.

Lastly, it may be said that without an Irish control over Customs and Excise, and the power held in reserve of regulating trade policy with Great Britain, Ireland would have no real bargaining power in case of Great Britain adopting a protective policy. Irish representation at Westminster would give less bargaining power than the right in the hands of an Irish Government to continue a policy of free imports, if it so desired, in respect of the raw materials required for industry in Ireland, or, on the other hand, to protect its business interests against foreign trade combinations. It is desirable that such powers should be as little used as possible, but they should be held in reserve. It would, be the worst possible business policy, as it would be the worst possible military policy, never to contemplate change, advance or retreat, and to prepare for no eventualities. We say this just as much in the interest of Ulster as in the interest of the Southern farmers.

We agree that as few obstacles as possible should be placed between Ireland and its greatest customer. Irish farmers, even more than Ulster industrialists, are concerned about free trade, for their products are perishable by nature, and lessen rapidly in value by delay at ports. It is much easier to imagine Ulster industrialists changing their views in this respect than Irish farmers, and the natural interests of Irish producers are the best protection against unwise changes in trade policy. We realise that the industries of Ulster are so important that safeguards, in addition to those already suggested, may reasonably be demanded. The main safeguard proposed is to give Ulster and other Unionists political power equal to their economic interests. Special representation in both Houses of Parliament would be agreed to, so that in case of dispute over questions affecting Ulster or Unionist interests both Houses would sit together and an equality of voting power between Unionists and Nationalists, so far as such a thing can be arranged in theory, would take place. This, it is urged, would give ample security that no policy would be adopted which was not in harmony with the interest of Ulster industry.

In conclusion, we desire to draw attention to some other ways of meeting the fears of Unionists, fears we most earnestly desire to allay by any means which do not conflict with the fundamental principles which we consider it necessary to maintain.

(1). The inconvenience dreaded from Irish fiscal autonomy might be obviated by means of a small Commission composed in equal numbers of members nominated by the British and Irish Parliaments, with an independent Chairman, to arrange a trade, postal, and customs union, or agreement between Great Britain and Ireland, subject to the approval of both Parliaments, and with the provision that, in the event of disagreement in the Commission, or disapproval by either Parliament, the most-favoured-nation terms allowed in the matter on either side to a foreign or colonial government should be put in force by Royal Proclamation. On any Commission of this kind special representation for the North-East could be secured.

(2). It might be possible to arrange for an Irish Parliamentary Committee to which all questions relating to changes in Customs and Excise should be referred, and in which a preponderating influence could be given to representatives of the great industrial interests in Ulster.

As an alternative to all other suggestions for compromise put forward in this Memorandum, a veto exercised by an Ulster Grand Committee on matters affecting the special interests of the province might in the last resort be considered. We regard this as the least desirable form of compromise, and would prefer that Ulster would accept the larger representation in both Houses of Parliament as the right method of safeguarding their interests. By this method Irish interests would be considered all together, as is most desirable. The friction at present unfortunately existing between Ulster and the rest of Ireland would not be perpetuated. A veto would also prevent practical and constitutional difficulties of a grave nature, and if other provinces demand the same power, Irish legislation and administration would be involved in a tangle of complexities.

SCHEDULE VI.

REPLIES BY MR. W. M. MURPHY TO QUESTIONS FOR NATIONALIST REPRESENTATIVES SUBMITTED BY SIR HORACE PLUNKET, 6th NOVEMBER, 1917.

QUESTION.

(1). Are you afraid that unless Ireland has fiscal autonomy the Irish Government will not be able to adjust its controllable tax-revenue to its expenditure?

Would it satisfy you if Ireland had control (a) over direct taxation only or (b) over both direct and indirect taxation subject to the limitation as to free trade with England, or (c) over Excise but not Customs, or (d) over the rates of Customs duties but not over the selection of the articles subjected to them?

ANSWER.

(1). In order to answer this question intelligently it would be necessary to be sure what is meant by "Controllable Tax Revenue." I take it from the context that it means partial fiscal autonomy as distinct from full fiscal autonomy, and on that assumption it appears to me that it would be impossible to adjust Revenue to Expenditure if one set of Taxes were voted by an Irish Parliament and another set by a British Parliament. Moreover, it would leave the Irish Parliament only partially responsible for raising the Taxes which the Irish Government was expending, and it would take away from them the incentive to economy in almost as great a degree as if the whole of the Irish Taxes were levied by the British Parliament and handed over to be expended by an Irish Government.

In answer to the second part of this question, no fiscal system would satisfy me that does not give an Irish Parliament plenary powers over all Irish Taxes, including Customs and Excise, and all other sources of Irish Revenue.

QUESTION.

(2). Are you afraid that if, under a fiscal union, England became protectionist some of the duties imposed might injure Irish interests (e.g., a duty on steel)?

Would you be satisfied if fiscal union only went as far as to secure mutual free trade?

ANSWER.

(2). I am quite sure that if England became Protectionist no regard would be had to Irish interests where they did not harmonise with British interests, and I do not look upon any

representation that Ireland could claim in a House of more than seven hundred members at Westminster as any protection in this respect. No British Budget was ever directly affected by anything that could be done by Irish Members.

With regard to the second paragraph of this question, I would be willing to consider a Commercial Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland, under Home Rule with full fiscal authority, for the free interchange of the produce and manufactures of both countries, with provision against dumping, though I would prefer that this Treaty should be arranged between the two Parliaments after the Irish Parliament was established.

QUESTION.

(3). Are you afraid that if, under complete fiscal union, England became protectionist and became involved in tariff wars with foreign countries, Irish industries might suffer?

Would the same remedy meet this fear (Ireland being able to make her own terms with foreign countries)?

ANSWER.

(3). Yes. For reply to the second part of question see reply to second part of Question 2.

QUESTION.

(4). Are you afraid that under fiscal union Ireland would be unable to encourage new industries or protect industries from "dumping"?

Would this fear be met by power to grant bounties and to impose special duties on goods proved to be "dumped"?

ANSWER.

(4). Without fiscal freedom I feel sure that Ireland could do little or nothing to encourage new industries or to protect industries from "dumping." My fears on this head would be met in a large degree by power to grant bounties and to impose special duties on goods proved to be "dumped" which would be incidental to a measure of full fiscal autonomy.

SCHEDULE VII.

Dear Sir Horace,

14th November, 1917.

In reply to the communication which you have addressed to us we must point out that the difference which has brought the proceedings of the Sub-Committee "nearly to a deadlock" rests on points of principle and not of detail.

We hold that in matters of fiscal policy and economic life the interests of Ireland are inseparable from those of Great Britain, and that there can be no Customs barrier or differentiation of taxation between the two countries, which are, and must continue to be, so intimately associated.

You submit the following view "in the present state of Nationalist opinion it would be useless to propose any such restriction on the taxing powers of an Irish Parliament as the

reservation of Customs and Excise to the British Parliament."

To set out our apprehensions of the use to which powers of control of either direct or indirect taxation might be put by an Irish Parliament would be an ungrateful task which we do not propose to undertake. It has been made clear to us, however, that one object would be attained by their acquisition, and that is to escape from all liability for National Debt and from bearing any share in the cost of the war or of national defence in the future beyond such voluntary contribution as an Irish Parliament should from time to time think fit to make.

You say rightly that "to the great majority of the Nationalists fiscal autonomy, advocated as

a means of industrial development at home, and of economic expansion abroad, appeals even more strongly as a symbol of political autonomy." To go further and say that the adoption of this doctrine of Irish fiscal autonomy will, under a Colonial form of government, separate all our interests from Great Britain must inevitably lead to the same goal as the Sinn Féiners desire to reach under a republic.

The demand is, in fact, that Ireland shall be separated absolutely from Great Britain and, except for the sovereignty of the King, occupy the position of an independent nation. This means that Ireland, desirous of increasing her industrial activities and with practically no raw materials within herself, will be cut adrift from the strongest commercial power in the world and have to rely upon her own resources in the welter of economic trouble with which the world will be surrounded at the conclusion of the war.

You will thus realise that the question does not depend on small accommodations such as are put forward; the question is far wider, more important, and, indeed, vital.

We are satisfied that for Ireland and for Great Britain a common system of Finance with one

Exchequer is a fundamental essential, and that Irish industrial and commercial interests and the development of our resources can be best furthered in full community with the economic life of the great industrial people with whom we have so much in common and from whom we refuse to be divorced.

You express the hope that some compromise may yet be found, and that we should go on with the work of "exploring the Irish political problem in all its aspects." We consider that to do so without making a clear statement of what we regard as a fundamental condition would be to leave us open to the reproach of carrying on the business of the Convention under false pretences. Having stated our position on this matter we are willing to give consideration to any further schemes that may be put before us.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) HUGH T. BARRIE,

Chairman Ulster Representatives,

(Signed) LONDONDERRY,

Hon. Secretary.

SCHEDULE VIII.

PROPOSALS FOR A COMPROMISE.

CUSTOMS.

1. It is essential that the Irish Government should have under its control sources of revenue sufficient to cover the cost of the services which it administers.

2. It should, therefore, be recognised that, in principle, all heads of Irish revenue should be subject to such control.

3. At the same time it should be recognised that a contribution from Ireland to the cost of Imperial Services is called for, not primarily in the interests of Great Britain, but because reluctance to accept an obligation of honour would be derogatory to the dignity and self-respect of Ireland.

4. Any such contribution ought to be placed on a definite basis which would remove it from the sphere of Parliamentary controversy.

5. The easiest way to achieve this is to make it a definite charge against a particular head of revenue.

6. It is suggested that the most convenient head is the Customs.

7. The desirability of maintaining Free Trade between Great Britain and Ireland for a term of years being admitted, and Imperial Services being made a first charge on the Customs revenue by the arrangement above suggested, it is only a small concession to leave the imposition of Customs Duties to the British Government for the duration of the proposed Free Trade arrangement.

8. The fact that this compromise would relieve the anxiety felt by Ulster is a strong argument in its favour.

9. The increasing prospect of a federalisation of the British Isles is an additional argument,

for should this prospect be realised it is certain that Customs must be an item of Federal Revenue.

10. The imposition of Customs Duties should be left to the Imperial Parliament; the collection should be made under the authority of a Joint Board on which Ireland should have equal representation with Great Britain, and the determination of the share of Customs Revenue attributable to Ireland should also rest with this Board.

11. The whole of this share should be carried to the credit of Ireland, and the "contribution to Imperial purposes" (which should be specified in the Constitution Act, either as a fixed sum, or as an amount variable on a sliding scale) should be the first charge upon it.

12. If the Customs revenue attributable to Ireland in any year is less than the amount fixed as the "contribution to Imperial Services," the balance of that amount should be written off as irrecoverable.

13. If the Customs revenue exceeds the Imperial contribution, the balance should be at the disposal of the Irish Government.

14. This arrangement will have the following advantages:—

- (1). It recognises in principle Ireland's claim to fiscal autonomy.
- (2). It meets, in practice, the difficulties felt by Ulster.
- (3). It leaves Ireland full control over revenues sufficient to meet the cost of her services.
- (4). It removes the vexed question of an Imperial contribution from the sphere of controversy.
- (5). It makes easy the transition to a Federal System, should such become probable in the future.

15. It would be easy to add to this arrangement provisions for the prevention of dumping, as between Great Britain and Ireland, on the lines already suggested. A draft indicating the kind of provisions which would be necessary is set out below.

DRAFT ANTI-DUMPING PROVISIONS.

(1). There shall be established a Board to be called the Joint Customs Board, consisting of two members appointed by the Treasury, and a Chairman appointed by His Majesty.

(2). If the Irish Government be of opinion that the producers, growers, or manufacturers of any article in Ireland are being subjected to unfair competition through the importation into Ireland from Great Britain of articles which by reason of State aid, industrial combination, or other cause are being sold at a price less than the actual cost of manufacture, distribution, and sale with the addition of a fair commercial profit; or if the British Government (etc., etc., *mutatis mutandis*); then the Irish Government, or the British Government, as the

case may be, may require the Joint Customs Board to investigate the matter.

(3). The Joint Customs Board, on being so required, shall investigate the matter with all convenient despatch, and shall report to both Governments whether in fact such unfair competition exists, and if so, what rate or rates of Custom Duty or Duties would be sufficient to counteract it.

(4). On the issue of such a report, it shall be lawful for the Irish, or British Parliament, as the case may be, to impose Customs Duties on said articles of British or Irish growth, produce, or manufacture to the extent found by the Joint Customs Board to be sufficient to counteract the unfair competition.

(5). Any Customs Duties imposed in accordance with the provisions of the foregoing paragraph shall be immediately discontinued if the Joint Customs Board shall report that the unfair competition which gave rise to their imposition has ceased.

FINAL REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE TO THE GRAND COMMITTEE OF THE IRISH CONVENTION.

In our Interim Report dated November 15th, we stated that we had still to consider a proposal to be submitted by Lord Londonderry. Since the date of that Report we have held two meetings, on November 20th and 21st. On the former date we made a further attempt to find a compromise on the fiscal question, but we regret that we were not successful. In view of the continued disagreement, the Ulster representatives preferred not to submit any scheme, and Lord Londonderry's proposals, referred to in our Interim Report, have, therefore, not been laid before us.

We desire to supplement that Report by making certain explanatory amendments in the Provisional Conclusions set forth in Schedule II.

The note to Head 3, sub-head (3) (a) and (b) should read:—

“These were deferred for further consideration, *pending the Report of the Sub-Committee on Defence.*”

Head 9; Constitution of Senate. For “Irish Peers” read “*Peers resident in Ireland.*”

Head 10; Constitution of House of Commons. The last sentence should read:—“*This might be done, and was reserved for further consideration.*”

In connection with the question of an Imperial Contribution, which was reserved for further consideration, the Nationalist members of the Sub-Committee desire to record their recognition of the principle of such a contribution, though reserving their views as to method and amount.

In conclusion, it is our duty to report that, in consequence of the continued divergence of our views on the financial question, our endeavour to find a basis for agreement has not proved successful.

21st November, 1917.

APPENDIX V.

REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE ON ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND AREAS.

(I. C. No. 18.)

The Electoral Systems Sub-Committee was appointed "to consider the question of Electoral Systems, Areas and Franchises."

The members of the Committee were, His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin (Chairman), the Earl of Granard, Sir William Goulding, Bart., Alderman McCarron, Messrs. R. Waugh, P. J. O'Neill, T. J. Harbison, and E. E. Lysaght.

Nine meetings were held, in which the general subject was carefully considered as well as the question of how to provide adequate representation for minority interests.

The leading Electoral Systems were examined, including Proportional Representation with the Single Transferable Vote, and the Belgian System with plural voting *plus* Proportional Representation. The Secretary of the Proportional Representation Society also conducted a demonstration election in order to illustrate the working details of a contested election under this system.

The composition of an Upper and a Lower House, with respect to numbers, and also to the various elements which should find representation in these assemblies, was discussed at considerable length.

The question of providing representation for urban interests by grouping towns of 2,000 population and upwards so as to form special urban constituencies was carefully examined, and a table of statistics bearing upon this subject is attached herewith.

The Sub-Committee desire it to be clearly understood that their recommendations are not to be taken as more than provisional conclusions. If agreement can be reached in the Convention by other methods of distribution of election, or nomination of members to either House, they are quite ready to consider them sympathetically.

FINDINGS.

The Sub-Committee agreed that the Unionist minority should in an Irish Parliament receive representation in excess of its relative numerical proportion to the rest of the electorate.

They also agreed that having regard to the smallness of the Unionist electorate in many counties the Proportional Representation system would not give representation to the Unionist minority.

The Sub-Committee were not prepared to say that the Belgian system would meet the necessities of the case as existing in Ireland.

The suggestion of nominating representatives of the minority interest was in general terms approved. Nomination to be by the Crown.

The terms of the Representation of the People Bill were approved as to the qualifying period of residence and as to the disqualification of paupers.

It was the view of a majority of the members that the proposals of this Bill in regard to manhood and womanhood suffrage are desirable and should be extended to Ireland.

In so far as Trade Unions are concerned, the Labour representatives of the Sub-Committee

were of opinion that it would not be desirable that Labour organisations should be empowered to elect direct representatives to the House of Commons, as such action would in their view tend to break up Trade Unions into political sections.

The general view of the Committee was that there should not be direct representation for Institutions in the Lower House, with the exception of Universities, and that in any Irish redistribution scheme the boroughs of Belfast, Dublin, Cork, Londonderry, Limerick, and Waterford should be retained. For the remaining constituencies redistribution should be on the basis of population as far as may be reasonably practicable.

As to the composition of an Irish House of Commons the view was expressed that the membership should be 197, of whom 157 should be elected and 40 nominated by the Crown in the interests of the Unionist minority. The distribution of those elected to be as follows:—

Borough of Belfast	...	14
" Dublin	...	11
" Cork	...	4
" Derry	...	2
" Limerick	...	2
" Waterford	...	1
University of Dublin	...	2
" Belfast	...	1
National University	...	1
Elected	...	119
Nominated	...	40
		<hr/> 197

These views are subject to the qualifications:—

That the Labour members of the Sub-Committee did not approve of University representation, and that the Chairman preferred a smaller number of nominated members and a number of elected representatives for other interests or institutions.

The question of enlarging the area of Dublin borough so as to include the Metropolitan Police area and give Dublin 14 members and reduce the County Dublin representation by three members was after consideration left to the Grand Committee.

THE SENATE.

It was suggested that the Senate should consist of 60 members and be composed as follows:—

4 Bishops, R.C. Church.
2 Bishops, Church of Ireland.
1 representative, Presbyterian Church.
1 Lord Chancellor.
15 Representative Peers.
15 nominated by the Crown.
3 to be elected for Connaught.
5 " Munster.
6 " Leinster.
8 " Ulster.
<hr/> 60

These provincial representatives to be elected by popular vote on the General Franchise.

Tenure of office generally to be ten years, and all members to be unpaid.

It was the opinion of the Committee that there should be a certain number of persons elected to the Upper House on a popular franchise. The Chairman and Sir William Goulding dissented from this view.

On the representation of the Labour members it was agreed not to recommend the direct representation of Labour in the Upper House, consequently, Mr. Lysaght, Mr. Harbison, and Lord Granard held that there should not be any direct representation from Chambers of Commerce. Notwithstanding, the suggested absence of such Labour representation the Chairman, Sir William Goulding, and Mr. P. J. O'Neill thought that commercial interests should be represented in the Upper House.

The Committee were divided on the question as to whether there should be any representation for bodies such as the Incorporated Law Society, the Benchers, the College of Surgeons, College of Physicians, Board of Agriculture, Royal Irish Academy, and Royal Dublin Society. Those in favour of such representation were Sir William Goulding, Mr. Lysaght, Mr. O'Neill, Mr. Harbison, and the Chairman. The other members of the Committee were opposed to any representation of such special interests.

In the opinion of the Committee it was not necessary to provide specially for the inclusion of Law Lords in the Upper House, as the judicial element would probably be fully represented through other sections.

Section 12, sub-section 3, of the Government of Ireland Act, 1914, as follows, was approved:—

“Any Peer whether of the United Kingdom, Great Britain, England, Scotland, or Ireland shall be qualified to be a member of either House.”

SPECIAL REPRESENTATION OF URBAN INTERESTS.

The question of giving special representation to urban populations having, at the request of Lord Southborough, been further considered, the following opinion was expressed:—

On the hypothesis that the quota for rural constituencies should be 35,000, and for urban constituencies 20,000, it would appear that the number of members representing urban interests might be about 62, while rural members would be about 91. On the simpler hypothesis on the other hand that equal weight should be given to the urban and rural vote, and that the quota for each constituency should be 30,000, the number of urban members would be about 42, while there would be about 111 rural members. Thus, so far as the Sub-Committee can see, after detailed examination, the effect of carrying out Lord Southborough's suggestion would be to increase the urban representation by about 24 in a House of 157 members. It would increase the urban representation in the province of Ulster from 20 to 29.

Another method of strengthening the urban representation was proposed by Mr. Lysaght, viz., that the existing small boroughs of Newry, Galway, and Kilkenny be retained, and that similar representation be extended to towns of 10,000 inhabitants and upwards. Under this proposal the towns of Lisburn, Lurgan, Portadown, Ballymena, Dundalk, Drogheda, Wexford, Clonmel, Tralee, and Sligo would each be entitled to one Parliamentary representative as their respective populations exceed 10,000.

Ten new boroughs would thus be created in addition to the existing three proposed to be retained.

Under this scheme the urban representation would be 50, and the non-urban 103, together with four University members.

(Signed), JOHN DUBLIN,

Chairman of Sub-Committee.

NOTE ON URBAN REPRESENTATION.

By E. LYSAGHT.

The principle proposed by Lord Southborough in his letter to the Sub-Committee of fixing a very much lower quota for urban divisions than for rural is open to the objection: That it is frankly undemocratic.

Again, grouping of small towns is open, as we have seen, to the objection that the smaller towns are semi-rural, and that such grouping could not be successfully carried out. We have seen that Lord Southborough's proposal would increase the urban representation in an Irish Parliament.

It is possible to do this, I think, by a simpler means, viz., to recognise the principle hitherto in operation in Ireland of separate representation for the larger towns even though they are very considerably below the quota decided upon.

Newry, Galway, and Kilkenny now have such separate representation.

I would propose that this be continued, and extended to all towns of similar size. If representation be extended to towns of 10,000 inhabitants and over, ten new boroughs would be enfranchised in addition to the three I would propose to retain, but which it has hitherto been agreed to disfranchise. Lisburn, Lurgan, Portadown, Ballymena, Dundalk, Drogheda, Wexford, Clonmel, Tralee, Sligo are all over 10,000 inhabitants.

The constituencies would then be as shown on attached Schedule, giving 50 urban and 103 rural members and four University members. With four University members the lower house would then contain less than two-thirds rural members.

The result is only seven less urban members than that arrived at by adopting Lord Southborough's suggestion.

In the attached Schedule I have given the members and population per county rather than per division, because the size of the divisions depends on whether the principle of Proportional Representation be adopted or not.

PROPOSED CONSTITUENCIES.

	Urban.	Population.	Population per Member.	Rural.			
ULSTER.							
Belfast ...	14	410,000	29,000	—	FIGURES TO NEAREST 1,000.		
Derry ...	2	40,000	20,000	—			
Newry ...	1	11,963	—	—	Population.	Average Population per Member	
Portadown ...	1	11,727	—	—			
Lurgan ...	1	12,553	—	—	168,000	28,000	
Lisburn ...	1	12,388	—	—			
Ballymena ...	1	11,381	—	—	90,000	30,000	
Antrim ...	—	—	—	6			
Armagh ...	—	—	—	3	90,000	30,000	
Cavan ...	—	—	—	3			
Donegal ...	—	—	—	6	168,000	28,000	
Down ...	—	—	—	7			
Derry ...	—	—	—	3	202,000	29,000	
Fermanagh ...	—	—	—	2			
Monaghan ...	—	—	—	2	99,000	33,000	
					62,000	31,000	
					72,000	36,000 (or 3 Mem- bers 24,000 per Member 29,000	
Tyrone ...	—	—	—	5	145,000	29,000	
	21 Urban.			37 Rural.	Ulster 58		
LEINSTER.							
Dublin (including S. Co. Dublin)	14	400,000	28,000	—			
Kilkenny City	1	10,514	—	—			
Drogheda ...	1	12,501	—	—			
Dundalk ...	1	13,128	—	—			
Wexford City ...	1	11,531	—	—			
Dublin County...	—	—	—	3			
Wexford County	—	—	—	3	93,000	31,000	
Kilkenny County	—	—	—	2			
Kildare ...	—	—	—	2	62,000	31,000	
King's County ...	—	—	—	2			
Longford ...	—	—	—	1	66,000	33,000	
Louth ...	—	—	—	1			
Meath ...	—	—	—	2	56,000	28,000	
Carlow ...	—	—	—	1			
Westmeath ...	—	—	—	2	44,000	44,000	
Queen's ...	—	—	—	2			
Wicklow ...	—	—	—	2	38,000	38,000	
					65,000	32,000	
					35,000	35,000	
					50,000	28,000	
					55,000	28,000	
					58,000	29,000	
	18 Urban.			23 Rural.	Leinster 41		
MUNSTER.							
Limerick City ...	2	46,000	23,000	—			
Cork City ...	4	100,000	25,000	—			
Waterford City	1	27,464	—	—			
Tralee ...	1	10,300	—	—			
Clonmel ...	1	10,209	—	—			
Clare ...	—	—	—	4			
Cork County ...	—	—	—	9	104,000	26,000	
Kerry ...	—	—	—	5			
Limerick County	—	—	—	3	288,000	32,000	
Tipperary ...	—	—	—	5			
Waterford County	—	—	—	2	150,000	30,000	
					96,000	32,000	
					140,000	28,000	
					58,000	29,000	
	9 Urban.			28 Rural.	Munster 37		

PROPOSED CONSTITUENCIES—continued.

	Urban.	Population.	Population per Member.	Rural.	FIGURES TO NEAREST 1,000.	
CONNAUGHT.					Population.	Average Population per Member.
Galway City ...	1	13,255	—	—	—	—
Sligo City ...	1	11,164	—	—	—	—
Galway County	—	—	—	5	160,000	32,000
Mayo ...	—	—	—	6	192,000	32,000
Roscommon ...	—	—	—	3	93,000	31,000
Sligo County ...	—	—	—	2	70,000	35,000
Leitrim ...	—	—	—	2	63,000	32,000
	2 Urban.			18 Rural.		Connaught 20
Total ...	50 Urban.			107 Rural.		Universities ... 4
						160

MEMORANDUM ON URBAN REPRESENTATION.

CONNAUGHT.

9 towns ... Population ... 49,681

(AS SUBMITTED TO THE ELECTORAL SYSTEMS SUB-COMMITTEE.)

Accepting the official definition of civic areas as "towns with a population of 2,000 and upwards" and including a few towns just on the border line of that figure there are in Ireland 111 "civic areas," including the boroughs of Belfast, Londonderry, Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford. The following figures summarise the position:—

ULSTER.

37 towns ...	Population ...	185,340
2 boroughs ...	" ...	427,727
Total, Ulster ...		613,067

LEINSTER.

34 towns ...	Population ...	244,848
1 borough ...	" ...	304,802
Total ...		549,150

MUNSTER.

25 towns ...	Population ...	120,054
3 boroughs ...	" ...	142,655
Total ...		262,709

Ulster ...	Urban	613,067	Non-urban	968,629
Leinster ...	"	549,150	"	612,894
Munster ...	"	262,709	"	772,766
Connaught ...	"	49,681	"	561,303

On the view it would seem, therefore, that in Ulster and Leinster a separate scheme for urban and non-urban constituencies is feasible. But if the boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry be excluded, the grand total for the remaining thirty-seven Ulster towns is only 185,340. In addition eighteen of Ulster's thirty-seven towns are in the counties of Antrim and Down, and their joint population is 98,083, or considerably more than half the total for Ulster towns. Separate representation for the urban interests of Antrim and Down is possible by a system of grouping. It is also practicable in County Armagh to the extent that Portadown and Lurgan being in the same constituency and contiguous could easily be grouped.

It should be pointed out that in many instances the smaller towns are strictly rural, or rather non-industrial in their interests, being merely market towns, and not manufacturing centres.

In the province of Leinster there is a similar concentration of urban population in one or two areas and diffusion in the rest of the province. In the county of Dublin the townships of Kingstown, Pembroke, and Rathmines account for 84,858 out of a total of 101,963. These towns may be regarded rather as suburbs of Dublin than as distinctive civic entities. Drogheda and Dundalk in county Louth, though somewhat remote from each other, could be grouped similarly to Portadown and Lurgan, but many other towns in Leinster would require special grouping.

The figures for the respective provinces and counties are attached herewith.

IRISH STATISTICS.

(BOROUGH AND URBAN POPULATIONS).

Extracted from Census of 1911.

The following figures indicate the urban population of Ireland by counties and provinces, respectively.

The official classification of "Civic Areas," namely, towns having 2,000 population and upwards has been adopted. In one or two instances towns just short of this standard have been included for the purposes of close comparison between urban and non-urban areas.

	Total Population.	Urban.	Non-Urban.
Ulster	1,581,696	613,067	968,629
Leinster	1,162,044	549,150	612,894
Munster	1,035,495	262,709	772,786
Connaught	610,984	49,681	561,303
Grand Totals ...	4,390,219	1,474,607	2,915,612
Official Estimate ...	4,390,219	1,470,595	2,919,624

STATISTICS OF BOROUGHES.

ULSTER BOROUGHES.

Belfast	386,947
Londonderry	40,780
	<u>427,727</u>

LEINSTER BOROUGHES.

Dublin	304,802
	<u>304,802</u>

MUNSTER BOROUGHES.

Cork	76,673
Limerick	38,518
Waterford	27,464
	<u>142,655</u>

Total Boroughs 865,184

STATISTICS OF URBAN AREAS.

PROVINCE OF ULSTER.

Co. ANTRIM.			
Lisburn	...	...	12,388
Ballymena	...	...	11,381
Larne	...	...	8,036
Carrickfergus	...	...	4,608
Antrim	...	...	1,979
Ballyclare	...	...	3,369
Ballymoney	...	...	3,100
Portrush	...	...	2,107
			<hr/>
			47,268

Co. DOWN.			
Newry	...	...	11,963
Newtownards	...	...	9,587
Downpatrick	...	...	3,199
Banbridge	...	...	5,101
Bangor	...	...	7,776
Holywood	...	...	4,035
Donaghadee	...	...	2,213
Comber	...	...	2,589
Dromore	...	...	2,364
Warrenpoint	...	...	1,938
			<hr/>
			50,765

Co. ARMAGH.			
Armagh	...	...	7,356
Lurgan	...	...	12,533
Portadown	...	...	11,727
Bessbrook	...	...	2,888
			<hr/>
			34,524

Co. MONAGHAN.			
Monaghan	...	...	4,272
Clones	...	...	2,401
Carrickmacross	...	...	2,064
			<hr/>
			8,737

Co. DONEGAL.			
Bundoran	...	...	2,116
Letterkenny	...	...	2,194
Buncrana	...	...	1,848
Ballyshannon	...	...	2,170
			<hr/>
			8,328

Co. LONDONDERRY.			
Coleraine	...	...	7,785
Limavady	...	...	2,667
			<hr/>
			10,450

Co. TYRONE.			
Cookstown	...	...	3,685
Dungannon	...	...	3,830
Omagh	...	...	4,836
Strabane	...	...	5,107
			<hr/>
			17,458

PROVINCE OF ULSTER—continued.

Co. FERMANAGH.			
Enniskillen	...	...	4,847
			<hr/>
			4,847
Co. CAVAN.			
Cavan	...	...	2,961
			<hr/>
			2,961

Total of Ulster Towns as above ... 185,340

Total for Ulster Boroughs ... 427,727

Grand Total ... 613,067

PROVINCE OF LEINSTER.

Co. CARLOW.			
Carlow	...	...	6,619
Bagenalstown	...	...	1,873
Tullow	...	...	1,894
			<hr/>
			10,386

Co. DUBLIN.			
Blackrock	...	...	9,080
Dalkey	...	...	3,536
Killiney	...	...	2,721
Kingstown	...	...	17,219
Pembroke	...	...	20,294
Rathmines	...	...	37,840
Balbriggan	...	...	2,273
			<hr/>
			101,963

Co. KILDARE.			
Athy	...	...	3,535
Kildare	...	...	2,639
Naas	...	...	3,842
Newbridge	...	...	3,400
			<hr/>
			13,416

Co. KILKENNY.			
Kilkenny	...	...	10,514
Callan	...	...	1,987
			<hr/>
			12,501

KING'S COUNTY.			
Birr	...	...	4,047
Tullamore	...	...	4,926
Edenderry	...	...	2,208
			<hr/>
			11,181

Co. LONGFORD.			
Longford	...	...	3,760
			<hr/>
			3,760

STATISTICS OF BOROUGHS—*continued.*PROVINCE OF LEINSTER—*continued.*

Co. LOUTH.				
Drogheda	...	...	...	12,501
Dundalk	...	...	...	13,128
				<hr/> 25,629
Co. MEATH.				
Kells	...	...	...	2,395
Navan	...	...	...	3,934
				<hr/> 6,329
QUEEN'S COUNTY.				
Maryborough	...	...	...	3,270
Portarlinton	...	...	...	2,012
Mountmellick	...	...	...	2,341
				<hr/> 7,623
Co. WESTMEATH.				
Athlone	...	...	...	7,472
Mullingar	...	...	...	5,539
				<hr/> 13,011
Co. WICKLOW.				
Bray	...	...	...	7,691
Wicklow	...	...	...	3,288
Arklow (estimate)	...	...	...	7,000
				<hr/> 17,979
Co. WEXFORD.				
Wexford	...	...	...	11,531
Enniscorthy	...	...	...	5,495
New Ross	...	...	...	5,547
				<hr/> 22,573
Total of Leinster Towns	...	...	...	244,348
Total of Leinster Boroughs	...	...	...	304,802
Grand Total	...	...	...	<hr/>549,150

PROVINCE OF MUNSTER.

Co. CORK.				
Clonakilty	...	...	...	2,961
Queenstown	...	...	...	8,209
Fermoy	...	...	...	6,863
Kinsale	...	...	...	4,026
Macroom	...	...	...	2,717
Mallow	...	...	...	4,452
Middleton	...	...	...	3,182
Mitchelstown	...	...	...	2,268
Skibbereen	...	...	...	3,021
Youghal	...	...	...	5,648
Bandon	...	...	...	3,122
Bantry	...	...	...	3,159
				<hr/> 49,622
Co. KERRY.				
Tralee	...	...	...	10,300
Killarney	...	...	...	5,796
Listowel	...	...	...	3,409
				<hr/> 19,505

PROVINCE OF MUNSTER—*continued.*

Co. CLARE.				
Ennis	...	...	...	5,472
Kilrush	...	...	...	3,666
				<hr/> 9,138
Co. TIPPERARY.				
Nenagh	...	...	...	4,776
Thurles	...	...	...	4,549
Tipperary	...	...	...	6,645
Clonmel	...	...	...	10,209
Carrick-on-Suir	...	...	...	5,235
Cashel	...	...	...	2,813
				<hr/> 34,227
Co. WATERFORD.				
Dungarvan	...	...	...	4,977
				<hr/> 4,977
Co. LIMERICK				
Newcastle West	...	...	...	2,585
				<hr/> 2,585
Total for Munster Towns	...	...	...	120,054
Total for Munster Boroughs	...	...	...	142,655
Grand Total	...	...	...	<hr/>262,709

PROVINCE OF CONNAUGHT.

Co. GALWAY.				
Ballinasloe	...	...	...	5,169
Galway	...	...	...	13,255
Tuam	...	...	...	2,980
Loughrea	...	...	...	2,388
				<hr/> 23,792
Co. LEITRIM.				
Nil	...	...	...	Nil.
Co. MAYO.				
Ballina	...	...	...	4,662
Castlebar	...	...	...	3,698
Westport	...	...	...	3,674
				<hr/> 12,034
Co. ROSCOMMON.				
Boyle	...	...	...	2,691
				<hr/> 2,691
Co. SLIGO.				
Sligo	...	...	...	11,164
				<hr/> 11,164
Grand Total for Towns of Connaught	...	...	...	49,681
Grand Total of Boroughs and Towns of Ireland as above	...	...	...	<hr/>1,474,607

RELIGIOUS PROFESSIONS OF IRELAND, 1911.

PROVINCE OF LEINSTER.

Carlow	...	...	R.C.	32,317=89·15	All others	3,935=10·85
Dublin	...	...	"	122,372=70·99	"	50,022=29·1
Dublin County Borough	...	...	"	253,370=83·13	"	51,432=16·87
Kildare	...	...	"	54,684=82·07	"	11,943=17·93
Kilkenny	...	...	"	71,193=94·97	"	3,769=5·3
King's	...	...	"	51,178=90·05	"	5,654=9·95
Longford	...	...	"	40,297=91·96	"	3,523=8·4
Louth	...	...	"	58,303=91·58	"	5,362=8·42
Meath	...	...	"	60,660=93·19	"	4,431=6·81
Queen's	...	...	"	48,480=88·74	"	6,149=11·26
Westmeath	...	...	"	54,779=91·32	"	5,207=8·68
Wexford	...	...	"	94,413=92·31	"	7,860=7·69
Wicklow	...	...	"	47,999=79·06	"	12,712=20·94

PROVINCE OF CONNAUGHT.

Galway	...	...	R.C.	177,920=97·64	All others	4,304=2·36
Leitrim	...	...	"	58,159=91·47	"	5,423=8·53
Mayo	...	...	"	188,069=97·86	"	4,108=2·14
Roscommon	...	...	"	91,731=97·63	"	2,225=2·37
Sligo	...	...	"	72,125=91·24	"	6,920=8·76

PROVINCE OF MUNSTER.

Clare	...	...	R.C.	102,300=98·14	All others	1,932=1·86
Cork County	...	...	"	288,455=91·45	"	26,986=8·55
Cork County Borough	...	...	"	67,814=88·44	"	8,859=11·56
Kerry	...	...	"	155,322=97·26	"	4,369=2·74
Limerick Borough	...	...	"	34,865=90·52	"	3,653=9·48
Limerick County	...	...	"	101,502=97·08	"	3,049=2·92
Tipperary	...	...	"	144,156=94·57	"	8,277=5·43
Waterford	...	...	"	54,060=95·68	"	2,442=4·32
Waterford Borough	...	...	"	25,331=92·23	"	2,133=7·77

PROVINCE OF ULSTER.

Antrim	...	...	R.C.	39,751=20·50	All others	154,113=79·50
Armagh	...	...	"	54,526=45·33	"	65,765=55·67
Belfast Borough	...	...	"	93,243=24·10	"	293,704=75·90
Cavan	...	...	"	74,271=81·46	"	16,902=18·54
Donegal	...	...	"	133,021=78·93	"	35,516=21·7
Down	...	...	"	64,485=31·56	"	139,818=68·44
Fermanagh	...	...	"	34,740=56·18	"	27,096=43·82
Londonderry	...	...	"	41,478=41·54	"	58,367=58·46
Londonderry Borough	...	...	"	22,923=56·21	"	17,857=43·79
Monaghan	...	...	"	53,363=74·68	"	18,092=25·32
Tyrone	...	...	"	79,015=55·39	"	63,650=44·61

ELECTORAL SYSTEMS SUB-COMMITTEE.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT TO GRAND COMMITTEE.

The Grand Committee of the Irish Convention having considered the report of the Electoral Systems Committee sent the following further Reference to the latter body for consideration and report.

The Grand Committee accepted the principle that urban and industrial interests should receive more than proportionate representation, and requested the Sub-Committee on Electoral Sys-

tems to prepare a scheme to carry this out by the grouping of small towns to form separate constituencies, the quota for these constituencies to be about 20,000. Towns with a population below 3,000 only to be included in such constituencies if they are of a distinctly industrial character.

The Electoral Systems Sub-Committee having carefully considered this Reference from the Grand Committee submits the following groupings of towns as electoral units:—

PROVINCE OF ULSTER.

Co. ANTRIM.				
Lisburn	...	...	...	12,388
Larne	...	...	...	8,036
Carrickfergus	...	...	...	4,608
				<hr/> 25,032

Ballymena	...	...	...	11,381
Coleraine	...	...	...	7,785
				<hr/> 19,166

Co. ARMAGH.				
Lurgan	...	...	...	12,538
Portadown	...	...	...	11,727
				<hr/> 24,265

Co. DOWN.				
Newry	...	...	...	11,963
Dromore	...	...	...	2,364
Banbridge	...	...	...	5,101
Bessbrook	...	...	...	2,888
				<hr/> 22,316

Newtownards	...	...	...	9,587
Downpatrick	...	...	...	3,199
Bangor	...	...	...	7,776
				<hr/> 20,562

COUNTIES ARMAGH AND TYRONE.

Armagh	...	...	...	7,356
Dungannon	...	...	...	3,830
Cookstown	...	...	...	3,685
Omagh	...	...	...	4,836
Strabane	...	...	...	5,107
				<hr/> 24,814

PROVINCE OF LEINSTER.

Co. LOUTH.				
Drogheda	...	...	...	12,501
Dundalk	...	...	...	13,128
				<hr/> 25,629

PROVINCE OF LEINSTER—continued.

Co. WICKLOW.				
Bray	...	...	...	7,691
Wicklow	...	...	...	3,288
Arklow (estimate)	...	...	...	7,000
				<hr/> 17,979

Co. WEXFORD.				
Wexford	...	...	...	11,531
New Ross	...	...	...	5,547
Enniscorthy	...	...	...	5,495
				<hr/> 22,573

COUNTIES MEATH AND WESTMEATH.

Navan	...	...	...	3,934
Mullingar	...	...	...	5,539
Athlone	...	...	...	7,472
Tullamore	...	...	...	4,926
				<hr/> 21,871

COUNTIES CARLOW AND KILKENNY.

Carlow	...	...	...	6,513
Kilkenny	...	...	...	13,242
				<hr/> 19,755

PROVINCE OF MUNSTER.

Co. TIPPERARY.				
Clonmel	...	...	...	10,209
Tipperary	...	...	...	6,645
Carrick-on-Suir	...	...	...	5,235
				<hr/> 22,089

Co. KERRY.				
Tralee	...	...	...	10,300
Killarney	...	...	...	5,796
Listowel	...	...	...	3,409
				<hr/> 19,505

Co. CORK.				
Mallow	...	...	...	4,452
Queenstown	...	...	...	8,209
Fermoy	...	...	...	6,863
Youghal	...	...	...	5,648
				<hr/> 25,172

GROUPING OF TOWNS—*continued.*

PROVINCE OF CONNAUGHT.

Co. GALWAY.				
Galway	...	...	...	13,255
Ballinasloe	...	...	...	5,169
				<hr/>
				18,424
				<hr/>
COUNTIES MAYO AND SLIGO.				
Sligo	...	...	...	11,164
Ballina	...	...	...	4,662
Castlebar	...	...	...	3,698
Westport	...	...	...	3,674
				<hr/>
				23,198
				<hr/>

TOTALS AS ABOVE:—

ULSTER	...	...	...	6
LEINSTER	...	...	...	5
MUNSTER	...	...	...	3
CONNAUGHT	...	...	...	2
				<hr/>
				16
				<hr/>
BELFAST	...	...	...	14
DUBLIN	...	...	...	11
CORK	...	...	...	4
LIMERICK	...	...	...	2
LONDONDERRY	...	...	...	2
WATERFORD	...	...	...	1
				<hr/>
			GRAND TOTAL	50
				<hr/>

The townships of County Dublin are not included in the above list. Their aggregate substantially exceeds 80,000, and they would therefore on the 20,000 quota be entitled to four representatives, which would make the grand total of urban representatives for Ireland fifty-four. If included in the borough of Dublin, the borough would be entitled to three more members than are credited to it in the above list. The grand total in that case would be fifty-three.

The Sub-Committee understands that there would probably be opposition to inclusion in the borough of Dublin.

It will be observed that in some of the groupings the figure of population is slightly below the 20,000 quota. In two instances towns of less than 3,000 population are included on the ground that they are specially industrial.

The attention of the Grand Committee is invited to the changes which the suggested new constituencies would involve in the Parliamentary areas to which they at present belong. The grouping of Dundalk and Drogheda, for example, would reduce County Louth from 63,665 to 38,036, and North Armagh would be reduced by over one-half. Every area touched would obviously be substantially affected by the change and re-adjustment of the boundaries of rural

Parliamentary divisions would clearly have to be made in a considerable number of cases in order to prevent anomaly and injustice. The fixing of such boundaries demands expert knowledge, and also is outside the Terms of Reference submitted to us.

The grouping suggested above is, in the opinion of the Committee, the most convenient and workable that they can devise in the circumstances. The population of the above grouped towns is 352,350, leaving a population of 257,093 in towns of 2,000 and upwards, which do not conform to the Terms of Reference, or are incapable of being suitably grouped.

In considering the Terms of Reference indicated in this Supplemental Report, Sir Crawford McCullagh and Mr. H. B. Armstrong, D.L., joined the Sub-Committee and are associated with the recommendations as above.

The Sub-Committee are under the greatest obligations to their Secretary, Mr. Thomas Moles, for the invaluable services which he has rendered to them throughout.

(Signed),

JOHN DUBLIN,

Chairman of Committee.

APPENDIX VI.

PROVISIONAL STATEMENT SHOWING THE CONCLUSIONS REACHED BY THE GRAND COMMITTEE UP TO DECEMBER 13TH, AND QUESTIONS REMAINING FOR DECISION.

(I. C. No. 20.)

NOTE.—SO FAR AS POSSIBLE, PROVISIONS RESERVED FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION ARE INDICATED BY ITALICS.

1. THE IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to consist of the King, an Irish Senate, and an Irish House of Commons.

2. POWERS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to have the general power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland, subject to the exclusions and restrictions specified in 3 and 4 below.

3. EXCLUSIONS FROM POWER OF IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to have no power to make laws on the following matters:—

(1) Crown and succession (See 1914 Act sect. 2 (1)).

(2) Making of peace and war (including conduct as neutrals). (Act sect. 2 (2)).

(3) *The Army and Navy.*

Consideration of all Naval, Military and Police matters deferred pending report of Sub-Committee on Defence.

(4) Treaties and foreign relations (including extradition). See Act sect. 2 (4).

Ireland to have power similar to the dominions in respect of commercial treaties.

The italicized words represent the provision inserted in the Scheme of the Bishop of Raphoe. The decision upon them is dependent on the financial question.

(5) Dignities and titles of honour. (Act sect. 2 (5)).

(6) Any necessary control of harbours for naval and military purposes, and certain powers as regards lighthouses, buoys, beacons, cables, wireless terminals to be settled with reference to the requirements of the Military and Naval forces of His Majesty in various contingencies. (See Act sect. 2 (9)).

(7) *Coinage; legal tender: or any change in the standard of weights and measures.* (Act sect. 2 (10)).

(8) *Trade marks, designs, merchandise marks, copyright, or patent rights.* (Act sect. 2 (11)).

The Grand Committee have been unable to arrive at an agreement on the two preceding reservations, and the matter is referred to the Convention.

4. RESTRICTION ON POWER OF IRISH PARLIAMENT ON MATTERS WITHIN ITS COMPETENCE.

(1) Prohibition of laws interfering with religious equality. (Act sect. 3).

N.B. A sub-section should be framed to annul any existing legal penalty, disadvantage or disability on account of religious belief. Certain restrictions still remain under the Act of 1829.

(2) Safeguard (if desired) for Trinity College, and Queen's University similar to section 42 of Act.

(3) Money bills to be founded only on Viceregal message. Act section 10 (2).

(4) Privileges, qualifications, etc., of members of Irish Parliament to be limited as in Act. (sect. 12).

(5) Rights of existing Irish Officers to be safeguarded. (Act sects. 32-7).

5. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS. Section 9 (4) of the Act to apply to the House of Commons with the substitution of "ten years" for "three years." The constitution of the Senate to be subject to alteration after ten years, provided the Bill is agreed to by two-thirds of the total number of members of both Houses sitting together.

6. EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY. The executive power in Ireland to continue vested in the King, but exercisable through the Lord Lieutenant on the advice of an Irish Executive Committee in the manner set out in Act. (sect. 4):

7. DISSOLUTION OF IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to be summoned, prorogued, and dissolved as set out in Act. (sect. 6).

8. ASSENT TO BILLS. Royal assent to be given or withheld as set out in Act (sect. 7) with the substitution of "reservation" for "postponement."

9. CONSTITUTION OF THE SENATE.

(1) Lord Chancellor	...	...	1
(2) Four Archbishops or Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church	...	...	4
(3) Two Archbishops or Bishops of the Church of Ireland	...	...	2
(4) A Representative of the General Assembly	...	...	1
(5) The Lord Mayors of Dublin, Belfast, and Cork	...	...	3
(6) Peers resident in Ireland, elected by Peers resident in Ireland	...	...	15
(7) Nominated by Lord Lieutenant:— Irish Privy Councillors of at least two years' standing	...	...	8
Representatives of learned institutions	...	...	3
Other persons	...	...	4
(8) Representatives of Commerce and Industry	...	...	15
(9) Representatives of Labour, one for each Province	...	...	4
			60

On the disappearance of any nominated element in the House of Commons an addition shall be made to the numbers of the Senate.

L

10. **CONSTITUTION OF HOUSE OF COMMONS.** The elected members to number about 159. The University of Dublin, the University of Belfast, and the National University each to return 2 members. The graduates of each University to form the constituency.

Special representation to be given to urban and industrial areas by means of a system of grouping smaller towns, and applying to them a smaller quota, on the lines recommended by the Electoral Systems Sub-Committee.

The principle of proportional representation with a single transferable vote to be observed wherever a constituency returns three or more members. (Act sect. 9 (2)).

The majority of the Grand Committee do not favour this provision, but it is reserved for consideration by the Convention.

It is intended that the Unionists should be guaranteed forty per cent. of the membership of the House of Commons. The principle of adding members nominated by the Lord Lieutenant to represent Southern Unionists is approved. The nomination of additional members to represent Ulster interests is not favoured. This, however, must be reconsidered if the forty per cent. proportion cannot be secured by the proposed special treatment of urban areas.

Any nominated element is to disappear in whole or in part after not less than ten years.

The House of Commons to continue for five years unless previously dissolved.

11. **MONEY BILLS.** Money bills to originate only in the House of Commons, and not to be amended by the Senate (see Act sect. 10).

The Senate is, however, to have power to bring about a joint sitting over money bills in the same session of Parliament.

The Senate to have power to suggest amendments, which the House of Commons may accept or reject as it pleases.

The Grand Committee has not yet considered the words in italics.

12. **DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN HOUSES.** Disagreements between the two Houses to be solved by joint sittings as set out in Act sect. 11, with the proviso that if the Senate fail to pass a Money Bill such joint sitting shall be held in the same session of Parliament.

13. **REPRESENTATION AT WESTMINSTER.** Representation in Parliament of the United Kingdom to continue. Any Irish representatives to have the right of deliberating and voting on all matters.

The question whether the Irish members of the Imperial Parliament are to be directly elected, or to be elected by the Irish House of Commons, is reserved for consideration by the Convention.

14. **FINANCE.** An Irish Exchequer and Consolidated Fund to be established and an Irish Controller and Auditor-General to be appointed as set out in Act (section 14 (1) and section 21).

If necessary, it should be declared that all taxes at present leviable in Ireland should continue to be levied and collected until the Irish Parliament otherwise decides.

The necessary adjustments of revenue as between Great Britain and Ireland during the transition period should be made.

15. *The general question of the financial powers of the Irish Parliament is reserved for further consideration.*

16. **IMPERIAL CONTRIBUTION.** The principle of such a contribution is approved.

The method and amount are reserved for further consideration.

17. **LAND PURCHASE.** *Report of the Sub-Committee on Land Purchase accepted in principle and reserved for consideration in detail.*

18. **JUDICIAL POWER.** The following provisions of the Government of Ireland Act to be adopted:—

- (a) Safeguarding position of existing Irish Judges (sec. 32).
- (b) Leaving appointment of future Judges to the Irish Government and their removal to the Crown on address from both Houses of Parliament (sec. 27).
- (c) Transferring appeals from the House of Lords to the Judicial Committee, strengthened by Irish Judges (sec. 28).
- (d) Extending right of appeal to this Court. (Sec. 28 (4) and sec. 30 (1-2)).
- (e) Provision as to reference of questions of validity to Judicial Committee (see sec. 29).

The Lord Chancellor is not to be a political officer.

19. **LORD LIEUTENANT.** The Lord Lieutenant not to be a political officer. He shall hold office for 6 years, and neither he nor the Lords Justices shall be subject to any religious disqualification (as in Act section 31). His salary shall be sufficient to throw the post open to men of moderate means.

20. **CIVIL SERVICE.** A Civil Service Commission to be appointed to regulate competitive examinations for admission to the public service.

The practice of the English Civil Service Commission to be followed as far as possible.

The Commission to consist of the Lord Chancellor as Chairman, and two permanent members, with a possible addition of two members to safeguard Unionist interests; or (in the alternative) of an independent Chairman of outstanding position in Irish public life and two colleagues, one of whom would represent Unionist interests.

The Commission to prepare and lay before Parliament a scheme for appointments to the public service, and no appointments to be made before the scheme is approved.

The Commission to take into account the financial circumstances of Ireland in suggesting scales of salary.

The provisions italicized are reserved for further consideration.

21. **DEFERRING TAKING OVER CERTAIN IRISH SERVICES.** *Arrangements to be made to permit the Irish Government, if they so desire, to defer taking over the services relating to Land Purchase, Old Age Pensions, National Insurance, Labour Exchanges, Post Office Trustee Savings Banks, and Friendly Societies.*

Discussed, but not definitely decided by the Committee. In so far as Land Purchase is concerned, reference should be made to the report of the Sub-Committee.

APPENDIX VII.

PART I.

MEMORANDUM BY SOUTHERN UNIONISTS.

FISCAL AUTONOMY.

(I. C No. 21.)

The Chairman of the Convention having stated that in his opinion a deadlock appeared to have been reached in reference to the question whether Ireland should have complete fiscal control, it is necessary that I should add something on behalf of those whom I represent in order to make clear our attitude on this question.

While we have not changed our view that the preservation of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland under the Imperial Parliament is still the best policy for both countries, we entered the Convention at the urgent request of H.M. Government with the desire to consider what concession could be made to Nationalist opinion in regard to a Constitution, with safety to the Empire, security for the minority, and if possible, the participation of all sections in Irish Government which could not be obtained under the Act of 1914.

We have endeavoured loyally to co-operate with our colleagues in the Convention to this end, and we recognise their desire to provide the minority with a fair representation in both Houses of the proposed Parliament. Assuming this to be secured, and that adequate arrangements for safeguarding the special interests of Ulster can be agreed upon, we have no desire to circumscribe too closely the powers of the new Irish Bodies in regard to internal administration.

But the discussions which have arisen on the question of Fiscal Autonomy open a new vista of Irish claims, which was wholly unexpected by us. We have contemplated a Parliament genuinely subordinate to that of Great Britain, and that Ireland, which must be dependent on Great Britain for defence and for Foreign Policy, would send representatives to Westminster to safeguard her interests, and to represent her in regard to taxation not of an internal character.

The Nationalist representatives have claimed for Ireland a similar right in connection with treaties to that enjoyed by the Dominions. The probability of divergence from Great Britain on fiscal questions seems to us to have been suggested, and the necessity of Ireland being free to play her own hand in these matters asserted.

It is noteworthy that while independent powers for Ireland in regard to finance and administration are claimed, and Great Britain's willingness to undertake her defence is assumed, there is no clear admission of responsibility for the liabilities which Ireland has incurred, and will incur, to Great Britain in this respect.

We are convinced that the future prosperity and security of the country can only be secured by the representation of Ireland in the British Parliament, and by leaving all taxation which is the subject of treaty in the hands of that Parliament. Indeed, we believe this connection to be vital in the interests of the Empire.

This contention is not inconsistent with Ireland having the desired control of her own affairs, and of direct internal taxation, with ample means

to pay her way, but if Ireland is still to remain an integral part of the British Empire, she must be prepared to make some sacrifice commensurate to that which Great Britain is making.

Ireland, notwithstanding the present War Taxation, is apparently increasing in prosperity by leaps and bounds. If she is assured of her present expenditure, and the power of increasing revenue for development, she cannot but contribute reasonably to the immense deficit which Great Britain has to face.

If Great Britain were willing to accept as a contribution to the War debt and to the Army and Navy the product of the Customs, which now amount to £6,600,000 and may probably be increased, Ireland (omitting Excess Profits) would still retain some £12,000,000 tax revenue, with £1,600,000 from Postal and non-tax revenue, against £12,500,000 of expenditure. There would then be a considerable surplus which may be increased when the Super-tax on Irish Revenue now paid in London is levied locally, as it must be in the future, if a Parliament is established.

On the most favourable computation for Ireland, the debt charges for which her taxable capacity, whether reckoned at one-twentieth or one-twenty-fifth of Great Britain, should render her liable, would now amount to £12,000,000 annually apart from her share of Defence and War Pensions which would be at the least £6,000,000 more. Ireland would have received exceptionally generous treatment by such a settlement seeing that Great Britain will have a deficit of say, £150,000,000 per annum to meet, while retaining all existing taxation except excess profits.

To clothe Ireland with the right of making treaties and to demand an equal voice with Great Britain on questions which are common to the whole Empire, and which may shortly be the subject of Federation, would set up a Government on the Colonial model with only the link of the Crown, separate from Great Britain, though at a few miles distance. It has been admitted that to avoid continual friction it would be necessary to secure Free Trade between Great Britain and Ireland. The interests of both countries make a common defence a necessity, and we believe that the power now claimed for Ireland to negotiate for 4,000,000 of people on an equality with 44,000,000 while she cannot pay her proper share of defence, is quite inadmissible.

Our proposals then are as follows :—

We reserve to Great Britain the Sovereign power of the King, full authority for the Navy, Army, and Imperial Services, and for the levying of Customs, and this responsibility involves the continued presence of Irish representatives at Westminster, although in diminished numbers. We think that the question of excise calls for special treatment. The full amount realised by Customs should be retained by Great Britain as an Imperial contribution.

We are ready, if the Irish Parliament be constituted as proposed with fair representation of the minority and other effective safeguards which are in our view essential, to concede to it control of internal taxes, administration, legislation, judicature, and police. On these lines we believe that all legitimate National aspirations will be satisfied. We are not prepared to jeopardise the Imperial connection by conceding more extreme demands.

In thus co-operating to transfer to an Irish Executive responsibility to an Irish Parliament for its internal affairs, we have gone as we believe to the extreme limit of safety from the Imperial standpoint, having regard to the geographical contiguity of Ireland to Great Britain and her social and political conditions. To do this, in

response to the appeal of H.M. Government under the special circumstances of the time, we have made sacrifice of principles very dear to us in the hope that by mutual agreement as Irishmen we may heal long standing differences.

We believe the proposals outlined above, which give wide powers of self-government to Ireland, preserve to the British Government those only which are necessary for the unity and security of the United Kingdom, and which would be reserved to the Central Government under any system of Federation which may unite the Empire in the future.

MIDDLETON.

26th November, 1917.

PART II.

PROPOSALS BY SOUTHERN UNIONISTS AS TO JOINT REVENUE BOARD.

Under the proposals made by the Southern Unionists, Customs duties will be imposed under the authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom and Excise duties under the authority of the Irish Parliament.

A substantial amount of the Customs duties on articles ultimately consumed in Ireland is collected at British ports, and it is desirable to frame some machinery for establishing what the true revenue produced by Ireland is after the two Exchequers are separated.

This is the more necessary as the Customs duties and Excess Profits receipts are only to be assigned to meet the Imperial contribution during the war, and until the Commission proposed by Lord MacDonnell has reported what the future contribution of Ireland should be. Meantime any deficit in other Irish revenue will be made up from Customs receipts if necessary.

The proposed separate Excise régime in Ireland will make it necessary to regulate the traffic in excisable articles between the two countries so as to protect the revenue and prevent smuggling while causing the least possible inconvenience to legitimate trade.

The most convenient method of fulfilling the two purposes indicated would seem to be the creation of a Joint Revenue Board on the lines of the Joint Exchequer Board contemplated by the Act of 1914, consisting of two British and two Irish representatives with a Chairman appointed by His Majesty.

The function described above would not exhaust the usefulness of the proposed Board. Its duties should be :—

1. To determine the true Customs revenue of Ireland and to set up appropriate machinery for the purpose in the form of actual records of traffic.
2. To regulate the payment of drawback on exportation, and the levying of duty on importation of excisable articles from one country into the other; and to provide for the mutual interchange between the two

countries of the information necessary to prevent illicit traffic. (For example, if Irish spirits be exported to England, the English revenue authorities would be notified when drawback was claimed, so that the charging of Customs duty might follow automatically).

3. To determine any questions which might arise, in the case of direct taxation, as to the respective rights of England and Ireland to levy tax on property or income when the owner of such property or income was resident partly in England and partly in Ireland. No property or income should be liable to pay double tax, and the Joint Board should give a final decision which would render reference to the Court unnecessary, and relieve the taxpayer from liability to proceedings brought by the revenue authorities to determine their respective claims. A considerable increase of Irish revenue is anticipated from this source.
4. The Board would also be charged with the duty of advising the respective Governments on cases of "dumping" designed to damage Irish industries.

The Board would not be directly concerned with the collection of revenue but would act partly in an advisory and partly in a judicial capacity, and would determine all questions of account which might arise between the two countries.

5. To consider the relative proportions of indirect and direct taxation in Ireland, and if the percentage of revenue from Customs and Excise to total tax revenue in Ireland exceeds in two consecutive years the similar percentage in Great Britain by 15 per cent. to report the same to the Irish Parliament.

Should the Irish Parliament thereupon resolve that any Customs duties on articles of general consumption act oppressively to the Irish population, the Board shall so report to the British Parliament, and such report shall be a ground for the equitable readjustment of such duties.

APPENDIX VIII.

STATEMENT MADE BY THE CHAIRMAN TO THE CONVENTION AT THE REQUEST
OF THE GRAND COMMITTEE.

(I. C. No. 19).

By a resolution passed at Cork on the 25th September the Convention referred to us the various schemes which had been submitted and discussed, and instructed us, if possible, to prepare a scheme for submission to the Convention which would meet with the views and difficulties expressed by the different speakers during the course of the debates.

We had hoped that it might be possible to summon the Convention at an earlier date, and report the completion of our task. Unfortunately we have not yet succeeded in completing it. We have, however, made considerable progress, and we think that we have reached a point at which we should give the Convention an account of our deliberations.

We held our first meeting for the purpose of the task entrusted to us on September 27th and then decided to adjourn until October 11th in order to enable the necessary preparatory work to be carried out by the Secretariat. On October 11th we decided to appoint a Sub-Committee of nine members with instructions to sit in private to endeavour to find a basis for agreement and to report to us. On October 15th we decided that there were several important questions the consideration of which might conveniently be undertaken while the Sub-Committee of Nine was engaged in its deliberations, and that this consideration could most conveniently be carried on by groups consisting of members of the Grand Committee with the addition of certain other members of the Convention. These groups were subsequently constituted into three Sub-Committees with the following terms of reference:—

- (1). To consider questions of franchise and electoral systems and areas in relation to an Irish Parliament.
- (2). To enquire into the problems presented by land purchase in Ireland.
- (3). To consider (a) what powers of local defence might be delegated to an Irish Government consistently with the requirements of Imperial defence; (b) the future of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police.

The Sub-Committee of Nine appointed on October 11th held a large number of meetings and submitted to us two reports dated November 15th and November 21st which have since been receiving our detailed consideration. The Sub-Committee were able to arrive at certain provisional conclusions on a considerable number of questions. They did not, however, succeed in reaching an agreement upon all matters, and it was definitely understood that the provisional conclusions were not to be regarded as binding "unless an agreement should ultimately be reached upon a general scheme." The most im-

portant question upon which agreement was not found possible in the Sub-Committee was that of the financial powers to be entrusted to an Irish Parliament.

We submit for the consideration of the Convention a statement (I. C. No. 20)* showing the position which we have reached up to the present on the whole reference. We desire to emphasise the fact already indicated that in every case our provisional conclusions are dependent upon a general agreement being ultimately reached on the important question which still divides us.

The Sub-Committee considered proposals submitted by the Bishop of Raphoe, which gave to an Irish Parliament complete control over all forms of taxation. The Unionist representatives were unable to accept these proposals and the Ulster Unionists desired that the complete fiscal unity of the United Kingdom should be maintained and that all powers of taxation should continue to rest, as at present, with the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Much of our time and thought has been occupied in an endeavour to find a compromise between these two extreme positions, and the most recent proposal which has engaged our attention is one submitted by Lord Midleton on behalf of the Southern Unionists which would leave the imposition and collection of customs duties to the Parliament of the United Kingdom and make the receipts from this source of revenue the Irish contribution towards the cost of Imperial services. The main features of this proposal are set out in the document marked I. C. No. 21 which is being circulated to the Convention.†

We submit to the Convention for their consideration the report of the Sub-Committee on electoral systems, and it will be seen from the statement of our provisional conclusions that we have, to a large extent, accepted their recommendations.

We also submit to the Convention the very important report of the Sub-Committee on land purchase. We have not been able to give this report the detailed consideration which it deserves, but we are able to state that we are in agreement with the principles underlying it.

The Sub-Committee on defence has not been able to complete its deliberations, in the absence of information which is being sought from the Admiralty and the War Office. We therefore recommend that consideration of this question should be deferred until the Sub-Committee is able to report.

We are of opinion that the Convention can usefully consider how far it is able to concur in the provisional conclusions which we have recorded and the recommendations contained in the several reports which we have submitted to it.

* See Appendix VI.

† See Appendix VII.

APPENDIX IX.

REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE ON LAND PURCHASE.

(I. C. No. 25.)

(Adopted by Convention on 22nd March, 1918).

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REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE ON LAND PURCHASE.

We, the Sub-Committee appointed by the Grand Committee of the Irish Convention, on 1st November, 1917, "to inquire into the problems presented by land purchase in Ireland" held thirteen sittings to examine the problems referred to us. In the course of our proceedings we have had the advantage of ascertaining the views of Sir Henry Doran, of the Congested Districts Board, and the Rt. Hon. F. S. Wrench and Mr. W. H. Stuart, Estates Commissioners, on certain points.

On the 4th December we signed a report which was duly presented to the Grand Committee and subsequently brought before the Convention. This report was discussed by the Convention on the 8th, 9th, and 10th January, 1918, and was referred back to the Sub-Committee with the request that we should consider certain amendments. We did so on the 15th, 16th, and 23rd January, and unanimously recommended the adoption of certain amendments which we have incorporated in the following Report which we now have the honour of presenting:—

Assumption underlying deliberations.

1. We have proceeded on the assumption that the duty laid upon us was to inquire into the problems presented by land purchase, not under the existing form of government but as part of a large scheme for re-casting the framework of government in Ireland. Accordingly, we have in our deliberations assumed that an Irish Parliament, with an Irish Executive responsible thereto, is to be set up by an Act passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that an Irish Exchequer and an Irish Consolidated Fund, distinct from the present Exchequer and Consolidated Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, are to be similarly established. We desire to offer no opinion, in this Report, as to the desirability of this change, but we wish to make it quite clear that our recommendations are based on the assumption mentioned and cannot be taken as agreed to on any other hypothesis.

Problems to be considered.

2. The problems we have considered may be grouped under three main heads:—

- I. Those connected with land which is the subject of completed sales under the Land Purchase Acts.
- II. Those connected with land which is the subject of pending proceedings under these Acts.
- III. Those connected with land which has not as yet been the subject of proceedings under these Acts.

The following table gives particulars of the land (I.) already sold, (II.) agreed to be sold, and (III.) not made the subject of proceedings for sale up to the 31st March last:—

	No. of Holdings.	Area Acres.	Poor Law Valuation. £	Purchase Money £
I. Land sold	308,833	10,202,910	5,185,712	100,208,684
II. Pending cases	100,890	3,302,941	1,207,876	23,936,063
III. Land unaffected	*	5,768,751	3,645,278	*
		19,274,602	10,038,865	*

*The difficulties in the way of making an estimate of the number of holdings as yet unaffected by the Land Purchase Acts and their probable price is fully explained in Schedule I. (see pp. 97-8).

I. Completed Sales.

3. The problems presented by land already sold are confined to three main points, (1) the collection of the purchase annuities and the liability for loss caused by default in payment thereof, (2) the liability for excess stock and bonus, and (3) the powers exercisable over tenant purchasers and their holdings. Similar points will arise in respect of land the subject of pending cases and in respect of land not yet the subject of sale proceedings as soon as such land is vested in tenant purchasers; and the recommendations made below apply to the latter as well as to the former.

Collection of Annuities.

4. The existing arrangements for the collection of purchase annuities and for meeting loss caused by default in payment, as well as the arrangements proposed under the Home Rule Bill of 1893 and the Government of Ireland Act of 1914, are fully explained in Schedule II. (See pp. 98-100). We are of opinion that the arrangements suggested in the above mentioned measures for making the Irish Consolidated Fund liable for any loss caused by non-payment of annuities (which at present falls, for the most part, on Irish funds), were sound (see Schedule II., paragraphs 12 and 13), but that the arrangements for treating the collection of annuities as a "reserved" service (see Schedule II., paragraph 14, p. 99) are no longer desirable. We are of opinion that the Government that is responsible for any loss caused by the non-payment of annuities should be charged with the collection of these annuities. (See paragraphs 40-1 and Schedule II., p. 98). We therefore recommend that all purchase annuities should be collected by a department of the Irish Government, that the annuities should be paid into the Irish Consolidated Fund, that the full amount collectible should be paid over to the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain and Ireland on fixed dates, and that such payment should be a first charge on the Irish Consolidated Fund. It would, of course be within the discretion of the Irish Parliament to continue the present process of making the funds of each county liable for all loss caused by default within that county (see Schedule II., paragraph 10, p. 99). We consider that the cost of collection of these annuities should be regarded as Imperial expenditure and therefore treated as explained in the next paragraph. Possibly it would conduce to economical administration and obviate friction if this expenditure were limited to a percentage on the amount collectible.

Excess Stock and Bonus.

5. The liability for excess stock and bonus is fully described in Schedule III. (See pp. 100-2). It is sufficient to say here that the liability in respect of sales completed on or before the 31st March last now amounts to £753,00 per annum, payable until the capital charge is amortised. Of this total, £160,000 is paid out of the vote for the Ireland Development Grant, and £593,000 out of the Land Commission Vote. We are of opinion that this charge, like the cost of collection of purchase annuities, though incurred in respect of an Irish service, is clearly an Imperial obligation. While, therefore, we recommend that this annual sum ought to be paid out of the Irish Consolidated Fund, we hold that Great Britain's share thereof, if not repaid to the Irish Government, should be reckoned as a payment *pro tanto* by Ireland of whatever contribution Ireland is to make towards Imperial expenditure.

Powers exercisable over Tenant Purchasers.

6. Certain powers are, in most cases, at present possessed over holdings bought under the Land Purchase Acts, during the continuance of the liability for the payment of purchase annuities, viz:—

- (a) The permission of the Land Commission is required for sub-division or sub-letting of such holdings (see section 54 of Irish Land Act, 1903.)
- (b) The permission of the Land Commission is required for the mortgaging of such holdings beyond a certain limit (ten times the amount of the purchase annuity, see section 54 (3) of Irish Land Act, 1903, as amended by section 2 of Irish Land Act, 1907).
- (c) The permission of the Land Commission is required for the acquisition, beyond a certain limit, of holdings subject to land purchase annuities (see Irish Land Act, 1909, section 32 (1)).
- (d) The Land Commission may prosecute tenant purchasers for breach of regulations, if any, as to turbary on holdings (see section 21 of Irish Land Act, 1903), and may also prosecute tenant purchasers who cut certain timber (necessary for the ornament or shelter of a holding) without the permission of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (see section 32 (2) of Irish Land Act, 1909).
- (e) The Land Commission has power in certain cases to determine disputes between tenant purchasers and others (see section 22 of Irish Land Act, 1903), and it also possesses certain powers in respect of mineral rights and, in certain cases, in respect of sporting rights (see section 18 of Irish Land Act, 1903, section 1 of Irish Land Act, 1907, and section 37 of Irish Land Act, 1909).

We are of opinion that these powers should in future be exercised by a department of the Irish Government.

II. Pending Cases.

7. The special problems connected with land agreed to be sold but the sale of which has not yet been completed are mainly financial. The purchase money in respect of the 100,000 holdings affected by pending agreements is just under 24 million pounds of which, it is estimated, nearly 19 millions must be provided in cash and the balance in stock, partly in $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock but mainly in 3 per cent. stock. The raising of the cash by either stock will involve the issue of a large amount of excess stock, the annual cost of which and of the bonus payable under the present law will amount, it is estimated, at present prices, to at least £580,000 a year. (See Schedule III., paragraphs 10-12, pp. 101-2). We are of opinion that all these pending cases must be completed on the basis of the agreements made and in accordance with the existing financial system of land purchase. We desire, however, to bring to notice the case of landlords who agreed to sell under the Act of 1909 (in accordance with which payment is to be made in 3 per cent. stock), but whose sales have not yet been completed. The total purchase money in these cases amounts to about £4,500,000. At the time when most of these landlords agreed to sell, the stock stood at over 80, but, in consequence of the war, and the issue of Government Stocks bearing higher rates

of interest, this stock has fallen to under 60. Consequently those landlords who have not received payment must suffer a heavy loss if they have to sell stock at the present price in order to pay off charges. The difficulty would, we think, be fairly met by paying such landlords so much of the purchase money at the actual market price that prevailed for the stock at the date the agreements to sell were signed, as may be proved, to the satisfaction of the Land Commission, to be required (over and above the cash bonus, where the landlord is absolute owner) to pay off charges which existed at the date of the agreement to sell, and still exist.* We recognise that this recommendation will not help those landlords who have already received payment in depreciated stock, but we do not consider it practicable to make any recommendation respecting sales already completed.

We are of opinion that the inauguration of a new system of Irish Government renders it imperative that all pending cases should be speedily completed. Accordingly, we recommend that the cash required should be provided and the stock required issued within three years, at the outside, from the date on which legislative effect is given to our proposals, if they be accepted. As the Land Commission have certain discretionary powers in respect of these cases, we are of opinion that it should remain a "reserved" service, so far as its functions in respect of pending cases are concerned, on the understanding that these cases will be completed within the time mentioned.

The recommendations made in paragraphs 4, 5, and 6 above in respect of completed sales, as regards the collection of purchase annuities and the cost thereof, the liability for the loss caused by default in payment of annuities, the annual charge for excess stock and bonus, and the exercise of powers over tenant purchasers, all apply to pending sales as soon as they are completed.

III. Land unaffected by Land Purchase Acts.

Size of problem.

8. The land not yet affected by the Land Purchase Acts comprises between one-quarter and one-third of the total agricultural area of Ireland and its valuation is over one-third of the valuation of the agricultural area of Ireland. For reasons explained in Schedule I. (see pp. 97-8), it is not easy to state precisely the number of holdings which are contained in this large quantity of land. On the basis of the statistics of holdings issued by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, which seem to be the best basis available, it would appear that the number of these holdings do not greatly exceed 60,000, or one-seventh of the number of holdings already affected by the Land Purchase Acts. The disparity between the ratio that the number of holdings which have passed or are passing under these Acts bears to the number of holdings which are as yet unaffected by them (7 to 1), and the ratio which the area of the land affected by these Acts

* This suggestion may be illustrated by the case of a landlord who agreed to sell for £10,000 to be paid in 3 per cent stock, the charges on whose estate amounted to £3,000. If at the time he agreed to sell the stock stood at 80, he would have had to sell £3,750 stock at that price in order to redeem these charges. If by the time the purchase money is paid over the stock has fallen to 60, the landlord would have to sell £5,000 of stock in order to pay off charges. Under the above suggestion the landlord would receive additional stock to the amount necessary (£1,250) to meet the loss caused by the delay in payment. The balance in stock (£6,250) left to the landlord after the payment of charges, and the income therefrom (£187 10s. 0d.), would not be directly affected by the fall in the price of stock.

bears to the area unaffected by them (less than 3 to 1) is due to the fact that a disproportionate number of the larger tenanted holdings and of the large holdings of untenanted land remain unsold.* The smaller tenanted holdings (i.e. the holdings the price of which would not exceed the present statutory limitations on the amount of advances) probably number about 50,000 and constitute the most urgent problem which called for our consideration. It is difficult, however, as will be seen later, to divorce their consideration from that of the larger holdings, and the final settlement of the tenanted land of Ireland is intimately connected with the question of untenanted land, especially in the area under the control of the Congested Districts Board and outside that area in connection with congested estates.

Desirability of the speedy completion of Land Purchase.

9. We are of opinion that the conversion of the tenants of the smaller holdings into tenant purchasers is inevitable under any form of Government, due regard being had to the relief of congestion and the extension of tillage; and that any change, such as has been assumed above, in the frame of Irish Government would make it eminently desirable that such conversion should, in the interests of landlords, tenants, and the Government alike, be speedily effected. We recognise, however, that such a conversion cannot in many cases be immediate having regard to the fact that many of the existing holdings require enlargement or other improvement before they are vested in their occupiers. We further recognise that such a conversion cannot, under the existing law, be universal, since the limitations on the amount of advances prevent the larger tenanted holdings passing from landlord to tenant under the present Land Purchase Acts.† We are of opinion, however, that it would be unreasonable to ask landlords after they had disposed of the greater part of their tenanted land to continue as landlords of a few isolated large holdings. We are further of opinion that with a radical change in the form of Irish Government, the completion of land purchase cannot be left to the comparatively slow method of bargaining between landlord and tenant nor be subjected to amending legislation by either the Imperial or the Irish Parliament. As regards untenanted land, we consider an immediate and universal transfer necessary within the area over which the Congested Districts Board operates (all Connaught, Donegal and Kerry and part of Clare and Cork) in order to enable that Board to discharge its primary function. On the other hand, we do not think a wholesale transference of the untenanted land elsewhere to be practicable.

* By untenanted land is meant land in which no tenancy has been created and where therefore the owner in fee is also the rated occupier. Such land does not cease to be untenanted by reason of being temporarily let, *e.g.*, on the eleven months' system. Land bought under the Land Purchase Acts and land held under fee-farm grants of any date is excluded from this classification.

† The main limitation is that in the case of a tenancy created after 1st January, 1901, the advance shall not exceed £500 (subject to the exception mentioned in Sect. 53 of the Act of 1903), and that in the case of other tenancies the advance shall not exceed £3,000, though it is within the discretion of the Land Commission to make an advance not exceeding £5,000, provided the holding is residential. No advance can be made in the case of a tenancy created after the 15th September, 1909, except where the tenancy was created by either the Congested Districts Board or the Estates Commissioners.

Main Recommendations.

10. Accordingly, we recommend (a) that the landlord's interest in all tenanted land, not excepted below (see paragraph 12), should be automatically transferred either to the occupying tenants, or to the State, as represented by the Congested Districts Board or the Estates Commissioners, for resettlement; (b) that all untenanted land within the Board's area not excepted below (see paragraphs 22 and 23) should be automatically transferred from the owner to the Board for the same purpose; and (c) that outside the Board's area the existing powers of the Estates Commissioners to acquire untenanted land should be preserved and, in one case, extended.

Change to be effected by Imperial Legislation.

11. These changes should be effected by an Act of the Imperial Parliament, to be passed concurrently with a Government of Ireland Act, but the automatic transfer of land should not operate until "the appointed day," which should be fixed by the Lord Lieutenant in Council. This date, however, should not be more than three years after the passing of the Act. Power should be reserved to the Lord Lieutenant in Council of fixing different days for different districts and possibly for different purposes. This postponement of the appointed day will provide an interval during which sales may be effected by agreement between landlords and tenants, but the provision of this interval is suggested mainly because the Board and the Estates Commissioners will require time to prepare for the working of the scheme and because the Estates Commissioners will be occupied for three years in clearing off pending cases.

The details of the scheme can be most conveniently considered under two headings (1) Tenanted Land, (2) Untenanted Land.

TENANTED LAND.

Scope of Change.

12. We are of opinion that the proposed automatic transfer of all tenanted land should not apply to townparks, non-agricultural holdings, holdings the main object of the letting of which was for a residence, nor to any land which, having regard to its propinquity to a town, possesses, in the opinion of the Board or the Estates Commissioners, a substantial potential or actual value or utility as building ground. An appeal should lie from the Board or the Estates Commissioners to the Judicial Commissioner on the question whether any land comes within the above-mentioned exceptions. It would, however, be desirable to provide that where an estate includes both agricultural holdings and non-agricultural holdings, the latter may, if the landlord so desires, and if the Congested Districts Board or the Estates Commissioners approve, be sold to the tenants at the same time as the agricultural holdings. As we have indicated, we are of opinion that from the passing of the Act until the appointed day sales may continue to be effected by agreement between landlords and tenants, or between landlords and the Congested Districts Board or the Estates Commissioners, on the basis of the financial arrangements proposed later; but we hold that, from the passing of the Act, all judicial revision of rents should cease, except for the purpose of converting non-judicial rents into a basis for purchase, as explained in paragraph 29. We recommend that the Act should throw upon landlords the duty of lodging before the ap-

pointed day copies of such documents (schedules of tenancies, copies of rentals, maps, &c.) as may be required in statutory rules to be made under the Act. In connection with this and similar duties cast upon landlords by the scheme (see paragraphs 23 and 29) we are of opinion that section 23, sub-sections (11) and (12) of the Act of 1903 should apply *mutatis mutandis* to sales under the new Act.

Position of Landlords.

13. We recommend, as regards rent and interest in lieu thereof, (1) that the landlord's right to rent and arrears of rent should continue unaffected by the passing of the Act until the appointed day; (2) that on the appointed day the landlord should cease to be entitled to rent not already accrued, but that his right to sue for and recover all rent which had accrued between the gale day immediately prior to the passing of the Act and the gale day immediately prior to the appointed day should be preserved; (3) that he should be entitled to receive from the Land Commission or the Congested Districts Board, as from the gale day immediately prior to the appointed day, the interest on the purchase money (settled as explained below, see paragraph 31), and, where the purchase money and bonus have not been paid within one year from the gale day immediately prior to the appointed day, the landlord should be also paid, as from one year after that gale day until the purchase money and bonus be paid, interest at 5 per cent. on the amount of the bonus to which the landlord will be entitled.

14. The interest of all chargeants should, as from the appointed day, be transferred from the landlord's interest in the land to the purchase money and to the interest payable thereon. The *corpus* of the purchase money should be distributed and the bonus paid as soon as the landlord has finally cleared his title and the final schedule of incumbrancers has been settled as at present. The transference of the landlord's interest in all his tenanted holdings from the land to the purchase money should be final as from the appointed day, that is to say, the landlord should not be affected by any decision the Estates Commissioners or the Congested Districts Board may hereafter arrive at not to vest any of these holdings in the tenants, in accordance with the discretion given to these bodies, as explained below. (See paragraphs 17-20.)

Position of Tenants.

15. The position of tenants under the scheme suggested can be most conveniently considered under two heads, (I.) tenants in the area within the control of the Congested Districts Board and (II) tenants elsewhere.

I. In the area under the control of the Congested Districts Board.

16. We recommend that on the appointed day all the interest of the landlords in all tenanted holdings, not specially excepted (see paragraph 12), within the Congested Districts Board's area, should pass to the Board and that the tenants thereof should be liable to the Board, as from the last preceding gale day, for their existing rents, subject to such reduction as the Board may deem it desirable to grant.

(a) Holdings passed for vesting.

17. We are of opinion that the Board should as speedily as possible pass for vesting by the Land Commission all holdings the purchase money for which would not exceed the present limitations on the amount of advances, provided that the Board did not consider that any of the holdings in question should be retained for enlargement, or other improvement, or for utilisation in connection with the relief of congestion. The annuities to be payable by the tenant purchasers of the holdings thus passed for vesting should be such proportion of their former rents as is determined by the appropriate county percentage, as explained below. (See paragraphs 27-29.)

(b) Holdings not passed for vesting.

18. Over the holdings not thus passed for vesting, the Board should possess all powers necessary for resettlement including the powers possessed by the former landlords, the special powers now possessed by the Board over tenants on estates purchased by the Board, and such other powers as may be deemed necessary, including the power of continuing tenants as tenants, of acquiring the tenant's interest in the whole or part of any holding on the payment of full compensation, and of declaring the tenant of any holding the tenant purchaser of his own holding or of an alternative holding (whether larger or smaller) at what the Board consider a fair price. We recommend that sales by the Board to tenants should be subject to the present limitation of £3,000 on the amount of advances but not to the other restrictions mentioned in the footnote to page 89. In order, however, to conserve for the relief of congestion, land at present untenanted, we are of opinion that no tenancy created in such land after 1st January, 1918, should operate so as to prevent the Congested Districts Board from acquiring, as untenanted land (see paragraph 23), the land comprised in such tenancy. Where the Board in consequence of the limitation of £3,000 sells to a tenant part only of his holding the Board should, as in other cases of the acquisition of the tenant's interest, pay full compensation to such tenant for the part of his holding retained by the Board.

II. Outside the area under the control of the Congested Districts Board.

(a) Smaller holdings.

19. We recommend that, in the area not under the control of the Congested Districts Board, all tenants of holdings not specially excepted (see paragraph 12), the purchase money for which would not exceed the present limitations upon the amount of advances should, on the appointed day, become *provisional* tenant purchasers; and should automatically cease to be liable for rent not already accrued, and should become liable, for payment to the Land Commission, as from the last gale day, of a purchase annuity to be fixed in accordance with the scheme set out below (see paragraphs 27-29). On a day to be specified in statutory rules made under the Act, all such *provisional* tenant purchasers should become, as from the appointed day, tenant purchasers of their holdings, unless the Estate Commissioners had already declared it undesirable for any particular *provisional* tenant purchaser to become the tenant purchaser of his existing holding, on the ground that such holding was so "uneconomic" as to render improvement, where possible, essential, or on the ground that for any other reason

the holding could not be vested in the occupier with advantage to the State. Over holdings so excepted the Estates Commissioners should possess powers similar to those mentioned above as possessed by or to be given to the Congested Districts Board over their tenants (see paragraph 18). The Estates Commissioners could consequently acquire such a holding on the payment of full compensation; or could continue the tenant of such a holding as tenant of that holding; or could declare him the tenant purchaser of his holding, as it exists or enlarged or otherwise improved, or of an alternative holding, at what they considered a fair price.

(b) Larger holdings.

20. We recommend that, on the appointed day, the landlord's interest in all holdings, not specially excepted (see paragraph 12), the purchase money of which would exceed the present limitations on the amount of the advances, should automatically pass to the Estates Commissioners, and that the tenants of such holdings should, as from the day immediately prior to the appointed day, become liable for the payment to the Land Commission of their existing rents subject to such reduction, if any, as the Estates Commissioners may deem it advisable to make. We are of opinion that the Commissioners in dealing with these larger holdings should have regard to the relief of congestion, the desirability of increasing the food supply of the country, and the use made in this respect of such holdings by the tenants. We therefore recommend that the Estates Commissioners should be empowered, having regard to the matters mentioned above, to acquire the tenant's interest in any of the said holdings or any part thereof; or to continue the tenants as tenants thereof; or to sell to them the whole or part of their holdings notwithstanding the fact that such sales might be contrary to the existing restrictions or limitations on advances. Where the whole or any part of such a holding is acquired by the Estates Commissioners full compensation should be paid to the tenant.

We are of opinion that no advance should be made for the sale of a holding where the tenancy was created after 1st January, 1918, unless the Estates Commissioners certify that the creation of the tenancy was in accordance with the interests of the country.

Special Powers for Congested Districts Board and Estates Commissioners.

21. In order to enable the Congested Districts Board and the Estates Commissioners to carry through sales in the manner proposed, we consider that they should be given full powers to deal with such questions as boundaries, turbary (due regard being paid to the requirements of the owner and his employees), provision of access to turbary and holdings, provision for the future upkeep and repair of embankments and cleaning of streams with power, where necessary, to establish a maintenance rate chargeable on the lands transferred, amalgamation of small holdings, vesting and registration of holdings of deceased tenants, and such other powers as may be necessary.

UNTENANTED LAND.

Demesnes and Home Farms.

22. We recommend that demesnes and home farms should not be interfered with by the scheme we are proposing, and that the present rights of the owner to purchase such land under the Land Purchase Acts should be preserved, payment to be made in 5 per cent. stock as pro-

posed hereafter (see paragraph 26). We are also of opinion that the Irish Parliament should be precluded for a term of twenty years from legislating in respect of such land.

Other untenanted land within the Board's area.

23. As regards untenanted land other than demesnes, home farms, townparks, and plantations, we are of opinion, in view of the necessity of acquiring such land for the relief of congestion, that all such land within the Board's area should, on the appointed day, pass automatically from the owner to the Congested Districts Board, which would thus acquire the landlords' interest in the whole of their estates with the exception of demesnes, home farms, plantations and the holdings specially excepted in paragraph 12. We recommend that the owner should have the privilege, if he so desired, of retaining sporting rights over untenanted land thus sold, and that certain small areas (such as herds' gardens, gamekeepers' cottages, quarries and gravel pits required in connection with the demesnes and home farms, &c.) may be excluded from the sale by agreement between the owner and the Congested Districts Board. For the purpose of settling the price, under the plan proposed below (see paragraphs 35-6), of the untenanted land to be transferred, we recommend that all owners of land within the Board's area (other than land bought under the Land Purchase Acts) should be required to lodge with the Board, within a certain period after the passing of the Act (to be fixed by the Land Commission in statutory rules), a schedule and map of all their untenanted land not excepted above.

Other untenanted land outside the Board's area.

24. As regards untenanted land outside the Board's area, we are of opinion that it is not practicable to provide that this untenanted land should automatically pass from the owner on the appointed day; but we recommend that the present powers of the Estates Commissioners to acquire untenanted land should be preserved, including their present powers of compulsory acquisition; and that the powers of the Estates Commissioners to acquire untenanted land by voluntary agreement with the owner should be extended to include the acquisition of such land (a) for resettlement in order to increase the food production of the country, and (b) on behalf of the Congested Districts Board, in connection with the relief of congestion within the Board's area. It might facilitate both the Estates Commissioners and the Board in relieving congestion if they were given power to exchange land *inter se*. We further recommend that where the tenanted portion of an estate includes congested holdings and there is on the same estate untenanted land, the Estates Commissioners should be empowered to acquire by compulsion, if necessary, so much of such land as may be required for relieving the congestion on the estate. The price to be paid by the Estates Commissioners for such land should be fixed in the same way as the price of untenanted land within the Congested Districts Board's area is to be fixed (see pars. 35-6), that is, failing agreement between the owner and the Estates Commissioners, by the Judicial Commissioners, who in fixing the price should have regard to the fair value of the land to the owner and to the Estates Commissioners. We are of opinion that the exercise of the compulsory powers possessed by the Estates Commissioners should, except in the special case mentioned above, be governed by the existing provisions of the Act of 1909.

Financial Basis of Sales under the New Act.

25. We have considered the financial basis of the Act of 1903 and of the Act of 1909 (see Schedule IV., pp. 102-4), and we do not consider that either basis would, under the present conditions of the money market, be suitable for future sales. To revert to the basis of the Act of 1903, payment in cash raised by the issue of 2½ per cent. stock, would at present prices involve the State becoming responsible for £85 of excess stock for every £100 of agreed purchase money. On the other hand we do not think it would be fair to propose that our plan for the completion of land purchase should be carried through on the basis of the Act of 1909 under which a landlord, for every £100 of agreed purchase money, receives £100 3 per cent. stock which at the present price is worth only £59.60. We have considered various proposals which have been made from time to time (see pp. 102-3), and are of opinion that the most hopeful solution is payment in 5 per cent. stock at face value (see p. 94). This would involve the raising of the £100 of purchase annuities to 5½ per cent. Five shillings paid in two equal half-yearly instalments, if uniformly invested at 5 per cent., will secure the amortisation of £100 stock in 62 years. An investment of the sinking fund at a uniform rate of 5 per cent. might be secured by power being taken to redeem at par each half year an amount of 5 per cent. stock equal to the amount of the sinking fund payment, the stock so redeemable to be determined by periodical drawings.

Payment in 5 per cent. Stock Recommended.

26. Accordingly we recommend that the purchase money of all land to be sold, after the passing of a new Land Purchase Act, whether as a result of voluntary agreement or by means of the automatic process which we propose should come into force on the appointed day, for all tenanted land and all untenanted land within the Board's area, should be paid in 5 per cent. stock at face value. We are of opinion that the new 5 per cent. stock should be issued, and payment thereon guaranteed, by the Imperial Government, in the same way as guaranteed 2½ per cent. stock and 3 per cent. stock have been issued and guaranteed. The liability thus imposed upon the Imperial Exchequer will be purely nominal, as is its present liability in respect of the stocks mentioned above, since payments in respect of interest and sinking fund should form a first charge upon the Irish Consolidated Fund. As is pointed out in Schedule II. (paragraphs 6-11, p. 99), the loss caused to the State by the non-payment of purchasers' annuities has been practically negligible, but that loss, whatever it may be in the future, should be borne by Irish funds as it is at present.

Automatic fixation of annuities and purchase money of tenanted land.

27. We are of opinion that the proposed automatic transfer of all tenanted land on the appointed day necessitates the adoption of an automatic method, which is explained below, of fixing, first, the annuities payable by all tenant purchasers whose holdings are vested in them without alteration by the Congested Districts Board or the Estates Commissioners (see paragraphs 28-9), and secondly, the purchase money of all tenanted land (see paragraph 31).

AUTOMATIC FIXING OF PURCHASE ANNUITIES.

1. Judicial Rents.

28. We are of opinion that, in the case of judicial rents, the best automatic basis is to fix the tenant purchaser's annuity at the same proportion of his existing rent as the annuities of previous tenant purchasers of the same class formed of their rents. We consider that variations in local circumstances can be most fairly met by applying to each case the average reduction in the annuity as compared with the rent, not for all Ireland, but for the county in which each holding is situate. We feel ourselves debarred from taking as the standard a smaller unit than the county, partly because the county is the smallest area for which statistics are available, but mainly because an average in a transaction of this nature can be regarded as fair only when it is the result of a large bulk of transactions. For the latter reason, we have preferred to rely on sales under the Act of 1903 rather than on sales under the Act of 1909, and to confine our attention to such sales as came within the zones.

After this general explanation, we can now state our specific recommendations as to each class of judicial rents.

(a) "First Term" Rents.

Each tenant whose rent payable at the date of the passing of the Act had been fixed before 14th August, 1896, should pay as an annuity such proportion of that rent as former tenant purchasers, in his county, who bought under the Act of 1903 (on the basis of rents fixed before 14th August, 1896, at prices which came within the zones) on the average, paid of their rents as annuities. This proportion for each county is given in Table I. of Schedule V. (p. 105). It is sufficient to note here that it varied from 74.5 per cent. in Kildare to 66.3 per cent. in Clare and Kerry. The total transactions on which these figures are based affected over 32,000 tenants whose purchase money exceeded 13 million pounds. So far as we can ascertain the number of tenants as yet unaffected by the Land Purchase Acts, who are subject to rents fixed before 14th August, 1896, commonly called "first term" rents, is not large.

(b) "Second Term" Rents.

Each tenant whose rent payable at the date of the passing of the Act had been fixed after 14th August, 1896, and before 14th August, 1911, should pay as an annuity such proportion of that rent as former tenant purchasers, in his county, who bought under the Act of 1903 (on the basis of rents fixed since 14th August, 1896, at prices which came within the zones) on the average, paid of their rents as annuities. This proportion for each county is given in Table II. of Schedule V. (p. 106). It is sufficient to note here that it varied from 83.6 per cent. in Londonderry to 74.5 per cent. in Cork and Clare. The total transactions on which these figures are based affected over 60,000 tenants whose purchase money exceeded 22 million pounds. So far as we can

ascertain, most of the tenants as yet unaffected by the Land Purchase Acts are subject to rents fixed in the period 14th August, 1896—14th August, 1911, commonly called "second term" rents.

(c) **"Third Term" Rents.**

The case of rents fixed since 14th August, 1911, sometimes called "third term" rents, is more difficult. The number of tenants whose rents have been revised in the period 1st April, 1911—31st March, 1917, is as follows:—

	No. of Cases.	Average percentage of reduction.
Rent fixed for a first term	4,644	15·7
" " second "	4,594	13·5
" " third "	5,444	9·2
Total	14,682	12·6

No statistics are available as to the reduction obtained on purchase by tenants who bought on the basis of rents fixed since 14th August, 1911; but such statistics would not have been very helpful, since the bulk of such transactions has certainly not been large enough to make the average reduction obtained a safe guide. We are of opinion that the reduction in rent obtained by these tenants cannot be ignored—that is to say, their purchase annuities cannot be based on the rents payable previous to this revision. On the other hand, we do not think that such tenant-purchasers should obtain on purchase such a large reduction from their rents fixed since 14th August, 1911, as would, under the scheme we propose, be obtained by tenant-purchasers whose rents had been fixed before that date. To give them the same reduction would mean that, as they are now paying, or will be paying, from some date subsequent to the 14th August, 1911, on the average, only 87·4 per cent. of the rents they had previously been paying, they would on purchase pay as annuities only from 65·1 per cent. (in Cork and Clare) to 73·1 per cent. (in Londonderry) of their old rents. We are of opinion that tenants who have had rents fixed since 14th August, 1911, should pay as annuities a larger proportion than those mentioned above. After careful consideration we have decided to recommend that the reduction to be obtained by such tenants, on purchase, from their existing rents should be only two-thirds of the reduction obtained, on purchase, by second term tenants in their county. The reduction that would under this proposal be obtained on purchase, from rents fixed since 14th August, 1911, and the annuities that would be payable are shown, for each county, in Table III. of Schedule V. p. 107). The reduction shown above, as obtained from rent revision since

1911—viz., 12·6 per cent.—is, however, only an average, and the reductions obtained in different cases showed considerable variation. Consequently, we consider that it would be well to provide that the annuity to be paid by a tenant purchaser whose rent has been revised since 1911 should in no case be greater than that payable by a tenant purchaser whose rent had not been revised since 1911 (though it had been revised since 1896) and whose rent was equal to that payable before 1911 by a tenant purchaser who had obtained a subsequent revision. This provision will safeguard a purchaser, who has had his rent revised since 1911, from paying a larger annuity than he would have had to pay had his rent not been so revised.

2. Non-judicial Rents.

29. Though statistics are available as to the average reduction obtained by non-judicial tenants in each county who bought under the Act of 1903, we do not think that these averages would, owing to the great variations in non-judicial rents, be a satisfactory basis for the automatic fixation of purchase annuities. We, therefore, recommend that it should be the duty of the Land Commission, between the date of the passing of an Act to give effect to our proposals and the appointed day, to fix judicial rents on all tenanted holdings (other than those excepted in paragraph 12 above) not now subject to judicial rents; and that each tenant of such a holding should, on purchase, pay as an annuity the same proportion of judicial rent, thus fixed, as judicial tenants in his county subject to rents fixed since 14th August, 1911, are to pay of such rents under the foregoing provisions (see last paragraph, sub-head (c), and Table III. of Schedule V., p. 107, col. 3). To enable this provision to be carried out, we are of opinion that all landlords should be required to furnish before a certain date (to be fixed by Land Commission rules) a schedule of all non-judicial tenancies. An appeal should lie, as at present, from the Sub-Commission Court to the Chief Commission Court at the instance of either landlord or tenant. In fixing a judicial rent for the purpose of this paragraph due regard should be paid to any reduction given by the landlord in the past. It should be made quite clear that the tenant continues liable for his old rent until the appointed day, and that the judicial rent is assessed only as a basis for the fixation of the purchase annuity.

We recognise that special provision must be made to meet exceptional cases, such as that of some fee-farm grantees and certain leaseholders, where the fixation of a rent on the agricultural value of the land would not form an equitable basis for sale. Accordingly, we recommend that any party interested in a holding subject to a non-judicial rent should have the right of requiring the case of such a holding to be transferred from the Sub-Commission Court to the Estates Commissioners, who have special facilities for dealing with the exceptional cases indicated; and that they should fix a rent, as a basis for purchase, having regard to the interests of all the parties concerned and all the circumstances of the case. An appeal should lie from the decision of the Estates Commissioners to the Judicial Commissioner.

Method of fixing Annuities on holdings retained by Board or Commissioners.

30. We recommend that all tenants whose holdings are not vested in them, but are retained for treatment or for any other reason by the Congested Districts Board or the Estates Commissioners, should, when holdings are vested in them, pay an annuity of $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on what the Board or the Commissioners declare to be the fair price of the holding when vested.

AUTOMATIC FIXATION OF PURCHASE MONEY OF TENANTED LAND.

31. We are of opinion that the purchase money to be received by landlords for their tenanted land, whether such land is subsequently vested in the tenants without alteration or not, should be the purchase money provided by a $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. annuity equal in amount to the rental reduced by the appropriate county percentage for each class of rent, as set out in paragraphs 28 and 29. The amount so provided would vary per £100 of rental from £1,262 in the case most unfavourable to the landlord (a "first term" rental in Clare or Kerry) to £1,592 in the case most favourable to the landlord (a "second term" rental in Londonderry), or possibly to £1,697 (in the case of a "third term" rental in Londonderry).*

Payment to be made in 5 per cent. stock.

32. This purchase money should be paid as we have already indicated (see paragraph 26), not in cash, but in 5 per cent. stock at face value. We recognise that in the present condition of the money market this stock might stand at a slight discount, though the half-yearly redemption at par of an amount of stock equal to the amount of the sinking fund, which we have suggested (see paragraph 25), might have a slight effect in keeping up the price of the stock. We recommend that all charges due to the State, such as death duties, quit and crown rents, etc., should be redeemable by the transfer of such an amount of stock that the interest therefrom is equal to the amount of the charge, where such charge is an annual charge, and by the transfer of stock equal at face value to the amount of the charge, where such charge is a capital charge. This provision should be of some assistance to landlords. Thus, under this proposal, quit and crown rents could be redeemed at 20 years' purchase instead of 25 years' purchase, as at present.

Effect on Landlord's Income.

33. We recognise, however, that the annual income available for the landlord, under this scheme, which might vary from £63, 2s. per £100 of gross "first term" rental in Clare or Kerry to £79, 12s. per £100 of gross "second term" rental in Londonderry, or possibly to £84, 17s. per £100 of "gross third term" rental in Londonderry, would rarely suffice to yield an adequate income as compared with the landlord's net rental.

* See Schedule V., col. 4 of Tables I. and II., and col. 6 of Table III., and note to latter Table.

Bonus required—Scale recommended.

34. Accordingly, we recommend that a cash bonus should be payable on the purchase money of all tenanted land, varying, as does the bonus under the Act of 1909, from 0 to 18 per cent. inversely with the number of years' purchase that the purchase money represents of the rental. The scale we recommend is as follows:

14½ years' purchase and under	...	...	18 per cent.
Over 14½ but not exceeding 15 years' purchase,	16		"
" 15 "	15½		"
" 15½ "	16		"
" 16 "	16½		"
" 16½ "	17		"
" 17 "	17½		"
" 17½ "	18		"
Above 18 years' purchase	...	...	Nil.

The scale is adopted to meet the special circumstances of the automatic process recommended, but it is substantially the scale of the Act of 1909 adapted from a 3 per cent. basis to a 5 per cent. basis. So far as we can calculate, it will average 15 per cent. on all tenanted land as compared with the uniform bonus of 12 per cent. which was paid in all cases under the Act of 1903 and the variable bonus which averaged just over 10 per cent. under the Act of 1909. The effect of the bonus, assuming investment at 5 per cent., would be to raise the landlord's income per £100 of gross rental, in the most unfavourable case mentioned above, from £63, 2s. to £74, 10s., and in the most favourable case, from £79, 12s. to £89, 2s., or possibly, to £91, 12s. in the case of a "third term" rental in Londonderry. Illustrative figures for each county are given in the Tables to Schedule V. (see pp. 104-7).

PURCHASE MONEY OF UNTENANTED LAND.

1. Within the Board's area.

35. We have already recommended (par. 23) that all untenanted land, not a demesne, home farm, plantation, or townpark, should, in view of the necessity of acquiring such land for the relief of congestion, pass automatically on the appointed day from the owner to the Congested Districts Board; and, for the purpose of settling the price, we have also recommended that all owners of land within the Board's area (other than tenants who bought under the Land Purchase Acts) should be required to lodge with the Board, within a certain period after the passing of the Act (to be fixed by the Land Commission in statutory rules), a schedule of all their untenanted land other than that excepted above. We now recommend that the Board should, as soon as possible thereafter, inspect all such land, and make an offer to the owner, setting out the estimated annual value and the proposed price. If the proposed price be accepted by the owner, interest at 5 per cent. on the proposed price and interest at 5 per cent. on the bonus payable thereon should be paid to the owner, as from the appointed day, until the title is finally cleared and the final schedule of incumbrancers settled.

36. If the owner declines to accept the proposed price, an appeal should lie to the Judicial Commissioner, who in fixing the price of the land in question should have regard to the fair value of the land to the owner and to the Congested Districts Board. Pending his decision, a sum equal to the annual value as determined by the Board, plus 5 per cent. on the bonus payable on the proposed price, should be paid to the owner as from the appointed day. From

the date of the fixation of price by the Judicial Commissioner until the date when the purchase money is paid over, there should be payable to the owner interest at 5 per cent. on the price fixed by the Judicial Commissioner *plus* interest at 5 per cent. on the bonus; and any difference between (a) the sum actually paid to the owner as from the appointed day until the fixation of price; and (b) interest at 5 per cent. on the price fixed by the Judicial Commissioner *plus* interest at 5 per cent. on the bonus for the same period (i.e., from the appointed day until the fixation of the price) should be added to or deducted from (as the case may be) the sum payable to the owner.

2. Outside the Board's area.

37. As already mentioned (par. 24) we do not consider it practicable to propose that untenanted land outside the Board's area should automatically pass from the landlord on the appointed day; but we have recommended that the present powers of the Estates Commissioners to acquire untenanted land should be preserved, including their present powers of compulsory acquisition, and that the powers of the Estates Commissioners to acquire land by voluntary agreement with the owners should be extended for certain purposes. In voluntary cases the price should be fixed by agreement between the Estates Commissioners and the owners, and in compulsory cases by the Judicial Commissioner under the existing law, except in the special case mentioned in paragraph 24, where untenanted land is acquired by the Estates Commissioners in order to relieve congestion on the same estate. In such a case, the Judicial Commissioner in fixing the price, failing agreement between the owner and the Estates Commissioners, is to have regard to the fair value of the land to the owner and to the Estates Commissioners.

Scale of Bonus on all untenanted land.

38. We recommend that the bonus to be payable on untenanted land, both within and outside the Board's area, should be in accordance with the scale set out in paragraph 34 above, and that the second and third clauses of the First Schedule to the Irish Land Act of 1909 should apply.*

* These clauses are:—

(2) In cases where an estate is purchased by the Estates Commissioners or the Congested Districts Board, and the advance is made in respect of the estate as a whole, the advance shall, for the purpose of the application of the scale, be apportioned between the holdings and parcels of land comprised in the estate in such manner as the Estates Commissioners or the Congested Districts Board, as the case may be, direct.

(3) In the case of the purchase of a parcel of untenanted land, and in any case where the amount advanced is less than the purchase money, the number of years' purchase represented by the advance shall be calculated in manner prescribed by the Treasury, regard being had in the case of untenanted land to the fair annual value of the land to the owner.

The Regulations dated 15th February, 1910, made by the Treasury in accordance with the foregoing provision are as follows:—For the purpose of the application of the Scale in the First Schedule of the Irish Land Act, 1909, the number of years' purchase represented by the Advance shall be ascertained:

I. In the case of the purchase of a parcel of untenanted land by dividing the amount of the purchase money by the amount which the Estates Commissioners or the Congested Districts Board, as the case may be, shall estimate to have been the fair annual value of such parcel to the owner at the date of purchase.

II. In any case where the amount advanced is less than the purchase money, by dividing the amount of the purchase money by the amount of the rent, or in the case of untenanted land by the amount which the Estates Commissioners shall estimate to be its fair annual value to the owner.

BONUS TO BE REGARDED AS IMPERIAL EXPENDITURE.

39. It will be remembered that when the payment of a bonus was first proposed in 1903 it was described as "a free gift to Ireland." It has always been treated as a payment to be made by the tax payers, not of Great Britain or Ireland, but of Ireland and Great Britain. In other words, though for an Irish service, it has always been regarded as an Imperial obligation. We see no reason why land not yet sold should be differentiated in this respect from land already sold or agreed to be sold. Accordingly, we recommend that the annual charge for the bonus payable in future sales should, like the charges for bonus and excess stock in completed and pending sales, be in the first instance paid by the Irish Government, but should, so far as Great Britain's share thereof is concerned, be regarded as a contribution by the Irish Government to Imperial expenditure. We hold this view all the more strongly, inasmuch as the cost to the State under the scheme now proposed for completing land purchase would be considerably less than the cost to the State has been in the past. The rate of bonus payable under the scheme proposed will average about 15 per cent. on the purchase money of tenanted land (see Schedule V., pp. 104-7). There is no means of estimating the average rate of bonus that will be payable on the purchase money of untenanted land, but if it be assumed that the rate will not be substantially different from that payable in respect of tenanted land, the annual cost to the State of the bonus, if money could be borrowed at 5 per cent., would be less than $4/5$ per cent. on the total amount of the purchase money. Thus, for every million pounds of purchase money the annual cost to the State (if the bonus averaged 15 per cent.) would be £7,875—under $4/5$ per cent.—and if the total purchase money of land bought under the scheme proposed were £30,000,000, the annual cost to the State (for 62 years) would be £236,250*. With these figures may be contrasted the annual cost to the State for bonus and excess stock (which does not arise under our scheme) in respect of the 75 million pounds already advanced under the Acts 1903-9. This amounts to £753,000 or 1 per cent., while the corresponding cost to the State in respect of the 24 million pounds to be advanced in pending cases is estimated at £580,000 per annum, or slightly under $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Expenditure on Land Resettlement by Estates Commissioners.

40. Before leaving the question of finance, we desire to draw attention to the necessity of making some provision for the expenditure that the Estates Commissioners must incur on the relief of congestion within their area and on the resettlement of untenanted land. Under the Act of 1903 (s. 44) loss on the resale of "congested" estates within the meaning of Section 6 (5) was charged on the parliamentary vote for the Land Commission, and all other expenditure on improvement was met out of the Reserve Fund. Under the Act of 1909 all loss on resale and improvement expenditure was met out of the Reserve Fund, and since the exhaustion of the latter, which occurred on the 31st May, 1910, out of the parliamentary vote for the Land Commission. For these purposes, £75,000 was voted

*The difficulties in the way of arriving at a satisfactory estimate of the probable price of the unsold land of Ireland are explained in Schedule I. (see especially paragraphs 8 and 9, p. 98).

in the year 1913-14, and £30,000 is provided in the vote for the current year. The total amount expended since 1903 by the Estates Commissioners up to date on these purposes was £685,000. Of this sum £360,000, which is less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the total transactions of the Commissioners, is not recoverable from the tenant purchasers. The data available are not sufficient to enable us to say whether a similar percentage on the future transactions of the Estates Commissioners would be a sufficient provision to make in respect of irrecoverable expenditure. What money may be required should be voted by the Irish Parliament, but it is arguable that such expenditure, within certain limits, and also the cost of the staff of the Land Commission, should be treated as Imperial expenditure. A special recommendation has already been made (see paragraph 4) for treating in this manner that part of the cost of the Land Commission which is incurred in the collection of purchase annuities.

Expenditure on Land Resettlement by Congested Districts Board.

41. More can be said in favour of treating part, at least, of the cost of the Congested Districts Board as Imperial expenditure. The Board was created with the avowed object of "developing a backward portion of the Imperial Estate," the backwardness of which is largely attributed, whether rightly or wrongly, to neglect in the past. We, in this Report, are not concerned with that part of the Board's income of £250,000 per annum which is devoted to purposes other than land purchase, but it is worthy of serious consideration whether the amount which the Board sets aside for loss on land resettlement (over £100,000 per annum) and the cost of administration, so far as land purchase and resettlement are concerned, should not be regarded as Imperial expenditure. If this view be accepted, such expenditure ought, in the first instance, to be defrayed out of the Irish Consolidated Fund; but, so far as Great Britain's share thereof is concerned, should be reckoned as part payment of whatever contribution Ireland may have to make towards Imperial expenditure.

Question of reservation of Congested Districts Board and Land Commission.

42. In paragraph 7 we recommend that, as the Land Commission will continue to have certain discretionary powers in respect of pending cases, it should remain a "reserved" service so far as its functions in respect of these cases are concerned; the reason being that it seems not unreasonable that pending cases should be completed under the control of the Government under whose auspices proceedings were instituted. The same reason does not apply in future sales under the scheme which we propose. Neither the Board nor the Estates Commissioners would have any important discretionary power as between landlords and tenants; everything would work automatically, and it might give rise to great friction if the work of the Board and the Commissioners, which is nothing less than the resettlement of the unsold agricultural land of Ireland, were carried out by

departments which would not be under the control of the Irish Government nor responsible to the Irish Parliament.

Reservation not desirable.

43. We are, therefore, of opinion that the Congested Districts Board should not be reserved at all, and that the reservation of the Land Commission should cease on the appointed day. On that day the Land Commission would practically cease to be a judicial tribunal deciding cases between landlords on the one hand and tenants or the Estates Commissioners or the Congested Districts Board on the other hand, except as regards the fixation by the Judicial Commissioner of the price of untenanted land. The fact that the removal of the present Judicial Commissioner, as of all other existing judges, would presumably be reserved, as it was in the Government of Ireland Act, to the Crown on an address from the Imperial Parliament, would, so far as he is concerned, meet any purpose that could be secured by reservation of the Land Commission. The appointment of any Judicial Commissioner whom it might be necessary to appoint hereafter might be left to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, if he becomes a non-political officer, or to the Imperial Government.

44. The Land Commission, after the appointed day, and the Congested Districts Board, after the passing of the Act, could therefore be brought into any scheme the Irish Parliament may adopt for the amalgamation and consolidation of Irish departments, due regard being had to the interest of all existing Irish officers.

Sporting Rights.

45. We have already recommended that on the transfer of untenanted land within the Board's area the landlord should have the privilege of retaining sporting rights (par 23), and we are of opinion that the same rule should prevail in respect of untenanted land outside the Board's area. As regards tenanted land, we are of opinion that rights of shooting should pass to the tenants, the Congested Districts Board or the Estates Commissioners, unless by agreement between landlords, on the one hand, and tenants or the Congested Districts Board or the Estates Commissioners, on the other hand, these rights are retained by the landlords. We recognise that sporting rights are of considerable value in many districts, and that, as was pointed out in paragraph 249 of the Final Report of the Royal Commission on Congestion (Cd. 4097, 1908), the dissipation of these rights amongst a number of small occupiers usually results in the partial or total loss of what might be developed into an important national asset. We, therefore, are of opinion that the Congested Districts Board and the Estates Commissioners should, in the interests of the tenant purchasers, promote, as far as they can, the preservation of these rights, and encourage in suitable cases the formation of associations, and the appointment of trustees for this purpose. As regards fishing rights, we are of opinion that the landlord, where he possesses these rights, should have the privilege of retaining or disposing of them, together with all necessary rights of access for the purpose of fishing. In cases where the landlord does not desire to retain or dispose of these rights, we recommend that they should be retained by the Congested Districts Board or the Estates Commissioners, when they are of opinion that the preservation of such rights would conduce to national interests.

Question of a Perpetual Rent Charge.

46. We have considered the suggestion, not infrequently made from time to time, that a perpetual rent-charge should be reserved in favour of the State on all holdings sold under the Land Purchase Acts. It will be remembered that such a proposal was embodied in the Land Bill of 1903 as introduced into the House of Commons but was abandoned. We have not examined the merits of the proposal, since, if we made a recommendation in favour of a perpetual rent charge, it could apply only to the tenants who have not yet purchased their holdings, and we do not consider that it would be practicable, even if it were desirable, to propose that one-eighth of the landholders of Ireland should be put in a position different from that occupied by the remaining seven-eighths.

47. We desire to express our high appreciation of the help afforded us by our Secretary, Mr. Walter Callan. His knowledge of the Land Acts and Land Finance is admirable in its range and accuracy. His power of doing work, his helpfulness and his courtesy have most materially contributed to the completion of our work.

MACDONNELL (Chairman).

*DENIS KELLY.

ORANMORE AND BROWNE.

M. K. BARRY.

J. J. CLANCY.

MICHAEL E. KNIGHT.

GEO. F. STEWART.

WALTER CALLAN.

Secretary to the Sub-Committee.

23rd January, 1918.

SCHEDULE I.

THE SIZE OF THE PROBLEM OF THE COMPLETION OF LAND PURCHASE.

(On 31st March, 1917).

1. The following table, which has been already given in paragraph 2 of the Report, contains particulars of the land (1) already sold, (2) agreed to be sold, and (3) not yet the subject of proceedings:—

	Col. 1. No. of holdings.	Col. 2. Area Acres.	Col. 3. Poor Law Valuation. £	Col. 4. Purchase Money. £
1. Land vested	308,833	10,202,910	5,185,712	100,208,684
2. Land agreed to be sold	100,890	3,302,941	1,207,875	23,986,053
3. Land unsold	—	5,708,751	3,645,278	—
	—	19,274,602	10,038,865	—

2. The area not yet the subject of proceedings under the Land Purchase Acts (col. 2) is 30 per cent. of the total agricultural area of Ireland, whilst its valuation (col. 3) is 36 per cent. of the total valuation of the agricultural land of Ireland.

3. From these two factors it might be inferred that the total problem still to be faced is one-half of that already completed or in process of completion, but, for reasons which appear below, it is evident that the size of the problem to be dealt with under the proposed scheme is not so great.

4. The financial size of the problem (col. 4) has by some been estimated, very roughly, at 72 million pounds; but this figure is of little value, as it was arrived at merely by multiplying the annual poor law valuation of the land unsold by 20 (the average number of years' purchase given of the poor law valuation of the lands dealt with under the Acts 1903-9). Neither the multiplicand nor the multiplier can be relied on. In the first place the multiplier is quite unreliable. On the one hand, it might be larger in future cases than in past cases, for the land unsold includes a much larger proportion of untenanted land than did the land already sold; and a greater number of years' purchase has always been given of the poor law valuation of untenanted than of tenanted land; since in the former case the vendor has a larger interest in the land. On the other hand, recent changes in the money market must have the effect of decreasing the multiplier. When the purchase money is paid in stock bearing 5 per cent. interest, the same number of years' purchase cannot be expected as when the purchase money was paid in stock which carried only 3 per cent. interest, or when the purchase money was paid in cash and the rate of interest on trustee investments was estimated at about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

5. The multiplicand is equally unreliable, for the unsold land includes demesnes, home farms, townparks, etc., none of which must, and few of which probably will, be sold under the proposed scheme. Moreover, it includes a large quantity of untenanted land outside the area of the Congested Districts Board, of which only a portion will be sold under the proposed scheme.

6. It is also difficult to estimate the number of holdings (col. 1) remaining for sale. The total number of agricultural holdings in Ireland, according to the Agricultural Statistics of 1915 is 569,426. Of this total, 105,005 were under 1 acre. This class includes labourers' cottage plots (of which there are over 47,000 in Ireland) and many small gardens, etc., which are outside the operations of the Land Purchase Acts. Still a certain number of holdings under 1 acre have been sold under the Acts, and more may be. The Land Commission cannot give any estimate of the number of such holdings. Probably it is not exaggerating the size of the problem to say that at least 5,000 holdings under 1 acre have passed or will pass under the Land Purchase Acts. This would suggest that the total number of agricultural holdings that have passed or are likely to pass under the Land Purchase Acts might be taken as 470,000. This, however, is probably an under-estimate, for a certain number of non-agricultural holdings (e.g., holdings in towns and villages) have been already sold under the Land Purchase Acts, and more will be similarly sold unless the law is changed in this respect. No estimate is available as to the number of such holdings; and therefore all that can be said is that the total number of holdings which have been sold, or are likely to be sold, is over 470,000. As the number of holdings already sold or agreed to be sold is just under 410,000 the number remaining to be sold would appear to be over 60,000. This figure, which, in view of the

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uncertainty regarding holdings under 1 acre and non-agricultural holdings, is largely hypothetical, is liable to modification in view of the following fact.

7. The term "holding" both in the Agricultural Statistics and in the Census Returns (which are classified on a basis different from that of the Agricultural Statistics) includes not merely holdings occupied by tenant purchasers and tenants, but also demesnes, home farms, and other holdings of untenanted land. Most of these holdings would be included in the 10,444 holdings given in the Agricultural Statistics as above 200 acres in extent, and in the 13,472 holdings which are given in the Census Returns for 1911 as exceeding £100 valuation.* There is no means of ascertaining how many of the large holdings in question are (1) held by tenants, (2) held by tenant purchasers, and (3) are untenanted. All that can be said is that, if 60,000 be the total number of holdings (in the wider sense) as yet unaffected by the Land Purchase Acts, the number of holdings occupied by tenants, all of which will under the proposed scheme pass either to the tenants, or the Congested Districts Board, or the Estates Commissioners, must be less than 60,000, and possibly may not be more than 50,000.

8. It is impossible to give even an estimate of the probable price of the tenanted holdings which will pass under the proposed scheme, the number of which may be roughly put at 50,000. The average valuation of the 300,000 holdings already sold was £17 and the average price £325. The average valuation of the 100,000 holdings in process of sale is £12 and the average price £240. On the one hand the average price of the holdings remaining to be sold may well be considerably greater than the average price of the holdings sold or agreed to be sold, for the former class undoubtedly includes a very much larger proportion of large tenanted holdings than does the latter. Less than 1,300 holdings have been sold under the Land Purchase Acts at a price exceeding the £3,000 limit, and undoubtedly the number of large holdings remaining unsold, the price of which would exceed that limit, is very much greater. On the other hand, it has to be remembered that the purchase money of all unsold holdings will be less than was the purchase money of holdings of a corresponding valuation already sold because of the change, already referred to, in the financial basis; that is, the change from cash capable of investment at rates varying from 3 per cent. to 4 per cent., or stock bearing interest at 3 per cent., to stock bearing interest at 5 per cent. If the average price of the unsold holdings—say 50,000—works out at the average price of the 100,000 holdings now in process of sale (£240), the total purchase money for the tenanted land of Ireland remaining for sale would be 12 millions. If it works out at the average price of the 300,000 holdings already sold (£325), the total price of the tenanted land of Ireland to be sold under the scheme would be slightly over 16 millions. In view of the size of some of the larger tenanted holdings remaining for sale the total price may be considerably higher.

9. As regards the untenanted land, it is impossible to give any estimate of the probable purchase money involved. All the untenanted land within the Board's area (other than demesne

* It is important to note that the total acreage of these 13,472 large holdings exceeded four million acres and that their total poor law valuation exceeded three million pounds, or nearly one-third of the total valuation of the agricultural land of Ireland.

and home farms, etc.) is to be bought under the scheme, but even within this limited area it is impossible to obtain any definite estimate of the amount of untenanted land or of its probable price. Outside this area the amount of land to be bought depends upon the requirements of the Estates Commissioners and of the Congested Districts Board for the relief of congestion and resettlement, and it is impossible to offer any opinion whatever upon the probable purchase money.

SCHEDULE II.

PURCHASERS' ANNUITIES.

1. The total advances made for land purchase since 1870 up to 31st March last was 98½ millions. The difference between this amount and the 100 millions, mentioned in paragraph 2 of the Report as the purchase money of the land sold, was provided by the purchasers in cash. Some of the advances have been redeemed by the purchasers; the annuities payable on the advances not so redeemed amount to over 2½ millions.

2. Advances made under Acts prior to the Act of 1891 were made in cash and amounted to nearly 10½ millions. The annuities payable thereon are sufficient to pay the interest charge and to amortise the sums advanced within a certain period, which was for the most part a fixed period of 49 years, extended to 79 years where the purchasers availed themselves, as most did, of three decadal reductions. The only financial difficulty that arises in these cases is where purchasers do not pay their annuities punctually. Any loss so incurred is, where "guarantee deposits" are not available, defrayed out of public funds provided by the annual Public Works Loans Act. The total loss since 1881 has been only a little over £5,000, and the average annual loss is practically negligible.

3. Advances made under the Acts of 1891-6 were made in stock, and amounted to over 13 millions. The annuities payable thereon are sufficient to pay interest charges and redeem the stock within a period which was not fixed but which was estimated at 42½ years (extended by 30 years in the case of purchasers who availed themselves of three decadal reductions). The period of repayment has been diminished by the rise in the rate of interest.

4. Advances made under the Act of 1903, amounting to 67 millions, were made for the most part in cash raised mainly by the issue of 2½ per cent. stock. The annuities payable in these cases are sufficient to pay the interest charge on, and to redeem, an amount of stock equal at face value to the amount of the cash advanced, within a period which was estimated at 68½ years but which will be less owing to the rise in the rate of interest. The purchasers have no liability for the "Excess Stock" which had to be created owing to the stock being issued at a discount. (See Schedule III.)

5. Advances made under the Act of 1909, amounting to nearly 8 millions, were made for the most part in 3 per cent. stock and the annuities payable are in these cases sufficient to pay the interest charge on and redeem the stock issued within a period which was estimated at 65 years, but which will be less owing to the rise in the rate of interest.

6. Ignoring the question of Excess Stock (as to which, see Schedule III.), it may be said that the purchasers' annuities are sufficient to pay the charges for interest and sinking fund arising from advances made under the Land Purchase Acts, 1891-1909. Financial difficulty arises only where purchasers do not pay their annuities punctually, and any deficiency so caused is met out of the Guarantee Fund, which (avoiding technicalities) may be said to consist of various grants, paid into the Irish Local Taxation Account and paid thereout to county councils. So far as the Guarantee Fund is called upon to make good the deficiency caused by the non-payment of tenant purchasers' annuities, the Irish ratepayers have to bear the loss.*

7. The permanent loss so caused to the Guarantee Fund has, however, been almost infinitesimal. On each dividend day, or day on which payments have to be made in respect of interest and sinking fund, the Guarantee Fund is invariably called upon to meet deficiencies arising from tenant purchasers not having paid their annuities on the preceding gale day. Most of this money, however, is required to meet cases of unpunctuality, not of absolute failure to pay. During the year 1916-17 the amount of the annuities payable under the Land Purchase Acts, 1891-1909, was £2,555,283. At the beginning of the year the arrears amounted to £28,053, but as £32,558,216 was collected during the year, the arrears on 31st March, 1917, amounted to only £25,120, of which over two-thirds were collected during the next three months.†

8. Against the charges on the Guarantee Fund that accrue each half year in respect of current arrears must be set the repayments which are being continually made in respect of old arrears. In several recent years, the repayments thus made to the Guarantee Fund have been greater than the amount drawn out. Thus, in the year ended 31st March, 1916, £189,000 was drawn out of, and £196,000 was paid into, the Guarantee Fund in respect of arrears. In the following year the amount drawn out was £199,949 and the amount repaid was £195,794.

9. Each year the full amount of the annuities payable is increased in consequence of fresh advances having been made, and by the time land purchase is completed they may amount to five millions or more, and consequently the total average amount of arrears may well be larger than at present. On the other hand, it must be remembered that each year a tenant purchaser's interest in his holding grows greater, and that if, through misfortune, he falls into arrear and a sale becomes necessary, there is available for realisation not merely what was formerly the

* A small loss may fall upon the Guarantee Fund in consequence of unproductive balances, but this item is trifling.

† An elaborate system exists to ensure the speedy collection of arrears. A few weeks after each gale day, a "solicitor's letter" is sent to each purchaser in arrear; if this is not sufficient, a civil bill is issued, and, if necessary, a decree obtained at Quarter Sessions. After this another demand is made, and then, if necessary, the sheriff seizes the debtor's goods. If there are not sufficient goods to satisfy the claim, or if the writ is returned endorsed "no goods," the Land Commission proceeds to sell the holding, but this is not often necessary as more and more of the arrears come in at each stage of the proceedings. Like proceedings are taken in the Superior Courts where the debt due is in excess of the amount for which proceedings may be taken in the County Court. It is very rare for the full amount of arrears not to be recovered on the sale of the holding. Where loss is incurred, it is generally due to the difficulty of effecting a sale in consequence of local feeling.

landlord's interest (in respect of which the annuity is being paid), but also the tenant right or occupation interest.

10. It is of importance in this connection to note that when a defaulting tenant purchaser causes a charge to be made on the Guarantee Fund, the amount of that charge is deducted, ultimately, not from the total amount of the death duty grant, or other item in the Local Taxation Account, available for the whole of Ireland but from that share of the grant which is payable to the county in which the holding of the defaulting tenant is situate. This narrowing down of the area responsible for the loss caused by a purchaser's default is said to have an excellent effect in moulding public opinion against defaulters, and, in accordance with the wish of the county councils, the Land Commission now communicates to the councils the names of defaulters in each county, so that local public opinion may be directed against them.

11. Any loss arising from the non-payment of annuities thus falls, under the present law, upon Irish funds, except in the case of advances made under Acts prior to 1891, and, as has been seen, the loss in these cases is practically negligible.

12. In both the Home Rule Bill of 1893 and the Government of Ireland Act, 1914, it was provided that the liability which now attaches to the Guarantee Fund should attach to the Irish Consolidated Fund; that is, that Irish funds should have to make good, as they do now, any loss caused by non-payment of purchase annuities. The financial provisions of both measures were so arranged that the revenue put within the control of the Irish Government included the sums now payable into the Irish Local Taxation Account which go to form the Guarantee Fund. It rested with the Irish Parliament to decide whether they would continue to pay out of the Irish revenue to the Irish Local Government Councils annual sums similar to those now payable out of the Local Taxation Account, or whether they would make other arrangements. It was also within the province of the Irish Government to decide whether they would continue the system referred to above, under which these grants in relief of rates have to bear the loss caused by default, and whether they would continue the arrangement under which the area of responsibility is so narrowed down that each county suffers the loss incurred by the default of purchasers of holdings in that county.

13. No objection was taken in Parliament to the Irish Consolidated Fund assuming this liability for loss caused by non-payment of purchase annuities. In respect of future advances objection could reasonably be taken to such a course only if a reckless policy of sanctioning advances beyond the value of holdings were to be adopted by some authority not under the control of the Irish Government.

14. Under the Bill of 1893 and the Act of 1914, whilst the Irish Government would have to bear any loss incurred by the non-payment of purchasers' annuities, it was the Imperial and not the Irish Government that was to continue to collect these annuities. This division of functions, which arose from treating the administration of the Land Purchase Acts as a reserved service, seems undesirable. Any remissness on the part of the Imperial Government in collecting annuities would involve not that Government but the Irish Government in, at any rate, temporary loss. Moreover, the policy of leaving the collec-

tion of purchase annuities in Ireland to the Imperial Government, which must have recourse to Irish Courts and Irish officials for the enforcement of their claims, seems to involve an unnecessary case of concurrent jurisdictions.

15. The Bills of 1886 and 1893 and the Act of 1914 show some variance in the treatment proposed for loss caused by non-payment of annuities due for land purchase prior to 1891. As has been seen, this loss now falls not on the Guarantee Fund but on funds common to the United Kingdom. The loss is, however, practically negligible and the Irish Government might well undertake all liability connected with these annuities.

SCHEDULE III.

EXCESS STOCK AND BONUS.

PART I. COMPLETED CASES.

Excess Stock.

1. Under the Act of 1903, the cash required for advances was raised by the issue of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock. The tenants' annuities were at the rate of £3 5s. Od. (£2 15s. Od. being for interest and 10/- for sinking fund) for every £100 cash advanced. If stock had always been issued at par, the tenants' annuities would have sufficed to discharge the liabilities on the stock issued. Stock, however, could never be issued at par, and in order to obtain £100 cash it has been necessary to issue, on the average, over £115 Stock.* As a purchasers' annuity sufficed to provide interest and sinking fund on only £100 of this £115 stock, the interest and sinking fund on the balance, which is known as "Excess Stock," was, under Sect. 36 (6) of the Act of 1903, made payable out of the Guarantee Fund. For the purpose of this charge the grant, known as the "Ireland Development Grant" formed the first item of the Guarantee Fund.

2. The history of the Ireland Development Grant may be recalled. In 1902, when new grants for education were made payable in England and Wales, a corresponding grant for Scotland was included in the Scottish Education vote, and a pledge was given to make an equivalent annual grant in Ireland. In the following year, by 3 Edward VII., c. 23, this grant was fixed at £185,000 per annum, and it was enacted that so much of the grant as was not required for purposes connected with Land Purchase under the Irish Land Act of 1903 should be paid into an account called the Ireland Development Grant and devoted to education, the promotion of economic development and transit facilities. The Irish Land Act of 1903 (sects. 38-9), made provision for the payment, out of this grant, of £20,000 a year to the Congested Districts Board, and £5,000 a year to Trinity College. The balance of the grant went into the cash portion of the Guarantee Fund, but so far as it was not wanted to meet charges on that Fund, it was to be devoted to the purposes already specified, viz., education and the promotion of economic development and transit facilities. A certain amount was so expended, but owing to the in-

creasing charge on it, as the first item in the Guarantee Fund liable for charges arising out of Excess Stock, the amount available for education and economic purposes grew steadily less.

3. In 1909 the annual charge on the Guarantee Fund in respect of Excess Stock amounted to over £100,000 per annum, and it was calculated that, at the then market value of the stock, the charge would rise to £750,000 per annum before Land Purchase was completed. Such a charge on the Guarantee Fund would have swallowed up not only the whole of the balance of the Ireland Development Grant, the first item, for this purpose, in the cash portion of the Guarantee Fund, but also the whole of the second item, the Death Duty Grant, and half of the third item, the Agricultural Grant, and so would have dislocated the finance of the county and district councils throughout Ireland. It was therefore provided by the Irish Land Act, 1909, Sect. 7, that, once the £160,000 available out of the Ireland Development Grant was exhausted, any further deficiency in respect of Excess Stock should be made good not out of the Guarantee Fund but out of money voted by Parliament.*

4. The £160,000 available out of the Ireland Development Grant became fully hypothecated in 1910, and the sums necessary to meet the further loss on Excess Stock have since been voted as part of the cost of the Irish Land Commission. The sum voted under this head in the year ended 31st March, 1917, was £280,000, and the sum actually paid out was £267,740, in addition to the £160,000 a year available out of the Ireland Development Grant.

5. The question of Excess Stock does not—as a general rule—arise in the case of advances made under the Act of 1909, that is, in the case of agreements entered into after the 15th September, 1909, as they are financed on a different basis, namely, by the payment to vendors of the new 3 per cent. Stock at its face value. Land, however, bought by the Congested Districts Board or the Estate Commissioners, compulsorily or under a final offer, has to be paid for in cash, and this may involve the issue of Excess Stock, the charge for which would fall upon the parliamentary vote for the Land Commission.

6. Two points may be noted which have a bearing on Excess Stock. In the first place, the duration of the purchasers' annuities is not fixed: they are to continue until the accumulation of the sinking fund of 10s. per year (payable in two half-yearly instalments) per £100 advanced is sufficient to amortise the debt. The duration of the annuity consequently depends on the rate of interest earned by the sinking fund. If this were a uniform rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (the rate of interest payable on the stock by which purchases under the Act of 1903 are financed) the annuities would run for $68\frac{1}{2}$ years; if the rate were a uniform one of 3 per cent. (the rate of interest payable on the stock by which purchases under the Act of 1909 are financed) the annuities would run for 65 years; if the rate were a uniform rate of 5 per cent. (the rate of interest yielded by investment in $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock and 3 per cent. stock at present

* At the present moment it would be necessary to issue nearly £185 of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Stock in order to obtain £100 cash.

* The charge for unearned or bonus dividend, which until 1909 was met out of the Guarantee Fund, is now defrayed in the same way as the charge for Excess Stock. As the unearned or bonus dividend is really a device to increase the attractiveness of the Stock, this treatment as part of the cost of flotation seems appropriate.

prices) the annuities would run for 48½ years. The actual rate allowed is fixed by Treasury rules at 2½ per cent. in the case of annuities under the Act of 1903, and at 3 per cent. in the case of annuities under the Act of 1909. These rates are liable to variation in accordance with the rates of interest actually obtained by the National Debt Commissioners. The rates so far earned are practically those fixed by the Treasury rules, since the sinking fund payments are utilised for the purpose of making fresh advances. The sinking fund payments now amount to a total of nearly ½ million pounds per annum which is increasing, and the utilisation of this increasing sum for the purpose of making fresh advances thus reduces (by its amount) the amount of cash that has to be annually raised by the issue of stock. Consequently, the annual charge for Excess Stock is less than it would be if the sinking fund were not utilised in the manner mentioned. Once land purchase is completed sinking fund payments will cease to be so utilised, and can be invested at higher rates than 2½ per cent. and 3 per cent. (unless the money market completely changes) and consequently the annuities will cease in less than 68½ years and 65 years respectively.

7. The second point to be noted in connection with Excess Stock is that the charge therefor has been considerably less than it would otherwise have been had not many vendors availed themselves of the option given in the Act of 1909 of securing special priority by accepting payment in 2½ per cent. stock or half in cash and half in stock instead of all cash. The advances thus effected amounted to over 14 millions. The stock so taken was at the minimum price of £92. These arrangements reduced considerably the amount of Excess Stock that had to be created.

Bonus.

8. A cash bonus of twelve million pounds was provided in the 1903 Act for the purpose of bridging the gulf between the price tenants were willing to pay and the price at which landlords were willing to sell. On the assumption that 100 millions would be sufficient to complete land purchase, this bonus was payable under the statute at the rate of twelve per cent. on the purchase money advanced, such rate to be continued for a period of five years. On the expiration of that period (1st November, 1908) it was found that 100 millions would not suffice to complete land purchase, and the Treasury, in accordance with their statutory power, reduced the percentage from twelve to three per cent., at which rate it would have remained for at least five years, had not a new Act been passed in 1909. This Act removed the twelve million limit and provided for the payment of a graduated bonus at rates ranging from 0 to 18 per cent., varying inversely with the number of years' purchase of the rent. The average rate of bonus paid since 1909 has been just over 10 per cent. It was calculated some years ago that the capital sum payable as bonus under existing arrangements would, before Land Purchase was completed, amount to at least 15 millions—to provide which, at the then price of stock, it would be necessary to issue over 17 millions stock, and, in the present condition of the money market, this sum must be exceeded. Roughly speaking, about 10 millions worth of stock has already been issued to provide bonus, and £335,000 was voted in the year ended 31st

March, 1917, to pay the interest and sinking fund on this stock. Of this sum £324,659 was actually required in the year ended 31st March last to make the payments necessary in respect of bonus.

Annual Cost of Completed Cases.

9. The total charges in the year 1916-7 for the annual payments necessary for the Excess Stock and for the stock issued to provide a cash bonus in respect of the 75 million pounds worth of land sold since 1903 up to the 31st March last were:—

(a) For Excess Stock			
payable out of the			
Ireland Development			
Grant	...	£160,000	
payable out of Land			
Commission Vote	...	268,000	
			£428,000
(b) For Bonus payable out of the			
Land Commission Vote	...	325,000	
			£753,000

These sums are at present paid out of the parliamentary votes, but are classified in the Treasury Returns as Irish expenditure and included in the 12½ millions shown as the cost of Irish Government. It will be noted that the annual cost to the State of Excess Stock and Bonus in completed cases is 1 per cent. on the total advance.*

PART. II. PENDING CASES.

Excess Stock.

10. About three-quarters of the pending cases come under the Act of 1903, and so require payment in cash. Such payment would involve the issue of Excess Stock, as described above, except so far as the vendors have agreed to accept payment wholly or partly in stock. Moreover, in a certain number of the pending cases under the Act of 1909 payment in cash is required. As nearly as can be judged about 19 millions cash will have to be raised in order to complete pending cases. After making allowance for the utilisation of sinking fund payments during the next three years, this would seem to involve, at present prices, the issue of a large amount of Excess Stock, the exact amount of which would vary according as the cash was raised by the issue of 2½ per cent. or 3 per cent. Stock, but the annual charge for which would, at present prices, be certainly not less than £440,000.

Bonus.

11. As regards the land which landlords have agreed to sell for 3 per cent. stock, the total purchase money of which is under five millions, the State is not under the existing law involved in loss, except in respect of bonus. On the whole twenty-four millions that represent the price of pending cases, bonus has to be paid. At the present average rate of bonus (10 per cent.), this would amount to £2,400,000 cash, and to raise this sum would involve, at present prices, an annual charge for interest and sinking fund of over £140,000.

* Liability for Excess Stock does not arise where advances are made in Stock under the Act of 1909. (See paragraph 5 above.)

Annual Cost of completion of pending cases.

12. Consequently the completion of pending cases would involve a charge to the State for excess stock and bonus which cannot, at present prices, be put at less than £580,000 a year, or nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum on the amount of the advances.

PART III. NATURE OF CHARGE FOR

EXCESS STOCK AND BONUS.

13. The actual annual charge for Excess Stock and Bonus in completed cases is £753,000, and the same charge for pending cases is estimated at not less than £580,000, making a total of £1,333,000. The bonus was always regarded as "a free gift to Ireland," that is, it was to be paid, not by the tax-payers of Great Britain or of Ireland, but of the United Kingdom as a whole; and the charge for Excess Stock was similarly treated in 1909. Though £160,000 a year of that charge is met out of the Ireland Development Grant, there is no difference in principle between that portion of the charge and the balance. As already mentioned, the whole cost of Excess Stock and Bonus is included in the 12½ millions shown in the Treasury Returns as the cost of the Irish Government. It is certainly an Irish service but an Imperial obligation.

SCHEDULE IV.

METHOD OF FINANCING FUTURE SALES.

1. The method adopted in 1903, under which landlords were to be paid in cash, to be raised by the issue of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. stock, broke down because, owing to the increasing discount at which that stock had to be issued, the cost in respect of Excess Stock became very heavy. To revert to that system would now be impossible. This discount is at present nearly 46 per cent. Consequently, at the existing prices, the State would have to pay an annual sum for Excess Stock not far short of the purchasers' annuities.

2. In 1909 the Land Commission was authorised in future cases to revert to payment in stock (3 per cent.) at its face value. This change in the stock necessitated an increase in the purchasers' annuities from $3\frac{1}{4}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and this increase, to a certain extent, checked land purchase, since tenants could not, without increasing the amount of their annuities give the same number of years' purchase as they did under the Act of 1903. The real reason, however, why purchase was notably checked under the Act of 1909 was that the 3 per cent. stock was never negotiable except at a considerable discount, which vendors feared would become increased before they received payment; and the increase in that discount, which is now 41 per cent., has naturally stopped all proceedings.

3. Some change in finance seems necessary if land purchase is to be speedily completed on equitable terms.

TREASURY INQUIRY INTO FINANCE OF LAND PURCHASE.

4. It will be remembered that a small Committee was appointed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the end of 1907 to inquire into the difficulties which, owing to the price of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per

cent stock, had arisen in the financing of the Irish Land Act of 1903. In the Report (Cd. 4005 of 1908) the Committee examined the different remedies proposed:—

- (1) Issue of consols instead of stock. (Present price of consols, 56).
- (2) The utilisation of the Sinking Fund of the National Debt.

The objections to these schemes were pointed out in the Treasury Report. It is sufficient here to say that the present conditions of the national credit seem to put their adoption out of question at present.

- (3) The extension of the period for repayment.

No period was fixed in the Act for the duration of purchasers' annuities, but if the sinking fund was uniformly invested in $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. stock, the annuities would run for 68½ years. As the sinking fund payments could in 1908 have been invested at over 3 per cent. (at present they could be invested at 5 per cent.), it was suggested to the Treasury Committee that the annuities should run for a fixed period of 68½ years; and that the increased rate of accumulation should be utilised to relieve the charge for Excess Stock. It was, however, pointed out that it would be hardly equitable to make this change as regards advances already made or applied for. The tenant purchasers had, at least, an equitable right to any shortening of the period of repayment produced by the rise in the rate of interest, especially as they would have had to bear any prolongation of the period of repayment produced by any fall in the rate of interest. As a matter of fact, as has been already pointed out (see Schedule III., paragraph 6), sinking fund payments are utilised in making fresh advances which ensure a uniform accumulation at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. interest in cases under the Act of 1903 and at 3 per cent. in cases under the Act of 1909. This rate of accumulation will presumably continue until all advances under the Acts of 1903-9 have been made, after which the sinking fund will accumulate at a higher rate of interest. A definite prolongation of the period of repayment could be effected in the case of future sales, but it would not help matters much.

- (4) A reduction of the Sinking Fund from 10s. to 5s. per £100 and an increase in the rate of interest from $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. to 3 per cent. (the total annuity thus remaining the same).

The same objection, in principle, noted against the last suggestion, applied to this suggestion in respect of advances already made or to be made in pending cases, viz., that it involved an alteration of the statutory terms on which advances had been made. As regards future cases, it was considered that the reduction of the sinking fund to $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., would, whilst the rate of interest remained at 3 per cent., involve an undue prolongation of the period of repayment. As a result, however, of the increase in the rate of interest that sinking fund payments can earn, the reduction of the sinking fund to 5s. per cent. is now quite feasible. (See paragraph 25 of Report, p. 92).

- (5) Redeeming the reversion of the Irish Development Grant.

This, at best, would have afforded trifling relief and was open to objections.

5. The Treasury Committee recommended the limitation of the amount of cash to be advanced

for pending cases to the amount of cash that the National Debt Commissioners might be in a position to lend from time to time.

This suggestion was not adopted, and does not seem feasible at the present moment.

6. The Treasury Committee also suggested that the landlords should, in cases then pending, be given the option of taking stock at the market price of the day (not lower than £92) in lieu of cash or in lieu of half the cash, the inducement to do so being priority.

This suggestion was adopted in the Act of 1909 and has been availed of to a limited extent (see Schedule III., paragraph 7).^{*} The effect of this expedient has been to reduce the loss on Excess Stock (see Schedule III., par. 7, p. 101).

7. As regards future advances it was suggested by the Treasury Committee that money should be provided by the issue of 3 per cent. stock. If the stock could not be issued at par, cash advances were to cease, but landlords were to have the option taking the stock at its face value.

The method adopted by Parliament in 1909 was payment in 3 per cent stock at its face value, but, as has already been noted (paragraph 2 above) the prospect of receiving payment in depreciated stock, liable to further depreciation, checked land purchase, which is now entirely stopped by the low price of the stock.

PRESENT FINANCIAL PROBLEM.

8. The fundamental facts of the situation are that money cannot now be borrowed at less than 5 per cent., if at so low a rate, and that, on the other hand, owing to the rise in the rate of interest, a 5s. per cent. sinking fund will amortise a loan as quickly as would a 10s. sinking fund when the rate of interest to be earned was only 3 per cent. If advances are made in cash, and if the purchase annuity is to be sufficient to meet all the charges for the money so advanced, the rate of the purchase annuity cannot be less than $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, if so low. Unless the purchaser has to pay as an annuity a greater percentage of his former rent than annuities have averaged during the last fifteen years, which was under 75 per cent. of the rent, the advance cannot be more than fourteen times the rent, and many landlords could not afford to sell at fourteen years' purchase, even though the proceeds were invested at 5 per cent.

9. It may be that under a voluntary system the realisation of the fact that the condition of the money market precludes any return to the land purchase terms of 1903, except at an immense loss to the State, might now make landlords more ready than formerly to accept terms involving a diminution of income as compared with net rental, and might also operate to induce tenants to demand a less reduction in their purchase money, as compared with their rent, than was formerly the case; but it seems inevitable that the State must do something to bridge the gulf that will still exist between the terms at which landlords are willing to sell and those at which tenants are willing to buy.

10. Three schemes have been suggested:—

1. The first is that landlords should be paid in 5 per cent. stock, and that all charges, mortgages, etc., should be discharged by the transfer of this stock at its face value. The latter part

of this proposal would be helpful to landlords only when such stock was at a discount, and might be thought unfair to chargeants.

The tenant purchaser's annuity could not be less than $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (5 per cent. interest and $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent sinking fund). If the sinking fund were uniformly invested at 5 per cent. interest, the stock could be redeemed in 62 years. A uniform investment at 5 per cent. could be secured by provision being made for the redemption at par every year of an amount of stock equal to the amount of the annual sinking fund payment, the stock so redeemable being determined by lot. Such annual redemption would probably have a slight effect on keeping up the price of the stock.

Unless the annuity to be paid by the tenant purchaser is to be a greater proportion of his rent than it has averaged heretofore, i.e., less than 75 per cent. in all sales under the Act of 1903, the annuity at $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. could not provide on the average quite 14 years' purchase of his rent. The interest at 5 per cent. on the amount of stock thus provided would in many cases be considerably less than the landlord's net rental. This loss might, however, be diminished, if not entirely removed, by the payment by the State of a suitable bonus.

One merit of this scheme is that it recognises the existing facts of the money market, except that the rate of interest on Government stock is tending to rise above 5 per cent. From any rise over the rate of 5 per cent. neither the State nor the tenants would suffer; the landlords would suffer, from the consequent depreciation of 5 per cent. stock, so far as it was necessary to realise stock for the payment of charges. This scheme recognises quite frankly the necessity of State aid in the shape of a bonus, and there is no partially hidden liability in the shape of Excess Stock.

2. The second suggestion is that the landlord should be paid in cash which the Government should borrow as cheaply as they could, and for which the tenant should be charged at the rate of only $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., his annuity being at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Under this scheme the tenant's annuity (on the assumption that he would receive the average reduction of the past) would provide less than 16 years' purchase of his rent.

This scheme would to some extent follow the Act of 1903, inasmuch as advances would be made in cash, and landlords and tenants would be brought together by the State lending cash cheaper than it could borrow it (which, under the Act of 1903, involved the creation of excess stock). Apart from the bonus, if any were payable, the State would, in the present condition of the money market, lose at least $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in interest per annum on every £100 cash advanced. Moreover, the loss to the State would not, as in the last scheme, be clear and definite, but would increase with every increase in the rate of interest.

3. The third suggestion is that landlords should be paid their purchase money half in cash and half in $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Stock at its face value, and should receive no bonus. This scheme was designed to avoid any unnecessary departure from the existing finance of land purchase, especially from the rate of the annuity which would continue at the present figure, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The suggestion that the landlord should be paid partly in cash and partly in stock follows the suggestion made by the Treasury Committee of 1907 and the option given in the Act of 1909. It aims at removing the chief difficulty that con-

^{*} The important change made by the Act as regards cases then pending, was, as has been already noted, the removal of the liability for Excess Stock from the Guarantee Fund to the parliamentary vote for the Land Commission. (See Schedule III., par. 3, p. 100).

fronts a vendor who is paid in a stock standing at a large discount, viz., the difficulty of raising cash to pay off charges.

Under this scheme State aid takes the form of providing cash for half the purchase money at $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. instead of at the current rate. To put it in another way, for every £100 of purchase money the landlord would receive £50 in $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. stock and £50 in cash. To raise the latter, the State would have to issue £78 stock, assuming that $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. stock would stand at 64; the figure indicated by present rates. As the tenant's annuity at $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. would pay the interest and sinking fund on only £100 stock, the State would, in respect of every £100 of purchase money, have to bear the interest and sinking fund on £28 stock. This scheme would be the most costly for the State, and the cost, as in the second case, would be liable to increase with each increase in the rate of interest.

SCHEDULE V.

FINANCIAL EFFECT OF PROPOSALS RECOMMENDED BY SUB-COMMITTEE.

The following tables show for each county:—

- (I.) In the case of "first term" rents, i.e., rents fixed prior to 14th August, 1896:
- (II.) In the case of "second term" rents, i.e., rents fixed between 14th August, 1896, and 14th August, 1911:
- (III.) In the case of "third term" rents, i.e., rents fixed after 14th August, 1911:

1. The percentage of his rent that will be payable by each purchaser as an annuity under the automatic system proposed;
2. The number of years' purchase of the rent that will be provided by each tenant purchaser's annuity;
3. The rate of bonus that will be payable under the scale recommended;
4. The purchase money receivable by landlords in 5 per cent. stock per £100 of rental;
5. The amount of the bonus per £100 of rental;
6. The total income receivable by landlords from the purchase money and the bonus (at 5 per cent.) per £100 of rental.

It will be noted that the rate of bonus payable is 18 per cent. in each county in the case of "first term" rents; 18 per cent. in 7 counties, 16 per cent. in 13 counties, 14 per cent. in 8 counties, and 12 per cent. in 5 counties in the case of "second term" rents; and 12 per cent. in 4 counties, 10 per cent. in 21 counties, and 8 per cent. in 8 counties in the case of "third term" rents.

It will be noted that in each table the counties are given in the descending order of the total income receivable by landlords; and that, in some cases, the effect of the bonus is to give the landlord in one county a larger income than the landlord in another county, though a larger number of years' purchase is given in the latter county than in the former. This result, if considered objectionable, could be avoided only by graduating the bonus, not according to the number of years' or half-years' purchase given, but according to much smaller fractions.

TABLE I.

RENTS FIXED BEFORE 14TH AUGUST, 1896.

(FIRST TERM RENTS).

COUNTY.	Percentage of "first term" rent payable by Purchaser as Annuity. Col. 1.	No. of years' purchase to be provided by tenant purchaser's annuity as set out in Col. 1. Col. 2.	Rate of Bonus. Col. 3:	Purchase Money in 5 per cent. stock per £100 of "first term" rental. Col. 4.	Amount of Bonus per £100 of "first term" rental. Col. 5.	Total Income (at 5 per cent.) receivable by landlord per £100 of "first term" rental. Col. 6.
			Percentage on purchase money.	£	£	£
Kildare ...	74·5	14·19	18	1,419	255·4	83·7
Londonderry ...	74·1	14·11	18	1,411	254·0	83·2
Wicklow ...	73·8	14·05	18	1,405	252·9	82·9
Dublin ...	73·5	14·00	18	1,400	252·0	82·6
Meath ...	73·2	13·94	18	1,394	250·9	82·2
Tyrone ...	72·8	13·86	18	1,386	249·5	81·8
Donegal ...	72·5	13·80	18	1,380	248·4	81·4
Wexford ...	71·9	13·69	18	1,369	246·4	80·8
Antrim ...	71·5	13·62	18	1,362	245·2	80·4
Kilkenny ...	71·5	13·62	18	1,362	245·2	80·4
Carlow ...	71·2	13·56	18	1,356	244·1	80·0
Down ...	71·2	13·56	18	1,356	244·1	80·0
King's ...	71·2	13·56	18	1,356	244·1	80·0
Queen's ...	71·2	13·56	18	1,356	244·1	80·0
Sligo ...	71·2	13·56	18	1,356	244·1	80·0
Westmeath ...	70·6	13·44	18	1,344	241·9	79·3
Tipperary, S. ...	70·6	13·44	18	1,344	241·9	79·3
Armagh ...	70·2	13·37	18	1,337	240·7	78·9
Cavan ...	70·2	13·37	18	1,337	240·7	78·9
Fermanagh ...	70·2	13·37	18	1,337	240·7	78·9
Louth ...	70·2	13·37	18	1,337	240·7	78·9
Roscommon ...	70·2	13·37	18	1,337	240·7	78·9
Waterford ...	69·9	13·31	18	1,331	239·6	78·5
Monaghan ...	69·6	13·26	18	1,326	238·7	78·2
Galway ...	69·6	13·26	18	1,326	238·7	78·2
Tipperary, N. ...	69·3	13·20	18	1,320	237·6	77·9
Longford ...	69·3	13·20	18	1,320	237·6	77·9
Mayo ...	68·6	13·06	18	1,306	235·1	77·1
Limerick ...	68·3	13·01	18	1,301	234·2	76·8
Leitrim ...	68·0	12·95	18	1,295	233·1	76·4
Cork ...	68·0	12·95	18	1,295	233·1	76·4
Clare ...	66·3	12·62	18	1,262	227·2	74·5
Kerry ...	66·3	12·62	18	1,262	227·2	74·5

TABLE II.

RENTS FIXED BETWEEN 14TH AUGUST, 1896, AND 14TH AUGUST, 1911.

(SECOND TERM RENTS).

COUNTY.	Percentage of "second term" rent payable by Purchaser as Annuity. Col. 1.	No. of years' purchase to be provided by tenant purchaser's annuity as set out in Col. 1. Col. 2.	Rate of Bonus. Col. 3.	Purchase Money in 5 per cent. stock per £100 of "second term" rental. Col. 4.	Amount of Bonus per £100 of "second term" rental. Col. 5.	Total Income (at 5 per cent.) receivable by landlord per £100 of "second term" rental. Col. 6.
			Percentage on purchase money.	£	£	£
Londonderry ...	83.6	15.92	12	1,592	191.0	89.1
Wicklow ...	81.3	15.49	14	1,549	216.9	88.3
Antrim ...	82.6	15.73	12	1,573	188.8	88.1
Armagh ...	81.0	15.43	14	1,543	216.0	87.9
Down ...	82.3	15.67	12	1,567	188.0	87.7
Tyrone ...	82.3	15.67	12	1,567	188.0	87.7
Dublin ...	80.3	15.29	14	1,529	214.1	87.1
Donegal ...	81.6	15.54	12	1,554	186.5	87.0
Carlow ...	78.4	14.93	16	1,493	238.9	86.6
Queen's ...	78.4	14.93	16	1,493	238.9	86.6
Louth ...	78.0	14.86	16	1,486	237.8	86.2
Waterford ...	78.0	14.86	16	1,486	237.8	86.2
Fermanagh ...	79.3	15.10	14	1,510	211.4	86.1
Monaghan ...	77.7	14.80	16	1,480	236.8	85.8
Kilkenny ...	77.7	14.80	16	1,480	236.8	85.8
Cavan ...	79.0	15.05	14	1,505	210.7	85.8
Kildare ...	79.0	15.05	14	1,505	210.7	85.8
Meath ...	79.0	15.05	14	1,505	210.7	85.8
Sligo ...	79.0	15.05	14	1,505	210.7	85.8
Kerry ...	76.1	14.50	18	1,450	261.0	85.5
Limerick ...	76.1	14.50	18	1,450	261.0	85.5
Leitrim ...	76.1	14.50	18	1,450	261.0	85.5
Wexford ...	77.4	14.74	16	1,474	235.8	85.5
Roscommon ...	77.4	14.74	16	1,474	235.8	85.5
King's ...	77.1	14.69	16	1,469	235.0	85.2
Longford ...	75.8	14.44	18	1,444	259.9	85.2
Mayo ...	76.7	14.61	16	1,461	233.8	84.7
Galway ...	75.4	14.36	18	1,436	258.5	84.7
Westmeath ...	76.4	14.55	16	1,455	232.8	84.4
Tipperary, N. ...	76.4	14.55	16	1,455	232.8	84.4
Tipperary, S. ...	76.4	14.55	16	1,455	232.8	84.4
Clare ...	74.5	14.19	18	1,419	255.4	83.7
Cork ...	74.5	14.19	18	1,419	255.4	83.7

TABLE III.

RENTS FIXED SINCE 14TH AUGUST, 1911.

(THIRD TERM RENTS).

COUNTY.	Average reduction from rent obtained by purchasers who bought on basis of "second term" rents.	Reduction to be obtained from "third term" rent by purchasers who buy on basis of such rent.	Percentage of "third term" rent payable by purchaser as annuity.	No. of years' purchase of "third term" rent provided by purchaser's annuity, as set out in Col. 3.	Rate of bonus.	Purchase Money in 5 per cent. Stock per £100 of "third term" rental.	Amount of bonus per £100 of "third term" rental.	Total Income (at 5 per cent.) receivable by landlord per £100 of "third term" rental.
	Col. 1.	Col. 2.	Col. 3.	Col. 4.	Col. 5.	Col. 6.	Col. 7.	Col. 8.
	Percentage.	Percentage.			Percentage on Purchase money.	£	£	£
Londonderry	16.4	10.9	89.1	16.97	8	1,697	135.8	91.6
Antrim ...	17.4	11.6	88.4	16.83	8	1,683	134.6	90.9
Down ...	17.7	11.8	88.2	16.80	8	1,680	134.4	90.7
Tyrone ...	17.7	11.8	88.2	16.80	8	1,680	134.4	90.7
Fermanagh ...	20.7	13.8	86.2	16.42	10	1,642	164.2	90.3
Donegal ...	18.4	12.3	87.7	16.70	8	1,670	133.6	90.2
Cavan ...	21.0	14.0	86.0	16.38	10	1,638	163.8	90.1
Kildare ...	21.0	14.0	86.0	16.38	10	1,638	163.8	90.1
Meath ...	21.0	14.0	86.0	16.38	10	1,638	163.8	90.1
Sligo ...	21.0	14.0	86.0	16.38	10	1,638	163.8	90.1
Wicklow ...	18.7	12.5	87.5	16.66	8	1,666	133.3	90.0
Armagh ...	19.0	12.7	87.3	16.63	8	1,663	133.0	89.8
Carlow ...	21.6	14.4	85.6	16.30	10	1,630	163.0	89.6
Queen's ...	21.6	14.4	85.6	16.30	10	1,630	163.0	89.6
Longford ...	24.2	16.1	83.9	15.98	12	1,598	191.8	89.5
Dublin ...	19.7	13.1	86.9	16.55	8	1,655	132.4	89.4
Louth ...	22.0	14.7	85.3	16.25	10	1,625	162.5	89.4
Waterford ...	22.0	14.7	85.3	16.25	10	1,625	162.5	89.4
Monaghan ...	22.3	14.9	85.1	16.21	10	1,621	162.1	89.2
Kilkenny ...	22.3	14.9	85.1	16.21	10	1,621	162.1	89.2
Galway ...	24.6	16.4	83.6	15.92	12	1,592	191.0	89.1
Wexford ...	22.6	15.1	84.9	16.17	10	1,617	161.7	88.9
Roscommon ...	22.6	15.1	84.9	16.17	10	1,617	161.7	88.9
King's ...	22.9	15.3	84.7	16.13	10	1,613	161.3	88.8
Clare ...	25.5	17.0	83.0	15.81	12	1,581	189.7	88.5
Cork ...	25.5	17.0	83.0	15.81	12	1,581	189.7	88.5
Mayo ...	23.3	15.5	84.5	16.09	10	1,609	160.9	88.5
Westmeath ...	23.6	15.7	84.3	16.06	10	1,606	160.6	88.3
Tipperary, N.	23.6	15.7	84.3	16.06	10	1,606	160.6	88.3
Tipperary, S.	23.6	15.7	84.3	16.06	10	1,606	160.6	88.3
Kerry ...	23.9	15.9	84.1	16.02	10	1,602	160.2	88.1
Limerick ...	23.9	15.9	84.1	16.02	10	1,602	160.2	88.1
Leitrim ...	23.9	15.9	84.1	16.02	10	1,602	160.2	88.1

N.B.—It has to be remembered that the percentage of a "third term" rent payable as an annuity (Col. 3) is the maximum payable, since a purchaser liable for a "third term" rent is in no case to pay a larger annuity than he would have had to pay if he had not had his rent revised since 14th August, 1911; that is, if his purchase had been based on a second term rent, and not on a third term rent (see Report, end of paragraph 28). Thus a purchaser in County Londonderry whose rent has been revised since 14th August, 1911, will pay whichever of these two sums be the smaller, viz.: 89.1 per cent. of that revised rent (Table III. col. 3) or 83.6 of the rent payable previous to that revision (Table II. col. 1). Hence the purchase money and the income receivable by the landlord may be less than that shown in cols. 6 and 8.

APPENDIX X.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE DECISIONS OF THE CONVENTION ON LORD
MACDONNELL'S RESOLUTION.

(I. C. No. 29.)

Resolution proposed—

That the Convention, having considered the letter of the Prime Minister to the Chairman, resolves to adopt the following provisions and procedure:—

I. The matters specified as unfitted for immediate legislation, namely, control of customs and excise, by an Irish Parliament, be postponed for further consideration until after the war, provided that the question of such control shall be considered and decided by the Parliament of the United Kingdom within seven years after the conclusion of peace. For the purpose of deciding in the Parliament of the United Kingdom the question of the future control of Irish customs and excise, a number of Irish representatives proportioned to the population of Ireland shall be called to the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

*Carried by 38 votes to 34, March 12th.
(See Division List No. 1).*

II. That the administration of the Irish police and Irish postal service shall be reserved during the war to the Imperial Government, provided that as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities the administration of these two services shall become automatically subject to the Irish Parliament.

Amendment proposed (THE BISHOP OF RAPHOE):—

To omit, after the word "That" the words "the administration . . . Imperial Government," and to substitute the following:

"The Imperial and Irish Governments shall jointly arrange, subject to Imperial exigencies, for the unified control of the Irish Police and Postal services during the war."

*Amendment carried by 36 votes to 33,
March 14th. (See Division List
No. 4).*

Clause as amended:—

That the Imperial and Irish Governments shall jointly arrange, subject to Imperial exigencies, for the unified control of the Irish Police and Postal services during the war, provided that as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities the administration of these two services shall become automatically subject to the Irish Parliament.

*Carried by 37 votes to 21, March 14th.
(See Division List No. 5).*

III. That on the creation of an Irish Parliament the administration of the Customs and Excise services shall be entrusted to a Customs Board composed half of persons nominated by the Imperial Treasury and half of persons nominated by the Irish Treasury, with a Chairman appointed by the King. Among the duties of the Board shall fall the ascertainment of the true Irish Customs and Excise Revenue.

Amendment proposed (SIR BERTRAM WINDLE):—

To insert after the words "an Irish Parliament the following:—

"and until the question of the ultimate control of the Irish Customs and Excise services shall have been decided,"

Amendment carried, March 13th.

Amendment proposed (LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE):—

To insert the word "Irish" before the words "Customs and Excise services" in line 2.

Amendment withdrawn, March 13th.

Amendment proposed (THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN):—

To omit all the words after the word "decided" and to substitute the following:—

"The Board of Customs and Excise of the United Kingdom shall include a person or persons nominated by the Irish Treasury."

Amendment carried, March 13th.

Amendment proposed (LORD MIDDLETON):—

To the Clause as amended to add the following:—

A Joint Exchequer Board, consisting of two members nominated by the Imperial Treasury, and two members nominated by the Irish Treasury, with a Chairman appointed by the King, shall be set up to secure the determination of the true income of Ireland.

Amendment carried, March 13th.

Clause as amended :—

That on the creation of an Irish Parliament, and until the question of the ultimate control of the Irish Customs and Excise services shall have been decided, the Board of Customs and Excise of the United Kingdom shall include a person or persons nominated by the Irish Treasury.

A Joint Exchequer Board, consisting of two members nominated by the Imperial Treasury, and two members nominated by the Irish Treasury, with a Chairman appointed by the King, shall be set up to secure the determination of the true income of Ireland.

*Carried by 39 votes to 33, March 13th.
(See Division List No. 2).*

IV. That, as soon as may be, a Royal Commission shall be appointed to determine the amount of contribution which Ireland should pay to the expenses of the Empire, and the practicability of establishing a Free Trade agreement between the two countries, should the Imperial Parliament transfer to Ireland the control of its Customs and Excise.

*Rejected by 44 votes to 27, March 13th.
(See Division List No. 3).*

V. The embodiment in resolutions of the agreements already reached on the Report of the Grand Committee, and the continuance of the discussions on the heads on which the Convention has not yet pronounced its opinion.

Leave given to LORD MACDONNELL to amend this Clause so as to read as follows :—

“The discussion in the Convention of the agreements provisionally reached in the Grand Committee, and of the heads on which the Grand Committee has not yet pronounced its opinion.”

Clause as amended carried, March 13th.

VI. The framing of a Joint Report on subjects on which a general agreement has been reached, and the framing of joint or individual memoranda on subjects on which general agreements have not been reached.

Withdrawn, March 14th.

APPENDIX XI.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE DECISIONS OF CONVENTION ON THE PROVISIONAL CONCLUSIONS OF THE GRAND COMMITTEE.

(I.C. No. 31.)

1. THE IRISH PARLIAMENT. (1) The Irish Parliament to consist of the King, an Irish Senate, and an Irish House of Commons.

Amendment proposed (LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE) :—

To omit the words "an Irish Senate" and substitute the following words :—"a House of Lords, consisting of Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Senators."

Amendment rejected, March 14th.

Amendment proposed (LORD LONDONDERRY) :—

To add the following words :—

(2) Notwithstanding the establishment of the Irish Parliament or anything contained in the Government of Ireland Act, the supreme power and 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.

Amendment carried, March 14th.

Clause as amended carried by 51 votes to 18, March 14th. (See Division List No. 6).

2. POWERS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to have the general power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland, subject to the exclusions and restrictions specified in 3 and 4 below.

Amendment proposed (MR. BARRIE) :—

To insert after the word "Ireland" the words "provided that the powers and authority of the said Parliament shall not extend to the Province of Ulster, which may hereafter be referred to as 'The Excluded Area' and"

Amendment rejected by 52 votes to 19, March 15th. (See Division List No. 7).

Clause carried by 51 votes to 19, March 15th. (See Division List No. 8).

3. EXCLUSIONS FROM POWER OF IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to have no power to make laws on the following matters :—

(1) Crown and succession (See 1914 Act sect. 2 (1)).

Carried, March 15th.

(2) Making of peace and war (including conduct as neutrals). (Act sect. 2 (2)).

Carried, March 15th.

(3) The Army and Navy.

Carried, March 20th.

(4) Treaties and foreign relations (including extradition). See Act sect. 2 (4).

Carried, March 15th.

(5) Dignities and titles of honour. (Act sect. 2 (5)).

Carried, March 15th.

(6) Any necessary control of harbours for naval and military purposes, and certain powers as regards lighthouses, buoys, beacons, cables, wireless terminals, to be settled with reference to the requirements of the Military and Naval forces of His Majesty in various contingencies. (See Act sect. 2 (9)).

Carried by 41 votes to 13, March 15th. (See Division List No. 9).

(7) Coinage; legal tender; or any change in the standard of weights and measures. (Act sect. 2 (10)).

Carried, March 15th.

(8) Trade marks, designs, merchandise marks.

Rejected by 32 votes to 31, March 15th. (See Division List No. 10).

(8) Copyright or patent rights.

Carried, March 15th.

Clause, as amended, carried by 49 votes to 16, March 20th. (See Division List No. 21).

4. RESTRICTION ON POWER OF IRISH PARLIAMENT ON MATTERS WITHIN ITS COMPETENCE.

(1) Prohibition of laws interfering with religious equality. (Act sect. 3).

N.B. A sub-section should be framed to annul any existing legal penalty, disadvantage or disability on account of religious belief. Certain restrictions still remain under the Act of 1829.

Carried, March 15th.

Amendment proposed (MR. BARRIE) :—

To add sub-head (2) as follows :—

(2) Special provision protecting the position of Freemasons. (Act sect. 43 (1) and (2)).

Amendment carried, March 15th.

(3) Safeguard for Trinity College, and Queen's University similar to section 42 of Act.

Carried, March 15th.

(4) Money bills to be founded only on Viceregal message. Act section 10 (2).

Carried, March 15th.

(5) Privileges, qualifications, etc., of members of Irish Parliament to be limited as in Act. (sect. 12).

Carried, March 15th.

(6) Rights of existing Irish Officers to be safeguarded. (Act sects. 32-7).

Carried, March 15th.

Clause, as amended, carried by 46 votes to 15, March 15th. (See Division List No. 11).

5. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS. Section 4 of the Act to apply to the House of Commons with the substitution of "ten years" for "three years." The constitution of the Senate to be subject to alteration after ten years, provided the Bill is agreed to by two-thirds of the total number of members of both Houses sitting together.

Carried by 46 votes to 15, March 15th. (See Division List No. 12).

6. EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY. The executive power in Ireland to continue vested in the King, but exercisable through the Lord Lieutenant on the advice of an Irish Executive Committee in the manner set out in Act. (sect. 4).

*Carried by 45 votes to 15, March 15th.
(See Division List No. 13).*

7. DISSOLUTION OF IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to be summoned, prorogued, and dissolved as set out in Act. (sect. 6).

*Carried by 45 votes to 15, March 15th.
(See Division List No. 13).*

8. ASSENT TO BILLS. Royal assent to be given or withheld as set out in Act (sect. 7) with the substitution of "reservation" for "postponement"

*Carried by 45 votes to 15, March 15th.
(See Division List No. 13).*

9. CONSTITUTION OF THE SENATE.

(1) Lord Chancellor	...	1
(2) Four Archbishops or Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church	...	4
(3) Two Archbishops or Bishops of the Church of Ireland	...	2
(4) A Representative of the General Assembly	...	1
(5) The Lord Mayors of Dublin, Belfast, and Cork	...	3
(6) Peers resident in Ireland, elected by Peers resident in Ireland	...	15
(7) Nominated by Lord Lieutenant:— Irish Privy Councillors of at least two years' standing	...	8
Representatives of learned institutions	...	3
Other persons	...	4
(8) Representatives of Commerce and Industry	...	15
(9) Representatives of Labour, one for each Province	...	4
		60

On the disappearance of any nominated element in the House of Commons an addition shall be made to the numbers of the Senate.

Amendment proposed (ALDERMAN McCARRON):—

That all members of the Senate except those whose appointment is provided for by Sub-heads 1, 2, 3, and 4, be elected on the same franchise on which the members of the House of Commons may be elected. Members elected to hold office for ten years.

*Amendment rejected by 51 votes to 5,
March 20th. (See Division List No. 22).*

Amendment proposed (MR. LUNDON):—

That two representatives of the County Councils from each Province be added to the Senate.

Amendment carried, March 20th.

Amendment proposed (THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN):—

That the number of Irish Privy Councillors in Sub-head (7) be reduced from 8 to 4.

Amendment carried, March 20th.

Amendment proposed (MR. WHITLEY):—

That for Sub-head (9) be substituted the following:—

Representatives of Labour: seven for the Province of Ulster, three each for the Provinces of Leinster and Munster, and two for the Province of Connaught—15.

*Amendment rejected by 51 votes to 5,
March 20th. (See Division List No. 23).*

Amendment proposed (MR. McCARRON):—

That Sub-head (9) be deleted.

Amendment rejected, March 20th.

*Clause, as amended, carried by 48 votes to 19,
March 20th. (See Division List No. 24).*

10. CONSTITUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(1) The ordinary elected members of the House of Commons shall number 160.

Carried, March 20th.

(2) The University of Dublin, the University of Belfast and the National University shall each return two members. The graduates of each University shall form the constituency.

Carried, March 20th.

(3) Special representation shall be given to urban and industrial areas by grouping the smaller towns and applying to them a lower electoral quota than that applicable to the rest of the country on the lines recommended by the Electoral Systems Sub-Committee.

Amendment proposed (THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN):—

To omit all the words after "country" in line 3.

Amendment carried, March 20th.

Sub-head, as amended, carried March 20th.

(4) The principle of Proportional Representation, with the single transferable vote, shall be observed wherever a constituency returns three or more members. (Act sect. 9 (2)).

*Carried by 47 votes to 22, March 21st.
(See Division List No. 25).*

(5) The Convention accept the principle that forty *per cent.* of the membership of the House of Commons shall be guaranteed to Unionists. In pursuance of this, they suggest that for a period of 10 years there shall be summoned to the Irish House of Commons 40 members nominated by the Lord Lieutenant, and that

(a) 20 of these members shall be nominated with a view to the due representation of interests not otherwise adequately represented in the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught.

(b) 20 members shall be nominated with a view to the fuller representation of commercial and industrial interests.

Amendment proposed (THE BISHOP OF RAPHOE):—

To omit the words "In pursuance . . . Connaught" and to substitute the following:

In pursuance of this, they suggest that, for a period, there shall be summoned to the Irish House of Commons 20 members nominated by the Lord Lieutenant, with a view to the due representation of interests not otherwise adequately represented in the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught.

Amendment carried, March 21st.

Amendment proposed (THE BISHOP OF RAPHOE):—

To omit para. (b) and to substitute the following:—

and that 20 additional members shall be elected by Ulster constituencies, to represent commercial, industrial, and agricultural interests

Amendment carried, March 21st.

Sub-head, as amended, carried March 21st.

(6) The Lord Lieutenant's power of nomination shall be exercised subject to any instructions that may be given by His Majesty the King.

Carried, March 21st.

(7) The nominated members shall disappear in whole or in part after 10 years.

Amendment proposed (THE EARL OF MAYO) :—

To substitute for "10 years" the following words :—

"15 years, and not earlier, notwithstanding anything contained in Clause 5."

Amendment carried, March 21st

Sub-head, as amended, carried, March 21st.

New sub-head (8) proposed as below (THE BISHOP OF RAPHOE) :—

(8) The extra representation in Ulster not to cease except on an adverse decision by a three-fourths majority of both Houses sitting together.

*Carried by 27 votes to 20, March 21st.
(See Division List No. 26).*

(9) The House of Commons shall continue for 5 years unless previously dissolved.

Carried, March 21st.

(10) Nominated members shall vacate their seats on a dissolution but shall be eligible for renomination. Any vacancy among the nominated members shall be filled by nomination.

Carried, March 21st.

Clause, as amended, carried by 45 votes to 20. (See Division List No. 27).

11. MONEY BILLS. (1) Money bills to originate only in the House of Commons, and not to be amended by the Senate (see Act sect. 10).

(2) The Senate is, however, to have power to bring about a joint sitting over money bills in the same session of Parliament.

(3) The Senate to have power to suggest amendments, which the House of Commons may accept or reject as it pleases.

Amendment proposed (MR. MCCARRON) :—

To omit Sub-heads (2) and (3).

Amendment rejected, March 21st.

Clause carried by 45 votes to 22, March 21st. (See Division List No. 28).

12. DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN HOUSES. Disagreements between the two Houses to be solved by joint sittings as set out in Act section 11, with the proviso that if the Senate fail to pass a Money Bill such joint sitting shall be held in the same session of Parliament.

*Carried by 45 votes to 22, March 21st.
(See Division List No. 28).*

13. REPRESENTATION AT WESTMINSTER. Representation in Parliament of the United Kingdom to continue. Any Irish representatives to have the right of deliberating and voting on all matters.

Amendment proposed (VISCOUNT MIDLETON). To add the following :—

"Forty-two Irish representatives shall be elected to the Commons House of the Parliament of the United Kingdom in the following manner :—

"A Panel shall be formed in each of the four Provinces of Ireland, consisting of the members of that Province in the Irish House of Commons, and one other Panel shall be

formed consisting of members nominated to the Irish House of Commons. The number of representatives to be elected to the Commons House of the Imperial Parliament shall be proportionate to the numbers of each Panel and the Election shall be on the principle of Proportional Representation."

Amendment carried by 42 votes to 24, March 21st. (See Division List No. 29).

Amendment proposed (LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE) :—

To add the following :—

The Irish representation in the House of Lords shall continue as at present unless and until that Chamber be remodelled, when the matter shall be reconsidered by the Imperial and Irish Parliaments.

Amendment carried, March 21st.

Amendment proposed (MR. MCCARRON) :—

After the words "following manner" to omit the words "A. Panel . . . Proportional Representation" and to substitute the following :—

"by the franchise established by the Representation of the People Act."

Amendment rejected by 44 votes to 22, March 21st. (See Division List No. 30).

Clause, as amended, carried by 44 votes to 22, March 21st. (See Division List No. 31).

14. FINANCE. An Irish exchequer and consolidated fund to be established and an Irish Controller and Auditor-General to be appointed as set out in Act (section 14 (1) and section 21).

If necessary, it should be declared that all taxes at present leviable in Ireland should continue to be levied and collected until the Irish Parliament otherwise decides.

The necessary adjustments of revenue as between Great Britain and Ireland during the transition period should be made.

*Carried by 51 votes to 18, March 21st.
(See Division List No. 32).*

15. FINANCIAL POWERS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

(1) Until the question of the ultimate control of the Irish Customs and Excise services shall have been decided, the revenue due to Ireland from Customs and Excise as determined by the Joint Exchequer Board, shall be paid into the Irish Exchequer.

(2) All branches of taxation, other than Customs and Excise, shall be under the control of the Irish Parliament.

Amendment proposed (LORD MIDLETON) :—

After "Joint Exchequer Board" in Sub-head (1) to insert the following :—

after deduction of the agreed Irish contribution to Imperial expenditure.

Amendment rejected by 36 votes to 31, March 22nd. (See Division List No. 33).

Clause carried by 38 votes to 30, March 22nd. (See Division List No. 34).

16. IMPERIAL CONTRIBUTION. The principle of such a contribution is approved.

Carried, March 21st.

17. LAND PURCHASE.

The Convention accept the recommendations of the Sub-Committee on Land Purchase.

Carried, March 22nd.

18. JUDICIAL POWER. The following provisions of the Government of Ireland Act to be adopted :—

- (a) Safeguarding position of existing Irish Judges (sec. 32).
- (b) Leaving appointment of future Judges to the Irish Government and their removal to the Crown on address from both Houses of Parliament (sec. 27).
- (c) Transferring appeals from the House of Lords to the Judicial Committee, strengthened by Irish Judges (sec. 28).
- (d) Extending right of appeal to this Court. (Sec. 28 (4) and sec. 30 (1-2)).
- (e) Provision as to reference of questions of validity to Judicial Committee (see sec. 29).

The Lord Chancellor is not to be a political officer.

Amendment proposed (MR. POWELL) :—

That the Convention are of opinion that the exercise of judicial functions by unpaid magistrates should cease.

Resolved to pass from the question under consideration, by 32 votes to 31, March 22nd. (See Division List No. 35).

Clause carried by 43 votes to 17, March 22nd. (See Division List No. 36).

19. LORD LIEUTENANT. The Lord Lieutenant not to be a political officer. He shall hold office for 6 years, and neither he nor the Lords Justices shall be subject to any religious disqualification (as in Act section 31). His salary shall be sufficient to throw the post open to men of moderate means.

Clause carried by 43 votes to 17, March 22nd. (See Division List No. 37).

20. CIVIL SERVICE. A Civil Service Commission to be appointed to regulate competitive examinations for admission to the public service.

The practice of the English Civil Service Commission to be followed as far as possible.

The Commission to consist of an independent Chairman of outstanding position in Irish public life and two colleagues, one of whom would represent Unionist interests.

The Commission to prepare and lay before Parliament a scheme for appointments to the public service, and no appointments to be made before the scheme is approved.

The Commission to take into account the financial circumstances of Ireland in suggesting scales of salary.

Amendment proposed (SIR BERTRAM WINDLE) :—

To substitute the following :—

There shall be a Civil Service Commission consisting of representatives of Irish Universities which shall formulate a scheme of competitive examinations for admission to the public service, including statutory administrative bodies, and no person shall be admitted to such service unless he holds the certificate of the Civil Service Commission.

A scheme of appointments in the public service, with recommendations as to scales of salary for the same, shall be prepared by a Commission consisting of an independent Chairman of outstanding position in Irish public life, and two colleagues, one of whom shall represent Unionist interests.

No appointments to positions shall be made before the scheme of this Commission has been approved.

Amendment carried, March 22nd.

Clause, as amended, carried by 42 votes to 18, March 22nd. (See Division List No. 38).

21. DEFERRING TAKING OVER CERTAIN IRISH SERVICES. Arrangements to be made to permit the Irish Government, if they so desire, to defer taking over the services relating to Old Age Pensions, National Insurance, Labour Exchanges, Post Office Trustee Savings Banks, and Friendly Societies.

Clause carried by 43 votes to 18, March 22nd. (See Division List No. 39).

APPENDIX XII.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE DECISIONS OF THE CONVENTION UPON THE REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON DEFENCE AND POLICE.

(I.C. No. 30.)

The Convention considered and voted on the Report (see pp. 117-35) in five sections as follows :—

- I. The preliminary matter and the two paragraphs entitled "Naval Defence." These paragraphs were as follows :—

NAVAL DEFENCE.

In regard to Naval defence, the Committee accept unreservedly the Admiralty's view that for this purpose Ireland must be considered as integrally connected with Great Britain, and defence must, therefore, be by one force under one control.

It seems to us unnecessary to go into the details discussed in the Admiralty's Memorandum except to say that in our opinion some of the matters touched on might well be the subject of agreement between the Imperial and Irish Governments.

Adopted.

- II. The section entitled "Military Defence" which was as follows :—

MILITARY DEFENCE.

In regard to the military problems, the Committee assume that under any scheme of military defence the historical Irish regiments will be a part of the regular army, that Ireland will be, as it has been in the past, a valuable recruiting ground, and that the facilities which it offers for training troops of all arms will continue to be largely utilised with the general approval of the Irish public.

The question of raising a local Territorial Force necessarily engaged our attention, and Major-General Sir Charles Callwell was deputed by the War Office, in a letter dated December 19th, 1917, to give us assistance on the military matters involved.

The creation of an Irish Defence Force of the territorial type must be considered in relation to the general scheme of defence of the British Isles.

It is impossible, as we think, for the Convention to formulate at present either in principle or in detail any scheme for the establishment of such a Force. That question must largely depend on the corresponding conditions in England and Scotland. We, therefore, submit the following as our conclusions upon the question of an Irish Defence Force :—

- (1). That at some time it is desirable that Ireland should provide a local force to serve in Ireland during peace, and in any part of the United Kingdom during war.
- (2). That we believe Ireland could contribute, having regard to its population and social conditions, a sufficient number of men to maintain two complete divisions.

- (3). That the character of the organisation and conditions of service cannot be determined until the character of Home Defence Forces after the war is decided, a matter which, as we are advised, will be uncertain until after the war, and will depend on the character of the peace and other circumstances.
- (4). That when this matter comes under consideration, the strength and organisation of the Irish Force, and its conditions of service should be reported on by a Joint Committee on Defence consisting of members of the Imperial Government and the Irish Government with military advisers nominated by them, and that the whole matter should be decided between the two Governments.
- (5). That any such force, if raised and paid by the Irish Government, should be reckoned as part of the contribution made by Ireland to common Imperial expenses.
- (6). That in time of war or imminence of war all military forces and organisations in the United Kingdom must pass under the absolute control of the Imperial Authorities.

Amendment proposed (COLONEL WALLACE) :—

To omit the whole Section and substitute the following :—

"The question of the military defence of Ireland is a matter exclusively for the Imperial Government."

*Amendment rejected by 49 votes to 22.
(See Division List No. 14).*

Amendment proposed (SIR WILLIAM GOULDING) :—

To omit all the words after "war" at the end of Sub-section (1).

Amendment rejected.

Section adopted by 38 votes to 23. (See Division List No. 15).

- III. The section entitled "The question of Conscription," which was as follows :—

THE QUESTION OF CONSCRIPTION.

We have already submitted an Interim Report, which it will be convenient to reproduce here, on the practical aspect of Conscription in the event of the establishment of a separate Irish Parliament and Executive. The report was as follows :—

"29th November, 1917.

"Assuming that a scheme of self-government for Ireland be adopted, including the establishment of an Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive Government responsible thereto, we think that it would in practice be impossible to impose a system of compulsory service in Ireland without the assent and co-operation of the Irish Parliament.

"As to whether, as an abstract proposition, it would be desirable, by vesting these powers in the Imperial Parliament, to secure united and simultaneous action in this direction in both islands, it is, we think, unnecessary for us to express an opinion, as we think it would be impracticable effectively to enforce such a demand, except with the approval of the Irish Parliament without which the action and efficient co-operation of the Executive could not be secured.

"Indeed, it seems to us a direct consequence of the creation of an Irish Parliament that any measure of this character must be submitted to the Irish Parliament before it could be enforced on Ireland."

We desire to emphasise the fact that the above report deals only with one aspect of this very difficult and important question, and that we were not able in the time then at our disposal to go into the possibilities of joint action by a common War Council of the two Governments, or as to the effect of there being hereafter a Federal Constitution for the British Isles.

Amendment moved (SIR WILLIAM GOULDING):—

To omit the whole section.

*Amendment rejected by 48 votes to 29.
Section adopted. (See Division List No. 16).*

IV. Part II. of the Report, ("Police"), in which the principal recommendation, passed by a majority of the Sub-Committee, was

that the Police should be controlled by the Irish Government. The paragraphs containing this recommendation were marked by asterisks.

Amendment moved (MR. BARRIE):—

That the passages marked by an asterisk should be omitted and the Reservation of the Duke of Abercorn substituted. (This Reservation was as follows:—"I am of opinion that the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police should both remain as reserved services under the control of the Imperial Government for at least six years, and for any longer period that the Imperial Government may otherwise determine.").

*Amendment rejected by 57 votes to 18.
(See Division List No. 17).*

Part II. of the Report adopted by 57 votes to 18. (See Division List No. 18).

V. The Supplementary Report, which *inter alia* "recognises that it may be essential that during the war Imperial Control of Police should for administrative purposes be retained in all parts of the British Isles."

Adopted by 57 votes to 18. (See Division List No. 19).

The whole Report was then adopted, without amendment, by 54 votes to 17, March 19th. (See Division List No. 20).

APPENDIX XIII.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE DECISION OF THE CONVENTION UPON THE REPORT
OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON LAND PURCHASE. (I. C. 25).

(I.C. No. 32).

The Convention considered the following motion :—

“That the Report of the Sub-Committee on Land Purchase on the amendments referred to them be approved, and that their Report, as amended, be adopted.”

Amendment proposed (MR. FITZGIBBON) :—

To add after the word “adopted” the following :—

“but the Convention desire to place on record their opinion that the Estates Commissioners should be given power for the *compulsory* acquisition of untenanted land, not only for the purposes suggested in the Report, but also for the following purposes, viz. :—

For the relief of congestion among holdings *already vested or in process of being vested in tenant purchasers*, and for raising

to an economic standard uneconomic residential holdings within their area, as well as for distribution among the sons of tenant farmers.”

*Amendment rejected by 35 votes to 27.
(See Division List No. 40).*

Amendment proposed (MR. LUNDON) :—

To add after the word “adopted” the following :—

“but the Convention desire to place on record their opinion that on the transfer of untenanted land, whether in the area of the Congested Districts Board or the Estates Commissioners, all sporting rights (including fishing rights) should go to the tenants.”

*Amendment rejected by 35 votes to 27.
(See Division List No. 41).*

Motion carried and Report adopted unanimously. (March 22nd).

APPENDIX XIV.

OUTLINE OF SCHEME OF IRISH GOVERNMENT BASED ON THE AMENDING,
BILL, 1914.

1. The Government of Ireland Act, 1914, shall not apply to the Province of Ulster (hereinafter called “The Excluded Area”).
2. The Executive in the Excluded Area shall be under the direction of a Secretary of State, and shall be administered through such officers and departments as His Majesty, on the advice of such Secretary of State, may institute by Order in Council from time to time, such officers and departments to be entrusted with administration in the Excluded Area exclusively.
3. The representation of the Excluded Area in the Imperial Parliament shall be as provided by the Representation of the People Act, 1917.
4. The cost of Government in the Excluded Area shall continue to be defrayed by the Imperial Exchequer, to which all taxes in the Excluded Area shall continue to be paid. A proportionate amount shall be deducted from the cost of Irish Services under the Act of 1914, to be ascertained by the Joint Exchequer Board set up by that Act.
5. Judicial power in the Excluded Area shall
6. Civil Servants exclusively employed in the Excluded Area at the passing of the Act shall be continued in such employment, and the Civil Service Committee shall allot to the Excluded Area such Civil Servants not so exclusively employed as they think the requirements of the Excluded Area demand.
7. All members of the R.I.C. serving in the Excluded Area at the passing of the Act shall be formed into a separate Force and shall be continued in employment in the Excluded Area, and this Force shall for the future be recruited in the Excluded Area.
8. Such safeguards which the Southern Unionists regard as necessary shall have the support of the Ulster Unionist Representatives.

HUGH T. BARRIE.

12th March, 1918.

APPENDIX XV.

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON DEFENCE AND POLICE TO THE GRAND COMMITTEE,

(I.C. No. 27.)

The following are the terms of Reference to the Sub-Committee:—

To consider—

- (a) What powers of local defence might be delegated to an Irish Government delegated with the requirements of Imperial Defence.
- (b) The future of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police.

The members being Earl of Desart (Chairman), Duke of Abercorn, Capt. Gwynn, Capt. Doran, and Mr. Powell. The Chairman to have power to add additional members in consultation with the Chairman of the Sub-Committee. The Sub-Committee to have power to examine witnesses and take evidence.

Subsequently the following letter was addressed to the Sub-Committee:—

IRISH CONVENTION,

27th November, 1917.

Secretary,

Sub-Committee on Defence.

The Sub-Committee of Nine reserved Head 3 (3) (a) and (b) of the Bishop of Raphoe's Scheme for further consideration, pending the Report of the Sub-Committee on Defence. Head 3 (3) (a) provided that the consent of the Irish Parliament should be required for Conscription. The Chairman was asked to make sure that the Sub-Committee on Defence would include this point within the scope of their deliberations.

R. V. VERNON.

PART I.—DEFENCE.

The first head of reference to the Sub-Committee, extended as it has been to the question of Conscription, covers the whole ground as to the defence of Great Britain and Ireland, and the best military provision for that purpose. Ireland being an outpost of the British Isles owing to its geographical position, it is deemed essential that these considerations must be taken into account in devising a scheme of self-government for Ireland.

It was necessary, therefore, to obtain from the Admiralty and from the Army Council their views as to the strategic necessities of the situation, together with information as to the extent of the control which they desired to be reserved to the Imperial Authorities over harbours and parts of the foreshore, crown lands, shipping, sites for barracks and forts, or other defensive works; also as to what powers should in war or emergency (*e.g.*, imminence of war) be reserved to the Imperial Government in respect of Customs, Telephones, Telegraphs, Wireless and Cable Services, or of the right to requisition

private property, whether ships, lands, buildings, or moveable goods, or of the control of aliens.

We accordingly requested the Admiralty and the War Office, in a letter dated November 6th, 1917, to furnish us with their views on the points mentioned. Some delay followed, and it was not until January 21st, 1918, that a memorandum in regard to Naval matters was supplied to us by the Admiralty with an intimation that two naval officers would, if required to do so, give evidence before the Sub-Committee. As there was no question of raising an Irish Naval Defence Force, we did not consider it necessary to request the attendance of these officers.

NAVAL DEFENCE.

In regard to Naval defence, the Committee accept unreservedly the Admiralty's view that for this purpose Ireland must be considered as integrally connected with Great Britain, and defence must, therefore, be by one force under one control.

It seems to us unnecessary to go into the details discussed in the Admiralty's Memorandum, except to say that in our opinion some of the matters touched on might well be the subject of agreement between the Imperial and Irish Governments.

MILITARY DEFENCE.

In regard to the military problems, the Committee assume that under any scheme of military defence the historical Irish regiments will be a part of the regular army, that Ireland will be, as it has been in the past, a valuable recruiting ground, and that the facilities which it offers for training troops of all arms will continue to be largely utilised with the general approval of the Irish public.

The question of raising a local Territorial Force necessarily engaged our attention, and Major-General Sir Charles Callwell was deputed by the War Office, in a letter dated December 19th, 1917, to give us assistance on the military matters involved.

The creation of an Irish Defence Force of the territorial type must be considered in relation to the general scheme of defence of the British Isles.

It is impossible, as we think, for the Convention to formulate at present either in principle or in detail any scheme for the establishment of such a Force. That question must largely depend on the corresponding conditions in England and Scotland. We, therefore, submit the following as our conclusions upon the question of an Irish Defence Force:—

- (1) That at some time it is desirable that Ireland should provide a local force to serve in Ireland during peace, and in any part of the United Kingdom during war.

- That we believe Ireland could contribute, having regard to its population and social conditions, a sufficient number of men to maintain two complete divisions.
- That the character of the organisation and conditions of service cannot be determined until the character of Home Defence Forces after the war is decided, a matter which, as we are advised, will be uncertain until after the war, and will depend on the character of the peace and other circumstances.
- That when this matter comes under consideration, the strength and organisation of the Irish Force and its conditions of service should be reported on by a Joint Committee on Defence consisting of members of the Imperial Government and the Irish Government with military advisers nominated by them, and that the whole matter should be decided between the two Governments.
- That any such force, if raised and paid by the Irish Government, should be reckoned as part of the contribution made by Ireland to common Imperial expenses.
- That in time of war or imminence of war all military forces and organisations in the United Kingdom must pass under the absolute control of the Imperial Authorities.

THE QUESTION OF CONSCRIPTION.

We have already submitted an Interim Report, which it will be convenient to reproduce here, on the practical aspect of Conscription in the event of the establishment of a separate Irish Parliament and Executive. The report was as follows:—

29th November, 1917.

“Assuming that a scheme of self-government for Ireland be adopted, including the establishment of an Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive Government responsible thereto, we think that it would in practice be impossible to impose a system of compulsory service in Ireland without the assent and co-operation of the Irish Parliament.

“As to whether, as an abstract proposition, it would be desirable, by vesting these powers in the Imperial Parliament, to secure united and simultaneous action in this direction in both islands, it is, we think, unnecessary for us to express an opinion, as we think it would be impracticable effectively to enforce such a demand, except with the approval of the Irish Parliament without which the action and efficient co-operation of the Executive could not be secured.

“Indeed, it seems to us a direct consequence of the creation of an Irish Parliament that any measure of this character must be submitted to the Irish Parliament before it could be enforced on Ireland.”

We desire to emphasise the fact that the above report deals only with one aspect of this very difficult and important question, and that we were not able in the time then at our disposal to go into the possibilities of joint action by a common War Council of the two Governments, or as to the effect of there being hereafter a Federal constitution for the British Isles.

The second head of our reference is concerned with the future of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police. The first and the governing question is whether the two existing Police forces in Ireland should be placed under the control of an Irish Government, or should, as in the case of the Royal Irish Constabulary under the Government of Ireland Act of 1914, be a reserved force to be under the Imperial Government for a fixed period.

If an Irish Parliament and Government should be created with large powers of internal government, an independent Exchequer and wide powers of taxation, it appears to us that specifically to except from its functions the control of Police would produce much friction and lead to continuous effort on the part of the Irish Government to get rid of the exception.

We cannot fail to recognise that a good many people both in England and Ireland regard with apprehension the entrusting to an Irish Government in existing conditions of the control of police, but we think that these apprehensions might at least be modified if it were provided that all powers of appointment, promotion and dismissal were vested in non-political Officers of the Crown. Further we think that control of the Irish police by the Imperial Government in London would have little reality or effective force.

The Imperial Government could not intervene to prevent the Police carrying out laws passed by an Irish Parliament, however much it might disapprove of them, and in matters of administration and detail British Ministers would in practice be dependent on their representatives in Ireland for information and guidance, while to override Irish Ministers and the Irish Parliament on questions of local administration is a course they would be very unlikely to adopt.

We have therefore come to the conclusion that, if the principle of a separate Irish Parliament and Government be conceded, so essential an attribute of Government as the preservation of internal order and the enforcement of law in normal conditions could hardly be withheld from the Irish Government.

In case of any serious disturbance or outbreak involving the security and unity of the Realm, the Military forces of the Crown under the Imperial Government would be available for such action as might be necessary.

While for the above reasons we think that the control of the Irish Police should be entrusted to the Irish Government, it is a corollary of our recommendation that those forces should be under the direct authority of that Government, apart from other reasons connected with administration and efficiency which in our opinion make this desirable and to which we shall refer later on in this report.

We have been furnished by the Inspector-General of the Royal Irish Constabulary and by the Chief Commissioner of the Dublin Metropolitan Police with memoranda as to the constitution and administration of their respective forces, and both these gentlemen have been good enough to attend the Sub-Committee and give evidence before it. Their memoranda, with a note of their oral evidence, are annexed hereto [Schedules A. and B.]

We desire to make the following observations on these documents.

*The paragraphs asterisked are dissented from by the Duke of Abercorn. See his Reservation, p. 120.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.

STRENGTH OF FORCE.

We have no suggestion to make as to the strength of the Force. The Inspector-General has stated his views thereon, and we see no reason to question them. Varying conditions may enable changes to be made and economies be effected, but these cannot at present be recast, and must be dealt with from time to time by those responsible for the Force.

BARRACKS—RECRUITING.

Similarly, we do not think we can usefully say anything as to Barrack accommodation or recruiting. The latter must largely depend on the conditions of the moment.

PAY.

The Pay is something less than that of English police in the industrial districts—higher than in some of the rural English counties—but conditions differ, and we do not think any useful conclusions can be drawn from these comparisons. Questions of pay must be open to reconsideration from time to time.

It should however be borne in mind that the Royal Irish Constabulary perform numerous duties in addition to police work, such as are not usually performed by police forces in England: these indirectly reduce the costs of other Departments of Government.

We instance the following:—

- Agriculture.
- Census.
- Congested Districts Board.
- Board of Works.
- Weights and Measures.
- Food and Drugs.
- Explosives Acts.
- Petroleum.
- Illicit Distillations.
- Fisheries.

DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE.

We have already said that, for the reasons given above, this force should, in our opinion, pass under the control of the Irish Government, if created, and be carried on under the same system of administration as it is at present, subject to the provision that appointments, promotions, and dismissals should be entrusted to a non-political officer. In practice this would probably mean the approval of submissions made to him by the Commissioners.

We also think for the reasons given above that this is not the time to consider the question of amalgamation with the Royal Irish Constabulary. We think it right to call special attention to the observation of the Chief Commissioner on the question of Local Control (see Schedule B., 129).

We understand from him that though the grievance of paying rates without control is existent, it has not assumed any acute form.

ADVANTAGES OF CENTRALISED CONTROL.

On this subject we beg leave to refer to the observations of the Inspector-General (See Schedule A., pp. 123-4).

After consideration of these observations, and the first nine paragraphs of his "conclusions" (see p. 125), and after his oral examination thereon, we are able to say that we concur in the opinion he has formed, and consider that it would be undesirable to make any substantial alteration of the present system of organisation and control at this time other than would be involved in the transfer of control from the Imperial to the Irish Government, which we have recommended by a majority of the Subcommittee.

PREVIOUS PROPOSALS AS TO THE POSITION OF THE FORCE UNDER AN IRISH GOVERNMENT.

These are summarised by the Inspector-General (see pp. 124-5), so far as they affected the Royal Irish Constabulary, but we do not think it would serve any useful purpose for us to comment on them in this report.

THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL'S CONCLUSIONS.

With regard to paragraph 4, col. 2, p. 125 of Schedule A., we assume that if the control of the Royal Irish Constabulary is entrusted to the Irish Government the funds for its maintenance will be provided from the Irish Exchequer, subject to the special local contribution for forces in excess of the quota provided in particular localities.

The question of amalgamation of the Dublin Metropolitan Police with the Royal Irish Constabulary is dealt with in the concluding paragraphs of Schedule A. (see p. 126).

This may be a matter for consideration at some future time, if experience leads to the belief that it would be of administrative advantage and would promote efficiency and economy, but at present there is no demand for such a measure, and we think its proposal at this time would be disturbing to the Dublin force, and would lead to friction and confusion.

We consider, however, that there is weight in his suggestion that the cost of this force should be borne by the Irish Exchequer.

This would make it easier to effect amalgamation with the Royal Irish Constabulary, should that be thought expedient at any future time, and it would relieve the citizens of Dublin from a burden which they may not unfairly deem inequitable so long as it is divorced from any form of local control.

It is to be observed that if the Dublin ratepayers were relieved of this burden similar claims might be put forward by Belfast and Londonderry in respect of their payments for the extra force of Royal Irish Constabulary permanently maintained in those towns.

There are some points in the memorandum of the Chief Commissioner on which we desire to make suggestions.

* See the Reservation of the Duke of Abercorn, p. 120.

We think it would be better that the Commissioners should be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, with a status similar to that of a Civil Servant.

Their appointment as Justices does not seem to us necessary. It would not often be of advantage, and makes their position, as we think, somewhat anomalous.

We also think that, as we have suggested in the case of the Royal Irish Constabulary appointments, promotions and dismissals should be subject to the control of a non-political Officer of the Crown.

FINANCE CLERK.

We see no reason why this officer should be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, unless he and not the Commissioner is to be responsible to the Government for financial administration. Otherwise we think that he should have the position of a Civil Servant of the First Division responsible to the Chief Commissioner.

As a general principle, we think the Head of a Department should be responsible for its financial administration.

DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE COURTS AND DIVISIONAL MAGISTRATES.

We concur with the Chief Commissioner in his opinion that the cost of the Dublin Metropolitan Police Courts and their staffs and the salaries of the Divisional Magistrates should no longer be charged to the Police Vote.

PAY AND PENSIONS.

Our observations on this subject as to the Royal Irish Constabulary appear to us applicable *mutatis mutandis* to the case of the Dublin Metropolitan Police.

We annex a memorandum furnished by the Home Office, which deals *inter alia* with certain difficulties and inconveniences arising from the absence of any central control of police forces in England. [Schedule C.]

The Chairman of the Sub-Committee has some personal knowledge of these difficulties in respect of the employment of forces from one locality to reinforce those of another locality in time of disturbance, and in regard to prompt action by detective inquiry in criminal matters.

DESART (*Chairman*).

*ABERCORN.

STEPHEN GWYNN.

W. A. DORAN.

J. B. POWELL.

26th February, 1918.

*RESERVATION BY THE DUKE OF ABERCORN.

I am of opinion that the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police should both remain as reserved services under the control of the Imperial Government for at least six years and for any longer period that the Imperial Government may otherwise determine.

ABERCORN.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT.

The above report having been presented to the Grand Committee we have been desired by that body to reconsider our Recommendations.

No particular points have been indicated as those which in the opinion of the Grand Committee call for reconsideration.

With regard to our report relating to Naval and Military Defence we are unable to find any reasons which in our judgment would lead us to alter our recommendations on that part of our reference.

With regard to our report on Police, the Prime Minister in his letter of the 25th February to the Chairman of the Convention has stated that for administrative reasons it is necessary that the control of Police forces in Ireland should be reserved to the Imperial authorities during the war.

Although the majority of the Sub-Committee reported against the reservation to the Imperial authorities of such control for a specific period, as in the Act of 1914, our recommendation was general in its character, and did not necessarily exclude special conditions which might postpone the application of the principle that an Irish

Government controlling local administration and a Parliament with complete legislative authority in internal affairs should control the forces to maintain local order and give effect to local legislation.

We recognise that it may be essential during the war, that Imperial control of Police should, for administrative purposes, be retained in all parts of the British Isles.

We may add that our recommendations throughout the report are based on the assumption of a Parliament within the Empire so constituted as to afford security for steady and stable Government in Ireland.

DESART.

ABERCORN.

STEPHEN GWYNN.

W. A. DORAN.

J. B. POWELL.

5th March, 1918.

Schedule A.

MEMORANDUM ON THE QUESTION OF POLICE ADMINISTRATION UNDER AN IRISH GOVERNMENT.

(By the Inspector-General, R.I.C.).

For the convenience of the Sub-Committee I have in this memorandum first examined the system under which the Royal Irish Constabulary, at the present time, performs its duties, including certain information regarding recruiting, pay, pensions, &c. I have then made a rough comparison between centralised and local Police Forces.

Following on this, suggestions are put forward to meet the present situation, in view of the contemplated change of government in Ireland. In making these suggestions I have touched particularly on the question of policing Belfast and Dublin.

I would submit, however, that in a short memorandum of this nature, it is impossible to give more than a general outline of the subject. Should the Sub-Committee require more detailed information I would refer them to the following Blue Books, &c.:—

Evidence and Report, R.I.C. Committee of Enquiry, 1914;

Annual Reports of H.M. Inspectors of Constabulary in England;

Judicial Statistics (Ireland), 1913;

"The Police Service of England and Wales," by Stanley Savill. (John Kemster, 8 Red Lion Square, W.C.).

EXISTING SYSTEM.

(A).—CONSTITUTION OF THE FORCE.

The constitution, strength, and distribution of the Royal Irish Constabulary is governed and provided for, by a series of Statutes ranging from 6 & 7 Wm. IV., cap. 13, to the Constabulary and Police (Ireland) Act, 1914.

The statutory strength of the Force is now 10,715 Sergeants, Acting-Sergeants, and Constables.

This Force is allotted throughout the country under three heads:—Free Quota, Extra Forces, and Reserve.

The Free Quota is that portion of the Force which is wholly chargeable to the Constabulary Vote. This force is allocated to the various Counties and Belfast, in accordance with a Schedule laid down by the Lord Lieutenant in Council under the Statute 48 Vic., cap. 12. This allocation is made to meet the normal requirements of the country, and is subject now to revision at any time under the Constabulary and Police (Ireland) Act, 1914. The last allocation was made in 1909, and the number of Sergeants, Acting-Sergeants, and Constables then allotted was 9,303.

In addition to this Free Quota, there is an Extra Force of 733 Sergeants, Acting-Sergeants, and Constables allocated to Belfast—per 28 & 29 Vic., cap. 70, section 4, and 60 & 61 Vic., cap. 64, sec. 1. Half the cost of this Force is charged to Belfast. A similar extra Force of 14 men under like conditions of charge is allocated to Londonderry under 33 & 34 Vic., cap. 83, sec. 3.

There are also Temporary Extra Forces maintained (when necessary) in disturbed areas under 6 & 7 Wm. IV., cap. 13, sec. 12. These Forces vary from time to time, and at the present time there is power to maintain 265 Sergeants, Acting-Sergeants, and Constables in counties Clare and Galway East and West Riding, but the actual number of extra Police in these counties is now only 110. Half the cost of this extra Force is borne by the county or locality in which it is serving.

Then under 9 and 10 Vic., cap. 97, there is an authorised reserve of 400 Sergeants, Acting-Sergeants, and Constables maintained at the Depot, Phoenix Park. When the Reserve are employed to police localities in the country, a moiety of the cost is chargeable to the counties or localities in which stationed, for so many as are employed therein and for such a time as they are absent on the duty.

There is power in the Executive at all times to move the Police from county to county, or from Reserve to counties for special and sudden reasons, and Police serving in a county other than their own are charged as to a moiety against that other county in respect to the number employed over the Free Quota of that county.

The actual effective Force now serving, being the total of Free Quota, Extra Forces and Reserve, including Recruits in training, is 9,238 Sergeants, Acting-Sergeants and men.

There are also 231 Head Constables serving, 4 of these being at Head Quarters, 8 at the Depot and on the Reserve, and 219 in the country.

As regards Officers: there are on the Constabulary List 240 Officers of all ranks, including 1 Riding-Master and 1 Veterinary Surgeon. As the Mounted Force has now been practically abolished the Riding-Master and the Veterinary Surgeon will shortly vacate office, thus bringing the effective strength down to 238. Of this number 31 are at present serving in the Army and seconded, which leaves 207 actually engaged in police work, *i.e.*, 14 at Head Quarters and Reserve, and 193 in the country in charge of Districts and Counties.

(B).—BARRACKS.

The Force is accommodated in Barracks and Huts, of which there are close on 1,400 in the country, and the supply of barrack furniture, bedding, etc., as well as the rent of barracks, are chargeable to the Constabulary Vote, but in reduction of this there is a charge of 1s. per week made to every man living in barracks.

The Barracks are for the most part hired houses held either on a yearly tenancy or under lease (usually for 21 years with power to surrender at 7 or 14 years) if the Station is likely to be permanent. In some cases it has been found necessary to build Barracks. In these cases the ground rents are paid from the Constabulary Vote, the erection and maintenance of the buildings being carried out by the Board of Works, Ireland. In other cases old Military Barracks and disused

Bridewells are occupied by the Constabulary, these being also maintained by the Board of Works. Huts occupied by Constabulary are controlled by the Board of Works, but the ground rents are chargeable to the Constabulary Vote. Where Barracks are held under yearly tenancies or under lease the landlords for an inclusive rent as a rule undertake repairs, and pay all rates and taxes. The lighting, heating, and water supply to Barracks is met by a scaled allowance which varies slightly according to local circumstances.

(C).—WASTAGE OF FORCE.

Taking an average over the five years from January, 1912, to December, 1916, the annual wastage from all causes was 653; this figure is much below normal, owing to men being retained in the Force for the duration of the war who are otherwise qualified to retire, and who are desirous of retiring, on pension, were they not prevented by the Police (Emergency Provisions) Act, 1915.

(D).—RECRUITING.

The recruits for the R.I.C. are required to be 5 feet 8 inches in height; 36 inches mean chest measurement; of fair education; of the highest character; aged from 19-27 years, and physically fit.

The recruiting officers, in the first instance, are the Sergeants in charge of the Sub-districts throughout Ireland; before being sent to the Depot for attestation and training a recruit has to satisfy the District Inspector of his District and the County Inspector of his County, and will not be attested even then until he also satisfies the Commandant at the Depot, and the Surgeon of the Force.

Formerly the great source of recruits was the younger sons of farmers—this class supplying men of superior physique and intelligence, with a proper sense of pride of position and self-respect. Recently this source of recruiting has not proved so fruitful, the reasons being in a sense economic. Land Purchase enabled the farmer to give his elder son a profession, and then he required the younger to help on the farm; further, the large rise in wages in the skilled trades made a policeman's pay look paltry, and the improvement in secondary education opened the Civil Service and other employments to the farmer's younger son. In addition to this, political unrest, especially where hostility to the police is apparent, often, for the time being, causes a diminution of recruiting.

The difficulty of obtaining suitable candidates for the Police exists not only in Ireland, but also in Great Britain (*vide* Sir Leonard Dunning's evidence on page 210 of the Committee of Enquiry, 1914).

All recruits are trained at the R.I.C. Depot. The period of training is about six months, and the course includes Drill, Ambulance Work, Swimming, Physical Training, Police Duty (theoretical and practical) and Musketry.

(E).—PAY, &c., OF R.I.C.

The Pay of the various grades of the R.I.C. is fixed by the Constabulary and Police (Ireland) Acts, 1914 and 1916. In addition to ordinary pay, War Bonuses have been granted from time to time to meet the increased cost of living.

A Table showing the maximum and minimum rates of the R.I.C. compared with several

of the English Police Forces is attached as a Note to this memorandum. (See p. 127).

Any comparison between the English and Irish Police Systems either as regards strength or administration is rendered difficult owing to the fact that the conditions obtaining in the two countries are so wholly different in many respects.

In England there is an absence of agrarian or political unrest, which so often in Ireland requires the rapid and frequent movement of extra bodies of Police. Also in England active hostility is rarely shown to the Police, who can as a rule count on the goodwill and co-operation of the public in the detection of crime, and in the maintenance of law and order. This goodwill and co-operation permit of the employment of isolated policemen, where in Ireland a number of Constabulary would be required to police an area of the same size or containing the same population.

For purposes of comparison the following figures with regard to the total effective police services for the year 1913-14, which does not include any of the abnormal conditions imposed by the War, might be of interest:—

	FORCE.	ACREAGE.	POPULATION.
England and Wales	59,925	37,333,496	36,068,395
Ireland (excluding D.M.P. Area).	10,500	20,356,769	3,974,115

Giving an average per man:—

	Force.	Acres.	Popu- lation.
England and Wales ...	1	623	602
Ireland ...	1	1,939	379

Taking the cost of the effective Force in each Country:—

	Force.	Cost.	Average per Man.
England and Wales ...	59,925	£ 5,981,795	£ s. d. 99 16 0
Ireland ...	10,500	1,007,739	96 0 0

In the amount shown as the cost of the effective Force in England and Wales, no account is taken of the cost of periodical Home Office inspection or administration in connection with the various County and Borough Forces, whereas the amount shown for Ireland includes all inspection and Headquarters administration expenses.

The annual cost of a constable of the R.I.C. is estimated at £95, for the purpose of assessing the moiety to be chargeable to counties.

(F.).—THE DUTIES OF THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.

The original duties of the Royal Irish Constabulary are laid down in 6 Wm. IV., c. 13, but for many years past their duties have been steadily increasing alike in number and variety. They are a highly disciplined and well educated body of men, spread over the whole face of the country, in a web of which every thread centres in Dublin. It is easy to set such a machine in motion for almost any purpose, and the Government taking advantage of this has from time to time added much to the duties of the Force, which now does work for practically every Government Department.

The men employed in work for other Departments are not given any extra pay, but merely subsistence and other allowances, under the R.I.C. Regulations.

When considering the cost of the Royal Irish Constabulary, therefore, it is only reasonable to

set against this cost the expenditure which would devolve on other departments were they called upon to provide an extra staff capable of coping with the work now done on their behalf by the R.I.C.

As an example of this extra work I would refer to the assistance in numerous matters which is given to the Department of Agriculture—the taking of the Agricultural Statistics being probably the most laborious.

In this connection I invite the attention of the Sub-Committee to the evidence of Mr. T. P. Gill, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, in the report of the R.I.C. Committee of Enquiry, page 310, *et seq.*

There is also the Census, which is, in Ireland, entirely carried out by the R.I.C., who also carry out sundry enquiries on behalf of the Congested Districts Board and of the Board of Works.

Furthermore, the Force performs the duty of the inspection and verification of Weights and Measures, receiving only a nominal fee of £4 per inspector, whereas in England in the cases where the police are asked to undertake this duty they receive very much higher remuneration.

Other instances are duties under the Food and Drugs Act, the Explosives Act, the Petroleum Acts, the suppression of illicit distillation, and the enforcement of the Fishery Laws.

(G).—R.I.C. PENSIONS AND GRATUITIES.

The Pensions and Gratuities payable to Members of the Force are governed by a long series of Acts of Parliament ranging from 6 Wm. IV., cap. 13, to the Constabulary and Police (Ireland) Act, 1914, amended by 6 and 7 Geo. V., cap. 59. The following, however, are shortly the existing rules governing pensions to Head Constables, Sergeants and Men.

A man when he has completed 15 years' service becomes entitled to a pension under the following scale, if retired as being medically unfit:—

On completion of 15 years ...	15-50th of Pay
For each completed year	
from 15-20 add ...	1-50th of Pay
For each completed year	
from 20-25 add ...	2-50th of Pay
For each completed year	
from 25-28 add ...	1-50th of Pay
On completing 29 years' service ...	$\frac{2}{3}$ rd of Pay

If injured in the execution of his duty a man can be granted a special pension at any service proportional to the injury received. The widows of men of 15 years' service and over who die in the Force can be given pensions during widowhood and allowances for each child up to 15 years of age. Men who joined the Force prior to 1908 may retire voluntarily at 25 years' service, but their pension will be calculated on the rates of pay fixed by the Act of 1908. Any man who has 30 years' service and is 50 years of age may retire voluntarily on his full pension of $\frac{2}{3}$ rd of his pay.

Men under 15 years' service who become medically unfit from causes not due to the execution of duty, may receive a gratuity of one month's pay for each year of service, and widows of men under 15 years' service may be given a similar gratuity.

An Officer is somewhat similarly dealt with, except that he qualifies for a pension when he has served 10 years, and cannot retire voluntarily until he has served 30 years, when he receives

1-60th of his salary for each year of service; he attains his maximum pension only at 40 years' service when he receives $\frac{2}{3}$ rd of his salary.

The Pension List of the R.I.C. is a high item of cost; in the year 1913-14 the total Constabulary Vote was £1,417,785, and pensions and gratuities absorbed £110,049, or almost one-third of this sum.

Since 1914 the amount payable in pensions has somewhat decreased, and in 1916-17 the pension list only absorbed £391,053 out of a total expenditure of £1,473,106. This decrease in pensions is due to the fact that voluntary retirements on pension are suspended during the war. When this restriction is removed the pension list will increase even above the pre-war amount owing to the raising of pay granted by the Act of 1916.

(H).—COMPARISON OF THE R.I.C. AS A CENTRALLY CONTROLLED FORCE WITH LOCALLY CONTROLLED FORCES.

The R.I.C. is a Centrally Controlled Force directly responsible to, and working in close touch with, the Executive; it is thus of the greatest value in promulgating and carrying out, with the least possible delay, the orders of the Government.

The organisation of the R.I.C. has stood every test and trial to which a police machine could be subject, and it cannot be denied that it has consistently and honestly carried out the duties allotted to it by the Executive.

Centralisation was not arrived at immediately, as there was for some time a system of Provincial Inspectors-General, but this was abandoned and not reverted to. For a short period, some 25 or 30 years ago, there was a partial reversion to decentralisation by the appointment of Divisional Commissioners to deal with certain classes of police work in the provinces where disturbance was rife, but they ceased to exist about 1898, and have not since been revived. One disadvantage of this system was the large increase of correspondence, and the uncertainty caused by dual control.

Centralisation is, I understand, largely aimed at in the formation of Colonial Forces, who often take the R.I.C. as their model—their officers being trained at the Phoenix Park Depot.

Further, a Centralised Force which, like the R.I.C., trains all its recruits in one place and on one model, ensures the Public more even and more efficient service, and, by its system of drafting recruits to localities other than those in which they were born and reared, reduces to a minimum any complaints of bias due to relationship in the locality.

The tendency in England to-day, as regards Police Forces, is towards centralisation—i.e., bringing the local forces more under the control of the Home Office. This can be ascertained from the evidence of Sir Leonard Dunning, one of H.M. Inspectors of Constabulary in England, in the Report of R.I.C. Committee of Enquiry, 1914, pp. 210, *et seq.*

The Centralisation of a Force also makes for economy in administration, as large contracts for uniform equipment, and the many things universally necessary for a Police Force, can be more cheaply made than those for small quantities, and there will be more uniformity of quality in the articles so obtained. The cost also of a centrally controlled force can be more equitably distributed and the policeman will cost the same wherever

stationed, whereas in decentralised forces the cost varies enormously, rates of pay differ—one force being thus kept up to strength with men of superior type, while in the same province another force granting lower wages can get men of only inferior type.

Another advantage which a centralised force possesses is greater efficiency in the tracing and apprehension of offenders, and in this connection I may mention that in England, as a step towards centralisation, just before the war it was proposed to establish two clearing-houses for criminal information for all County and Borough Forces; but, owing to the war, the scheme is in abeyance.

The alternative to a centralised force is a force locally controlled and supported, to a considerable extent, by local taxation. The model of such a force would be the County and Borough Forces of Great Britain. These forces have been established under certain rules ordained by Statute from time to time. One rule was that the proportion of Police to a population should be 1 to 1,000, but this proportion has been long since abandoned; and, taking the whole of England and Wales, it averages about 1 to 623. Another rule, which is still kept, is that no borough of less than 10,000 inhabitants could have a separate police force. There are 207 boroughs of over 10,000 inhabitants in England, and of these 130 have established separate forces, 77 being content to be policed by the County Force.

On this standard, and disregarding Dublin and Belfast, there are 15 towns in Ireland qualified to have separate forces—6 of these being in Ulster. On the present valuation, and regard being had to existing rates in those towns, it is questionable whether many of these would be inclined to shoulder the cost of a local police force, even to the extent of 50 per cent. The establishment of Local and County Forces in Ireland would, therefore, mean a very large increase in local taxation, and this when the valuation of the country is much lower than in England.

In England and Wales, without including London City and the Metropolitan Area, the rateable valuation per head of the population is £5 12s. 0d.

In Ireland, excluding the D.M.P. Area, the valuation per head is £3 12s. 0d. The valuation of the Provinces being:—

Leinster	...	...	£4 18 0
Ulster	...	...	£3 12 0
Munster	...	...	£3 8 0
Connaught	...	...	£2 8 0

The total rateable valuation of England and Wales, excluding London, is £162,257,595; while that of Ireland, excluding Dublin, is £14,893,930, or less than the combined valuations of Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds.

On such a restricted basis of taxation the cost of separate police forces would be prohibitive, and if Belfast elected to have a police force of its own, the case would be worse. If the 15 towns of over 10,000 inhabitants elected to have separate forces, the problem of rating the rest of the country for the supply of police forces would hardly be capable of solution.

Financially, therefore, in Ireland a decentralised force would be the case of many difficult problems.

In addition to the above, local police forces would not be easily reinforced, and the cost of reinforcement would lead to endless bargaining

and litigation, as scales of pay would vary according to different areas. Local forces would be slower in promulgating orders or information, and would not be so prompt to act in the apprehension of fugitive offenders. There is a probability also that the controlling bodies might raise difficulties regarding orders affecting their police issued by the Central Executive, thus causing an order to be enforced in one area and neglected in another, and resulting in confusion and in want of uniformity.

PREVIOUS LEGISLATION MEASURES DESIGNED TO MEET THE POLICE PROBLEM UNDER AN IRISH GOVERNMENT.

With the establishment of a separate Parliament in Ireland, and an Executive responsible to it, an entirely new problem arises as far as the R.I.C. is concerned. This Force is, at present, an Imperial one, and paid from Imperial funds; the amount of expense entailed on the rates in Ireland is, therefore, negligible. The question first arose in connection with the Home Rule Bill of 1886, and Clause 21 (b) provided that:—

“The Royal Irish Constabulary shall, while that force subsists, continue and be subject as heretofore to the control of the Lord Lieutenant as representing Her Majesty.”

(c) “The Irish Legislature may provide for the establishment and maintenance of a police force in counties and boroughs in Ireland under the control of local authorities, and arrangements may be made between the Treasury and the Irish Government for the establishment and maintenance of police reserves.”

There was no other mention of the R.I.C. in the Bill. The question of control of the R.I.C. was, however, one of the points marked for amendment by Mr. Parnell (*Hansard*, vol. 304, p. 1134). The Bill never reached Committee, and no schedules to it were printed; but the scheme seems to have contemplated the gradual substitution of the R.I.C. by local forces, and the disappearance of the former by natural wastage—all the vested interests as to pay and pensions being guaranteed by the British Government. No representations were made to Government on behalf of either officers or men, because no definite scheme was formulated as to their treatment under the Bill.

The next time the question arose was in the Home Rule Bill, 1893. This Bill contemplated—

- (1) The formation of County and Borough Forces by the Irish Parliament;
- (2) The maintaining for six years of the R.I.C. under the control of the Lord Lieutenant;
- (3) The immediate cessation of recruiting;
- (4) The gradual withdrawal of the R.I.C., and, when local forces were established, an option being given to members of the R.I.C. to join such local forces;
- (5) Existing rights as to pensions, salaries and emoluments of the R.I.C. were guaranteed by the British Exchequer;
- (6) The added service upon compulsory retirement as compensation for abolition of office varied in the case of Officers from ten to twelve years, and was ten years for the men;

- (7) No allowance for increments which might accrue during the added years was to be made in calculating pensions.

These terms were fully discussed by both officers and men, and neither class was satisfied.

In introducing the Bill on 13th February, 1893, Mr. Gladstone said:—

"The principles which we recognise as applicable to the consideration of the important question connected with the Royal Irish Constabulary are these: Their gradual reduction, their ultimate dissolution or disappearance, our full recognition and discharge of every obligation towards them in such a way, as I hope we shall see, that the interest of that remarkable and honourable Force will not be adversely affected in the passing of such a measure as that now before the House."

In the opinion of the officers and men then serving in the Force this, as a sentiment, was considered excellent, but the performance they maintained fell far short of the promise, and the publication of Schedule VI. of the Act led to much dissatisfaction. Memorials from both officers and men were submitted to Government, and a precis of their demands was issued as a Parliamentary White Paper on 17th July, 1893.

The Bill, however, not succeeding in the House of Lords, the matter ended.

The next proposal in the nature of Home Rule was the "Irish Council" Bill, 1907, and in this the Royal Irish Constabulary was one of the Services excluded from the control of the Council.

The Act of 1914 followed, and as this is on the Statute Book, and was thus fully considered and debated upon in both Houses of Parliament, where due weight was, no doubt, given to the provisions and defects of the previous Bills, it may be urged that the Sections of this Act dealing with the R.I.C. are worthy of the highest consideration. Moreover, the Clauses and Schedules of the Bill were very carefully considered by two Committees elected to represent—one the officers, and the other, the men. Their ideas were laid before Mr. Birrell, who paid due regard to them, and made several amendments in the Clauses and Schedules in accordance with the recommendations of the Committees. As a result, Clause 37 and Schedule IV. were included, and Clause 5 of the Act lays down a transitional period of 6 years, from the "appointed day," during which the R.I.C. was to remain under the Imperial Government, thus following the precedent set forth in the Bill of 1893.

CONCLUSIONS.

Having now outlined the existing organisation, etc., of the R.I.C., and having compared the relative merits and demerits of the Centralised Force with the system which obtains in Great Britain at the present time, it only remains for me to put forward some suggestions for the future, assuming that Ireland will be governed by a Governor-General with a Central Parliament, and not by a Governor-General with Provincial Parliaments.

In the first place, I submit that it is so impossible to forecast what the future attitude of the population will be towards the maintenance of

law and order that, in my opinion, it would be excessively dangerous even to attempt, at the present time, to formulate any scheme involving a radical change in the police system as it now exists in this country.

I would, therefore, urge in the strongest manner possible that, for a transitional period of, say, six years (this being the period that was found suitable both in 1893 and again in 1914) no radical change be made in the organisation or in the general principles under which the R.I.C. is now administered.

The present system, I would point out, will, during this transitional period, admit of any economies which may be considered necessary. Such economies can be effected by the abolition of recruiting; by the grouping together of counties or districts for administrative purposes—power to do so having been given by the Police Act of 1914; also, should it be found during this transitional period that an armed force is no longer necessary, the training of recruits in the handling of arms can be abolished.

At the end of this period of six years, we shall, I expect and hope, be in a position to ascertain accurately whether a complete change of system is possible or desirable; and, if so, which system will be most suitable to the needs of the country.

In making these suggestions regarding the retention of the R.I.C. for a transitional period, I do not feel that I am competent or qualified to offer any opinion on the question as to who should exercise supreme control over the Force. I would urge, however, that, in the event of such supreme control being placed entirely in the hands of the Irish Parliamentary Executive, then, on any matter adversely affecting the vested interests of an officer or man in the Force, such officer or man should have a right of appeal to the Governor-General.

I also feel that I am not competent nor in a position to offer any suggestions or recommendations as to the source from which the funds necessary for the maintenance of the Force during this transitional period should be derived—that is to say, whether they should be provided from the Imperial, or from the Irish, Exchequer.

Not only for the reasons which I have given above do I consider it necessary that the existing organisation, etc., of the R.I.C. should not, for the present, be interfered with; but there are other and very important reasons for adopting this course, which I think cannot be overlooked.

In the first place, during the difficult period of the change from one form of Government to another, the new Government will find it of the greatest advantage to have to its hand a highly organised and efficient machine like the R.I.C.; for example, the work of every large Government Department is, as I have previously stated, to a great extent interlocked with the R.I.C., and until those Departments, under changed control and organisation, are in running order, they would, I think, find it difficult to undertake that portion of their duties which is now done by the Force.

It may not be out of place here to put forward a few general remarks regarding the Belfast Force and the Dublin Metropolitan Police.

The former Force, amounting to, roughly, 1,200 men, is provided by the R.I.C., and, in my opinion, at least for the transitional period, it would be very unwise to interfere with this arrangement.

Belfast obtains many advantages from the present system, amongst which I may mention the following:—

- (1) None but trained and picked men are sent to Belfast. A candidate for the city force must have probationary service in the country before his case is considered.
- (2) Any man found unsuitable for the city force may be re-transferred to the country. Service in Belfast is so popular that this regulation proves itself to be a very considerable aid to discipline.
- (3) The proportion as between religious denominations, which is essential in Belfast, is more easily maintained by drafting men from the Force at large. The supply of Protestant recruits is, I fear, diminishing; and though efforts have been made to stimulate it, I cannot say that we are meeting with any satisfactory success.
- (4) At present no man is selected for duty in Belfast who is locally connected. This is a very great advantage for insuring impartial police administration.
- (5) The Commissioner at Belfast works in close touch with the Police Committee of the Corporation. From interviews I have had with that Committee, and from reports which I receive from time to time, the Committee appear to be entirely satisfied with the existing arrangements.

As regards the D.M.P., the question of the amalgamation of this Force with the R.I.C. was touched on by Mr. Headlam, Treasury Remem-

brancer, in his Minority Report of the R.I.C. Committee of Enquiry, 1914, page 35. He stated there that the maintenance of the separation of the two Forces was due to historical reasons. This may be true, but in a very slight degree. The D.M.P. differ from the R.I.C. in their condition of service, organisation, rates of pay and pensions, and also in the nature of their duties, and the manner of performance. Their powers also are in many respects different, and based on local statutes, and for these reasons amalgamation would be exceedingly difficult. Mr. Headlam's views, I may add, did not meet with the approval of his colleagues, Sir David Harrel and Mr. R. F. Starkie—both of whom have very great police and administrative experience in Ireland.

My own opinion is that, at least for the transitional period, no such amalgamation should be attempted. If at the end of this period any radical change in the whole police system is found to be desirable, then the relationship between these two Forces can be reconsidered.

In conclusion, I would call attention to the safeguards of the interests of both officers and men laid down in the Act of 1914. In my opinion: no safeguards less advantageous than those could, or should be, offered to the members of the Force in any subsequent legislation. I will, however, as the scheme adopted by the Convention assumes a more definite form, assemble committees of both officers and men to advise me in regard to these matters; this is following the precedent of 1893 and of 1914.

J. A. BYRNE, *Brigadier-General,*
Inspector-General.

5th December, 1917.

NOTE I.—Statement showing Rates of Pay of local police forces in Great Britain.

TABLE I.

Police Force	Present Pay. Weekly Rates.		War Bonus. Weekly Rates.			
			Single Men.	Married, with Wife.	Each Child.	
	Min.	Max.				
(a) URBAN FORCES IN GREAT BRITAIN.						
R. I. CONSTABULARY	Consts. s. Sergts. 20/- 36/-	s. 34/- 40/-	s. d. 5 6	s. d. 7 0	s. d. 1 0	Average bonus to married men and children, 9s. 6d
CARDIFF ...	Consts. 28/- Sergts. 43/-	42/- 50/-	7 0	7 0	—	
LIVERPOOL ...	Consts. 29/3 Sergts. 41/-	39/- 48/6	8 0	8 0	1 6	
MANCHESTER ...	Consts. 27/4 Sergts. 40/-	39/- 46/10	9 0	9 0	—	
SHEFFIELD ...	Consts. 27/4 Sergts. 40/6	38/1 45/5	16 0	16 0	—	
EDINBURGH ...	Consts. 27/5 Sergts. 39/1	37/4 44/4	7 0	8 0	6d. for first ; 2 or more 1/-.	
GLASGOW ...	Consts. 29/7 Sergts. 41/-	39/3 46/-	4 0	4 0	—	
NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE	Consts. 28/- Sergts. 37/-	39/- 48/-	10 0	10 0	—	
BIRMINGHAM ...	Consts. 30/3 Sergts. 43/11	42/11 48/9	9 6	9 6	—	

TABLE II.

(b) RURAL FORCES IN GREAT BRITAIN.						
BEDFORDSHIRE ...	Consts. s. Sergts. 24/- 32/-	s. 30/- 35/-	s. d. 7 0	s. d. 9 0	s. d. —	
GLOUCESTERSHIRE ...	Consts. 21/9 Sergts. 30/9	30/2 35/4	7 0	8 6	1 0	
LINCOLNSHIRE ...	Consts. 24/4 Sergts. 36/1	36/1 41/-	4 6	7 6	1 0	
SHROPSHIRE ...	Consts. 23/4 Sergts. 30/11	29/2 36/2	8 6	8 6	1/- ex- cluding first child.	
GLAMORGANSHIRE ...	Consts. 28/- Sergts. 35/7	34/5 37/4	9 2 to 10 0	11 8 to 12 6	0 6	
CARNARVONSHIRE ...	Consts. 26/- Sergts. 35/-	33/3 38/6	6 0	7 0	1 0	
CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND.	Consts. 24/6 Sergts. 33/7	33/- 40/10	10 0	10 0	—	
ABERDEENSHIRE ...	Consts. 26/3 Sergts. 37/11	36/9 43/9	8 0	8 0	—	
LANARKSHIRE ...	Consts. 26/3 Sergts. 37/11	36/9 43/9	16 0	16 0	—	

NOTE II.—Notes of the Oral Evidence of the Inspector-General R.I.C.

THE AUTHORISED STRENGTH OF THE FORCE was normally sufficient. At present the Royal Irish Constabulary were called upon to perform numerous additional duties in connection with Food Control, the Defence of the Realm, etc., and, on account of the number of men absent on military service and other vacancies, the existing strength was scarcely sufficient to meet the demands made upon them.

BELFAST was at present entitled to a "Free Quota" of 500 Police (Sergeants and Constables). Its authorised "Extra Force" was 733. The actual strength at the present time was, however, only 1,120. Half the cost of the Extra Force was chargeable on the local Rates. The present charge (for a moiety of 616 men) was about £29,400 per annum. This sum includes a certain charge for "night watch duty, and a contribution of £400 towards the Town Inspector's salary. In Dublin a Police Rate (fixed by Statute) is levied in respect of the whole Police Establishment.

In addition to the "free quota" of Sergeants and Constables mentioned, Belfast has also, *free of charge*, the services of 7 District Inspectors and 28 Head Constables.

There has been no direct local control since the policing of the City was handed over to the Royal Irish Constabulary, in 1865, by the 28 & 29 Vic., cap. 70. There is, however, a local Police Committee of the Corporation, who from time to time make suggestions as to local Police arrangements through the Town Inspector, for the Inspector-General's approval. The power of this Committee is purely consultative as regards the disposition and employment of the City Force. The relations between it and the Town Inspector are invariably harmonious.

It has been usual for several years to address the Town Inspector as the "Commissioner of Police, Belfast, but he is under the control of the Inspector-General, like an ordinary County Inspector, having, however, a larger salary.

The Act quoted above provides that "the Officer of the Constabulary Force in Belfast shall consist of one Inspector, who shall rank as a County Inspector of Constabulary, and be called the Inspector of Constabulary for the Town of Belfast."

"TEMPORARY EXTRA FORCES."—These are men taken from the Reserve Force or otherwise, and drafted when necessary to disturbed or proclaimed counties. The Reserve Force is kept at the Depot. Counties are only charged for men in excess of their free quota. The Constabulary Statutes give authority to charge an area, which might be smaller than a county, with half the cost of the extra police sent there on account of disturbance.

ASSISTANCE TO DUBLIN.—No inconvenience resulted from the only recent occasion when the R.I.C. were detailed for duty in Dublin during the labour dispute in 1914. The R.I.C. detachments then worked under the orders of the Chief Commissioner of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, but he was somewhat doubtful as to whether the R.I.C. *as such* have any legal status in the D.M.P. area.

RECRUITING has been stopped from time to time for periods as long as two years; for instance, when the Wyndham Act was passed; but it had to be resumed, and it was found that the recruits then obtained were not up to the usual standard, as the same care in selection could not be exercised owing to the necessity of rapid completion of the numbers.

The present class of recruits was up to the standard, but there was greater difficulty in obtaining them.

PAY.—The Force was not attracting as many recruits as it formerly did. This was possibly due to the fact that other callings were more attractive. Two shillings extra per week was granted to men serving in Belfast and Derry, and slightly larger lodging allowance is payable to married men serving in those two and in certain other large towns. The adequacy or otherwise of the pay was a difficult matter on which to express an immediate opinion. There is a continual tendency to raise the pay of other police forces, and the R.I.C. had to fall into line; also the cost and standard of living varied from time to time.

THE FORCE WAS GENERALLY POPULAR, but sometimes, and in some localities, political excitement caused temporary unpopularity. This was the case at the present time in a few counties.

TRAINING was both civil and military, a considerable portion of the time being spent on the civil training. Drill was now part of the training of all Police Forces. The R.I.C. was trained to use rifles, and in this respect differed from the Dublin Metropolitan Police. (The latter was now, he understood, trained in the use of revolvers). The military training did not interfere with the civil training, but the period of training was, he thought, somewhat longer than in England.

ADDITIONAL DUTIES.—These duties brought the Force into touch with the people and gave them knowledge and experience. He was not in favour of limiting the Force to purely police duties.

COLONIAL POLICE OFFICERS were, before the war, sent to be trained at the Royal Irish Constabulary Depot on account of the high reputation of the R.I.C. as an efficient and fully trained Police Force.

LOYALTY OF THE FORCE.—He had no fear regarding the loyalty of the Force towards the authority set over them.

THE QUESTION OF LOCALISATION.—He believed that the establishment of local forces would be a retrograde step. There were great advantages in the existing power of transferring men from one place to another. It was a rule that no officer or man was ever sent to his own locality. The establishment of local forces would involve a charge upon local rates for their maintenance—wholly or in part. At present, outside Dublin, Belfast and Derry, all localities (urban and rural) have a fully-equipped and trained police force, sufficient for normal requirements, without any cost whatever.

No demand for local control had come to his knowledge.

PROMOTIONS AND DISMISSALS.—Promotions rested with the Inspector-General; Dismissals with the Lord Lieutenant.

DETECTION OF CRIME.—In the rare cases where crimes in the country required special detective work, detectives were sent from Belfast. There was a staff of plain-clothes detectives also at certain other of the large towns, such as Cork, Limerick, Waterford. These men were available for detective duty. There was no local jealousy in such cases.

UNIFICATION OF IRISH POLICE.—There was no reason why Dublin should not be policed by the R.I.C. He believed that after a time it might be an advantage to have one force for the whole of Ireland, but an immediate amalgamation would, he thought, only dislocate

both forces, and it, therefore, should not be attempted during the transitional period; not only were the rates of pay of the two forces different, but the officers above the rank of Sergeant were differently graded.

SAFEGUARDS IN THE ACT OF 1914.—He regarded these as satisfactory, but he understood that the opinion in the force had been that officers and men should, in addition, be given the right to immediate retirement with compensating service towards pension.

CONTROL.—Assuming an Irish responsible Government, he considered that the Minister responsible for the peace of the country should have the power to move and utilise the police at his discretion.

Schedule B.

MEMORANDUM ON THE DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE.

(By the Chief Commissioner).

The Constitution of the Dublin Metropolitan Police is dealt with in various statutes, the principal being 6 & 7 Wm. IV. C. 29.

The Commissioners are not members of the force. They are "Justices" appointed by the Lord Lieutenant under 6 & 7 Wm. IV., C. 29, "to execute the duties of Justices of the Peace together with such other duties as shall be from time to time directed by the Chief Secretary . . . or in his absence the Under Secretary."

For salaries see Note II. (1).

Members of the Police force are appointed by the Chief Secretary or in his absence by the Under Secretary.

The powers and duties of the Dublin Metropolitan Police are generally similar to those of other Police forces but they also act under a number of special enactments affecting the Dublin Metropolitan Police District.

The strength of the force is not fixed by Statute.

The Chief Secretary or Under Secretary has power, under 6 & 7 Wm. IV., to appoint "a sufficient number of fit and able men."

The appointment of all constables must receive the formal approval of the Chief or Under Secretary.

The maximum strength up to which the Chief or Under Secretary has authorised the force to be recruited is as follows:—

- 1 Chief Superintendent.
- 6 Superintendents.
- 25 Inspectors.
- 42 Station Sergeants.
- 148 Sergeants.
- 18 Detective Officers.
- 979 Constables.
- 36 Supernumeraries.

There is, therefore, nominal authority for a strength of 1,252, but the Treasury provide for payment of 1,201 only. The latter figure is, therefore, the real strength at which it is endeavoured to maintain the force.

PAY.

The pay of the force is shown in attached Note (Note II. (3)).

PENSIONS AND GRATUITIES.

The scales of pension and gratuities to which members of the force on leaving the service, and widows, &c., of members of the force who die in the service, &c., are entitled, are also dealt with in the Acts relating to pay.

CIVIL SERVICE STAFF.

The normal Civil Service Staff at Commissioners Offices consists of:—

The Secretary and Accountant, appointed by Lord Lieutenant and the Finance Clerk and three Second Division Clerks, appointed in the ordinary course through Civil Service Commissioners.

The salaries of the Civil Service Staff are shown in Note II. (1).

MEDICAL STAFF—MEDICAL OFFICERS.

A Principal Medical Officer, Assistant Medical Officer and Divisional Medical Officer are attached to the force. Their appointment rests with the Lord Lieutenant.

The salaries of the Medical Officers are shown in Note II. (1).

D.M.P. COURTS.

The Dublin Metropolitan Police Courts which in its functions is an independent Department in no way under the control of the Commissioners of Police, is, nevertheless, for financial purposes included in the Dublin Metropolitan Police Vote.

The Divisional Magistrates are appointed by the Lord Lieutenant.

Particulars of salaries, &c., of staff of Police Courts are shown in Note II. (2).

The extent and boundaries of the Dublin Metropolitan Police District are shown on Note III.

R

46 & 47 Vic.,
c. 14.
4 & 5 Geo.
V., c. 54.
6 & 7 Geo.
V., c. 50.

22 & 23 Vic.
c. 52.
4 & 5 Geo.
V., c. 54.

6 & 7 Wm.
IV., c. 29.
23 & 24 Vic.
c. 52.

EXPENSES OF POLICE ESTABLISHMENT.

The joint expenses of Dublin Metropolitan Police Establishment and Police Courts are borne by :—

- (a) Parliamentary Vote.
- (b) Appropriations in Aid.

The latter item is composed of receipts from :—

- 1. Police Tax.
- 2. Fines and Fees.
- 3. Carriage Revenue.
- 4. Publicans' Fees.
- 5. Pedlars' Fees.
- 6. Incidental Income (Payments for Police employed by private persons sale of cast uniform, &c.).

A Note (Note IV.) is attached showing expenditure under the various sub-heads and amounts received as above.

The Police Tax, which is the principal item of the "local contribution" is the proceeds of a rate limited to a maximum of 8d. in the £ on the valuation of the Dublin Metropolitan Police District. The tax is now collected by the Corporation as regards the City, and by the County Council as regards the portion of the Dublin Metropolitan Police District which lies outside the City.

Before leaving the question of Finance, I should like to draw attention to the fact that the expenses of the Police Courts are included in the Dublin Metropolitan Police Vote. Such an arrangement obtains in no other city, so far as I am aware, and except that it is hallowed by long precedent in Dublin has nothing to commend it. In my opinion there is something almost objectionable in the fact that the Commissioner of Police should be the officer responsible for paying the Magistrates before whom he prosecutes. The Commissioner has, however, no control whatever over the Police Court Staff, although their salaries are paid by him. The alliance is an unnatural one, and should not, I think, be perpetuated.

The foregoing deals generally with the question regarding the present constitution, pay, position, and functions of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, and I now come to the question of their control and organisation under a system of Self-Government.

The transfer of the Dublin Metropolitan Police from Imperial to Irish control must, I suppose, be regarded as inevitable.

To hand over control to the local authority would, however, in the first instance, at any rate, be injudicious.

No doubt, with the precedent of the system in Great Britain before them, the Irish local authorities will ultimately seek such control.

I am not at all sure that this system of local control is a perfect one, but I am convinced that at the outset of the new scheme of Government, the better plan would be to vest the control of the Police in the Department which will correspond in Ireland to the Home Office across the Channel.

I am influenced in great measure in my view as to future organisation of the Dublin Metropolitan Police by the following consideration.

A radical change in the system of Government must entail a period of unavoidable confusion, until the various branches of the new executive gain the necessary experience to ensure smooth working. Above all things at such a time it is essential

that the machinery for enforcing law and preserving order should be as little interfered with as possible.

It must be borne in mind that the Dublin Metropolitan Police are now performing a number of important duties outside ordinary police work :—

- (a) Enforcement of Defence of the Realm Act.
- (b) Enforcement of Aliens Restrictions Orders.
- (c) The carrying out of the complicated system of Food Control.
- (d) The Petrol Restrictions Orders.
- (e) The procuring of Statistics for the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction.

I am, therefore, strongly of opinion that save as regards the change of supreme control from Imperial to Irish hands, if decided upon, the existing police system should remain unchanged.

Alterations may be subsequently introduced as occasion requires, and opportunity offers, but these should be effected gradually and with due caution.

It may be appropriate to remark here that the question of local control has always been a somewhat thorny one as regards the Dublin Metropolitan Police.

The citizens pay in rates a considerable sum towards the upkeep of the force, but have no share whatever in its management. On the English system the citizens would probably have to pay more, but the control of the Force would be in their hands.

Moreover, elsewhere in Ireland, the ratepayers for the most part pay nothing for their Police, while in those cities where the "free quota" of police is sufficient, the local contribution is not nearly so heavy as in Dublin.

This differential treatment undoubtedly gives the Dublin ratepayers some grounds for discontent.

It would, I think, be desirable that this grievance should be removed. I would suggest that while the control of the Police is in the hands of the Central Government the local contribution (Police Rate) might be dispensed with, the cost of the Police being borne upon the Exchequer.

The cost would then be borne by the community at large and would fall on all alike.

The suggestion has occasionally been put forward that amalgamation of the two Irish Police Forces would have good results, economically and otherwise. I cannot, however, concur in this view.

Police work in Dublin has always been a matter of exceptional difficulty, and demands an administration materially different in character from that suitable for the rest of Ireland.

Dublin is not only the seat of Government, but is the natural centre of most of the important political and labour organisations. Activities of this kind must always be matters of serious and special consideration for those responsible for the peace of the City.

A City Police Force must necessarily have entirely different characteristics from those of a rural force, but even in the case of the City of Belfast, the only city in Ireland where conditions are at all approximate to those in Dublin, the necessity for exceptional treatment and specialised administration is not so apparent as in Dublin.

Dublin is the last place in which experiments in such vital matters as enforcement of law and the preservation of public order should be attempted, particularly, as I have said before, at a time when there must be confusion and possibly excitement and unrest among the people.

The Royal Irish Constabulary is a semi-military force, while the Dublin Metropolitan Police, on the contrary, is a purely Civil Force. Such a radical change might not meet with the wishes of the citizens of Dublin, while the Dublin Metropolitan Police would bitterly resent their abolition *qua* Dublin Metropolitan Police.

All other considerations apart, it seems to me, however, that since the various local authorities may possibly ultimately acquire control over the Police—following the English practice—it would be futile to take the serious and doubtful step of amalgamating the two forces, with the consequent upset of existing machinery when the necessity for again establishing a Dublin Force may arise within a comparatively short period.

I have not in this Memorandum made any representations as to the effect upon the interests of the Force and Staff which a transfer as outlined would have. When the Home Rule Act was under discussion the Force were permitted to place their views before the Chief Secretary, a course which was also followed by the Commissioners and Staff. It would, I think, be premature, at the present moment, to prepare similar memoranda, but no doubt, an opportunity will be afforded them to do so, when the details of any new scheme are made public and before action is taken to give legal effect to it.

W. E. JOHNSTONE.
C.C.

4th December, 1917.

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NOTE I.—Acts relative to the D.M.P.

„ II.—Return showing rates of pay.

„ III.—Divisions and Boundaries of the D.M.P. District.

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(1). CHIEF COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE.		
1 Chief Commissioner	£1,200.	£130 per annum for travelling, &c.
1 Assistant Commissioner	£500-£20-£600.	£65 per annum for travelling, &c.
1 Accountant ———	£400-£20-£500.	—
1 Finance Clerk ———	£300-£15-£380.	—
3 Second Division Clerks	£70-£7 10s.-£130-£10-£300.	—
1 Principal Medical Officer	£255.	—
1 Assistant „ „	£180.	—
1 Divisional „ „ Kingstown	£60.	—
(2) POLICE COURT ESTABLISHMENT.		
1 Chief Magistrate	£1,200.	—
2 Magistrates	£1,000.	—
1 Chief Clerk	£400-£20-£500.	—
6 First Class Clerks	£180-£10-£300.	—
3 Second Class Clerks ———	£80-£7 10s.-£170.	Special war allowances of £15, £15 and £10.
2 Copyists ———	£78 and £65.	—

In addition to the above the Second Division Clerks and the Second Class Clerks and the Copyists participate in the war bonuses granted to civil servants.

The amounts paid are £13, £18 4s. 0d. and £20 16s. 0d. per annum and vary according to the amounts of salaries.

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In addition to the above the Second Division Clerks and the Second Class Clerks and the Copyists participate in the war bonuses granted to civil servants.

The amounts paid are £13, £18 4s. 0d. and £20 16s. 0d. per annum and vary according to the amounts of salaries

NOTE II—continued.

(3) DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE FORCE.

STRENGTH.		RANK.	ANNUAL PAY.	ALLOWANCES.
(a) <i>Uniform Force.</i>				
Authorised.	Establishment.			
1	1	Chief Superintendent ...	£300-£20-£125.	Uniform, £10.
5	5	Supaintendents ...	£250-£14-£320	Uniform, £10.
19	19	Inspectors ...	£128-£8-£168	Lodging, £25.
42	42	Station Sergeants ...	£119 12s. 0d.	Uniform, £10.
127	127	Sergeants ...	£104-£2 12s. 0d. £5 4s. 0d. £111 16s. 0d.	Lodging, £15.
974	923	Constables ...	£70 4s. 0d. £2 12s. 0d. £5 4s. 0d. £7 16s. 0d. £93 12s. 0d.	— — £1 14s. 8d. for boots and relitting of uniform.
(b) <i>Detective Division.</i>				
1	1	Superintendent ...	£300-£20-£400	Clothing, £15.
1	1	Chief Inspector ...	£170-£8-£210	Clothing, £15.
5	5	Inspectors ...	£128-£8-£168	Lodging, £15.
18	18	Sergeants ...	£104-£5 4s. 0d. £10 8s. 0d. £119 12s. 0d. £93 12s. 0d.	Plain clothes allow- ance.
18	18	Detective Officers ...	£93 12s. 0d.	£18 4s. 0d.
5	5	Constables ...	Same as Uniform Force.	Do. £10 8s. 0d.

In addition married men below the rank of Inspector receive £7 16s. 0d. per annum lodging allowance.

And all ranks below that of Superintendent

receive £14 6s. 0d. War Bonus with extra allowance of £3 18s. 0d. to married men and £2 12s. 0d. per annum in respect of each child under 15 years.

NOTE IV.

A total sum of £168,659 9s. 9d. (including an allocation of £7,533 17s. 0d. from the Vote of Credit) was voted for the year ended 31st March, 1917, to meet the expenses of the D.M.P. Establishment and the Police Courts; of this amount £56,242 12s. 9d. was realised by Appropriations in Aid, and £112,416 17s. 0d. was met by moneys voted by Parliament.

The expenditure under the various sub-heads was as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Salaries ...	11,042	9	3
Pay, Extra Pay, &c., of the Force ...	117,118	11	2
Clothing and Equipments ...	1,306	16	0
Purchase of Horses, &c. ...	105	3	0
Forage ...	609	2	11
Law Expenses ...	250	0	0
Incidental Expenses ...	597	16	5
Travelling Expenses ...	587	1	10

	£	s.	d.
Escort and Conveyance of Children to Industrial Schools and Places of Detention ...	61	15	6
Pensions and Gratuities ...	36,215	13	8
Probation Officer's Expenses ...	400	0	0
Compensation ...	275	0	0
Total ...	£168,659	9	9

The amounts received under the various headings of Appropriations in Aid were as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Police Tax ...	47,626	2	11
Fines and Fees ...	4,239	2	0
Carriage Revenue ...	3,214	19	6
Publicans' Pedlars' and Chimney Sweepers' Fees ...	385	3	6
Incidental Revenue ...	776	14	10
Total ...	£56,242	12	9

NOTE V.

NOTES OF THE ORAL EVIDENCE OF THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF THE DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE.

The Chief Commissioner was appointed by the Lord Lieutenant. He held office at pleasure, retired at 65, and was a Civil Servant.

By Statute he was a Justice of the Peace. He knew of no special reason why this should be so, but it may have been to meet special emergencies. For instance, he could read the Riot Act. As a Justice of the Peace he could sign warrants, and was accustomed to sign pension papers, but that was all. He agreed that it would be a anomaly if it were possible for him to sign a warrant, order an arrest, and try the case, but this could not happen in Dublin, as Justices of the Peace did not sit to try cases (s. 1, 6 & 7 Wm. IV., c. 29, last paragraph).

As regards LOCAL CONTROL, he did not consider control by a Watch Committee to be a good system. It weakened the responsibility and disciplinary power of the Commissioner. Members of the Watch Committee were liable to be interested in matters coming under police control, for instance publichouses.

PROMOTIONS AND DISMISSALS were under his control. There was no appeal in the case of dismissal, but he might be overruled by the Chief Secretary. He saw no objection to giving a right of appeal to the Chief Secretary.

THE STRENGTH OF THE FORCE was, generally speaking, sufficient.

PAY was a little higher than in the R.I.C. An increase was under consideration. It was lower than in a large English town like Manchester. The minimum was slightly lower, the maximum considerably lower.

THE STAFF was sufficient, not excessive.

CONTROL.—The D.M.P. should remain under the control of the Central Government as in the case of the London Police.

THE COST OF THE D.M.P. should be borne wholly by the Exchequer, as long as central control continued. He did not think the desire for city control was strong enough to make the city willing to bear the whole cost of the police. There had been no agitation for this change, but objection was almost invariably taken to paying the existing police rate. He was not in favour of partial local control.

THE QUESTION OF AMALGAMATION WITH THE R.I.C.—Throwing the whole cost of the D.M.P. on the Exchequer would not imply that there should be one Police force for all Ireland. Dublin needed a separate force.

In cases where assistance was required from the R.I.C., the Inspector-General was applied to, and the consent of the Government obtained. There was no difficulty. No special payment was made to the R.I.C. It did not fall on the Dublin rates because the Police rate was always at its maximum of 8d.

There might be some gain in financial simplicity in having a single force for Ireland, but this did not weigh against the disadvantages. The change would be unpopular. Dublin was not like Belfast. There were many political and social differences. It was true that there were stronger labour organisations in Belfast and more socialism, and in this sense a greater contrast with rural districts than existed in Dublin, but the temperament of Dublin was peculiar. There were secret political associations and the authorities were no supported in the same way.

An unified Police force might facilitate the interchange of forces for special emergencies and a single detective force might be more efficient for the detection of crime, but these advantages did not warrant unification. At present the D.M.P. detective force worked only in its own area. The R.I.C. force at Belfast was separate.

The D.M.P. men were of the same class as in the R.I.C., mostly farmers' sons, small shop-keepers' sons, &c. There was no system of placing Protestants and Catholics in separate districts.

Schedule C.

POLICE FORCES IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

Questions were addressed to the Home Office upon various points in connection with the constitution and administration of Police Forces in England and Wales. A communication was received in reply, giving answers to the questions asked, and referring in certain passages to (1) A printed Memorandum issued in 1900 on the Police Forces; (2) A volume of "Home Office Circulars"; (3) The Official Blue Book on Police for 1914; copies of all these documents being enclosed.

The questions, with the answers made to them, are set out in order below, and for convenience notes have been added, where necessary, giving

extracts or figures from the documents referred to in the text.

QUESTIONS 1 and 2.—What are the relations of County and Borough Police Forces to the Home Office?

What are the powers of County and Borough Councils over the Police Forces, and to what extent, if any, do these powers extend beyond the borders of the Borough or County?

ANSWERS 1 and 2.—The Annexed Memorandum on the Police forces of England and Wales shows (1) the relations between the Home Office and the County and Borough Forces, and (2) the legal

position of the local authorities in regard to these forces. Attention is specially directed to the marked passages.*

* NOTE.—The marked passages are as follows :—

COUNTY CONSTABULARY.

"For each administrative county there is a force governed by a Chief Constable, who appoints, promotes, and dismisses the other members of the force, and has the general government of them subject to the authority of the Standing Joint Committee, which is composed half of representatives of the Justices assembled in Quarter-Sessions—the former Police authority of the county—and half of representatives of the County Council, the administrative body created by the Local Government Act, 1888. The Standing Joint Committee appoints the Chief Constable subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. The county forces were established between 1839 and 1856 under the direct supervision of the Secretary of State. Any change in the number of any county force is subject to his approval; he is empowered to make rules for their pay, clothing and government. Plans for county police stations are subject to his approval. The cost of the force is borne by a local rate. Special districts requiring special police protection can be rated separately. An Exchequer contribution amounting to half the pay and clothing of the force is made from the proceeds of certain Imperial revenues allocated for this and other local purposes. This is, however, subject to an annual certificate given by the Secretary of State that the force is efficient; if the certificate is refused the Exchequer contribution is forfeited. There are now sixty county forces. Counties, like the Metropolitan Police district, are divided into divisions; at the head of the men in each division there is a superintendent. The divisions usually correspond with the Petty Sessional Divisions formed for the purposes of magisterial jurisdiction."

BOROUGH POLICE.

"Every municipal borough is, as a general rule, required to establish a separate force of police. An arrangement can, however, be made with the police of the county in which the borough is situated for policing it, and this is done in the majority of cases. Further, boroughs with a population of less than 10,000 were wholly merged in the county for police purposes by the Local Government Act, 1888, and no new force can be established for a borough having a population of less than 20,000 at the date of its incorporation. There are now 127 boroughs with separate police forces. The force is managed by a Watch Committee, which is a committee of the Town Council elected annually; they appoint the Chief Constable, and also the other members of the force. The cost is defrayed from local funds, but the Imperial Government makes an annual contribution to the amount of one-half from the same source, and on the same conditions as in the case of county constabulary. For this purpose a certificate of efficiency from the Secretary of State is required, as in the case of the county constabulary."

"Members of the County and Borough forces and of the Metropolitan Police have a right to pension under the Police Act, 1890; and, as a contribution towards the pension funds established

for each force under the Act, a yearly sum of £300,000 is distributed from Imperial revenue, subject to a certificate from the Secretary of the State that the management of the force and of its fund has been satisfactory during the year."

QUESTION 3.—How does the Home Office maintain unity of administration in Police matters throughout the country?

ANSWER 3.—The Home Office can secure some measure of uniformity in Police administration by its statutory authority.* For instance, it can intimate that a force will not be certified efficient and will lose its share of the Exchequer contribution unless it reaches a certain standard in point of numbers, discipline or management. The appointment of women to take charge of female prisoners and (at some places) the proper equipment of mounted police has been insisted on in this way. It is found, however, that Chief Officers of Police and local Police authorities are generally ready to adopt the Home Secretary's recommendations without actual compulsion being exercised. Examples of this will be found in the annexed collection of Home Office circulars.

QUESTIONS 4 and 5.—What central reserve of Police Force is therefor use in emergencies in various parts of the country?

What arrangements are there between counties for mutual assistance?

ANSWERS 4 and 5.—There is no central force specially established as a reserve, but the different forces are accustomed to aid each other in emergencies. Most of the Police authorities have standing agreements for this purpose with neighbouring authorities (see circulars on pages 15 and 72 annexed volume†), and the Metropolitan Police are sometimes able to send a detachment of constables to any place where additional police may be urgently required. The circulars on pages 60-69 show the practice advocated by the Home Office in regard to any serious civil commotion.

QUESTION 6.—What special organisation is there of detective forces (a) central, (b) local?

ANSWER 6.—Each police authority organizes its own force separately, and there is no central detective system, except that (i.) the finger prints of convicted prisoners are kept at the Habitual Criminals Registry, New Scotland Yard, and reference is made thereto by the local forces for the purpose of identification; and (ii.) an arrangement exists for making the detective staff of the Metropolitan Police available in other districts when their services are desired by the local police. See circulars on pages 40 and 70.‡

QUESTION 7.—May we have a few general figures as to the cost of local police forces together with police rates and exchequer grants?

ANSWER 7.—Table II. in the Appendix to the enclosed report of H.M. Inspector of Constabulary for 1914 gives the cost of the Police and the amount

*Under the County and Borough Police Act, 1856, the inspection of the County and Borough Police Forces is carried out by two Inspectors of Constabulary, for the Northern and Southern districts respectively, who report to the Home Office annually.

†These circulars give model forms of agreement, with arrangements for pay, compensation, jurisdiction, etc.

‡The former circular urges that in the case of all crimes committed in trains Metropolitan detectives should be called for. The latter urges promptitude in any request for assistance and the careful preservation of all clues.

of the Exchequer Contribution.* While the present system can fairly be said to work smoothly and harmoniously, it has long been felt at the Home Office that more efficiency in police administration could be secured by such a revision of the arrangements for the Exchequer Contribution towards the cost of the Police as would allow of the Central Control being exercised more effectively. The proposals made for this purpose were accepted by the Treasury Committee on Local Taxation in 1914, and will be found on pages 41-43 of their report. Legislation would, however, be necessary for carrying them into effect.

Lastly, it may be mentioned that the need of

*The total cost of Police Forces in England and Wales in 1913-14, as given in this table, was £7,327,001, of which £2,469,874 was met by Exchequer Contributions, £4,220,847 mainly from local rates, and the balance of £636,280 from miscellaneous sources. Table III. gives the "Net Cost" of Police in England and Wales as £5,611,272. This figure excludes sums received for services of additional constables, payments for rent, rates, taxes, purchase of buildings, etc., and any deficiency of the Police Pension Fund.

co-ordination between the different Police Forces in England has become specially apparent in regard to (i.) the enforcement of the Defence of the Realm Regulations and orders made under them, and (ii.) in the difficult position that has been created by war conditions with respect to the varying scales of pay adopted by the several police forces and the allowances paid from Police Funds. There appears to be a widespread opinion among Chief Officers of Police that they should have more guidance from the Home Office in regard at all events to questions of the first mentioned class, and it is also thought that the competition between different forces in regard to pay might be restricted by means of instructions from the Home Office. At the present time conferences between the County and Borough police forces are being arranged with the help of the Home Office, and though the difficulties in the way of any complete co-ordination under the existing law are very great, it is hoped that some progress towards it may be effected through the agency of these voluntary and informal conferences.

APPENDIX XVI.

REPORT OF THE HOUSING COMMITTEE.

(I.C. No. 33).

(Adopted by Convention on 5th April, 1918.)

Scope of the Inquiry.

1. The terms of reference to your Committee are:—

"To consider, with reference to the Prime Minister's letter, under what conditions Government assistance can best be given to Housing in urban areas in Ireland."

The relevant passage in the Prime Minister's letter is in the following terms:—

"The Government have also had submitted to them by the Labour representatives in the Convention the need of provision for dealing with the urgent questions of housing in Ireland, and on receiving recommendations from the Convention on the subject they would be prepared to consider the inclusion in the scheme of settlement of a substantial provision for immediately dealing with this vital problem."

In considering how we could best discharge the duty entrusted to us by the Convention, we have been compelled to have regard in the first place to the necessity of completing our labours very rapidly, in order that the general report of the Convention might not be unduly delayed. In these circumstances we have felt it to be quite impossible to undertake the detailed local enquiries which would be necessary to enable us to frame an accurate estimate of the extent of the need to be met, and to submit considered proposals for dealing with it in the varying circumstances of different localities. We consider, however, that it is possible for us to fulfil the main objects for which we were appointed without undertaking an enquiry of an elaborate nature.

The shortage of houses in urban areas notorious.

2. The need for additional housing accommodation for the working classes in urban areas in Ireland is a matter of common notoriety. In his letter of February 25th, the Prime Minister refers to it as an "urgent question," and recognises the necessity of "immediately dealing with this vital problem." We feel that in these circumstances it is unnecessary for us to argue whether or not the need exists. Its existence is admitted on all hands, and it remains for us to attempt a rough estimate of its extent.

Extent of the shortage in Dublin.

3. In the case of Dublin, official figures are available. The Departmental Committee appointed to enquire into the housing conditions in Dublin reported, in February, 1914, that 14,000 new houses or dwellings were required as a minimum. This was in addition to the necessity for remodeling existing tenement houses, so as to provide suitable accommodation for 13,000 families. The Chief Secretary has been good enough to allow us to see a special report on Dublin prepared by Mr. P. C. Cowan, Chief Engineering Inspector to the Local Government Board. The Report is a confidential document, but we feel at liberty to make use of the statistics and findings of fact which it contains. Mr. Cowan states that since the date of the Report of the Departmental Committee 1,956 tenement houses, in which 3,989 families were living, have been closed by the Corporation, under its statutory powers. In the same period the Corporation have erected three hundred and twenty-seven houses, and a very much smaller number has been erected by other agencies. Mr. Cowan, therefore, comes to the conclusion that if 14,000 new houses were required in Dublin in 1914, at least 16,500 are required at the present time.

We are of opinion that this figure may be accepted as a fair estimate which errs, if at all, on the side of understatement.

Extent of the shortage in urban areas.

4. The Departmental Committee of 1914, while confining their detailed enquiries to Dublin, expressed the following opinion with regard to the rest of the country. "We are satisfied that the problems surrounding the housing question in Dublin present themselves in much the same way in most of the towns in Ireland, and we feel that little advantage would be gained by analysing them over again in detail." We believe that the Committee were right in holding that a scarcity of working class houses exists in practically all towns in Ireland, though the causes to which it must be attributed are different in different places. The case of Dublin, with its large tenement houses badly adapted for the purpose which they have been made to serve and generally in a bad state of repair, is perhaps, to some extent, peculiar. But in other towns other causes have

brought about a scarcity of suitable accommodation which, if not so acute as it is known to be in Dublin, is sufficiently serious to call for immediate and energetic action. In certain areas the difficulty has arisen from an increase in population owing to industrial developments, unaccompanied by an increase in building construction. Everywhere, the difficulty or impossibility of carrying out housing schemes on a paying basis has prevented the construction of new houses keeping pace with the deterioration of older ones. We have been anxious, however, not to use the ascertained figures for Dublin as an index by which the need of the rest of the country can be measured, as such a course might lay us open to the charge of exaggerating the difficulties of the position.

Figures for the county boroughs.

5. From the best information that we have been able to obtain, after consultation with the municipal authorities, we estimate the existing shortage of working class dwellings in the remaining county boroughs as follows:—

Belfast	...	...	7,500
Cork	...	...	1,250
Londonderry	...	...	1,000
Limerick	...	...	2,000
Waterford	...	...	700

This gives us a total deficiency for the County Boroughs of 28,950.

Estimate of the shortage in other urban areas.

6. The population of the County Boroughs is about 875,000, and the total number of new houses required in the County Boroughs works out at one new house to thirty of the population. In the ninety urban districts and twenty-nine municipal towns in Ireland the population is about 614,250, and if we apply to this population the figure just arrived at for the County Boroughs, namely, that one new house is required for every thirty of the population, we come to the conclusion that in these one hundred and nineteen towns the total number of new houses required amounts to 20,475. We feel satisfied that this figure does not err on the side of exaggeration. The conditions in some of the smaller towns are exceedingly bad, and there are places which do not come within the term "urban areas," in the strictly legal sense, where the need is very great and pressing. Amongst such we may mention Kildare, Tralee, and Mullingar. Adding the figures thus ascertained to the total for the County Boroughs, we get a grand total of 49,425—say, 50,000.

We have, however, thought it well to check this figure by another method of calculation. In the Census of 1911, the total number of "third and fourth class houses" is given as 247,025. The town population may be taken at one-third of the total population of the country, and if we assume that these houses are equally distributed, according to population, between town and country we arrive at a figure of about 85,000 as the number of houses requiring in 1911 to be replaced by new buildings in the towns. In the seven years which have elapsed since the Census was taken, the need has probably grown greater rather than less.

Taking a mean of the results of the two methods of calculation adopted, we are of opinion that it will be reasonable to estimate the number of new working-class houses urgently required in urban areas in Ireland at 87,500. It is important, however, that an early opportunity should be taken of arriving at a more accurate estimate by means of a detailed enquiry.

Estimate of cost.

7. Under existing conditions, the average cost of working-class dwellings, including the purchase of land, the development of sites and the actual cost of construction, cannot be put at much less than four hundred pounds. We thus arrive at an estimate of £27,000,000 as the total amount of capital expenditure required to deal with the housing problem in urban areas in Ireland.

Degree of Government assistance required.

8. We proceed to consider what degree of financial assistance from the central government will be necessary to enable this need to be met. In this enquiry we have had the advantage of reading a report submitted to the Ministry of Reconstruction by a special panel of the Reconstruction Committee on Housing after the War in England and Wales. We do not propose to refer to the recommendations in this report, as it has been communicated to us confidentially, but we may say that the report clearly establishes the fact that the construction of working-class houses on an economic basis has become practically impossible without Government assistance, and that since the war construction has so nearly come to a standstill that the deficiency, which was already considerable in 1914, is increasing at a rapid rate.

Degree of assistance proposed in England and Wales.

9. The English Local Government Board have issued a circular indicating the terms on which the Government is prepared to give financial assistance to local authorities in connection with the undertaking of housing schemes. This circular contemplates the provision by the Government of a percentage of the loan charges in connection with such schemes sufficient to relieve the local authority of seventy-five per cent. of the estimated annual deficit.

More liberal assistance required in Ireland.

10. We feel it necessary to say at once that the terms proposed would be altogether inadequate to meet the circumstances of Ireland. We understand that in Great Britain the problem of housing in urban areas has been very largely accentuated by causes due to the war. There have been very large movements of population to localities where there has been a great growth of industrial activity, and the normal provision of working-class houses has ceased for the past three and a half years. The increase in the rate of interest, in wages and in the cost of all kinds of building materials has resulted in raising the cost of construction by probably not less than sixty per cent.

The proposals of the English Local Government Board are, therefore, presumably, designed to meet a situation which has been due to special causes arising out of the war, and are based upon the assumption that, but for those causes, it would have been possible for local authorities to supply the amount of working class accommodation required. No such assumption can be justified in the case of Ireland, where already before the war, it was clear that the problem had reached dimensions altogether beyond the resources of the local authorities. As the provision of the houses required was not found possible, to a sufficient extent, on the basis of pre-war cost, there must be a subsidy sufficient to bring the cost to the local authority well below the pre-war cost, if a serious attempt is to be made to deal with the problem.

Degree of assistance proposed for Ireland.

11. We are disposed to consider that the degree of Government assistance necessary will be not less than fifty per cent. of the total capital cost, during the years immediately following the war. As the cost of building may be expected to decline, though not to reach the pre-war level, in subsequent years, the amount of assistance from the Government could also probably be reduced. It is, however, essential that it should be sufficiently large to enable working-class houses to be erected without throwing any but a small charge on local rates. If this condition is not satisfied, we fear that the needs of the situation are never likely to be met. In this connection we may point out that Parliament has already made comparatively liberal provision for providing labourers' cottages in rural areas in Ireland. Under the Labourers Acts, money could be borrowed for the provision of such cottages at a rate of three and a quarter per cent., which covered both interest and sinking fund charges, for a period of sixty-eight and a half years, and of this charge thirty-six per cent. is paid out of funds provided by the Government. The working of the Acts has given general satisfaction, and, the needs of the urban population being now certainly more pressing, there is ample justification for extending to them a more generous degree of assistance than that which has been granted to the rural population. The general conclusion at which we have arrived is that the number of houses to be erected in urban areas so soon as circumstances admit of the work being carried out may be put at 67,500; that the total cost will be approximately £27,000,000; and that it will be necessary for fifty per cent. of the loan charges to be borne by the Central Government.

Assistance in respect of past loans.

12. We are further of opinion that a measure of assistance, which need not be so large as fifty per cent., should be given to local authorities in respect of loans already incurred for housing purposes. We are impelled to make this recommendation in view of the heavy burden which such loans have thrown upon the local rates, and because we consider that local authorities which have made a serious effort to cope with the problem in the past would otherwise be unfairly penalised, in comparison with those which have deferred action until Government assistance was

forthcoming. In this connection we would recommend an extension of the principles embodied in the "Clancy Act" of 1908. Under that Act the income of the Housing Fund is distributed among local authorities in proportion to the charges in respect of loans raised by them under the Act for housing purposes. We recommend that equal assistance should be given in respect of loans incurred for similar purposes before the passing of the Act of 1908. To afford substantial relief, the income of the Fund will require to be substantially increased.

We further recommend that the working-classes in urban areas should be afforded increased facilities for acquiring on easy terms as regards security and payment of instalments, the ownership of the houses in which they live, when such houses are provided under the scheme which we contemplate.

General principles of policy.

13. The time at our disposal has rendered it impossible for us to frame a general policy for regulating the provision of urban housing. We are, moreover, of opinion that it is for the Government to frame and for Parliament to approve any such policy. We think, however, that it is right that we should indicate certain general principles which ought, in our opinion, to be followed.

We recognise that it would be impossible, or, at any rate, undesirable, to apply a uniform system and entrust the provision of urban housing accommodation to any particular agency throughout the whole of Ireland. In some cases the work can best be undertaken by the local authority, in others by Public Utility Societies, or private enterprise; and the special circumstances of Dublin may even necessitate setting up a new authority which would be able to extend its operations over a larger area than that of the existing municipality. But we think that it is possible to leave room for the application of all these systems, while observing certain general principles. We are of opinion that, whatever be the actual agency undertaking the task of construction, general control should, as a rule, rest with the local authority, and that the financial assistance from the Government which we have recommended should be given to such authorities, or to private owners or agencies, subject to the approval of the local authorities as to rents and other conditions. In every case, therefore, the local authority will be responsible for the general policy adopted, and the manner in which it is carried out. In the event, however, of a local authority neglecting to discharge its obligations in the matter, there should be power, on the analogy of the provisions contained in the Labourers Acts, for the Government to intervene and provide the additional accommodation required. We do not think that it should be necessary to set up a new department of Government to deal with Housing, though, no doubt, a general increase in activity in this direction would involve increasing the staff of the Local Government Board. We are of opinion that it should be a condition of Government assistance that the site and arrangement of the houses, the accommodation to be provided, and the rents to be charged to the occupiers should receive the approval of the Local Government Board. We think that in all these matters there should be as much elasticity as possible, and that scope should be given for experiments in methods of construction, de-

sign of houses, etc., but it is of the greatest importance that a reasonably high standard should be insisted upon, both with regard to the number of houses to be built on any given area, and the amount of accommodation provided in each dwelling. We note that the English Local Government Board have laid it down as a condition of Government assistance that not more than twelve houses shall be built on one acre of land; and there is a consensus of opinion that the most suitable type of house is a self-contained dwelling with two or three bedrooms, a kitchen, a scullery and a bath. A certain proportion of houses with a parlour, or a fourth bedroom should be provided.

Reduction of cost of acquiring land.

14. Under the existing law, the legal expenses and delays connected with the acquisition of land for housing purposes constitute a serious obstacle to the carrying out of schemes. We do not desire to overburden this report with a technical discussion and we are therefore content to record our opinion that these expenses and delays can be and ought to be reduced, and that the machinery of the "vesting order" adopted in the Land Purchase Acts would seem to be applicable to the acquisition of land for housing purposes, and would be attended by the advantage of ensuring

prompt possession and security of title at a low cost. The distribution of compensation among interested parties, as well as the ascertainment of the amount due, should be entrusted to a Local Government Board arbitrator.

Conclusion.

15. In the Prime Minister's letter, which we quoted at the beginning of this Report, he stated that the Government would be prepared to consider the inclusion in any scheme of settlement of a substantial provision for dealing with this problem. In the event of an Irish Parliament and Government being established, we are, therefore, of opinion that that Parliament should have placed at its disposal an annual sum of money sufficient to meet fifty per cent. of the loan charges which will be incurred, if the recommendations in this Report are accepted.

L. O'NEILL,

Lord Mayor of Dublin,

Chairman of Committee

R. V. VERNON,

Secretary of Committee,

3rd April, 1918.

APPENDIX XVII.

DIVISION LISTS.

DIVISION No. 1—12TH MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 28 and 108, supra).

FOR (38).

E. H. ANDREWS.
 W. BRODERICK.
 J. J. COEN.
 D. CONDREN.
 EARL OF DESART.
 J. DOOLY.
 CAPTAIN DORAN.
 ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
 T. FALLON.
 J. FITZGIBBON.
 SIR W. GOULDING.
 EARL OF GRANARD.
 CAPTAIN GWYNN.
 T. HALLIGAN.
 A. JAMESON.
 W. KAVANAGH.
 J. MCCARRON.
 M. McDONOGH.
 J. McDONNELL.
 LORD MACDONNELL.
 C. MCKAY.
 A. R. MACMULLEN.
 EARL OF MAYO.
 VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
 J. MURPHY.
 J. O'DOWD.
 C. P. O'NEILL.
 LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
 DR. O'SULLIVAN.
 J. B. POWELL.
 T. POWER.
 PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
 SIR S. B. QUIN.
 D. REILLY.
 M. SLATTERY.
 G. F. STEWART.
 H. T. WHITLEY.
 SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (34).

SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
 ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 J. BOLGER.
 ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
 COL. SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
 J. DEVLIN.
 BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
 T. DUGGAN.
 H. GARAHAN.
 WILLIAM GUBBINS.
 J. HANNA.
 J. K. KETT.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
 T. LONDON.
 J. S. F. MCCANCE.
 SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
 J. MCGARRY.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 J. MCHUGH.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 W. M. MURPHY.
 P. J. O'NEILL.
 P. O'H. PETERS.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
 T. TOAL.
 SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 2—13TH MARCH, 1918.
(See pp. 28 and 109, *supra*).

FOR (39).

E. H. ANDREWS.
W. BRODERICK.
J. J. COEN.
D. CONDREN.
P. DEMPSEY.
EARL OF DESART.
J. DOOLY.
CAPTAIN DORAN.
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
T. FALLON.
J. FITZGIBBON.
SIR WILLIAM GOULDING.
EARL OF GRANARD.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.
T. HALLIGAN.
A. JAMESON.
W. KAVANAGH.
J. MCCARRON.
M. McDONOGH.
J. McDONNELL.
LORD MACDONNELL.
C. MCKAY.
A. R. MACMULLEN.
EARL OF MAYO.
VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
J. MURPHY.
J. O'DOWD.
C. P. O'NEILL.
LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
DR. O'SULLIVAN.
J. B. POWELL.
T. POWER.
PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
SIR S. B. QUIN.
D. REILLY.
M. SLATTERY.
G. F. STEWART.
H. T. WHITLEY.
SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (33).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
J. BOLGER.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.
H. GARAHAN.
J. HANNA.
T. J. HARRISON.
J. K. KETT.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
T. LONDON.
J. S. F. MCCANCE.
SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
H. G. MACGEAGH.
J. MCHUGH.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
W. M. MURPHY.
P. J. O'NEILL.
P. O'H. PETERS.
H. M. POLLOCK.
BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
T. TOAL.
COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 3—13TH MARCH, 1918.

(See p. 109, *supra*).

FOR (27).

E. H. ANDREWS.
J. J. COEN.
EARL OF DESART.
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
SIR W. GOULDING.
EARL OF GRANARD.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.
A. JAMESON.
W. KAVANAGH.
J. MCCARRON.
M. McDONOGH.
J. McDONNELL.
LORD MACDONNELL.
C. MCKAY.
A. R. MACMULLEN.
EARL OF MAYO.
VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
J. MURPHY.
J. O'DOWD.
C. P. O'NEILL.
LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
J. B. POWELL.
SIR S. B. QUIN.
D. REILLY.
G. F. STEWART.
H. T. WHITLEY.
SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (44).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
J. BOLGER.
W. BRODERICK.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
D. CONDREN.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
P. DEMPSEY.
J. DOOLY.
CAPTAIN DORAN.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
T. FALLON.
J. FITZGIBBON.
H. GARAHAN.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.
T. HALLIGAN.
J. HANNA.
J. K. KETT.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
T. LONDON.
J. S. F. MCCANCE.
SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
H. G. MACGEAGH.
J. MCHUGH.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
W. M. MURPHY.
P. J. O'NEILL.
DR. O'SULLIVAN.
P. O'H. PETERS.
H. M. POLLOCK.
T. POWER.
PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
M. SLATTERY.
T. TOAL.
COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 4—14TH MARCH, 1918.

(See p. 108, *supra*).

FOR (36).

J. BOLGER.
 W. BRODERICK.
 ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
 J. J. CLANCY.
 J. J. COEN.
 D. CONDREN.
 LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
 P. DEMPSEY.
 J. DOOLY.
 CAPTAIN DORAN.
 BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
 T. DUGGAN.
 T. FALLON.
 J. FITZGIBBON.
 H. GARAHAN.
 EARL OF GRANARD.
 WILLIAM GUBBINS.
 CAPTAIN GWYNN.
 T. HALLIGAN.
 J. K. KETT.
 T. LUNDON.
 J. MCCARRON.
 M. McDONOGH.
 J. McDONNELL.
 J. MCHUGH.
 C. MCKAY.
 A. R. MACMULLEN.
 J. MURPHY.
 W. M. MURPHY.
 J. O'DOWD.
 DR. O'SULLIVAN.
 T. POWER.
 BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
 D. REILLY.
 M. SLATTERY.
 SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (33).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
 E. H. ANDREWS.
 ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 COLONEL SHARMAN CRAWFORD.
 EARL OF DESART.
 SIR WILLIAM GOULDING.
 J. HANNA.
 A. JAMESON.
 W. KAVANAGH.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
 J. S. F. McCANCE.
 SIR C. McCULLAGH.
 LORD MACDONNELL.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 EARL OF MAYO.
 VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 J. B. POWELL.
 PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
 SIR S. B. QUIN.
 G. F. STEWART.
 COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLA.
 H. T. WHITLEY.

DIVISION No. 5—14TH MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 25 and 108, *supra*).

FOR (37)

J. BOLGER.
 W. BRODERICK.
 ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
 J. J. CLANCY.
 J. J. COEN.
 D. CONDREN.
 LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
 P. DEMPSEY.
 J. DOOLY.
 CAPTAIN DORAN.
 BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
 T. DUGGAN.
 T. FALLON.
 J. FITZGIBBON.
 J. FLANAGAN.
 H. GARAHAN.
 EARL OF GRANARD.
 WILLIAM GUBBINS.
 CAPTAIN GWYNN.
 T. HALLIGAN.
 J. K. KETT.
 T. LUNDON.
 J. MCCARRON.
 M. McDONOGH.
 J. McDONNELL.
 J. MCHUGH.
 C. MCKAY.
 A. R. MACMULLEN.
 J. MURPHY.
 W. M. MURPHY.
 J. O'DOWD.
 DR. O'SULLIVAN.
 T. POWER.
 BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
 D. REILLY.
 M. SLATTERY.
 SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (21).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
 ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
 J. S. F. McCANCE.
 SIR C. McCULLAGH.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
 SIR S. B. QUIN.
 COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLA.
 H. T. WHITLEY.

DIVISION No. 6—14TH MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 24 and 110, *supra*).

FOR (51).

E. H. ANDREWS.
 ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
 J. BOLGER.
 W. BRODERICK.
 ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
 J. J. CLANCY.
 J. J. COEN.
 D. CONDREN.
 LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
 P. DEMPSEY.
 EARL OF DESART.
 J. DOOLY.
 CAPTAIN DORAN.
 ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
 T. DUGGAN.
 T. FALLON.
 J. FITZGIBBON.
 J. FLANAGAN.
 SIR W. GOULDING.
 EARL OF GRANARD.
 WILLIAM GUBBINS.
 CAPTAIN GWYNN.
 J. HALLIGAN.
 T. J. HARBISON.
 A. JAMESON.
 W. KAVANAGH.
 J. K. KETT.
 T. LONDON.
 J. MCCARRON.
 M. McDONOGH.
 J. McDONNELL.
 LORD MACDONNELL.
 C. MCKAY.
 A. R. MACMULLEN.
 EARL OF MAYO.
 VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
 J. MURPHY.
 J. O'DOWD.
 C. P. O'NEILL.
 P. J. O'NEILL.
 LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
 DR. O'SULLIVAN.
 J. B. POWELL.
 T. POWER.
 SIR S. B. QUIN.
 BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
 D. REILLY.
 M. SLATTERY.
 G. F. STEWART.
 H. T. WHITLEY.
 SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (18).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 SIR GEORGE CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 COL. SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
 J. HANNA.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
 J. S. F. MCCANCE.
 SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 7—15TH MARCH, 1918.

(See p. 110, *supra*).

FOR (19).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
 ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
 J. HANNA.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
 J. S. F. MCCANCE.
 SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLA.

AGAINST (52).

E. H. ANDREWS.
 J. BOLGER.
 W. BRODERICK.
 ARCHBISHOP OF CASHE.
 J. J. CLANCY.
 J. J. COEN.
 LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
 P. DEMPSEY.
 EARL OF DESART.
 J. DOOLY.
 CAPTAIN DORAN.
 BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
 ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
 LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.
 T. DUGGAN.
 T. FALLON.
 J. FITZGIBBON.
 J. FLANAGAN.
 H. GARAHAN.
 EARL OF GRANARD.
 WILLIAM GUBBINS.
 CAPTAIN GWYNN.
 T. HALLIGAN.
 T. J. HARBISON.
 A. JAMESON.
 W. KAVANAGH.
 J. K. KETT.
 T. LONDON.
 J. MCCARRON.
 M. McDONOGH.
 J. McDONNELL.
 LORD MACDONNELL.
 C. MCKAY.
 A. R. MACMULLEN.
 EARL OF MAYO.
 VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
 J. MURPHY.
 W. M. MURPHY.
 J. O'DOWD.
 C. P. O'NEILL.
 P. J. O'NEILL.
 LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
 DR. O'SULLIVAN.
 J. B. POWELL.
 T. POWER.
 SIR S. B. QUIN.
 BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
 D. REILLY.
 M. SLATTERY.
 G. F. STEWART.
 H. T. WHITLEY.
 SIR B. WINDLE.

DIVISION No. 8—15TH MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 24 and 110, *supra*).

FOR (51).

E. H. ANDREWS.	J. K. KETT.
J. BOLGER.	T. LONDON.
W. BRODERICK.	J. MCCARRON.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.	M. McDONOGH.
J. J. CLANCY.	J. McDONNELL.
J. J. COEN.	LORD MACDONNELL.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.	C. MCKAY.
P. DEMPSEY.	A. R. MACMULLEN.
EARL OF DESART.	EARL OF MAYO.
J. DOOLY.	VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
CAPTAIN DORAN.	J. MURPHY.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.	W. M. MURPHY.
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.	J. O'DOWD.
LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.	C. P. O'NEILL.
T. DUGGAN.	P. J. O'NEILL.
T. FALLON.	LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
J. FITZGIBBON.	DR. O'SULLIVAN.
J. FLANAGAN.	J. B. POWELL.
H. GARAHAN.	T. POWER.
EARL OF GRANARD.	SIR S. B. QUIN.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.	BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.	D. REILLY.
T. HALLIGAN.	M. SLATTERY.
T. J. HARBISON.	G. F. STEWART.
W. KAVANAGH.	H. T. WHITLEY.
	SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (19).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
 ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 SIR G. S. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
 J. HANNA.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
 J. S. F. MCCANCE.
 SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLEA.

DIVISION No. 9—15TH MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 24 and 110, *supra*).

FOR (41).

J. BOLGER.	J. McDONNELL.
W. BRODERICK.	LORD MACDONNELL.
J. J. CLANCY.	C. MCKAY.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.	A. R. MACMULLEN.
P. DEMPSEY.	EARL OF MAYO.
EARL OF DESART.	VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
CAPTAIN DORAN.	J. MURPHY.
J. FITZGIBBON.	W. M. MURPHY.
J. FLANAGAN.	C. P. O'NEILL.
H. GARAHAN.	P. J. O'NEILL.
EARL OF GRANARD.	LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.	DR. O'SULLIVAN.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.	J. B. POWELL.
T. HALLIGAN.	T. POWER.
T. J. HARBISON.	SIR S. B. QUIN.
W. KAVANAGH.	BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
J. K. KETT.	D. REILLY.
T. LONDON.	M. SLATTERY.
J. MCCARRON.	G. F. STEWART.
M. McDONOGH.	H. T. WHITLEY.
	SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (13).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 J. S. F. MCCANCE.
 SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 COLONEL R. H. WALLACE
 SIR W. WHITLEA.

DIVISION No. 10—15TH MARCH, 1918.

(See p. 110, *supra*).

FOR (31).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 EARL OF DESART.
 CAPTAIN DORAN.
 EARL OF GRANARD.
 J. HANNA.
 A. JAMESON.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 J. S. F. McCANCE.
 SIR C. McCULLAGH.
 J. McDONNELL.
 LORD MACDONNELL.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 C. MCKAY.
 A. R. MACMULLEN.
 EARL OF MAYO.
 VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 J. B. POWELL.
 SIR S. B. QUIN.
 G. F. STEWART.
 COL. R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLA.
 H. T. WHITLEY.

AGAINST (32).

J. BOLGER.
 W. BRODERICK.
 J. J. CLANCY.
 J. J. COEN.
 LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
 P. DEMPSEY.
 J. DOOLY.
 BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
 LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.
 T. DUGGAN.
 J. FITZGIBBON.
 J. FLANAGAN.
 H. GARAHAN.
 WILLIAM GUBBINS.
 CAPTAIN GWYNN.
 T. HALLIGAN.
 T. J. HARBISON.
 W. KAVANAGH.
 J. K. KETT.
 T. LONDON.
 J. MCCARRON.
 M. McDONOGH.
 J. MURPHY.
 W. M. MURPHY.
 C. P. O'NEILL.
 P. J. O'NEILL.
 DR. O'SULLIVAN.
 T. POWER.
 BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
 D. REILLY.
 M. SLATTERY.
 SIR B. WINDLE.

DIVISION No. 11—15TH MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 25 and 110, *supra*).

FOR (46).

J. BOLGER.
 W. BRODERICK.
 J. J. CLANCY.
 J. J. COEN.
 LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
 P. DEMPSEY.
 EARL OF DESART.
 J. DOOLY.
 CAPTAIN DORAN.
 BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
 LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.
 T. DUGGAN.
 J. FITZGIBBON.
 J. FLANAGAN.
 H. GARAHAN.
 EARL OF GRANARD.
 WILLIAM GUBBINS.
 CAPTAIN GWYNN.
 T. HALLIGAN.
 T. J. HARBISON.
 A. JAMESON.
 W. KAVANAGH.
 J. K. KETT.
 T. LONDON.
 J. MCCARRON.
 M. McDONOGH.
 J. McDONNELL.
 LORD MACDONNELL.
 C. MCKAY.
 A. R. MACMULLEN.
 EARL OF MAYO.
 VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
 J. MURPHY.
 W. M. MURPHY.
 P. J. O'NEILL.
 LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
 DR. O'SULLIVAN.
 J. B. POWELL.
 T. POWER.
 SIR S. B. QUIN.
 BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
 D. REILLY.
 M. SLATTERY.
 G. F. STEWART.
 H. T. WHITLEY.
 SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (15).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 J. HANNA.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 J. S. F. McCANCE.
 SIR C. McCULLAGH.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 12—15TH MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 25 and 110, *supra*).

FOR (46).

J. BOLGER.	T. LONDON.
W. BRODERICK	J. McCARRON.
J. J. CLANCY.	M. McDONOGH.
J. J. COEN.	J. McDONNELL.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.	LORD MACDONNELL.
P. DEMPSEY.	C. McKAY.
EARL OF DESART.	A. R. MacMULLEN.
J. DOOLY.	EARL OF MAYO.
CAPTAIN DORAN.	VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.	J. MURPHY.
LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.	W. M. MURPHY.
T. DUGGAN.	P. J. O'NEILL.
J. FITZGIBBON.	LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
J. FLANAGAN.	DR. O'SULLIVAN.
H. GARAHAN.	J. B. POWELL.
EARL OF GRANARD.	T. POWER.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.	SIR S. B. QUIN.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.	BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
T. HALLIGAN.	D. REILLY.
T. J. HARRISON.	M. SLATTERY.
A. JAMESON.	G. F. STEWART.
W. KAVANAGH.	H. T. WHITLEY.
J. K. KETT.	SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (15).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
J. HANNA.
M. E. KNIGHT.
J. S. F. McCANCE.
SIR C. McCULLAGH.
H. G. MACGEAGH.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
H. M. POLLOCK.
COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 13—15TH MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 25 and 111, *supra*).

FOR (45).

E. H. ANDREWS.	T. LONDON.
J. BOLGER.	J. McCARRON.
W. BRODERICK.	J. McDONNELL.
J. J. CLANCY.	LORD McDONNELL.
J. J. COEN.	C. McKAY.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.	A. R. MacMULLEN.
P. DEMPSEY.	EARL OF MAYO.
EARL OF DESART.	VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
J. DOOLY.	J. MURPHY.
CAPTAIN DORAN.	W. M. MURPHY.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.	P. J. O'NEILL.
T. DUGGAN.	LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
J. FITZGIBBON.	DR. O'SULLIVAN.
J. FLANAGAN.	J. B. POWELL.
H. GARAHAN.	T. POWER.
EARL OF GRANARD.	SIR S. B. QUIN.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.	BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.	D. REILLY.
T. HALLIGAN.	M. SLATTERY.
T. J. HARRISON.	G. F. STEWART.
A. JAMESON.	H. T. WHITLEY.
W. KAVANAGH.	SIR B. WINDLE.
J. K. KETT.	

AGAINST (15).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
J. HANNA.
M. E. KNIGHT.
J. S. F. McCANCE.
SIR C. McCULLAGH.
H. G. MACGEAGH.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
H. M. POLLOCK.
COL. R. H. WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 14—19TH MARCH, 1918.

(See p. 114, *supra*).

FOR (22).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
 SIR W. GOULDING.
 A. JAMESON.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
 J. S. F. MCCANCE.
 SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
 SIR S. B. QUIN.
 COL. R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLA.

AGAINST (49).

M. K. BARRY.
 J. BOLGER.
 W. BRODERICK.
 J. BUTLER.
 ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
 J. J. CLANCY.
 J. J. COEN.
 D. CONDREN.
 LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
 P. DEMPSEY.
 EARL OF DESART.
 J. DEVLIN.
 J. DOOLY.
 CAPTAIN DORAN.
 BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
 LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.
 T. DUGGAN.
 T. FALLON.
 J. FITZGIBBON.
 J. FLANAGAN.
 H. GARAHAN.
 EARL OF GRANARD.
 WILLIAM GUBBINS.
 CAPTAIN GWYNN.
 T. HALLIGAN.
 T. J. HARBISON.
 W. KAVANAGH.
 J. K. KETT.
 T. LONDON.
 J. MCCARRON.
 LORD MACDONNELL.
 J. MCGARRY.
 J. MCHUGH.
 C. MCKAY.
 A. R. MACMULLEN.
 J. MURPHY.
 W. M. MURPHY.
 J. O'DOWD.
 P. J. O'NEILL.
 DR. O'SULLIVAN.
 P. O'H. PETERS.
 J. B. POWELL.
 T. POWER.
 BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
 D. REILLY.
 M. SLATTERY.
 T. TOAL.
 H. T. WHITLEY.
 SIR B. WINDLE.

DIVISION No. 15—19TH MARCH, 1918.

(See p. 114, *supra*).

FOR (38).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 E. H. ANDREWS.
 M. K. BARRY.
 J. BOLGER.
 W. BRODERICK.
 J. BUTLER.
 J. J. CLANCY.
 J. J. COEN.
 D. CONDREN.
 LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
 P. DEMPSEY.
 EARL OF DESART.
 J. DOOLY.
 CAPTAIN DORAN.
 T. DUGGAN.
 T. FALLON.
 J. FITZGIBBON.
 J. FLANAGAN.
 SIR W. GOULDING.
 EARL OF GRANARD.
 WILLIAM GUBBINS.
 CAPTAIN GWYNN.
 T. HALLIGAN.
 W. KAVANAGH.
 T. LONDON.
 LORD MACDONNELL.
 C. MCKAY.
 A. R. MACMULLEN.
 EARL OF MAYO.
 J. MURPHY.
 J. O'DOWD.
 DR. O'SULLIVAN.
 J. B. POWELL.
 T. POWER.
 D. REILLY.
 M. SLATTERY.
 H. T. WHITLEY.
 SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (23).

SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
 ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
 J. HANNA.
 A. JAMESON.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
 J. S. F. MCCANCE.
 SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
 SIR S. B. QUIN.
 COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 16—19TH MARCH, 1918.

(See p. 115, *supra*.)

FOR (29).

SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
 E. H. ANDREWS.
 ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
 ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
 SIR WM. GOULDING.
 J. HANNA.
 A. JAMESON.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
 J. S. F. McCANCE.
 J. MCCARBON.
 SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 A. R. MACMULLEN.
 VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
 G. F. STEWART.
 COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLA.
 H. T. WHITLEY.

AGAINST (48).

M. K. BARRY.
 J. BOLGER.
 W. BRODERICK.
 J. BUTLER.
 ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
 J. J. CLANCY.
 J. J. COEN.
 D. CONDREN.
 LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
 P. DEMPSEY.
 EARL OF DESART.
 J. DEVLIN.
 J. DOOLY.
 CAPTAIN DORAN.
 BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
 LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.
 T. DUGGAN.
 T. FALLON.
 J. FITZGIBBON.
 J. FLANAGAN.
 H. GARAHAN.
 EARL OF GRANARD.
 WILLIAM GUBBINS.
 CAPTAIN GWYNN.
 T. HALLIGAN.
 T. J. HARBISON.
 W. KAVANAGH.
 J. K. KETT.
 T. LONDON.
 LORD MACDONNELL.
 J. MCGARRY.
 J. MCHUGH.
 C. MCKAY.
 EARL OF MAYO.
 J. MURPHY.
 WILLIAM M. MURPHY.
 J. O'DOWD.
 P. J. O'NEILL.
 DR. O'SULLIVAN.
 P. O'H. PETERS.
 J. B. POWELL.
 T. POWER.
 SIR S. B. QUIN.
 BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
 D. REILLY.
 M. SLATTERY.
 T. TOAL.
 SIR B. WINDLE.

DIVISION No. 17—19TH MARCH, 1918.

(See p. 115, *supra*.)

FOR (18).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
 J. HANNA.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
 J. S. F. McCANCE.
 SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLA.

AGAINST (57).

E. H. ANDREWS.
 M. K. BARRY.
 J. BOLGER.
 W. BRODERICK.
 J. BUTLER.
 ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
 J. J. CLANCY.
 J. J. COEN.
 D. CONDREN.
 LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
 P. DEMPSEY.
 EARL OF DESART.
 J. DEVLIN.
 J. DOOLY.
 CAPTAIN DORAN.
 BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
 ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
 LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.
 T. DUGGAN.
 T. FALLON.
 J. FITZGIBBON.
 H. GARAHAN.
 EARL OF GRANARD.
 WILLIAM GUBBINS.
 CAPTAIN GWYNN.
 T. HALLIGAN.
 T. J. HARBISON.
 A. JAMESON.
 W. KAVANAGH.
 J. K. KETT.
 T. LONDON.
 J. MCCARRON.
 LORD MACDONNELL.
 J. MCGARRY.
 J. MCHUGH.
 C. MCKAY.
 A. R. MACMULLEN.
 EARL OF MAYO.
 VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
 J. MURPHY.
 W. M. MURPHY.
 J. O'DOWD.
 C. P. O'NEILL.
 P. J. O'NEILL.
 LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
 DR. O'SULLIVAN.
 P. O'H. PETERS.
 J. B. POWELL.
 T. POWER.
 SIR S. B. QUIN.
 BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
 D. REILLY.
 M. SLATTERY.
 G. F. STEWART.
 T. TOAL.
 H. T. WHITLEY.
 SIR B. WINDLE.

DIVISION No. 18—19TH MARCH, 1918.

(See p. 115, *supra*).

FOR (57).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.	A. JAMESON.
E. H. ANDREWS.	W. KAVANAGH.
M. K. BARRY.	J. K. KETT.
J. BOLGER.	T. LONDON.
W. BRODERICK.	J. MCCARRON.
J. BUTLER.	LORD MACDONNELL.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.	J. MCGARRY.
J. J. CLANCY.	J. MCHUGH.
J. J. COEN.	C. MCKAY.
D. CONDREN.	A. R. MACMULLEN.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.	EARL OF MAYO.
B. DEMPSEY.	VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
EARL OF DESART.	J. MURPHY.
J. DEVLIN.	J. O'DOWD.
J. DOOLY.	C. P. O'NEILL.
CAPTAIN DORAN.	P. J. O'NEILL.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.	LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.	DR. O'SULLIVAN.
LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.	P. O'H. PETERS.
T. DUGGAN.	J. B. POWELL.
T. FALLON.	T. POWER.
J. FITZGIBBON.	SIR S. B. QUIN.
H. GARAHAN.	BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
EARL OF GRANARD.	D. REILLY.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.	M. SLATTERY.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.	G. F. STEWART.
T. HALLIGAN.	T. TOAL.
T. J. HARBISON.	H. T. WHITLEY.
	SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (18).

SIR R. ANDERSON.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
J. HANNA.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
J. S. F. MCCANCE.
SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
H. G. MACGEAGH.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
W. M. MURPHY.
H. M. POLLOCK.
COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 19—19TH MARCH, 1918.

(See p. 115, *supra*).

FOR (57).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.	A. JAMESON.
E. H. ANDREWS.	W. KAVANAGH.
M. K. BARRY.	J. K. KETT.
J. BOLGER.	T. LONDON.
W. BRODERICK.	J. MCCARRON.
J. BUTLER.	LORD MACDONNELL.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.	J. MCGARRY.
J. J. CLANCY.	J. MCHUGH.
J. J. COEN.	C. MCKAY.
D. CONDREN.	A. R. MACMULLEN.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.	EARL OF MAYO.
P. DEMPSEY.	VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
EARL OF DESART.	J. MURPHY.
J. DEVLIN.	J. O'DOWD.
J. DOOLY.	C. P. O'NEILL.
CAPTAIN DORAN.	P. J. O'NEILL.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.	LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.	DR. O'SULLIVAN.
LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.	P. O'H. PETERS.
T. DUGGAN.	J. B. POWELL.
T. FALLON.	T. POWER.
J. FITZGIBBON.	SIR S. B. QUIN.
H. GARAHAN.	BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
EARL OF GRANARD.	D. REILLY.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.	M. SLATTERY.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.	G. F. STEWART.
T. HALLIGAN.	T. TOAL.
T. J. HARBISON.	H. T. WHITLEY.
	SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (18).

SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
J. HANNA.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
J. S. F. MCCANCE.
SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
H. G. MACGEAGH.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
W. M. MURPHY.
H. M. POLLOCK.
COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 20—19TH MARCH, 1918.

(See p. 115, *supra*).

FOR (54).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.	A. JAMESON.
M. K. BARRY.	W. KAVANAGH.
J. BOLGER.	J. K. KETT.
W. BRODERICK.	T. LUNDON.
J. BUTLER.	J. McCARRON.
J. J. CLANCY.	LORD MACDONNELL.
J. J. COEN.	J. McGARRY.
D. CONDREN.	J. McHUGH.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.	C. MCKAY.
P. DEMPSEY.	A. R. MACMULLEN.
EARL OF DESART.	EARL OF MAYO.
J. DEVLIN.	VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
J. DOOLY.	J. MURPHY.
CAPTAIN DORAN.	W. M. MURPHY.
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.	J. O'DOWD.
LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.	C. P. O'NEILL.
T. DUGGAN.	P. J. O'NEILL.
T. FALLON.	LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
J. FITZGIBBON.	DR. O'SULLIVAN.
J. FLANAGAN.	J. B. POWELL.
H. GARAHAN.	T. POWER.
SIR WILLIAM GOULDING.	SIR S. B. QUIN.
EARL OF GRANARD.	D. REILLY.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.	M. SLATTERY.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.	G. F. STEWART.
T. HALLIGAN.	H. T. WHITLEY.
T. J. HARRISON.	SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (17).

SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
J. HANNA.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
J. S. F. MCCANCE.
SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
H. G. MACGEAGH.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
H. M. POLLOCK.
COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 21—20TH MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 24 and 110, *supra*).

FOR (49).

E. H. ANDREWS.	A. JAMESON.
M. K. BARRY.	W. KAVANAGH.
J. BOLGER.	J. K. KETT.
W. BRODERICK.	T. LUNDON.
J. BUTLER.	J. McCARRON.
J. J. CLANCY.	LORD MACDONNELL.
J. J. COEN.	C. MCKAY.
D. CONDREN.	A. R. MACMULLEN.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.	EARL OF MAYO.
P. DEMPSEY.	VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
J. DEVLIN.	J. MURPHY.
EARL OF DESART.	W. M. MURPHY.
J. DOOLY.	J. O'DOWD.
CAPTAIN DORAN.	P. J. O'NEILL.
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.	LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
T. DUGGAN.	DR. O'SULLIVAN.
T. FALLON.	P. O'H. PETERS.
J. FITZGIBBON.	J. B. POWELL.
J. FLANAGAN.	T. POWER.
SIR W. GOULDING.	PROVOST OF TRINITY.
EARL OF GRANARD.	SIR S. B. QUIN.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.	D. REILLY.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.	M. SLATTERY.
T. HALLIGAN.	H. T. WHITLEY.
	SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST 16.

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
J. S. F. MCCANCE.
SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
H. G. MACGEAGH.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 22—20TH MARCH, 1918.

(See p. 111, *supra*).*FOR* (5).

T. FALLON.
J. McCARRON.
C. McKAY.
J. MURPHY.
H. T. WHITLEY.

AGAINST (51).

E. H. ANDREWS.	CAPTAIN GWYNN.
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.	T. HALLIGAN.
M. K. BARRY.	A. JAMESON.
J. BOLGER.	W. KAVANAGH.
W. BRODERICK.	J. K. KETT.
J. BUTLER.	T. LONDON.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHIEL.	LORD MACDONNELL.
J. J. CLANCY.	J. MCGARRY.
J. J. COEN.	A. R. MACMULLEN.
D. CONDREN.	EARL OF MAYO.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.	VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
P. DEMPSEY.	W. M. MURPHY.
EARL OF DESART.	J. O'DOWD.
J. DOOLY.	C. P. O'NEILL.
CAPTAIN DORAN.	P. J. O'NEILL.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.	LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.	DR. O'SULLIVAN.
LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.	P. O'H. PETERS.
T. DUGGAN.	J. B. POWELL.
J. FITZGIBBON.	T. POWER.
J. FLANAGAN.	PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
H. GARAHAN.	SIR S. B. QUIN.
SIR W. GOULDING.	BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
EARL OF GRANARD.	D. REILLY.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.	M. SLATTERY.
	SIR B. WINDLE.

DIVISION No. 23—20TH MARCH, 1918.

(See p. 111, *supra*).*FOR* (5)

T. FALLON.
J. McCARRON.
C. McKAY.
J. MURPHY.
H. T. WHITLEY

AGAINST (51).

E. H. ANDREWS.	CAPTAIN GWYNN.
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.	T. HALLIGAN.
M. K. BARRY.	A. JAMESON.
J. BOLGER.	W. KAVANAGH.
W. BRODERICK.	J. K. KETT.
J. BUTLER.	T. LONDON.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHIEL.	LORD MACDONNELL.
J. J. CLANCY.	J. MCGARRY.
J. J. COEN.	A. R. MACMULLEN.
D. CONDREN.	EARL OF MAYO.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.	VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
P. DEMPSEY.	W. M. MURPHY.
EARL OF DESART.	J. O'DOWD.
J. DOOLY.	C. P. O'NEILL.
CAPTAIN DORAN.	P. J. O'NEILL.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.	LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.	DR. O'SULLIVAN.
LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.	P. O'H. PETERS.
T. DUGGAN.	J. B. POWELL.
J. FITZGIBBON.	T. POWER.
J. FLANAGAN.	PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
H. GARAHAN.	SIR S. B. QUIN.
SIR W. GOULDING.	BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
EARL OF GRANARD.	D. REILLY.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.	M. SLATTERY.
	SIR B. WINDLE.

DIVISION No. 24—20TH MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 26 and 111, *supra*).

FOR (48).

J. BOLGER.	W. KAVANAGH.
W. BRODERICK.	J. K. KETT.
J. BUTLER.	T. LONDON.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.	LORD MACDONNELL.
J. J. CLANCY.	J. MCGARRY.
J. J. COEN.	J. MCHUGH.
D. CONDREN.	A. R. MACMULLEN.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.	EARL OF MAYO.
P. DEMPSEY.	VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
EARL OF DESART.	W. M. MURPHY.
J. DOOLY.	J. O'DOWD.
CAPTAIN DORAN.	P. J. O'NEILL.
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.	LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
T. DUGGAN.	DR. O'SULLIVAN.
T. FALLON.	P. O'H. PETERS.
J. FITZGIBBON.	J. B. POWELL.
J. FLANAGAN.	T. POWER.
H. GARAHAN.	PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
SIR W. GOULDING.	SIR S. B. QUIN.
EARL OF GRANARD.	BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.	D. REILLY.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.	M. SLATTERY.
T. HALLIGAN.	T. TOAL.
A. JAMESON.	SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (19).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
 J. S. F. MCCANCE.
 J. MCCARRON.
 SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 C. MCKAY.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLA.
 H. T. WHITLEY.

DIVISION No. 25—21ST MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 26 and 111, *supra*).

FOR (47).

E. H. ANDREWS.	J. K. KETT.
M. K. BARRY.	T. LONDON.
J. BOLGER.	J. MCCARRON.
W. BRODERICK.	J. McDONNELL.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.	LORD MACDONNELL.
J. J. COEN.	J. MCGARRY.
D. CONDREN.	J. MCHUGH.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.	C. MCKAY.
P. DEMPSEY.	A. R. MACMULLEN.
J. DOOLY.	EARL OF MAYO.
CAPTAIN DORAN.	VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.	W. M. MURPHY.
LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.	J. O'DOWD.
T. DUGGAN.	DR. O'SULLIVAN.
T. FALLON.	P. O'H. PETERS.
J. FITZGIBBON.	J. B. POWELL.
J. FLANAGAN.	T. POWER.
H. GARAHAN.	SIR S. B. QUIN.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.	BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.	D. REILLY.
T. HALLIGAN.	M. SLATTERY.
A. JAMESON.	G. F. STEWART.
W. KAVANAGH.	T. TOAL.
	SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (22).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
 ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
 ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
 J. HANNA.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
 J. S. F. MCCANCE.
 SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
 COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 26—21st MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 26 and 112, *supra*).

FOR (27).

E. H. ANDREWS.
J. BOLGER.
J. J. COEN.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
EARL OF DESART.
J. DOOLY.
T. DUGGAN.
T. FALLON.
SIR W. GOULDING.
EARL OF GRANARD.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.
J. HANNA.
A. JAMESON.
W. KAVANAGH.
LORD MACDONNELL.
A. R. MACMULLEN.
EARL OF MAYO.
VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
P. J. O'NEILL.
LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
J. B. POWELL.
PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
SIR S. B. QUIN.
BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
D. REILLY.
G. F. STEWART.
SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (20).

M. K. BARRY.
W. BRODERICK.
J. J. CLANCY.
D. CONDREN.
CAPTAIN DORAN.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
J. FITZGIBBON.
H. GARAHAN.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.
T. HALLIGAN.
T. LONDON.
J. MCCARRON.
J. MCGARRY.
J. MCHUGH.
J. MCKAY.
J. MURPHY.
DR. O'SULLIVAN.
P. O'H. PETERS.
M. SLATTERY.
T. TOAL.

DIVISION No. 27—21st MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 27 and 112, *supra*).

FOR (45).

E. H. ANDREWS.
M. K. BARRY.
J. BOLGER.
W. BRODERICK.
J. BUTLER.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
J. J. CLANCY.
J. J. COEN.
D. CONDREN.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
P. DEMPSEY.
EARL OF DESART.
J. DOOLY.
CAPTAIN DORAN.
T. DUGGAN.
T. FALLON.
J. FITZGIBBON.
SIR W. GOULDING.
EARL OF GRANARD.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.
T. HALLIGAN.
A. JAMESON.
W. KAVANAGH.
T. LONDON.
J. MCCARRON.
LORD MACDONNELL.
C. MCKAY.
A. R. MACMULLEN.
EARL OF MAYO.
VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
J. MURPHY.
J. O'DOWD.
P. J. O'NEILL.
LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
DR. O'SULLIVAN.
J. B. POWELL.
T. POWER.
PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
SIR S. B. QUIN.
BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
D. REILLY.
M. SLATTERY.
G. F. STEWART.
SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (20).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
H. GARAHAN.
J. HANNA.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
J. S. F. MCCANCE.
SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
H. G. MACGEAGH.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
H. M. POLLOCK.
T. TOAL.
COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

U

DIVISION No. 28—21st MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 27 and 112, *supra*).

FOR (45).

J. BOLGER.
W. BRODERICK.
J. BUTLER.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
J. J. CLANCY.
J. J. COEN.
D. CONDREN.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
P. DEMPSEY.
EARL OF DESART.
J. DOOLY.
CAPTAIN DORAN.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
T. FALLON.
J. FITZGIBBON.
J. FLANAGAN.
H. GARAHAN.
SIR W. GOULDING.
EARL OF GRANARD.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.
T. HALLIGAN.

A. JAMESON.
W. KAVANAGH.
J. K. KETT.
J. McDONNELL.
LORD MACDONNELL.
A. R. MACMULLEN.
EARL OF MAYO.
VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
W. M. MURPHY.
J. O'DOWD.
P. J. O'NEILL.
LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
DR. O'SULLIVAN.
P. O'H. PETERS.
J. B. POWELL.
T. POWER.
PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
SIR S. B. QUIN.
BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
D. REILLY.
M. SLATTERY.
G. F. STEWART.
SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (22).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
J. HANNA.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
T. LONDON.
J. S. F. MCCANCE.
J. MCCARRON.
SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
H. G. MACGEAGH.
C. MCKAY.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
J. MURPHY.
H. M. POLLOCK.
COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 29—21st MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 27 and 112, *supra*).

FOR (42).

E. H. ANDREWS.
J. BOLGER.
W. BRODERICK.
J. BUTLER.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
J. J. CLANCY.
J. J. COEN.
D. CONDREN.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
J. DOOLY.
CAPTAIN DORAN.
T. DUGGAN.
T. FALLON.
J. FITZGIBBON.
J. FLANAGAN.
H. GARAHAN.
SIR W. GOULDING.
EARL OF GRANARD.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.
T. HALLIGAN.

A. JAMESON.
W. KAVANAGH.
J. K. KETT.
J. McDONNELL.
LORD MACDONNELL.
A. R. MACMULLEN.
EARL OF MAYO.
VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
W. M. MURPHY.
J. O'DOWD.
LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
DR. O'SULLIVAN.
P. O'H. PETERS.
J. B. POWELL.
T. POWER.
SIR S. B. QUIN.
BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
D. REILLY.
M. SLATTERY.
G. F. STEWART.
SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (24).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
J. HANNA.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
T. LONDON.
J. S. F. MCCANCE.
J. MCCARRON.
SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
H. G. MACGEAGH.
C. MCKAY.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
J. MURPHY.
H. M. POLLOCK.
PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 30—21st MARCH, 1918.

(See p. 112, *supra*).

FOR (22).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
 J. HANNA.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
 T. LONDON.
 J. S. F. McCANCE.
 J. McCARRON.
 SIR C. McCULLAGH.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 C. MCKAY.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY
 J. MURPHY.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLA.

AGAINST (44).

E. H. ANDREWS.
 J. BOLGER.
 W. BRODERICK.
 J. BUTLER.
 ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
 J. J. CLANCY.
 J. J. COEN.
 D. CONDREN.
 LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
 EARL OF DESART.
 J. DOOLY.
 CAPTAIN DORAN.
 T. DUGGAN.
 T. FALLON.
 J. FITZGIBBON.
 J. FLANAGAN.
 H. GARAHAN.
 SIR W. GOULDING.
 EARL OF GRANARD.
 WILLIAM GUBBINS.
 CAPTAIN GWYNN.
 T. HALLIGAN.
 A. JAMESON.
 W. KAVANAGH.
 J. KETT.
 J. McDONNELL.
 LORD MACDONNELL.
 J. MCHUGH.
 A. R. MACMULLEN.
 EARL OF MAYO.
 VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
 W. M. MURPHY.
 J. O'DOWD.
 LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
 DR. O'SULLIVAN.
 P. O'H. PETERS.
 J. B. POWELL.
 T. POWER.
 SIR S. B. QUIN.
 BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
 D. REILLY.
 M. SLATTERY.
 G. F. STEWART.
 SIR B. WINDLE.

DIVISION No. 31—21st MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 27 and 112, *supra*).

FOR (44).

E. H. ANDREWS.
 J. BOLGER.
 W. BRODERICK.
 J. BUTLER.
 ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
 J. J. CLANCY.
 J. J. COEN.
 D. CONDREN.
 LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
 EARL OF DESART.
 J. DOOLY.
 CAPTAIN DORAN.
 T. DUGGAN.
 T. FALLON.
 J. FITZGIBBON.
 J. FLANAGAN.
 H. GARAHAN.
 SIR W. GOULDING.
 EARL OF GRANARD.
 WILLIAM GUBBINS.
 CAPTAIN GWYNN.
 T. HALLIGAN.
 A. JAMESON.
 W. KAVANAGH.
 J. K. KETT.
 J. McDONNELL.
 LORD MACDONNELL.
 J. MCHUGH.
 A. R. MACMULLEN.
 EARL OF MAYO.
 VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
 W. M. MURPHY.
 J. O'DOWD.
 LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
 DR. O'SULLIVAN.
 P. O'H. PETERS.
 J. B. POWELL.
 T. POWER.
 SIR S. B. QUIN.
 BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
 D. REILLY.
 M. SLATTERY.
 G. F. STEWART.
 SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (22).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
 J. HANNA.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
 T. LONDON.
 J. S. F. McCANCE.
 J. McCARRON.
 SIR C. McCULLAGH.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 C. MCKAY.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 J. MURPHY.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLA.

U

DIVISION No. 32—21st MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 27 and 112, *supra*).

FOR (51).	AGAINST (18).
E. H. ANDREWS.	DUKE OF ABERCORN.
J. BOLGER.	SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
W. BRODERICK.	H. B. ARMSTRONG.
J. BUTLER.	H. T. BARRIE.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHIEL.	LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
J. J. CLANCY.	SIR G. CLARK.
J. J. COEN.	COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
D. CONDREN.	COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.	J. HANNA.
EARL OF DESART.	M. E. KNIGHT.
J. J. DOOLY.	MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
CAPTAIN DORAN.	J. S. F. McCANCE.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.	SIR C. McCULLAGH.
T. DUGGAN.	H. G. MACGEAGH.
T. FALLON.	MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
J. FITZGIBBON.	H. M. POLLOCK.
J. FLANAGAN.	COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
H. GARAHAN.	SIR W. WHITLA.
SIR W. GOULDING.	
EARL OF GRANAUD.	
WILLIAM GUBBINS.	
CAPTAIN GWYNN.	
T. HALLIGAN.	
A. JAMESON.	
W. KAVANAGH.	
J. K. KETT.	
T. LONDON.	
J. McCARRON.	
J. McDONNELL.	
LORD MACDONNELL.	
J. McGARRY.	
J. McHUGH.	
C. MCKAY.	
A. R. MACMULLEN.	
EARL OF MAYO.	
VISCOUNT MIDLETON.	
J. MURPHY.	
W. M. MURPHY.	
J. O'DOWD.	
LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.	
DR. O'SULLIVAN.	
P. O'H. PETERS.	
J. B. POWELL.	
T. POWER.	
SIR S. B. QUIN.	
BISHOP OF RAPHOE.	
D. REILLY.	
M. SLATTERY.	
G. F. STEWART.	
T. TOAL.	
SIR B. WINDLE.	

DIVISION No. 33—22nd MARCH, 1918.

(See p. 112, *supra*).

FOR (31).	AGAINST (36).
DUKE OF ABERCORN.	J. BOLGER.
SIR R. N. ANDERSON.	W. BRODERICK.
E. H. ANDREWS.	J. BUTLER.
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.	ARCHBISHOP OF CASHIEL.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.	J. J. CLANCY.
H. T. BARRIE.	J. J. COEN.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.	D. CONDREN.
SIR G. CLARK.	LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.	P. DEMPSEY.
COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.	J. DOOLY.
EARL OF DESART.	CAPTAIN DORAN.
J. HANNA.	BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
A. JAMESON.	T. DUGGAN.
M. E. KNIGHT.	T. FALLON.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.	J. FITZGIBBON.
J. S. F. McCANCE.	J. FLANAGAN.
J. McCARRON.	H. GARAHAN.
SIR C. McCULLAGH.	WILLIAM GUBBINS.
H. G. MACGEAGH.	CAPTAIN GWYNN.
C. MCKAY.	T. HALLIGAN.
A. R. MACMULLEN.	W. KAVANAGH.
EARL OF MAYO.	J. K. KETT.
VISCOUNT MIDLETON.	T. LONDON.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.	J. McDONNELL.
LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.	J. McGARRY.
H. M. POLLOCK.	J. McHUGH.
J. B. POWELL.	W. M. MURPHY.
PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.	J. O'DOWD.
SIR S. B. QUIN.	C. P. O'NEILL.
COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.	P. J. O'NEILL.
SIR W. WHITLA.	P. O'H. PETERS.
	T. POWER.
	BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
	D. REILLY.
	M. SLATTERY.
	SIR B. WINDLE.

DIVISION No. 34—22ND MARCH, 1918.
(See pp. 28 and 112, *supra*).

FOR (38).

E. H. ANDREWS.
J. BOLGER.
W. BRODERICK.
J. BUTLER.
J. J. CLANCY.
J. J. COEN.
D. CONDREN.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
P. DEMPSEY.
EARL OF DESART.
J. DOOLY.
CAPTAIN DORAN.
T. DUGGAN.
T. FALLON.
J. FITZGIBBON.
J. FLANAGAN.
EARL OF GRANARD.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.
T. HALLIGAN.
A. JAMESON.
W. KAVANAGH.
J. MCCARRON.
J. McDONNELL.
LORD MACDONNELL.
C. MCKAY.
A. R. MACMULLEN.
EARL OF MAYO.
VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
J. O'DOWD.
C. P. O'NEILL.
LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
J. B. POWELL.
T. POWER.
SIR S. B. QUIN.
D. REILLY.
M. SLATTERY.
SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (30).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
H. GARAHAN.
J. HANNA.
J. K. KETT.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
T. LUNDON.
J. S. F. MCCANCE.
SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
J. MCGARRY.
H. G. MACGEACH.
J. MCHUGH.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
W. M. MURPHY.
P. J. O'NEILL.
P. O'H. PETERS.
H. M. POLLOCK.
BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 35—22ND MARCH, 1918.
(See p. 113, *supra*).

FOR (32).

THE CHAIRMAN.
J. BOLGER.
W. BRODERICK.
J. BUTLER.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
J. J. COEN.
D. CONDREN.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
P. DEMPSEY.
J. DOOLY.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
T. DUGGAN.
T. FALLON.
J. FITZGIBBON.
J. FLANAGAN.
H. GARAHAN.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.
T. HALLIGAN.
J. K. KETT.
T. LUNDON.
J. MCCARRON.
C. MCKAY.
J. MURPHY.
W. M. MURPHY.
J. O'DOWD.
P. J. O'NEILL.
P. O'H. PETERS.
T. POWER.
D. REILLY.
M. SLATTERY.
SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (31).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
EARL OF DESART.
CAPTAIN DORAN.
EARL OF GRANARD.
J. HANNA.
W. KAVANAGH.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
J. S. F. MCCANCE.
SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
LORD MACDONNELL.
H. G. MACGEACH.
J. MCHUGH.
A. R. MACMULLEN.
EARL OF MAYO.
VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
H. M. POLLOCK.
J. B. POWELL.
SIR S. B. QUIN.
BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 36—22ND MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 28 and 113, *supra*).

[FOR (43).]

J. BOLGER.	J. K. KETT.
W. BRODERICK.	T. LONDON.
J. BUTLER.	J. MCCARRON.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.	LORD MACDONNELL.
J. J. COEN.	J. MCGARRY.
D. CONDREN.	C. MCKAY.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.	A. R. MACMULLEN.
P. DEMPSEY.	EARL OF MAYO.
EARL OF DESART.	VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
J. DOOLY.	J. MURPHY.
CAPTAIN DORAN.	W. M. MURPHY.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.	P. J. O'NEILL.
T. DUGGAN.	DR. O'SULLIVAN.
J. FITZGIBBON.	P. O'H. PETERS.
J. FLANAGAN.	J. B. POWELL.
H. GARAHAN.	T. POWER.
EARL OF GRANARD.	SIR S. B. QUIN.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.	BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.	D. REILLY.
T. HALLIGAN.	M. SLATTERY.
W. KAVANAGH.	G. F. STEWART.
	SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (17).

SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
J. HANNA.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
J. S. F. MCCANCE.
SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
H. G. MACGEAGH.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
H. M. POLLOCK.
COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 37—22ND MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 29 and 113, *supra*).

FOR (43).

J. BOLGER.	J. K. KETT.
W. BRODERICK.	T. LONDON.
J. BUTLER.	J. MCCARRON.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.	LORD MACDONNELL.
J. J. COEN.	J. MCGARRY.
D. CONDREN.	C. MCKAY.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.	A. R. MACMULLEN.
P. DEMPSEY.	EARL OF MAYO.
EARL OF DESART.	VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
J. DOOLY.	J. MURPHY.
CAPTAIN DORAN.	W. M. MURPHY.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.	P. J. O'NEILL.
T. DUGGAN.	DR. O'SULLIVAN.
J. FITZGIBBON.	P. O'H. PETERS.
J. FLANAGAN.	J. B. POWELL.
H. GARAHAN.	T. POWER.
EARL OF GRANARD.	SIR S. B. QUIN.
WILLIAM GUBBINS.	BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.	D. REILLY.
T. HALLIGAN.	M. SLATTERY.
W. KAVANAGH.	G. F. STEWART.
	SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (17).

SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
J. HANNA.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
J. S. F. MCCANCE.
SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
H. G. MACGEAGH.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
H. M. POLLOCK.
COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 38—22ND MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 29 and 113, *supra*).

FOR (42).

J. BOLGER.
 W. BRODERICK.
 J. BUTLER.
 ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
 J. J. COEN.
 D. CONDREN.
 LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
 P. DEMPSEY.
 EARL OF DESART.
 J. DOOLY.
 CAPTAIN DORAN.
 T. DUGGAN.
 J. FITZGIBBON.
 J. FLANAGAN.
 H. GARAHAN.
 EARL OF GRANARD.
 WILLIAM GUBBINS.
 CAPTAIN GWYNN.
 T. HALLIGAN.
 W. KAVANAGH.
 J. K. KETT.

T. LONDON.
 J. McCARRON.
 LORD MACDONNELL.
 J. MCGARRY.
 C. MCKAY.
 A. R. MACMULLEN.
 EARL OF MAYO.
 VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
 J. MURPHY.
 W. M. MURPHY.
 P. J. O'NEILL.
 DR. O'SULLIVAN.
 P. O'H. PETERS.
 J. B. POWELL.
 T. POWER.
 SIR S. B. QUIN.
 BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
 D. REILLY.
 M. SLATTERY.
 G. F. STEWART.
 SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (18).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
 J. HANNA.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
 J. S. F. McCANCE.
 SIR C. McCULLAGH.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 39—22ND MARCH, 1918.

(See pp. 29 and 113, *supra*).

FOR (43).

J. BOLGER.
 W. BRODERICK.
 J. BUTLER.
 ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
 J. J. COEN.
 D. CONDREN.
 LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
 P. DEMPSEY.
 EARL OF DESART.
 J. DOOLY.
 CAPTAIN DORAN.
 BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
 T. DUGGAN.
 J. FITZGIBBON.
 J. FLANAGAN.
 H. GARAHAN.
 EARL OF GRANARD.
 WILLIAM GUBBINS.
 CAPTAIN GWYNN.
 T. HALLIGAN.
 W. KAVANAGH.

J. K. KETT.
 T. LONDON.
 J. McCARRON.
 LORD MACDONNELL.
 J. MCGARRY.
 C. MCKAY.
 A. R. MACMULLEN.
 EARL OF MAYO.
 VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
 J. MURPHY.
 W. M. MURPHY.
 P. J. O'NEILL.
 DR. O'SULLIVAN.
 P. O'H. PETERS.
 J. B. POWELL.
 T. POWER.
 SIR S. B. QUIN.
 BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
 D. REILLY.
 M. SLATTERY.
 G. F. STEWART.

SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (18).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
 J. HANNA.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
 J. S. F. McCANCE.
 SIR C. McCULLAGH.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 40—22ND MARCH, 1918.

(See p. 116, *supra*).

FOR (27).

W. BRODERICK.
 J. J. CLANCY.
 J. J. COEN.
 D. CONDREN.
 LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
 P. DEMPSEY.
 J. DOOLY.
 CAPTAIN DORAN.
 BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
 T. DUGGAN.
 J. FITZGIBBON.
 J. FLANAGAN.
 W. GUBBINS.
 CAPTAIN GWYNN.
 T. HALLIGAN.
 J. K. KETT.
 T. LONDON.
 J. MCCARRON.
 J. MCGARRY.
 C. MCKAY.
 J. MURPHY.
 DR. O'SULLIVAN.
 P. O'H. PETERS.
 T. POWER.
 D. REILLY.
 M. SLATTERY.
 SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (35).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
 ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 J. BOLGER.
 J. BUTLER.
 ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
 EARL OF DESART.
 EARL OF GRANARD.
 J. HANNA.
 A. JAMESON.
 W. KAVANAGH.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
 J. S. F. MCCANCE.
 SIR C. MACCULLAGH.
 LORD MACDONNELL.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 A. R. MACMULLEN.
 EARL OF MAYO.
 VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 J. B. POWELL.
 PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
 SIR S. B. QUIN.
 BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
 G. F. STEWART.
 COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLEY.

DIVISION No. 41—22ND MARCH, 1918.

(See p. 116, *supra*).

FOR (27).

W. BRODERICK.
 J. BUTLER.
 ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
 J. J. COEN.
 D. CONDREN.
 LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
 P. DEMPSEY.
 J. DOOLY.
 CAPTAIN DORAN.
 BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
 T. DUGGAN.
 J. FITZGIBBON.
 J. FLANAGAN.
 H. GARAHAN.
 WILLIAM GUBBINS.
 T. HALLIGAN.
 J. K. KETT.
 T. LONDON.
 J. MCCARRON.
 J. MCGARRY.
 C. MCKAY.
 J. MURPHY.
 P. J. O'NEILL.
 P. O'H. PETERS.
 T. POWER.
 D. REILLY.
 M. SLATTERY.

AGAINST (35).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
 SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
 ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
 H. B. ARMSTRONG.
 H. T. BARRIE.
 LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
 J. BOLGER.
 J. J. CLANCY.
 COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
 SIR G. CLARK.
 COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
 ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
 SIR WILLIAM GOULDING.
 EARL OF GRANARD.
 CAPTAIN GWYNN.
 J. HANNA.
 A. JAMESON.
 W. KAVANAGH.
 M. E. KNIGHT.
 MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
 J. S. F. MCCANCE.
 SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
 LORD MACDONNELL.
 H. G. MACGEAGH.
 A. R. MACMULLEN.
 VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
 MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
 H. M. POLLOCK.
 J. B. POWELL.
 PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
 SIR S. B. QUIN.
 G. F. STEWART.
 COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
 SIR W. WHITLA.
 SIR B. WINDLE.

DIVISION No. 44—4TH APRIL, 1918.

CONSIDERATION OF REPORT.

*Paragraph 29.**Amendment proposed (MR. W. M. MURPHY):—*

To omit Clause 29 and to substitute the following Clause:—

"It became apparent that on the financial issue there were three clearly defined bodies of opinion in the Convention, and in these circumstances the Chairman, acting on his own responsibility, considered it to be his duty to communicate personally with the Prime Minister and to represent to him that the situation in the Convention had reached a very critical stage and that it was in danger of coming to a definite break.

"Arising out of his interview with the Prime Minister, which took place on Saturday, the 19th January, the Chairman received the following letter on the 22nd January to be used at his discretion."

*Amendment rejected by 42 votes to 11.**FOR (11).*

E. H. ANDREWS.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
H. GARAHAN.
J. HANNA.
J. MCGARRY.
J. MCHUGH.
W. M. MURPHY.
P. O'H. PETERS.
BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
T. TOAL.

AGAINST (42).

M. K. BARRY.
W. BRODERICK.
J. BUTLER.
J. J. CLANCY.
J. J. COEN.
D. CONDREN.
P. DEMPSEY.
EARL OF DESART.
J. DOOLY.
CAPTAIN DORAN.
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
T. DUGGAN.
EARL OF DUNRAVEN.
T. FALLON.
J. FITZGIBBON.
J. FLANAGAN.
SIR WILLIAM GOULDING.
M. GOVERNEY.
EARL OF GRANARD.
W. GUBBINS.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.
T. HALLIGAN.
A. JAMESON.
W. KAVANAGH.
ALDERMAN MCCARRON.
M. McDONOUGH.
J. McDONNELL.
H. G. MACLEAGH.
C. MCKAY.
A. R. MACMULLEN.
VISCOUNT MIDDLETON.
J. MURPHY.
J. O'DOWD.
LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
DR. O'SULLIVAN.
J. B. POWELL.
T. POWER.
PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
SIR S. QUIN.
D. REILLY.
M. SLATTERY.
G. F. STEWART.
H. T. WHITLEY.
SIR B. WINDLE.

DIVISION No. 45—4TH APRIL, 1918.

CONSIDERATION OF REPORT.

Paragraph 29.

Amendment proposed (Mr. W. M. MURPHY):—

Immediately after the Prime Minister's letter dated 21st January, page 11, insert the following words:—

“Acting on his discretion, the Chairman communicated this letter to the Convention on the 24th January, when a division was imminent on the Bishop of Raphoe's Amendment (claiming control of Customs for the Irish Parliament), to Lord Middleton's Motion, which had been under discussion for some time.”

Amendment rejected by 44 votes to 10.

FOR (10).	AGAINST (44).
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL. BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR. H. GARAHAN. J. HANNA. J. MCGARRY. J. MCHUGH. W. M. MURPHY. P. O'H. PETERS. BISHOP OF RAPHOE. T. TOAL.	<div> E. H. ANDREWS. M. K. BARRY. W. BRODERICK. J. BUTLER. J. J. CLANCY. J. J. COEN. D. CONDREN. P. DEMPSEY. EARL OF DESART. J. DOOLY. CAPTAIN DORAN. ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN. T. DUGGAN. EARL OF DUNRAVEN. T. FALLON. J. FITZGIBBON. SIR WILLIAM GOULDING. M. GOVERNEY. EARL OF GRANARD. WILLIAM GUBBINS. CAPTAIN GWYNN. T. HALLIGAN. </div> <div> A. JAMESON. W. KAVANAGH. T. LUNDON. ALDERMAN MCCARRON. M. McDONOGH. J. McDONNELL. C. MCKAY. A. R. MACMULLEN. VISCOUNT MIDDLETON. J. MURPHY. J. O'DOWD. LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE. DR. O'SULLIVAN. J. B. POWELL. T. POWER. PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE. SIR S. B. QUIN. D. REILLY. M. SLATTERY. G. F. STEWART. H. T. WHITLEY. SIR B. WINDLE. </div>

Paragraph 29 subsequently amended and adopted without a division.

DIVISION No. 46—4TH APRIL, 1918.

CONSIDERATION OF REPORT.

*Paragraph 32.**Amendment proposed (Mr. W. M. MURPHY):—*

Insert at end of Prime Minister's letter dated 25th February:—

"The Prime Minister's letter created a wholly new situation, for whereas in his letter to Mr. Redmond of the 16th May he invited the Convention to frame a Constitution for Ireland within the Empire, in the foregoing letter he practically defined the only Constitution which he would adopt. The letter had the further effect that Lord Midleton, who was willing to give Police and every fiscal power except Customs to the Irish Parliament on its creation, withdrew from that position and supported Lord MacDonnell's Motion to withhold Police and Post Office during the War, and both Customs and Excise for an indefinite period.

"Again the Committee on Defence had reported with one dissentient on the 26th February that the control of the Irish Police should be entrusted to the Irish Government, but in a supplementary Report, dated March 5th, they referred to the Prime Minister's letter and came to the conclusion 'that it may, perhaps, be essential that during the War Imperial Control of Police should, for Administrative purposes, be retained.'"

*Amendment rejected by 41 votes to 16.**FOR (16).*

J. BOLGER.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
T. DUGGAN.
J. FLANAGAN.
H. GARAHAN.
W. GUBBINS.
J. HANNA.
J. MCGARRY.
J. MCHUGH.
W. M. MURPHY.
P. J. O'NEILL.
P. O'H. PETERS.
BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
T. TOAL.

AGAINST (41).

E. H. ANDREWS.
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
M. K. BARRY.
W. BRODERICK.
J. BUTLER.
J. J. CLANCY.
J. J. COEN.
D. CONDREN.
EARL OF DESART.
J. DOOLY.
CAPTAIN DORAN.
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
EARL OF DUNRAVEN.
T. FALLON.
J. FITZGIBBON.
SIR WILLIAM GOULDING.
M. GOVERNEY.
EARL OF GRANARD.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.
T. HALLIGAN.
A. JAMESON.
W. KAVANAGH.
T. LONDON.
ALDERMAN MCCARRON.
M. McDONOGH.
J. McDONNELL.
C. MCKAY.
A. R. MACMULLEN.
VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
J. MURPHY.
J. O'DOWD.
LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
DR. O'SULLIVAN.
J. B. POWELL.
T. POWER.
SIR S. B. QUIN.
D. REILLY.
M. SLATTERY.
G. F. STEWART.
H. T. WHITLEY.
SIR B. WINDLE.

Paragraph subsequently adopted without a division.

DIVISION No. 47—4TH APRIL, 1918.

CONSIDERATION OF REPORT.

Paragraph 36.

Amendment proposed (Mr. W. M. MURPHY):—

To omit the first line and the three first words in the second line of Clause 36.

Amendment rejected by 37 votes to 32

FOR (32).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
J. BOLGER.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
T. DUGGAN.
J. FLANAGAN.
H. GARAHAN.
W. GUBBINS.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
J. S. F. McCANCE.
SIR C. McCULLAGH.
J. McGARRY.
H. GRATTAN MACGEAGH.
J. McHUGH.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
W. M. MURPHY.
P. J. O'NEILL.
P. O'H. PETERS.
H. M. POLLOCK.
BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
T. TOAL.
COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

AGAINST (37).

W. BRODERICK.
J. BUTLER.
J. J. CLANCY.
J. J. COEN.
D. CONDREN.
P. DEMPSEY.
EARL OF DESART.
J. DOOLY.
CAPTAIN DORAN.
EARL OF DUNRAVEN.
T. FALLON.
J. FITZGIBBON.
SIR WILLIAM GOULDING.
M. GOVERNEY.
EARL OF GRANARD.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.
T. HALLIGAN.
A. JAMESON.
W. KAVANAGH.
ALDERMAN MCCARRON.
M. McDONOGH.
J. McDONNELL.
C. McKAY.
A. R. McMULLEN.
VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
J. MURPHY.
C. P. O'NEILL.
LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
DR. O'SULLIVAN.
J. B. POWELL.
T. POWER.
SIR S. B. QUIN.
D. REILLY.
M. SLATTERY.
G. F. STEWART.
H. T. WHITLEY.
SIR B. WINDLE.

Paragraph subsequently amended and adopted without a division.

DIVISION No. 48—5TH APRIL, 1918.

CONSIDERATION OF REPORT OF HOUSING COMMITTEE.

*(See p. 23, supra.)**Amendment proposed (Mr. McCARRON):—*

In paragraph 13 to omit the words "or to private owners or agencies, subject to the approval of the local authorities, as to rents and other conditions."

*Amendment rejected by 41 votes to 34.**FOR (34).*

M. K. BARRY.
W. BRODERICK.
J. BUTLER.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
D. CONDREN.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
P. DEMPSEY.
J. DEVLIN.
CAPTAIN DORAN.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
T. DUGGAN.
T. FALLON.
H. GARAHAN.
M. GOVERNEY.
J. HANNA.
J. K. KETT.
T. LUNDON.
ALDERMAN McCARRON.
J. McGARRY.
J. McHUGH.
C. McKAY.
J. MURPHY.
J. O'DOWD.
P. J. O'NEILL.
DR. O'SULLIVAN.
P. O'H. PETERS.
T. POWER.
BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
D. REILLY.
M. SLATTERY.
T. TOAL.
R. WAUGH.
H. T. WHITLEY.
SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (41).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
E. H. ANDREWS.
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
J. BOLGER.
J. J. CLANCY.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
J. J. COEN.
COLONEL SHARMAN CRAWFORD.
EARL OF DESART.
J. DOOLY.
EARL OF DUNRAVEN.
J. FITZGIBBON.
J. FLANAGAN.
SIR W. GOULDING.
EARL OF GRANARD.
A. JAMESON.
W. KAVANAGH.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
J. S. F. McCANCE.
SIR C. McCULLAGH.
M. McDONOUGH.
J. McDONNELL.
H. G. MACGEACH.
A. R. MACMULLEN.
VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
W. M. MURPHY.
C. P. O'NEILL.
LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
H. M. POLLOCK.
J. B. POWELL.
SIR S. B. QUIN.
G. F. STEWART.
COLONEL WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLEY.

Report subsequently amended and adopted unanimously.

DIVISION No. 49—5TH APRIL, 1918.

CONSIDERATION OF REPORT.

Paragraph 44, as submitted by the Chairman, viz.:—

The foregoing is an accurate narrative of the proceedings of the Convention and, as such, we unanimously append our signatures to it. Those of us who consider that it does not adequately describe the position they took up in the Convention have, in notes subjoined to this Report, indicated in what respect it fails to do so.

Amendment proposed (ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH):—

To omit all the words after "The" and to insert:—"Chairman and Secretary have been authorised by formal resolution to sign the foregoing Report on behalf of the Convention and to submit it to His Majesty's Government."

Amendment adopted by 45 votes to 36.

FOR (45).

E. H. ANDREWS.
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
M. K. BARRY.
J. BOLGER.
W. BRODERICK.
J. BUTLER.
J. J. CLANCY.
J. COEN.
D. CONDREN.
P. DEMPSEY.
EARL OF DESART.
J. DOOLY.
CAPTAIN DORAN.
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
EARL OF DUNRAVEN.
T. FALLON.
J. FITZGIBBON.
SIR WILLIAM GOULDING.
M. GOVERNEY.
EARL OF GRANARD.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.
T. HALLIGAN.
A. JAMESON.
W. KAVANAGH.
ALDERMAN MCCARRON.
M. McDONOGH.
J. McDONNELL.
C. McKAY.
A. R. MACMULLEN.
VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
J. MURPHY.
J. O'DOWD.
C. P. O'NEILL.
LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
DR. O'SULLIVAN.
J. B. POWELL.
T. POWER.
PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
SIR S. B. QUIN.
D. REILLY.
M. SLATTERY.
G. F. STEWART.
R. WAUGH.
H. T. WHITLEY.
SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (36).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
J. DEVLIN.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.
T. DUGGAN.
J. FLANAGAN.
H. GARAHAN.
W. GUBBINS.
J. HANNA.
J. K. KETT.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
T. LONDON.
J. S. F. McCANCE.
SIR C. McCULLAGH.
J. McGARRY.
H. G. MACGEAGH.
J. McHUGH.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
W. M. MURPHY.
P. J. O'NEILL.
P. O'H. PETERS.
H. M. POLLOCK.
BISHOP OF RAPHAEL.
T. TOAL.
COLONEL WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 50—5TH APRIL, 1918.

CONSIDERATION OF REPORT.

Paragraph 44, as amended:—

“ The Chairman and Secretary have been authorised by formal resolution to sign the foregoing Report on behalf of the Convention and to submit it to His Majesty's Government.”

Further Amendment proposed (ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH):—

To omit all the words after “ The Chairman and Secretary ” and to insert “ have the honour to submit the foregoing Report of the Proceedings of the Irish Convention to His Majesty's Government.”

Amendment carried by 34 votes to 29.

FOR (34).

ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
M. K. BARRY.
J. BOLGER.
W. BRODERICK.
J. BUTLER.
J. J. CLANCY.
J. J. COEN.
D. CONDREN.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
J. DEVLIN.
J. DOOLY.
CAPTAIN DORAN.
LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.
T. FALLON.
J. FITZGIBBON.
J. FLANAGAN.
M. GOVERNEY.
EARL OF GRANARD.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.
T. HALLIGAN.
W. KAVANAGH.
T. LUNDON.
M. McDONOGH.
J. McDONNELL.
W. M. MURPHY.
J. O'DOWD.
C. P. O'NEILL.
P. J. O'NEILL.
DR. O'SULLIVAN.
T. POWER.
PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
D. REILLY.
M. SLATTERY.
SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (29).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
E. H. ANDREWS.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
COLONEL SHARMAN CRAWFORD.
EARL OF DESART.
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
SIR W. GOULDING.
J. HANNA.
A. JAMESON.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
J. S. F. McCANCE.
SIR C. McCULLAGH.
H. G. MACGEACH.
A. R. MACMULLEN.
VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
H. M. POLLOCK.
J. B. POWELL.
SIR S. B. QUIN.
G. F. STEWART.
COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 51—5TH APRIL, 1918.

CONSIDERATION OF REPORT.

(See p. 29, *supra*).

Paragraph 44, as amended, viz.:—

“The Chairman and Secretary have the honour to submit the foregoing Report of the Proceedings of the Irish Convention to His Majesty’s Government.”

Further Amendment proposed (ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN):—

To omit all the words after the word “honour” and insert “by direction of the Convention, to submit the foregoing Report of its Proceedings to His Majesty’s Government.”

Amendment carried and paragraph, as amended, adopted by 42 votes to 35.

FOR (42).

E. H. ANDREWS.
M. K. BARRY.
J. BUTLER.
J. J. CLANCY.
J. J. COEN.
D. CONDREN.
P. DEMPSEY.
EARL OF DESART.
J. DOOLY.
CAPTAIN DORAN.
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.
EARL OF DUNRAVEN.
T. FALLON.
J. FITZGIBBON.
SIR WILLIAM GOULDING.
M. GOVERNEY.
EARL OF GRANARD.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.
T. HALLIGAN.
A. JAMESON.
W. KAVANAGH.
ALDERMAN MCCARRON.
M. McDONOGH.
J. McDONNELL.
A. R. MACMULLEN.
VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
J. MURPHY.
J. O'DOWD.
C. P. O'NEILL.
P. J. O'NEILL.
LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
DR. O'SULLIVAN.
J. B. POWELL.
T. POWER.
PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
SIR S. B. QUIN.
D. REILLY.
M. SLATTERY.
G. F. STEWART.
H. T. WHITLEY.
SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (35).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
J. BOLGER.
W. BRODERICK.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.
SIR GEORGE CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
J. DEVLIN.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
T. DUGGAN.
H. GARAHAN.
W. GUBBINS.
J. HANNA.
J. K. KETT.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
T. LONDON.
J. S. F. MCCANCE.
SIR C. MCCULLAGH.
J. MCGARRY.
H. G. MACGEACH.
J. MCHUGH.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
W. M. MURPHY.
P. O'H. PETERS.
H. M. POLLOCK.
BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
T. TOAL.
COLONEL R. H. WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

DIVISION No. 52—5TH APRIL, 1918.

CONSIDERATION OF REPORT.

*(See p. 29, supra).**Motion proposed (CHAIRMAN):—**"That the Report as a whole be adopted."**Carried by 44 votes to 29.*

FOR (44).

E. H. ANDREWS.	W. KAVANAGH.
M. K. BARRY.	ALDERMAN McCARRON.
J. BOLGER.	M. McDONOGH.
W. BRODERICK.	J. McDONNELL.
J. BUTLER.	C. McKAY.
J. J. CLANCY.	A. R. MACMULLEN.
J. J. COEN.	VISCOUNT MIDLETON.
D. CONDREN.	J. MURPHY.
P. DEMPSEY.	J. O'DOWD.
EARL OF DESART.	C. P. O'NEILL.
J. DOOLY.	LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE.
CAPTAIN DORAN.	DR. O'SULLIVAN.
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.	J. B. POWELL.
LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.	T. POWER.
T. FALLON.	PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
J. FITZGIBBON.	SIR S. B. QUIN.
SIR W. GOULDING.	D. REILLY.
M. GOVERNEY.	M. SLATTERY.
EARL OF GRANARD.	G. F. STEWART.
CAPTAIN GWYNN.	R. WAUGH.
T. HALLIGAN.	H. T. WHITLEY.
A. JAMESON.	SIR B. WINDLE.

AGAINST (29).

DUKE OF ABERCORN.
SIR R. N. ANDERSON.
H. B. ARMSTRONG.
H. T. BARRIE.
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHIEL.
SIR G. CLARK.
COLONEL J. J. CLARK.
LORD MAYOR OF CORK.
COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD.
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
T. DUGGAN.
H. GARAHAN.
J. HANNA.
M. E. KNIGHT.
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
J. S. F. McCANCE.
SIR G. McCULLAGH.
J. McGARRY.
H. G. MACGRAGH.
J. McHUGH.
MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
W. M. MURPHY.
P. O'H. PETERS.
H. M. POLLOCK.
BISHOP OF RAPHOE.
T. TOAL.
COLONEL WALLACE.
SIR W. WHITLA.

APPENDIX XVIII.

THE FOLLOWING SHOWS THE NUMBER OF SESSIONS OF THE CONVENTION
ATTENDED BY EACH MEMBER.

NAME.	TOTAL.	NAME.	TOTAL.
DUKE OF ABERCORN	43	M. E. KNIGHT	50
SIR R. N. ANDERSON	48	MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY	43
E. H. ANDREWS	50	T. LONDON	49
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH	50	E. E. LYSAGHT	28
H. B. ARMSTRONG	46	J. S. F. McCANCE	51
H. T. BARRIE	48	ALDERMAN J. McCARRON	51
M. K. BARRY	40	SIR C. McCULLAGH	45
LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST	43	M. McDONOGH	38
SIR HENRY BLAKE	21	SIR A. McDOWELL	15
J. BOLGER	50	J. McDONNELL	43
W. BRODERICK	49	LORD MACDONNELL	49
J. BUTLER	15	J. MCGARRY	44
J. BYRNE	16	H. G. MACGEAGH	42
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL	44	J. McHUGH	42
J. J. CLANCY	38	C. McKAY	51
SIR GEORGE CLARK	37	J. McMEEKAN	39
COL. J. J. CLARK	45	A. R. MACMULLEN	47
J. J. COEN	48	EARL OF MAYO	45
D. CONDREN	45	VISCOUNT MIDLETON	48
LORD MAYOR OF CORK	46	M. J. MINCH	35
COL. SHARMAN-CRAWFORD	47	MODERATOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY	45
COUNCILLOR DEMPSEY	48	J. MURPHY	51
EARL OF DESART	48	W. M. MURPHY	43
J. DEVLIN	40	J. O'DOWD	45
J. DOOLY	50	C. P. O'NEILL	46
CAPTAIN DORAN	48	P. J. O'NEILL	51
BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR	45	LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE	48
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN	51	DR. O'SULLIVAN	35
LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN	47	P. O'H. PETERS	39
T. DUGGAN	49	H. M. POLLOCK	45
J. DUNLEVY	9	J. B. POWELL	42
EARL OF DUNRAVEN	34	T. POWER	47
T. FALLON	50	PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE	49
J. FITZGIBBON	43	SIR S. B. QUIN	42
J. FLANAGAN	46	J. E. REDMOND	29
H. GARAHAN	51	BISHOP OF RAPHOE	51
SIR WILLIAM GOULDING	48	D. REILLY	51
M. GOVERNEY	41	BISHOP OF ROSS	21
EARL OF GRANARD	45	GEORGE RUSSELL	28
WILLIAM GUBBINS	48	M. SLATTERY	51
CAPTAIN GWYNN	51	G. F. STEWART	50
T. HALLIGAN	51	T. TOAL	43
J. HANNA	51	COL. R. H. WALLACE	41
T. J. HARRISON	40	R. WAUGH	34
A. JAMESON	49	SIR W. WHITLA	40
W. KAVANAGH	51	H. T. WHITLEY	48
J. K. KETT	45	SIR B. WINDLE	45

APPENDIX XIX.

MEMORANDUM BY LORD MACDONNELL IN CONNECTION WITH SECTION V. OF
THE RESOLUTION STANDING IN HIS NAME ON THE AGENDA PAPER.*

N.B.—The Resolution referred to was as follows:—

That the Convention, having considered the letter of the Prime Minister to the Chairman, resolves to adopt the following provisions and procedure:—

- I. The matters specified as unfitted for immediate legislation, namely, control of customs and excise by an Irish Parliament, be postponed for further consideration until after the war, provided that the question of such control shall be considered and decided by the Parliament of the United Kingdom within seven years after the conclusion of peace. For the purpose of deciding in the Parliament of the United Kingdom the question of the future control of Irish customs and excise, a number of Irish representatives proportioned to the population of Ireland shall be called to the Parliament of the United Kingdom.
- II. That the administration of the Irish police and Irish postal service shall be reserved during the war to the Imperial Government, provided that as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities the administration of these two services shall become automatically subject to the Irish Parliament.
- III. That on the creation of an Irish Parliament the administration of the Customs and Excise services shall be entrusted to a Customs Board composed half of persons nominated by the Imperial Treasury and half of persons nominated by the Irish Treasury, with a Chairman appointed by the King. Among the duties of the Board shall fall the ascertainment of the true Irish Customs and Excise Revenue.
- IV. That, as soon as may be, a Royal Commission shall be appointed to determine the amount of contribution which Ireland should pay to the expenses of the Empire, and the practicability of establishing a Free Trade agreement between the two countries, should the Imperial Parliament transfer to Ireland the control of its Customs and Excise.
- V. The embodiment in resolutions of the agreements already reached on the Report of the Grand Committee, and the continuance of the discussions on the heads on which the Convention has not yet pronounced its opinion.
- VI. The framing of a Joint Report on subjects on which a general agreement has been reached, and the framing of joint or individual memoranda on subjects on which general agreements have not been reached.

If and when the approval of the Convention is obtained for the first four sections of my Resolution on the Agenda Paper the materials will be for the most part available for drafting the report of the Convention so far as Finance, Police, and the Postal services are concerned. The Convention, however, was assembled for the purpose as stated by the Prime Minister in his letter of 16th May, 1917, "of producing a scheme of Irish self-government," and until this is done the Convention will not have discharged the task it undertook.

I, like everyone else, recognise the necessity for expedition. Fortunately, the materials for the expeditious conclusion of the greater part of our labours are at hand in the Report which has been issued (I.C. No. 20) of the conclusions reached by the Grand Committee, and of the questions

remaining for decision. It is true that this report does not bind the Grand Committee, still less the Convention, even on the points on which no difference of opinion is recorded, because all the provisional understandings which were arrived at were contingent on a full agreement on the general scheme being reached; and it cannot be said this agreement has been reached. This fact renders it the more necessary for the Convention to record its acceptance or rejection of the Grand Committee's report.

It does not seem to me that this need be a lengthy process in respect of the 21 heads of the Grand Committee's report. The Grand Committee were unanimous in their provisional agreement on twelve heads (viz., 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 18, and 19). In view of the representative nature of the Grand Committee, the careful

* This Memorandum is reprinted as it is referred to in the Report of the Ulster Unionists (p. 30).

discussion that was given to these matters, and the provisional unanimity on them, I submit that the Convention might well come to a decision upon them without much discussion.

As regards the other nine heads (viz., 3, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21) on which a provisional agreement was not arrived at, it should be noted that in some cases the lack of unanimity was confined to one or two sub-heads, that in other cases the matters in dispute are not very important, and that there are only two or three matters on which serious discussion may be necessary.

The points raised in these ten heads are as follows :—

Head 3.

Sub-Head (3). The Army and Navy.

The differences of opinion in the Grand Committee were limited to two questions :—

(a) Whether the assent of the Irish Parliament should be required for Conscription, and (b) Whether the Irish Government should be authorised after 5 years to raise a Territorial Force under certain conditions. There need be no delay on these points if the Convention adopt (as I venture respectfully to advise them to adopt) the Report of the Sub-Committee on Defence.

Sub-Head (4). The question of Commercial Treaties will not arise if Customs be reserved.

Sub-Heads (7) and (8). The experience of the Grand Committee seems to suggest the difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion on these somewhat technical and involved matters by discussion in full Convention. The Convention might be content to record the fact that there was a difference of opinion on these points, without making a recommendation. But if I may express my own opinion I would recommend a compromise on the basis of reserving to the Imperial Parliament Coinage, Legal tender, Designs for Stamps and Standard of weights and measures, and by declaring that, as regards Patents and Copyright, Ireland should stand in the position of a Colony which had adopted the provisions of the Imperial Acts of 1907 and 1911.

N.B.—Head 9. The term of the Senate's life is not stated by the Grand Committee, but as the Electoral Sub-Committee have recommended ten years I think the Convention might agree.

Head 10. The Grand Committee have not come to a decision on the question of Proportional Representation where a constituency returns 3 or more members. Having regard to the great preponderance of affirmative reasoned argument on this point in the recent debates in both Houses of Parliament, and to the advantages which must necessarily accrue to minorities in Ireland from the adoption of the system, I beg to recommend that the question be decided in the affirmative.

The Franchise will naturally be the new Franchise under the Representation of the People Act.

The effect of the findings of the Electoral Systems Sub-Committee is to enlarge urban

representation and reduce to some extent the rural representation. The outcome is that there should be about 54 urban members and about 99 rural members, making with 4 University representatives a total of 157 elected members, which with the 40 nominated Unionist members will give a House of Commons of 197 members. The delimitation of the constituencies would naturally be the work of an expert commission to begin work when the Bill is introduced into the Imperial Parliament.

Head 11. The point not decided by the Grand Committee under this head is whether the Senate should be given the power of suggesting amendments to money bills. Some time ago a paper explaining the law on this point in the Australian Parliament was circulated to the Grand Committee, and I think if that paper were circulated to the Convention a decision could be speedily arrived at.

Head 13. The question of Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament is important.

(a) In the first place the number of Irish representatives has to be determined. The alternatives are the adoption of the numbers stated in the Act of 1914, viz., 42, or the number indicated by population, viz., 65.

(b) In the second place it must be determined whether the Irish representatives at Westminster should be a delegation appointed by the Irish House of Commons or whether they should be elected by the voters. In the former case there is the further question whether the election should be on the system of Proportional Representation.

In reference to the House of Lords I respectfully suggest that the Irish representation in the House of Lords should continue as at present, unless and until that Chamber be remodelled, and that in such a contingency the matter of Irish representation in the House of Lords should be reconsidered.

Head 15. This question will have already been settled, if Section I. of my Resolution be adopted.

Head 16. The question of the Imperial contribution to be paid, pending the report of the Royal Commission mentioned in Section IV. of my Resolution, must be considered. Obviously the Convention cannot undertake an inquiry into Ireland's relative capacity for making a contribution or do more than indicate a rough and ready method of indicating the contribution such as my suggestion of £1 per head of the population, or Lord Middleton's suggestion of 19th December, 1917, that it should be the proceeds of Customs and excess profits tax, subject to a transfer to the Irish Exchequer out of these proceeds of any sum by which the Irish Revenue, at present rates, falls short of the estimated expenditure of 1917-18 (with, I would add, a suitable sum, say £200,000, for the cost of the Irish Parliament, Ministers, and new departments such as the Irish Treasury), and to a further transfer of any increased expenditure attributable to Land Purchase (and presumably Housing) under the proposals adopted by the Convention.

Head 17. The Report on Land Purchase has already been discussed and is now down on the Agenda Paper for final orders.

Head 20. Probably a general statement as to arrangements for the Civil Service somewhat on the lines indicated would be accepted by the Convention, without much discussion.

Head 21. Of the services mentioned Land Purchase and the Postal Services have been dealt with above. The other services present no difficulty as the proposal is only a provision to *enable* the Irish Government to defer for purposes of administrative convenience taking over certain services and does not seem controversial.

If the Report of the Grand Committee be dealt with in the way indicated the Convention will be

in an advantageous position to review the whole situation; and to afford to the Ulster delegates a further opportunity of suggesting additions to, or modifications in, the scheme which the interests of Ulster may seem to them to call for. If any additions are deemed desirable, it seems to me they might advantageously follow the line indicated in my proposals for a Provincial Grand Committee. I would add that such a Grand Committee ought not at the outset to be created on the basis of a permanent arrangement, but as an arrangement to be called into operation *ad hoc*. My expectation is that it will rarely or never be needed. My hope is that Ulster will find in a United Parliament for Ireland a body scrupulously ready to respond to every reasonable demand of Ulster.

MACDONNELL.

March 8th, 1918.

Printed under the authority of His Majesty's Stationery Office

By ALEX. THOM & Co., LTD.,

8 Crow Street, Dublin.

11809.—10,000. 4, 1918.