

Comment on the following document	EAE 0422 A	
Basil Williams, "The exclusion or retention of Irish members in the Imperial Parliament", in Basil Williams (ed.), <i>Home Rule Problems</i> , London: P. S. King and Son, 1911, pp.176-177.	Code Sujet	CCV A1
	Sujet Jury	
	Sujet Candidat	

It has been suggested that an easy way of preparing the ground for Home Rule All Round by the Irish Home Rule Bill is to adopt this provision of halving the Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament. Thereafter as each other part of the United Kingdom receives Home Rule it should also leave at Westminster half the Members to which it is at present entitled.

- 5 Then, by a process of exhaustion, when Home Rule All Round has been consummated, the Imperial Parliament would automatically have been formed with half its present numbers and have become a workable legislative and deliberate assembly for these islands.

- There is much to be said for this ingenious scheme, especially if it will really remove opposition. But it does not seem to be the best scheme either for Great Britain or for
- 10 Ireland, which will each be left with grievances as to representation, at any rate until a complete federal system has been attained. There is, besides, a danger that the desire to obtain in the first instance a solution logically applicable to Scottish, Welsh, and English Home Rule may lead us to forget that the question of Irish Home Rule stands on an altogether different plane. Whatever inclination there may be for Home Rule in Scotland, in
- 15 the first place it evokes none of that passionate feeling which Irish Nationalists have, and also is much more a question of rapidity in legislative procedure than of any deep-seated national grievances. The Irish above all things demand the power of settling their own affairs in their own way with as little restriction as possible; they are at present not deeply interested in Imperial affairs, as they have too much to think about for Ireland. When they
- 20 have attained their own development they will probably be as determined to have their way in larger matters as the Scotch have been for the last century, and as some of the Dominions have been beginning to claim within the last few years. To start Irish Home Rule by too close a federal system is too much like putting the cart before the horse, and any attempt to model Irish Home Rule on what may subsequently be acceptable to Scotland may lead to a
- 25 fiasco in both instances. The most likely means not only of satisfying Ireland but also of paving the way to the most stable form of federalism, is to allow Ireland, as a preliminary step, to feel her legs by a system of Home Rule as complete as we have given to the Dominions.

Comment on the following document	EAE 0422 A	
Letter from Charles Stewart Parnell to Cecil Rhodes <sup>1</sup> , 23rd June 1888, in R. Barry O'Brien, <i>The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell</i> [1898]. Vol. 1. New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1968, pp. 187-189.	Code Sujet	CCV A2
	Sujet Jury	
	Sujet Candidat	

[...] you have correctly judged the exclusion of the Irish members from Westminster to have been a defect in the Home Rule measure of 1886, and, further, that this proposed exclusion may have given some colour to the accusation so freely made against the Bill that it had a separatist tendency. I say this while strongly asserting and believing that the measure itself was accepted by the Irish people without any afterthought of the kind, and with an earnest desire to work it out with the same spirit with which it was offered – a spirit of cordial good-will and trust, a desire to let bygones be bygones, and a determination to accept it as a final and satisfactory settlement of the long-standing dispute between Great Britain and Ireland.

I am very glad that you consider the measure of Home Rule to be granted to Ireland should be thoroughgoing, and should give her complete control over her own affairs without reservation, and I cordially agree with your opinion that there should be effective safeguards for the maintenance of Imperial unity. Your conclusion as to the only alternative for Home Rule is also entirely my own, for I have long felt that the continuance of the present semi-constitutional system is quite impracticable. But to return to the question of the retention of the Irish members at Westminster. My own views upon the points and probabilities of the future, and the bearing of this subject upon the question of Imperial federation – my own feeling upon the measure is that if Mr Gladstone includes in his next Home Rule measure the provisions of such retention we should cheerfully concur with him, and accept them with good-will and good faith, with the intention of taking our share in the Imperial partnership. I believe also that in the event I state this will be the case, and that the Irish people will cheerfully accept the duties and responsibilities assigned to them, and will justly value the position given to them in the Imperial system. I am convinced that it would be the highest statesmanship on Mr Gladstone's part to devise a feasible plan for the continued presence of the Irish members here ; and from my observation of public events and opinions since 1885, I am sure that Mr Gladstone is fully alive to the importance of the matter, and that there can be no doubt that the next measure of autonomy for Ireland will contain the provisions which you rightly deem of such moment.

It does not come so much within my province to express a full opinion upon the larger question of Imperial federation, but I agree with you that the continued Irish representation at Westminster immensely facilitates such a step, while the contrary provision in the Bill of 1886 would have been a bar. Undoubtedly this is a matter which should be dealt with in accordance largely with the opinion of the colonies themselves, and if they should desire to share in the cost of Imperial matters, as undoubtedly they now do in the responsibility, and should express a wish for representation at Westminster, I certainly think it should be accorded to them, and that public opinion in these islands would unanimously concur in the necessary constitutional modifications.

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<sup>1</sup> Cecil Rhodes was then a member of the Cape Parliament.

Comment on the following document	EAE 0422 A	
John Dillon, House of Commons Debates, vol. 54 cc. 1680-744: "Local Self-Government", 15 March 1898	Code Sujet	CCV A3
	Sujet Jury	
	Sujet Candidat	

MR. J. DILLON (Mayo, E.):

I rise to support the Amendment, because I have a two-fold objection to the original Resolution as it stands on the Paper. In the first place, it is so drafted as undoubtedly to convey an impression to the public outside, as well as, I believe, to Members of this House, that it is the object of the mover and seconder<sup>1</sup>, so far as the character of the demand is concerned, to place that demand for Ireland upon an equal footing with the demand of Wales and Scotland, which is for a devolution of powers. And I object, in the second place, to the wording of the original Resolution, because by introducing the words "urgently necessary," as it is upon the Paper, it will convey undoubtedly the impression that the Resolution is desired to take away from Ireland that priority for her claim which has been the programme of the Liberal Party for many years. It will be noticed not only in the Resolution itself, but in the speeches of the mover and seconder, which, in my judgment, make the wording of the Resolution worse, that they base their claim, not upon a historic national right, but on grievances and inconveniences. After listening to the speeches of the mover and seconder, I would hardly dignify them by the name of grievances. What has been that history of Ireland? When we claim from this House the right to legislate for our own country, we might have based the Irish claim on grievances; we might have pointed to a long series of years during which, in Ireland, under the control of this House, every conceivable evidence of misgovernment was rife on every side; we might have pointed to a diminishing population, which had dwindled from 8,750,000 to 4,750,000; we might have pointed to increasing and deepening poverty, to ruined manufactures, to decaying trade, while all the rest of the civilised world was advancing by leaps and bounds; we might have pointed to a race which had been scattered by the Government of this country over every portion of the civilised world, and which is characterised by nothing but hatred and animosity to English rule; we might, I say, have claimed Home Rule for these reasons; we might have claimed it also by pointing to this fact—which in itself alone would condemn beyond the power of redemption a government that has been carried on under the sanction of this House in Ireland for 98 years—the fact that for 98 years society in that country was rent and torn by class war and religious hatred, all of which is the direct outcome of the misgovernment of England. Had we based the Irish claim on these grounds, it would have been irresistible; but that was not the main ground on which we based the Irish claim in 1886 and the years that went before. We based it on historic right and the indestructible resolve of the people to have the liberty of governing themselves, and we told you frankly in 1886 and 1893 that if the impossible were to be done, namely, if good government were to be given to Ireland through the instrumentality of this House, even then you would not destroy the passion of the Irish people for the right to govern themselves.

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<sup>1</sup> The Resolution was moved by John Herbert Roberts, a Welsh Liberal MP, and seconded by Robert Threshie Reid, a Scottish Liberal MP.

Comment on the following document	EAE 0422 A	
Samuel George Hobson, <i>Irish Home Rule</i> . London: Stephen Swift and Co., 1912, pp. 207-210	Code Sujet	CCV A6
	Sujet Jury	
	Sujet Candidat	

There can be but little doubt that an Imperial Council would make for the strengthening of the British Empire, with a corresponding lessening of Great Britain's financial burden. But any form of federation is impossible until Ireland's claims are met. Suppose Great Britain tries to effect federation whilst declining to grant Home Rule. The result would be that the Colonies would decline to come in. For two reasons: first, because the subjection of Ireland would constitute a precedent to which they could not possibly assent; and, secondly, because the Irish vote throughout the Empire is too strong to allow federation to be carried until Ireland could join it as a separate entity. Thus we discover that Irish Home Rule is not merely a domestic problem as between England and Ireland, but also an Imperial question having a vital bearing upon Imperial federation. If, therefore, Great Britain seriously contemplates federation, she must first make her peace with Ireland. It follows that it is entirely to her interest to settle the Home Rule problem as speedily as possible.

In this connection it would be wise policy on Great Britain's part to make Home Rule an integral part of her federal scheme. The present Liberal Government, in its preamble to the Parliament Act, presaged reform of the House of Lords. Might not the preamble to the Home Rule Bill, in like manner, adumbrate a scheme of Imperial Federation? Perhaps it might consider federation of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland as a preliminary step to the larger organisation. The important thing, in any event, is to embody the federal principle and so make the Home Rule Bill a new departure from the present bureaucratic control of Imperial policy – a control that recent events have shown to be excessively dangerous and expensive.

At the present moment there is no organ of Empire. The Crown is the only link that binds together the several parts. But the Crown knows no politics and is merely a symbol. Probably the Privy Council comes nearest to federal requirements. But the Privy Council's duties are vague, nominal, and of purely formal value, because it has no authority. Give it authority by transforming it into the Imperial Council, to which each self-governing colony should send representatives in proportion to its contribution to the Imperial Exchequer. The underlying conception of such a Council must not be the *imperium in imperio*, but rather that it is to be the servant of the Commonwealth of Commonwealths – the most gigantic experiment in democracy that the world will ever see.

In such a scheme as this a conciliated Ireland would play a most valuable part. Its influence, not only in the Colonies, but in America, would be great, even beyond its numerical strength, because we find that wherever Irishmen go they associate both for social and political purposes. Undoubtedly it would pay Great Britain to put an end to the Irish feud.

But for urgent reasons Ireland cannot wait. She has now been wrought up to a pitch of expectancy, much more confident and assured than in 1893. If again she is to be disappointed, the results cannot fail to be grave, far-reaching and menacing to Great Britain.

<b>EAE 0422 A</b>	
Code Sujet	LCV A2
Sujet Jury	
Sujet Candidat	

**Question au programme :**

La question du Home Rule (1870-1914)

**Sujet de leçon :**

Discuss the following statement:

'In an age of emergent democracy, Home Rule pre-eminently brought into the public arena the problem of the respective rights of majorities and minorities.'

Alan O'Day, *Irish Home Rule, 1867-1921*, Manchester University Press, 1998, p. 3

<b>EAE 0422 A</b>	
Code Sujet	LCV A3
Sujet Jury	
Sujet Candidat	

<b>Question au programme :</b>
La question du Home Rule (1870-1914)
<b>Sujet de leçon :</b>
Discuss the following theme:
Centre and margins

<b>AE 0422 A</b>	
Code Sujet	LCV A4
Sujet Jury	
Sujet Candidat	

**Question au programme :**

La question du Home Rule (1870-1914)

**Sujet de leçon :**

Discuss the following statement:

"Consider the lengths the Tories were prepared to go to between 1911 and 1914. [...] One historian has concluded, with a degree of bafflement, that the Conservative Party's support for Ulster was based on 'something other than political manoeuvring and political calculation'. This is only partially correct, as it just so happened that the defence of the Union was an issue that was coincidentally both a vote winner and an ancient and fundamental Conservative totem."

Daniel M. Jackson, *Popular Opposition to Irish Home Rule in Edwardian Britain*, Liverpool University Press, 2009, pp. 20-21

<b>EAE 0422 A</b>	
Code Sujet	LCV A6
Sujet Jury	
Sujet Candidat	

**Question au programme :**

La question du Home Rule (1870-1914)

**Sujet de leçon :**

Discuss the following statement:

“In speaking of Home Rule as threatening the Empire, its opponents did not assimilate the status of Ireland to that of Britain’s transoceanic colonies. Quite the reverse: they associated it with the integrity of the British state itself.”

Stephen Howe, *Ireland and Empire. Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture*, Oxford: OUP, 2000, p. 65.