

British History in Perspective
General Editor: Jeremy Black

PUBLISHED TITLES

- Rodney Barker *Politics, Peoples and Government*
C. J. Bartlett *British Foreign Policy in the Twentieth Century*
Jeremy Black *Robert Walpole and the Nature of Politics
in Early Eighteenth-Century Britain*
Anne Curry *The Hundred Years War*
John W. Derry *British Politics in the Age of Fox, Pitt and Liverpool*
William Gibson *Church, State and Society, 1760–1850*
Brian Golding *Conquest and Colonisation: the Normans
in Britain, 1066–1100*
Steven Gunn *Early Tudor Government, 1485–1558*
Richard Harding *The Evolution of the Sailing Navy, 1509–1815*
Ann Hughes *The Causes of the English Civil War*
Ronald Hutton *The British Republic, 1649–1660*
Kevin Jefferys *The Labour Party since 1945*
D. M. Loades *The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1545–1565*
Diarmaid MacCulloch *The Later Reformation in England, 1547–1603*
W. M. Ormrod *Political Life in Medieval England, 1300–1450*
Keith Perry *British Politics and the American Revolution*
A. J. Pollard *The Wars of the Roses*
David Powell *British Politics and the Labour Question, 1868–1990*
Michael Prestwich *English Politics in the Thirteenth Century*
Richard Rex *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*
G. R. Searle *The Liberal Party: Triumph and Disintegration, 1886–1929*
Paul Seaward *The Restoration, 1660–1668*
Robert Stewart *Party and Politics, 1830–1852*
John W. Young *Britain and European Unity, 1945–92*

History of Ireland

- D. G. Boyce *The Irish Question and British Politics, 1868–1986*
Dávid Harkness *Ireland in the Twentieth Century: Divided Island*

History of Scotland

- Keith M. Brown *Kingdom or Province? Scotland and the Regal Union,
1603–1715*

History of Wales

- A. D. Carr *Medieval Wales*
J. Gwynfor Jones *Early Modern Wales, c.1525–1640*

Please see overleaf for forthcoming titles

FORTHCOMING TITLES

- Walter L. Arnstein *Queen Victoria*
Eugenio Biagini *Gladstone*
Peter Catterall *The Labour Party, 1918–1940*
Gregory Claeys *The French Revolution Debate in Britain*
Pauline Croft *James I*
Eveline Cruickshanks *The Glorious Revolution*
John Davis *British Politics, 1885–1939*
David Dean *Parliament and Politics in Elizabethan and
Jacobean England, 1558–1614*
Susan Doran *English Foreign Policy in the Sixteenth Century*
David Eastwood *Government and Community
in the Provinces: England, 1750–1850*
Colin Eldridge *The Victorians Overseas*
Richard English *The IRA*
Angus Hawkins *British Party Politics, 1852–1886*
T. A. Jenkins *Disraeli*
H. S. Jones *Political Thought in Nineteenth-Century Britain*
D. E. Kennedy *The English Revolution, 1642–1649*
Anthony Milton *Church and Religion in England, 1603–1642*
R. C. Nash *English Foreign Trade and the World Economy, 1600–1800*
Richard Ovendale *Anglo-American Relations in the Twentieth Century*
Ian Parker *Lloyd George*
David Powell *The Edwardian Crisis: Britain, 1901–1914*
Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson *Britain and the Impact of World War I*
Brian Quintrell *Government and Politics in Early Stuart England*
Stephen Roberts *Governance in England and Wales, 1603–1688*
W. Stafford *John Stuart Mill*
Alan Sykes *The Radical Right in Britain*
Ann Williams *Kingship and Government in Pre-Conquest England*
Michael Young *Charles I*

History of Ireland

- Toby Barnard *The Kingdom of Ireland, 1641–1740*
Sean Duffy *Ireland in the Middle Ages*
Alan Heesom *The Anglo-Irish Union, 1800–1922*
Hiram Morgan *Ireland in the Early Modern Periphery, 1534–1690*

History of Scotland

- I. G. C. Hutchinson *Scottish Politics in the Twentieth Century*
Roger Mason *Kingship and Tyranny? Scotland, 1513–1603*
John McCaffrey *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*
John Shaw *The Political History of Eighteenth-Century Scotland*
Bruce Webster *Scotland in the Middle Ages*

History of Wales

- Gareth Jones *Wales, 1700–1980: Crises of Identity*

IRELAND IN THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY

DIVIDED ISLAND

DAVID HARKNESS

Macmillan Education

ISBN 978-0-333-56796-8 ISBN 978-1-349-24267-2 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-1-349-24267-2

IRELAND IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Copyright © 1996 by David Harkness

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 1996

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles or reviews. For information, address:

St. Martin's Press, Scholarly and Reference Division,
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010

First published in the United States of America in 1996

ISBN 978-0-312-12663-6

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Harkness, David

Ireland in the twentieth century:divided island / David Harkness.

p. cm. — (British history in perspective)

Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index .

ISBN 978-0-312-12663-6

1. Ireland—Politics and government—20th century. 2. Northern Ireland—Politics and government—1969– 3. Nationalism—Ireland—History—20th century. 4. Irish unification question. I. Title.

II. Series.

DA959.H37 1995

320.5'4'09415—dc20

95-9736

CIP

CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	viii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	x
1 Home Rule and Unionism: to 1912	1
2 No Compromise: 1913–18	20
3 Division and Retrenchment: 1919–25	34
4 Separate Ways: 1926–38	47
5 Neutral and Belligerent: 1938–49	64
6 Neighbours of a Kind: 1950–72	84
7 London Steps In: 1972–92	100
8 Conclusion	115
Appendix A Extracts from the Government of Ireland Act, 1920	127
Appendix B Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland, 1921	137

Contents

Appendix C	Ireland (Confirmation of Agreement) Act, 1925	144
Appendix D	Extracts from the Irish Constitutions of 1922 and 1937	148
Appendix E	The Republic of Ireland Act, 1948, and the Ireland Act, 1949	159
Appendix F	The Anglo-Irish Agreement, 15 November 1985	167
	<i>Notes</i>	177
	<i>Index</i>	185

*To the memory of
Rita Alice Harkness*

PREFACE

There are several histories of Ireland in the twentieth century. This is not one of them. Rather, it recounts the relationship between the Irish nationalist community in the larger part of the island and the unionist community in its north-eastern corner. They held diametrically opposite views on the desirability of the maintenance of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland as a single entity as the twentieth century opened and they have adhered to their views since: through an independence movement that reached its peak after the First World War and succeeded in detaching 26 of Ireland's 32 counties from subjection to Westminster; through an interwar period of depression and economic decline; through a Second World War which greatly enhanced the barrier between them; and since, through fifty years of fluctuating fortunes, a further campaign of violence and the replacement of devolved local government in Belfast by direct rule from London.

This account traces the incompatibilities of the two allegiances over more than ninety years. It picks out the many areas of difference and the occasional high-profile points of agreement and co-operation. What is not well documented but which should not be ignored is the constant low level contact and co-operation between individuals, groups and institutions on a day-to-day basis at virtually all times in this period, even during the past twenty-five years of

paramilitary violence in Northern Ireland. Families have crossed and re-crossed a border which has grown progressively less meaningful as joint membership of the European Community has developed. Churches, a range of professional and educational bodies, and some major sporting organisations have always maintained all-Ireland structures. Railways and bus lines have continued to operate across the frontier. Commercial, cultural and social co-operation has been preserved at many levels, and tourism has attracted citizens of each to the other. Despite the self-preoccupation and the differences of opinion which the pages that follow enumerate, at ground level those who inhabit the island have managed to get on well enough together. That basic reality is fundamental. It has kept even the worst of times from the destructive scale of civil conflicts in other parts of the world. It is the best reason for hoping that it is yet possible that arrangements can be made for all who live on the island to do so in peace and mutual respect.

Concern for human rights, commitment to democratic values and an acceptance that many views of the past are legitimate can combine to help the process of living together. Awareness can lead to understanding. Understanding can facilitate tolerance. It is in optimistic trust in these truths that this book has been written.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Extracts from the Irish Free State Constitution (1922), the Constitution of Ireland (1937) and the Republic of Ireland Act (1948) are all reproduced with permission of the Controller, Stationery Office, Dublin.

Crown copyright is reproduced with the permission of the Controller of HMSO.