

KILKENNY CORPORATION AND THE HOME RULE BILL.
THE ULSTER EXCLUSION PROPOSALS.
DISCUSSION ON THE SINN FEIN RESOLUTION.
QUESTION REFERRED TO A SPECIAL MEETING.

At the quarterly meeting of the Kilkenny Corporation on Monday night, Councillor John Magennis, P.L.G., Mayor, presiding, The following was read
6 Harcourt St., Dublin,
March 23rd 1914

Dear Sir-At a large and representative conference of Dublin Nationalists, held on the 22nd inst, the following resolution was unanimously adopted and ordered to be sent to all the popularly elected bodies throughout Ireland for their endorsement : - "That the territorial integrity of Ireland and the essential unity of its people are the basis of Irish Nationalism, and any proposals antagonistic to them, temporarily or permanently, no matter how or whenever put forward, must be condemned and resisted." We have to ask you that you will be good enough to bring this letter before your board at its next meeting, in order that the resolution should be accepted and further to ascertain if your Board would nominate two delegates to attend a convention, which has been summoned to meet in Dublin on Thursday, April 16th next, for the purpose of having practical steps taken to make the resolution effective.—We are, yours faithfully,

T. KELLY (Alderman).

G. MacGIOBUIN,

Hon. Secretaries.

Mr. Deloughry; I rise to propose the adoption of that resolution. I do so because I think the opinion that is expressed in that resolution is the opinion shared by the overwhelming majority of the people of this city and county.

I have not lost an occasion to discuss this matter with almost everybody I have come in contact who takes any interest in politics, and I can truly say that I have not come across three people who don't hold the opinion that if we are to agree to such a course as the partition of the country, it would be indeed a sad and mistaken step. Of course I know the people will say that Mr. Redmond has a very hard work before him, and a very hard part to play and that there are very powerful influences against him; and none of us would like to stand up and make the position more difficult for any Irishman, particularly a man in Mr. Redmond's position. However, I think it is time now to speak plainly on the question; I don't think the real, genuine public opinion is being expressed as far as I can see. I think we are called upon to make too great a sacrifice altogether—the sacrifice of those counties in Ulster. I think it would be a miserable thing if we were to part with 300,000 of the best Nationalists in Ireland; men who, all along, were the truest and staunchest in the national ranks. Are we going to part with the most historic province in Ireland, the trysting place of the Red Branch Knights and the mighty Finn and his companions? Surely we are not going to part with the counties that hold memories of Cave Hill, Wolfe Tone, and that were the birthplace and nursery of the '98 movement - counties in which took place the most important events in history, which we look back to with pride, and from which we derive so much inspiration. I think if this is to be the fruition of all our work, and if the ideal of every Irish patriot, from Brian Boru to Thomas Davis, is to perish now simply to please English political parties, it is a monstrous thing. I think we should give the Orangemen every guarantee of fair play, but at the same time we should hold our country whole and entire; we should not part with a single sod of it.

I think Mr. Redmond should assert himself more. He has the whole of Ireland behind his back, certainly the whole manhood of Nationalist Ireland, and he should stand out and make a bold stroke. I don't agree with this political proposition put forward. It has been laid down as the price of peace, but is it? Any man can tell you that instead, it is more likely to bring about that bickering and dissension which have already darkened too many pages of our country's history, and I think if Mr. Redmond makes a brave stand now, his name, even if he does not succeed in getting Home Rule, will go down and hold an honourable place in

Irish history; but if it is to be associated with the cleavage and partition of the country, it is more likely to be associated with men like Dermot McMURROGH.

Ald. Nowlan seconded the proposition, and said he did not think he could add anything to what Councillor Deloughry had said. He thought it would be a big mistake to leave out the best and most historical portion of the country, and he, for one, would be against it.

Mr. Slater said they ought to leave the matter in Mr. Redmond's hands. He proposed as an amendment that they leave the matter in the hands of Mr. Redmond and the members of the Irish Party.

Mr. Morrissey seconded the amendment.

Mr. Slater: They know more about it than we do, and it ought to be left in their hands.

Mr. Kenna: It is hard to give an opinion one way or the other.

Mayor: I think the resolution, as it stands, is one that ought to be passed. It does not bind the Irish Party in any way, and I think it is a miserable thing to let it go forth from any public body that we would allow one part of our country to be taken from us. Possibly it is given as the price of peace, but it is not taken as a sacrifice in the interests of peace, but for the purpose of whittling down our demand the way it would be later unworthy of acceptance at our hands. We would be simply making ridicule of ourselves. Carson and his crowd certainly deserve well of their own followers because in face of all this talk about bluffing and everything else, they were bluffing in the right direction, and their bluffing has come to something. It would be better if we had been prepared to meet that bluff.

Mr. Slater: Plenty of time to prepare yet.

Mayor: In face of all this bluff, we ought not to allow our principles to be whittled down to a mere shadow. We want Home Rule for Ireland from Fair Head in Antrim to Mizzen Head in Cork, and from Slyne Head in Galway to Howth Head in Dublin—not for two quarters but for the whole. The Orangemen in Ulster have got guarantees enough, and there are plenty of men in Ireland won't allow anything to be flinched from them. If they look back over the last sixteen or seventeen years, they will see the way the country stood up for them, to see that they would get fair play. There is no doubt that they will get fair play.

Mr. Kenna: It is a very small meeting, and would it not be better to defer the further consideration of the resolution to tomorrow night week. That will give the members an opportunity of reading it over and considering it. It is a very important resolution.

Mayor: It has been before the public every day in the Press for the past week.

Mr. Kenna: Yes, but this is a very small meeting.

Mr. Deloughry: This resolution has no reference to the Irish Party, and I don't think Mr. Slater's proposition has any connection with it.

Mr. Slater: I was under the impression that you were condemning Mr. Redmond.

Mr. Deloughry: That is not so. Mr. Redmond, when he was accepting those proposals, made it quite clear that he was accepting them as the price of peace. Is it going to give peace? As the Mayor has pointed out, it has been used as a lever to have the demands of the opposing party granted more fully.

Mayor: I think we ought to let the resolution pass as it is.

Mr. Kenna: If you take a further amendment, I propose that the consideration of the matter be deferred to to-morrow night week, and let all the members be made aware of it.

Mr. Comerford seconded.

Mayor: I don't want to tie the hands of the Corporation at all.

Mr. Deloughry: I think the members of the Corporation ought to turn up at the monthly meetings.

Mr. Kenna; I agree with you, but unfortunately they are not here.

Mayor: We all know the people of Kilkenny would not like to see Ulster taken away.

Mr. Slater: That is not going to happen at all.

Mr. Comerford: Let the matter be adjourned for a week and give notice to each member.

Mr. Deloughry: I think the matter should be dealt with now. I don't see how anyone can object to passing that resolution.

Ald. Nowlan: Any member can say whether he is satisfied with the division of the country or not.

Mr. Deloughry: We were never told that such a suggestion would be sprung on us. I can't conceive how any Irish man can object to the passing of that resolution. I think you should put the proposition before the meeting, Mr. Mayor. We have all made up our minds on the question.

A division was then taken on Mr. Kenna's amendment and there voted:

For—Messrs. Kenna, Comerford, Cantwell, Tynan and Slater (6).

Against—Messrs. Deloughry, Nowlan and the Mayor (3).

The amendment was then declared carried, and it was ordered that the matter be considered at a special meeting on Tuesday night, the Town Clerk to issue circulars to the members in the meantime.

TUESDAY NIGHT'S PROCEEDINGS

RESOLUTION CONSIGNED TO WASTE PAPER BASKET

When the matter came before the special meeting on Tuesday night.

Mr. Deloughry said: — I beg to propose the adoption of the resolution. I did so last night, and I then stated the reasons very fully that prompted me to propose it, and I don't think there is any use in repeating what I said. As I stated, I believe the Corporation ought to adopt this resolution, because by doing so they will be falling certainly with the general opinion of the Nationalists of Ireland, as far as I can ascertain. The impression was seemingly gained last night - at least one member was under the impression that the resolution was in some way an active criticism on Mr. Redmond and the Irish Party. I don't see how any reading, of that resolution, or language I used in proposing it, could be construed by anybody into such a meaning. The resolution is simply a bare statement of what we all know is the principle of Irish nationality—Ireland a nation—and I am pleased to see that the principles contained in that resolution have been endorsed by no less a personage than Mr. Redmond himself. Speaking in the House of Commons last night, he said: "It was useless discussing the exclusion proposal, as it had been spurned and rejected, and he therefore regarded it as dead. The question must be settled here and now. It was impossible for Nationalists, by agreeing to the permanent exclusion of Ulster, to abandon the principle of Ireland a nation." I take it that it is something like that resolution that Mr. Redmond has endorsed. I don't think it is necessary to say any more. I think the Corporation of Kilkenny should give an intelligent pronouncement on this important question, and by adopting the resolution they will be consulting the opinions of the best - in fact, the whole of Nationalist Ireland. There is no such thing as drawing the Irish Party into it and Mr. Redmond's own words is the best proof that the resolution is not in any way hostile to them.

Mr. Morris said it was an honour to him to second the resolution. The position taken by Mr. Redmond was nothing new. He (Mr. Redmond) was always what he is now - a consistent sterling Nationalist and Home Ruler and every man in Ireland should support him in the action he had taken.

Chairman: Is there an amendment?

Mr. Kenna: There is an amendment. I think the resolution should be consigned to the waste paper basket.

Mr. Clohosey: Hear, hear.

Mr. Kenna: Alderman Kelly tells us that at a large and representative conference of Dublin Nationalists, a resolution was passed protesting against the temporary exclusion of Ulster, or in other words, a resolution was passed condemning the action of Mr. Redmond and the Irish Party.

Mr. Deloughry: No such thing.

Mr. Kenna: I didn't interrupt you when you were speaking.

Mr. Deloughry: surely you cannot expect us to sit and listen to mis-statements.

Mr. Kenna: I let you have your say, and I think I am entitled to propose an amendment.

Ald. Nowlan: Speak the truth.

Mr. Deloughry: If you confine yourself to the truth, it is all right. It is hard to listen to men making mis-statements.

Mr. Kenna: Am I in order, Mr. Chairman, in proposing an amendment?

Chairman: yes.

Mr. Kenna: I say that that resolution is, in other words, a resolution condemning Mr. Redmond and the Irish Party. That is my opinion, and that is the opinion of the majority of the people of Ireland. I would like to know who were the Nationalists that were present at that meeting in Dublin, and I would like to know

what organisation Ald. Kelly is representing. Surely to goodness Mr. Redmond and Mr. Devlin have enough to do and enough to contend with from the enemies of Ireland without our own getting up at the eleventh hour to heckle them in such a manner. Why didn't they pass a resolution condemning William O'Brien, who never uses an opportunity of heckling Mr. Redmond and the Irish Party? Even Mr. Tim Healy, when he got up to make a speech yesterday, the whole thing was confined to an attack simply and solely on Mr. Redmond: and now Ald. Kelly has come up in his disguise to try to enlist the sympathy of the public bodies of Ireland to help him to pass this resolution which is submitted here tonight. It would not do to put the organisation he is representing on it, because I believe there are honest men in it who would not allow it to be done, but if he gets this passed, and endorsed by the public bodies of Ireland they will come out and slap it in Mr. Redmond's face and say that it was a resolution passed by the Sinn Feiners of Dublin. I don't think we should allow Mr. Redmond, Mr. Devlin or the Irish Party to be jumped on by men like him.

Mr. Morris: Hear hear.

Mr. Kenna: William O'Brien, Tim Healy, Ald. Kelly, and Company are the enemies and traitors of Ireland.

Mr. Deloughry: That is the new doctrine.

Mr. Kenna: It is not the new doctrine. That is my opinion, and I propose that this resolution be consigned to the waste paper basket. I am sorry that the other members of the Corporation of Kilkenny didn't think it worth their while to come up here and voice their opinion on such a critical point as this. That was the reason I proposed last night that it be deferred until tonight. They will criticise our actions for expressing our opinions, but they had a right to be here and do their duty to the people who sent them here. Let them take it well or ill of me, I will give my opinion out straight.

Mr. E. Morrissey: I have great pleasure in seconding the amendment. I think that when we have sent forward representatives to the House of Commons we should place implicit confidence in them. I think the whole country has done so, and I don't see why small cliques and nonentity parties should get and start disturbances when we see good prospects of everything settled. I have great pleasure in seconding the amendment.

Mr. Deloughry: I want to say something in connection with what Councillor Kenna has thought well to say. It is hard to sit down and hear him attacking some of the best Irishmen living.

Mr. Kenna: Whom have I attacked?

Mr. Deloughry: he has found fault with this Conference in Dublin because they did not attack Irishmen - William O'Brien or some other Irishman. I don't give much for Mr. O'Brien's or Mr. Redmond's principle: I don't believe is enough fight in any of them. Mr. Kenna tells us that our enemies are Irishmen who differ from us in opinion. Ald. Kelly and other Irishmen are the enemies we are to fight, and not England. That is the new doctrine promulgated by the present day politicians. As far as I can see, any man who takes an intelligent interest in the politics of the country, is not to dare to express his opinions in public, except they bear the hall mark of the United Irish League. I have always tried to take an intelligent interest in politics, and I will always express my opinions here. I don't care if it suits other people to get their politics down in pamphlets from the United Irish League offices in Dublin; I will always try to think for myself, and it would be well for every Irishman to do the same thing. Mr. Kenna has made an attack upon Ald. Kelly. There is no better Irishman living than Ald. Kelly: he has done more work for Ireland than many. He is unassuming and we do not hear much about his work, and very seldom his name appears to any circular. He has done more than one man's part in the Industrial Revival movement alone, which is by far more important than some of the meetings, to which a great deal of attention is given in the daily Press. The whole point Mr. Kenna makes is that is an attack on Mr. Redmond. I fail to see how it is. Mr. Redmond himself has practically endorsed that resolution yesterday.

Ald. Nowlan: Mr. Redmond stated in Waterford some time ago that he would not divide a sod of Ireland, or let a bit of it go.

Chairman: It is turning out like that now.

Ald. Nowlan: Mr. Redmond or the Irish Party never got any mandate from the people who sent them there to divide the country, and I don't believe that the country should be divided. I don't care what I may be put down as - I am for all Ireland, and not for any division.

Mr. Kenna: We all are, if it could be helped. Mr. Redmond, Mr. Devlin and the Irish Party have agreed to the temporary exclusion of Ulster, for the sake of peace.

Mr. Deloughry: They had no right to do so.

Ald. Nowlan: If they had come and got a mandate from the people it would be a different story, but they haven't.

Mr. Morris: Did Mr. Redmond agree to divide Ireland.

Mr. Kenna: He agreed to the temporary exclusion of Ulster for the sake of peace, and so did Mr. Devlin and no one can say that Mr. Devlin is not as good an Irishman as ever lived.

Mr. Deloughry: Not so very long ago, Mr. Kenna was a great admirer of the Sinn Fein Party.

Mr. Kenna: certainly, and I am so today. I say that there are still honest men in the Sinn Fein Party.

Mr. Kenna: That is a wonder when you are left it.

Mr. Clohosey: Might there be any chance of Councillor Deloughry withdrawing his proposition? It would be a pity to have us to divide at this the eleventh hour. The Irish Party ought to know well what to do in the interests of Ireland, and I think they are doing their best. It is a pity that we should have a vote on this thing now.

Mr. Deloughry: In answer to that, I don't see how this would do the Irish Party any harm; probably it is what they want, some mandate like this from the country.

Mr. Clohosey: It cannot do any good now. They have enough to fight without fighting us.

Ald. Deloughry: Nobody wants to fight them at all. We should let it be known that we are not in favour of a division of the country.

Mr. Kenna: We are not in favour of a division of the country, if it can be helped.

Ald. Nowlan: You cannot sit on two stools.

Mr. Deloughry: Unfortunately as public boards we do not hear the real opinions of the country expressed.

Mr. Clohosey: Anybody who stands up to start or support a new party now is not a friend of Ireland.

Ald. Nowlan: This is not a new party.

Mr. Deloughry: There was any amount of parliamentarians at this conference in Dublin and United Irish Leaguers. Most of what Mr. Kenna has stated is not true.

Mr. Clohosey: Who proposed this resolution at all?

Mr. Kenna: It comes from Alderman Kelly.

Ald. Nowlan: Ald. Kelly's name is sufficient that it is genuine in any case.

Mr. Morrissey: You will get a Jew man with an Irish name now.

Ald. Nowlan: He is not a Jew man, anyway.

Ald. Cantwell said his views were that they should be in entire sympathy with Mr. Redmond and the Irish Party (hear, hear). They had done yeoman work, and by their consenting to the temporary exclusion of Ulster, had put the test to Mr. Carson and the others, to see whether they were willing or not. They were not willing and the Home Rule Bill, as it passed on Monday night, did not contain the Ulster exclusion proposals. He thought that Mr. Redmond had their confidence and they entirely deprecated the language used by Mr. T. M. Healy on Monday night in the House of Commons against Mr. Redmond and the Irish Party, and he did not think they would be right in bolstering up Mr. Healy or his plans. Unfortunately Mr. Healy had always been a crank, but notwithstanding that, they did not want to lose him, nor did they want to lose Mr. Carson. They wanted Ireland for Ireland, and they thought Mr. Redmond could get that better than Mr. Healy, Ald. Kelly or Mr. Carson. That was his opinion about it, and he thought it would be a big mistake to pass a resolution which would be twisted by some people into an attempt to condemn Mr. Redmond and the Irish Party. That was what they would be doing by passing such a resolution as Mr. Deloughry proposed. The resolution should be more in the line of approving of Mr. Redmond's action, and that they entirely approved of his statement in the House of Commons on Monday night, that Ireland was to be an undivided Ireland, and that they hoped he would insist on its being so in the carrying through of the Home Rule Bill.

Mr. Deloughry: That is the substance of the resolution before us. I agree with that.

Mr. Morris said Ald. Cantwell's suggestion was to pass a resolution placing implicit confidence in Mr. Redmond and the Party, and not in Sir Edward Carson.

Mr. Deloughry: I don't care whether the resolution is put in Ald. Cantwell's words or Ald. Kelly's words. If Ald. Cantwell puts his views in the form of a resolution, I am willing to substitute it for Ald. Kelly's. We are here to express our opinion.

Mr. Clohosey: You want us to follow the lead of a little clique that is trying to do harm.

Mr. Deloughry: No such thing. If Ald. Cantwell puts his opinion in the form of a resolution, I will second it.

Mr. Kenna: I don't think Ald. Cantwell has any intention of doing it.

Ald. Nowlan: If we agree to Alderman Cantwell's resolution, why shouldn't we agree to Ald. Kelly's?

Mr. Kenna: You will mark Ald. Kelly's "read."

A division was about to be taken when

Ald. Cantwell asked would it be in order not to have a vote taken on the amendment or proposition, and to pass a resolution approving of the action of Mr. Redmond, particularly his statement on Monday night, and

expressing their entire disapproval of those who were attacking him, whether it was Mr. Healy or Mr. Carson or others.

Continuing he said: We believe in Home Rule for Ireland, and we can't afford to lose even those who differ from Mr. Redmond and his Party. We can't afford to lose them, although they may be cranks, and we look upon some of them as un-Irish. We don't want to say Belfast or any other portion of the North is not in Ireland. We want them to be in Ireland and for Ireland, and I believe the men there will become as good Home Rulers in years to come as the men in the South are now. That is my honest opinion about it. I believe that the Conservatives living in the South and other portions of Ireland would not change their places with Mr. Carson. They are quite willing to live with us, and we are quite willing to live with them. Some of the best men we have on the Co. Councils are virtually Conservatives, and they are good and able representatives. The same class of men will spring under the Home Rule bill in Ireland, in my opinion, and Ireland will be governed by Irishmen for Ireland. I don't, of course, like exclusion. It was put as a temporary expedient and as a test to Mr. Carson as to what he would say, and he would not accept it. He would not have Home Rule under any circumstances. Therefore, I say that in all well-managed places the majority must rule, and the vast majority of the Irish people are for Home Rule, and the few small counties in the North will have to submit, in all fairness and equity, to the majority. That is the meaning of word "rule" at all times, and I don't see why we should deviate from it. As I said before, Mr. Redmond has done yeoman work for years and years, for Ireland, and at this critical time we believe he has done the best for Ireland, and I propose that we endorse what he has done and approve of his action and that of his Party.

Mr. Morris seconded.

Mr. Clohosey: I agree with every word that Ald. Cantwell has said. I don't think the other resolution is before us at all.

Mr. Deloughry: The main point is to defeat that resolution of Ald. Kelly's.

Mr. Kenna said he would not withdraw his amendment.

Mr. Deloughry (Sarcastically) Ald. Kelly is the enemy of Ireland, and that resolution is to be defeated at all cost. Anyone with an opinion of his own has to be sat on. If a resolution is proposed disapproving of the partition of Ireland, I will support it. The vote is really for or against the exclusion of Ulster.

Mr. Kenna: Not at all.

Mr. Deloughry: Read the resolution.

A division was then taken on Mr. Kenna's amendment, and there voted:

For - Messrs Pembroke, J. Morrissey, K. Morrissey, Clohosey, Kenna, Cantwell, Comerford, Morris and the chairman (9)

Against - Messrs. Nowlan and Deloughry (2).

When the result of the voting was announced,

Mr. Deloughry said it was a case of nine voting to set the South against the North.

Mr. Clohosey: Nine voted to have the resolution consigned to where it ought to go.

Mr. Deloughry: Every resolution which has not the hall mark of the U.I.L. must go to the waste paper basket.

Mr. Kenna's amendment was declared carried.