

LABOUR AND NATIONALISM IN IRELAND

BY

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PREFACE

“DEMOCRACY AND NATIONALISM”—in that brief phrase are frequently epitomised the hopes and aspirations, the struggling and striving of Western Europe in the nineteenth century. These were the forces, arising immediately from the Industrial Revolution, whose working was so fruitful of unrest and disturbance. But with the passage of time the forces of Democracy were transmuted into the forces of Labour, until to-day it is to Labour and Nationalism, singly or jointly, that we must turn in explication of unrest and disturbance. Democracy, in the political field, has become well-nigh a commonplace; but the struggle for its attainment has now passed over into the industrial field, for, much as modern states may vaunt the democracy of their political structure, the economic organisation of society remains anything but democratic. To the landed aristocracy has succeeded an industrial plutocracy; to the national monarch has succeeded a new shibboleth, the State. The capitalist-imperialist socio-political structure that dominates civilisation to-day invites attack on both flanks. Against its social aspect are directed the forces of Labour, recoiling from the cul-de-sac into which the slogan of Democracy had led them; against its political aspect are directed the forces of Nationalism, confusing the relations of both parties to the social struggle.

But if Labour and Nationalism are to the present time what Democracy and Nationalism were to the past century, it is a matter of considerable importance to ascertain the nature of their interworking. Much as in the middle of the

nineteenth century democrats and nationalists joined forces for the struggle against autocracy and imperialism, incarnate in the House of Austria, so in more recent times labourites and nationalists have sought to cooperate in their revolts against the established order. Nowhere, perhaps, can the attempt at fusion of the forces of Labour and Nationalism be so readily observed as in Ireland within the lifetime of the present generation. In 1848-49 the incompatibility of the aims of democrats and nationalists contributed mightily to the failure of the revolutionists; in twentieth-century Ireland the incompatibility of the aims of labourites and nationalists has been no less patent.

It is from such a standpoint that this study was undertaken. Though Ireland serves as the setting for this examination of the nature and effects of the overlapping of the aims of Labour and Nationalism, the present work is intended, not so much as an addition to the already voluminous but regrettably piecemeal literature of Irish history, as to afford a sidelight on the interrelations of two world forces. Ireland is but the matrix in which is imbedded one of the most shining examples of the product of those two agents, Labour and Nationalism.

To avoid doubts as to whether the social views of individuals treated in this book have been accurately presented, somewhat extended passages from their own writings have been incorporated into the text. For the sake of uniformity between such passages and the textual matter, British spelling has been generally followed.

This study is the outgrowth of a task undertaken in a seminar at Columbia University, conducted by Prof. Carlton J. H. Hayes. Subsequent research, necessarily largely carried on in Ireland, has been done under the direction of Professor Hayes. The writer cannot express too highly his appreciation of the sympathetic interest and active assist-

ance, which it has become a commonplace among Professor Hayes' students to expect from him and which are making him the inspirer and director of an evergrowing group of research students.

Nor would this preface be complete without some reference to a few of those many others who have helped the writer to prepare for research work. The writer wishes particularly to mention Herr Friedrich Wehse, of the Prospect Heights School, whose excellent training in the use of Latin, French, and German opened doors very necessary to a student of history; Prof. F. Goodrich, of Williams College, whose thoroughgoing introduction to the field of European history was accomplished without the aid of textbooks; Prof. T. C. Smith, also of Williams College, whose further training in the methods of historical research did much to pave the way for graduate work; the late Prof. W. A. Dunning, of Columbia University, whose cordial reception of the latest neophyte and whose conduct of his lecture course were full of encouragement and inspiration; and Prof. C. D. Hazen, of Columbia University, whose careful critical methods in seminar work are of inestimable value and whose literary style is a stimulus to emulation.

In addition to this necessarily abridged roster of men with whom the writer has enjoyed academic contacts must be mentioned that array of friends, most of them in Ireland, who put their resources at his disposal. Among them are Dr. George O'Brien, not the least of whose kindnesses was to secure the writer the privilege of using the library of the Royal Irish Academy; Prof. Eamon Curtis, who introduced the writer to the Librarians of Trinity College and of Dublin Castle; Mr. Praeger, who, not content with giving the writer the run of the stacks in the National Library, Dublin, put the staff of the Library at his command, and opened to him files of newspapers not at that time accessible

to the general reader; and Prof. R. M. Henry, of Queens University, whose wide knowledge of the Belfast labour movement in its diverse aspects was freely put at the writer's service.

Of the labour leaders, Mr. Thomas Johnson supplied the writer with much documentary and other material, which officials of the Transport and other unions considerably supplemented. In particular, Mr. William O'Brien very generously put at the writer's disposal his extremely valuable collection of pamphlets, leaflets, manifestos, minute-books, newspaper clippings, etc. Mr. C. J. Kenny likewise put in his hands a mass of information on workers' education and the Connolly Labour College.

Aside from the representatives of official labour, the writer makes grateful acknowledgment of the courtesy and assistance of Mrs. P. Colgan (Delia Larkin) and her circle of intimates, of Mr. James Larkin himself and of other members of his family, of Mrs. B. Green, and of Roderic and Nora Connolly, children of the late James Connolly.

In Belfast the writer received much assistance from various members of "The College", from Mr. H. Midgley, Secretary of the Labour Party (Northern Ireland), and from his associates, and from Mr. W. Grant, Vice-Chairman of the Ulster Unionist Labour Association.

It would be impossible to make individual acknowledgment of the services of other leaders and of the numerous members of the rank and file who supplied much documentary evidence and suggested many fruitful lines of investigation; it is not the less warm for not being individual.

Space forbids enumeration of the political leaders, including such diverse personalities as Mme. Constance Markievicz and Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, who communicated much valuable information about their experiences and points of view. One figure who looms large above all con-

siderations of party is Mr. G. W. Russell (Æ), whose cordial hospitality is one of the warmest recollections of the student who visits Dublin.

For the rest, the writer wishes to testify to his appreciation of the aid of Mr. Nicholas S. Kaltchas, of the University of Michigan, who read this book in manuscript and offered a number of most helpful suggestions; of Mary R. M. Griffiths, who has rendered invaluable assistance throughout; and of his father, Mr. Wm. K. Clarkson, whose consistent interest has very much facilitated the writer's work.

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