The aitached, repor To DARPELL.FIGGIS.
and may he usiful.
His File No $9 / 1938 / 4$,
$6 / 04 / 2 \cdot$ contain a copy.

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#### Abstract

$\frac{76}{71381} S$

Copy of Report by District Inspector A. W. ADDERLEX, District Inspector, Royal Irish Constabulary, at Nowport, County Mayo, on 5th Juno, 1916, ro DARRELI FIGGTS, of Pullagh, noar Kool, Achill Island, County lilayo.


On morning of 11 th May ' 16 Mr . DaRRELL FIGGIS was arrested by me at his house near Keel, Achill Island, under the Defence of the Realm Act, and on same day was lodged in Castlebar Gaol. From his house I took a considerable number of ducuments which I have since examined, and I have derected those which I have deomed relevant and clessified them as attached. In this covering report I shall refor to them by the pencil numbers I have placed thereon.

Mr. DARRELI FIGGIS is son of Mr. A. W. FIGGIS of Calcutta, a business man apparently, and his mother, brothers, and sisters live in England. All his relatives are loyal British subjocts (his brother BRYAFI is a Lieutenant in Arry Service Corps), and from letters I have seen, they all thoroughly disapprove of the disloyal course boing pursued by him. He is about 45 years of age, and lived with his wife on Achill Island. He is an Author by profession, and for some short time bofore he sottled down In Achill was literaxy adviser to Messrs. DENT $\%$ sons, Publishers, of London. He has writton several books both of prose and poetry, but his mritings aro not popular, and it is only with assistance from his relatives that he is able to oke out a struggling existence. Ho has a rathor considerable connection of a particular class in the literary morld and his life at Aohill seems to be fully occupied with literary wort.

He first cane prominently before the public in
 the forcible landing of arms, otc., at Howth, Co. Dublin. Document No. I attachod seems to be the receipt of the Hamburg Firm which supplied the amms, ote. Nos. 2, 3, and 4 signed by "Alice S. Groon".
Nos. 5 to 9 , which were contsined in envelope No. 10 addressed to ThE $0^{\prime}$ RAHILLY seem to be dated Jany. 1915, and refer to another proposed deal in amms. Hos. 11 to 21 concern the purchase of a rifle from THE otrafilicy in oct. 1914. Nos. 22 to 44 refer to the Irish Volunteers between 20 th August 1914, and 6th Fob. 1915. It vill bo noticed that the Sinn Foin section issued their Manifesto (No-37) on 24-9-14, severing themselves from the Redmondites. On 21-8-14 FIGGIS was appointed Inspecting officer of Irish Volunteors in Co. Mayo (Wo. 24), but as there were no funds to meet his expenditure (see 31 \& 39) he porformed practically no duty in that capacity. From the date of the split in the Volunteers the sympsthy of FIGGIS went with the Sinn Fein soction, and he was consequently formally
dismissed from his position of Inspecting Officer by
COIONEL MOORE (NO. 44) on 6-2-15.
In oct. 1914 FIGGIS and his wife came to live permanently at ACHILL ISTAND, and the series of Letters 45 to 59 passed from Rev. FATHER MEEFAN of Castlebar to FIGGIS. FATHER MEEHAN is evidently a man of very extreme views, and a strong bond of sympathy appears to exist between him and FIGGIS. Some of these Letters refer to the Volunteers and in others FATHPR MEEHAN is instructing FIGGIS how to support (Suspect) FRANCIS H. POWER, National Teacher, of Achill Beg Island, in a quarrel which the latter had with his Manager, Rev. FATHER COLIERAT, P.P., of Achill Sound.
Nos 60 to 65 have reference to a Gaelic League lecture by FIGGIS in March last at Limerick. This Iecture was evidently got up for sinn Fein purposes, and while in Timerick FIGGIS stayed at the house of an avowed Sinn Feiner (NO. 60) M. O'OATTAGHATT.

For many years hundreds of men and women from Achill Island have gone to Fngland and Scotland each Spring for agricultural and other work, for which they are paid high wages. This year to prevent any help going to Gredt Britain from Achill, FIGGIS conceived the idea of trying to look for omployment for them in Treland, and with this object he got Circular No. 66 printed and put letters and advertisements on the subject to various newspapers, to which amongst his papers I found many replies. Nos. 66 to 69 refer to this matter - which exhibits the bitter antiBritish feelings possessed by FIGGIS. Vos. 70 to 80 are various papers. From pages 4 and 5 of No. 76 it would almost seem that FIGGIS had a premonition of the REBELLION which a fortnight later broke out thro the country. Wo. 77 is a letter from FIGGIS to his wife and is written from THE O'RAHILLX'S house (see address mis on Nos. 12 to 15). There is internal evidence that it and No. 79 were written a couplo of days after each other, and the date of posting of No. 79 is on its envelone - No. 78. No. 80 refers to a Gaelic League (Sinn Foin) demonstration at Dundalk which FTGGIS attonded.

The foregoing concludes the documents found in the kw house of FTGGIS. In addition, I attach some police statements. regarding his sayings and doings and a cutting from "Mayo News" of 31-10-14 containing a lettor from FTGGTS in which his sentiments are freely expressed. On 5 th Sept. last at Achill Sound he inspected and drilled a party of Sinn Fein Volunteers arned with rifles, who had come from Castlebar (see Constable GITTAT'S statement attached), and on 17 th March last at Westport at a Sinn Fein demonstration at which THE O'RAHITTY and WILTIAY MELLOWES, Sinn Foin delegates, attended. FIGGIS was one of the speakers. He took no visible part in the recent REBETT,ION, but it is unlikely that a man of his proclivities was being overlooked, and it is quite possible that his part was to romain at Achill and assist in the landing of arms on the Achill Coast from the ship "AUD" which is said to have beek sunk off the

Kerry Coast while in the custody of a patrol boat. Mict cha orred, A suspicious circumstance in connection $\sqrt{O P}$ FIGGIS on morning of 11 th May, '16, was his delay of about 20 minutes in opening the door; and before the police forced the door open they saw him and his wife buming papers. I examined the burnt ashes of the papers and distinguished the words "Irish Volunteers" in print but could get nothing further from them, as they went to dust. (Soe statement of Sergeant DONOVAN at back).

In the house of FIGGIS I al so found a sword bayonet of foreign make (new), a sheath knife or dagger with the maker's name E. A. BERG, ESKILSTUNA, thereon, a revolver cartridge and 43 full and 36 empty sporting cartridges.

In my opinion FIGGIS is a highly dangerous person to be at large at the present time. He has shown himself to be capable of taking part in any desperate enterprise. He cherishes an intense hatred of England. The letters attached show him to have been on terms of intimacy with SIR ROGER GASEMENT (NO. 71), PROFESSOR MaCNTILL (2), THE $O^{\prime}$ RAHITLLY ( 10 \& 77), and BULMER HOBSON ( $1 / a$ ). His whole influence, as far as he coould safely go, was against RECRUITTMG. H@ associated whenever he left Achill were persons of the most extreme views, and up to 17 th March last when he attended and spoke at a Sinn Fein demonstration at westport, at which those present were called upon to bear amns when the time came, his active sympathy and help were given to the Irish Volunteers.
A. W. ADDERLEY

District Inspector.

FIGGIS. Darrell. Keol Achill, Cö. Mayo.

Age, about 50. (1921).
On Sinn Fein Executive, Administrative side.
Justice, South City Courts. Not a T.D. Sime elucter b 3'a Nail.

With his wife came to live at Achill Island.in 1914.
Firgt came before the notice of the Public in 1914 when on the 26th July he acted as leader in the forcoable landing of Arms, etc. ot' Howth, Co. Dublin.
On 21-8-14 was appointed Inspecting Officer of the Irish Volunteers in Co. Mayo, but performed very little duty in that capacity owing to lack of funds.

At the time of the split in the ranks of the Irish Volunteers he sided with the extreme section and in consequence was formaliy dismissed from his position of Inspecting Officer by Col. MOORE on 6-2-15.

Tried to devise a plan whereby he might prevent hundreds of men and women leaving Achill Island each Spring for the purpose of obtaining agricultural and other work in England and Scotland.

Arrested Ilth May 1916 at his house at Keel under the Defence of The Realm Act and lodged in Castlebar Goal.
A suspicious circumstance in connection with his arrest was his delay of about 20 minutes in opening the door; and before the Police forced the door open they saw him and his wife burning papers.
A considerable number of documents wee found, also a sword bayonet (new) of foreign make, a sheath knike or dagger, a revolver cart. ridge and 43 full and 36 empty sporting cartridges.

Took no appreciable part in the Rebellion, but it is considered likely that he assisted in the landing of Arms on the Achill coast from the ship "AUD" which is said to have been sunk off the Kerry Cosst.

Is a highly dangerous person.
Has shown himself to be capable of taking part in any desperate enterprise.

Cherishos an intense hatred of England.
Letters show him to be on terms of intimacy with Sir Roger Casement, Professor MCNeil, The Rahilly, Bulmer Hobson,

His associates when away from Achill were persons of the most extreme views,

Spoke at a Sinn Fein Demonstamtion at Westport 17-3-16.
Son of A.W. FIGGIS of Calcutta, apparently a business man. His mother, brothers, and sisters iive in England.
All his relatives are loyal, and his brother Bryan is a Lieutenant in the A.S.C.

For full report, see D.I. Adderley's report attached dated 5-6-16.

Nominated as independent candidate for Dublin County to contest in Blections June I922.

Attacked by raider s who removed his bemed and some of his hair. (see Press cuttings "Irish Tines" I3-6-22.)

Blected by 1 mrge majority 3 rd . Dail.
Geve an address at the Rotary Club on "Business and Politics"
(see Press cutting) Freemmn's Journmi" I8m7-22.
Attended the funerml of Arthur Griffith I5-8-22. ("Freeman's Journal" 16-8-22.)

The only T.D. to reply to Mrs. Cole, Mother of the murdered Sean Cole, of the "Fianna" who addressed a circular to each of the $T . D^{i}$ s. Giggis was sympathetic, but stated that he was informed that cole was murdered by his own Colleagues. Mrs Cole's reply was spirited and demonded Figgis to produce his informants and clear the matter up. ("FFNNIAN" No.63.)

Wrote a long letter to the Editor of the "Irish Independent" on the "Framing of the Constitution" ("Irish Ind. 29-9-22.)
independent

## BRITISH INCITEMENTS

AGENTS.PROVOCATEURS AGAIN AT WORK IN IRELAND

To the Editor " Irish Independent, Sir-Certain information ha agents-proyocateurs, inspired frous Eand land, are in this comutry, craftily inctivigg
our peoplo to bloodshed and disorder in order thus to compel the return of Tuglish1
troops and the undoing of the Treaty. Itions cannot discover through what agencios one may disagree with the policy of the opponents of the Treaty in this country, however sadly one may deplore the consp-
quence of their acts, this much is, at least. sure, that they wonld not permit such
work to be conducted through their hands. The work is, therefore, going ahead iudependently of them, and under the cover
of their opposition. But I am satisfied that it is going ahead as a result of x I know I incur a certain personal risk,
but I have not the slightest hesitation in but I have not the slightest hesitation in
making public, orer my name, the informaiou in my possession that there are agents
nucring about through this country, urging a, $:$ ring voung men and women to violent acts "er voung the Republic, as it is said (and
to stand by the
as our earnest youth interprets it), butt as our ear njas the game of certa We now know who inspired the Phoenix
Park nuurders, and to what end. It woutal appear that: the same game is at wut asain.

## DADCEL FIGGIS (Dublin, $5 / 3 / 22$ )

INDEPENDENT.


NDEPENDENT. II. S. 2r.

## MODERN CONSTITUTIONS

 AN IRISH TEXT BOOKWhat promises to become the standard text book on the Constitutions of the world is now in preparation, Mr. Darrell Figgis having, in agreement with the Provisional Government, usdertaken the work. There
is not at present any book dealing with Conis not at present any book dealing with con
stitution building, nor any which contrast and compares the various Constitutions with each other.
Mr. Figgis has, during the work of the different Governments of Europe and America copies of all the more recent Constitations, which have been carefully translated, and in the Committee's offices there is now a completer hibrary of Co
The work, entitled "Constitutions of
the World," will contain copies of all thes documents, and will be made available these for members of the Constituent Assembly antil the Irish Constitution has been ap proved and promulgated. The Constituproved of the Trish tree State will subse quently be included, when the whole will pe issued in book form. In the meantime the information contained in it will be par the very important work with whioh they have been entrusted. The new Dail to be elected in June, will act as a Con the final form of the Irish Constitution.

## '/rish /ndependent 30-5-22.

## MR. FIGGIS AND REPUBL

 ALLEGED DECEIT TOWARDS PACThe "Republic of Ireland" publishe The "Republic of Ireland" publishe
a Stop Press containing a charge againe a Stop Press containing a charge againg
Mr. Darrell Wiggis of treachery to the pa sotereen Mr. de Valera and Mr. Collins his presence and remarks at the receptio
of a deputation representimg business in of a deputation representing busiliess in
tenesets by the National Fixecutive of th terests by the National Exsecutive of th
I.ET. at a special meeting on May 2 . I.E.U. at a special meeting on May 25
of which they published what purporter of which they published what p
to be a full amd exclusive repiort. to be a fell anta exceusive Mivort. Manghin Mr. Hubaid. Morlet (Galwiy), and Co




 It a number of independent candidati
 any ath to

## MR. FIGGIS REPLIES.

Mr. Darrell Figgis, in the course statement with refernice to
Stop Dress, sanid-- It is partly in





 do Talera's signature is put, and, ther tore I I had his authority for my repls, it
what that is worth. What They invited me
 she deputation, unt that Id did accomphat it. And when the farmers asked me in
same cuestion that the others had asked same cuestion that the others had aske
I answered again that the Pact itse
threis the door open to independent cand dates. This present Dail has wrangled and tro over the Treaty until the who
country is sick of these ondless discy country Is sick of Dail is to be compas
sions. If the next
precisoly as the present Dail is, then will get months and months more of th
wrangle concerning a matter on which $t$ Wrangle concerning a matter on which $t$
country has long since mado up its min ountry has long since mado up its min
"Tho country, I believe, desires th practical business affairs should get a lit
attention, and steps taken to ease and $h$ the increasing disemplovment. Men a women are starving, nay dying, while
Dail wrangles, as I told the farmers: a Dail wrangles, as I told the farmers
these is no farmer torday who can sell produce at anything here the cure this of affairs we must act on Clanse 4 of Pact and get labour men, husiness The country needs them.'

## -Insh Lrdependent 31-5-22.

THE PACT, AND WHAF IT MEANS

## TDENCHANT RETTED FROM

 MR. DARPELL FIGGISTo the Editor "Irish Independent."
Sir-Late last night a Pressman called me with a "Stop Press" edition of the late, and it was only possible to print part of the statement I issued in the Press this morning. The matter is of importance to tion of the pact, and I will be glad it you il permit me to revert to it.
Before doing so, however, let mo first deal " he description of the Farmers' Union tenants of his Majesty the King, Ereemasons, and Unionists." This is not the first against the farmers of this country. But or tho support of the farmers our national
war would not have met with the snccess it did, and it is time that this monstrous rarge should cease to bo made.
The meeting of the Farmers' Union at whelming majority of men who are as rood sinn Feiners as any others. They had alput forward candidates of a good national record, and in that decision the meeting was unanimous. I have no apology to offer o the editor of the "Republic of Ireland or being found in their company. If I had O
NO PICKING AND CHOOSING
Now as to the Pact. This Pact consists of seven clauses, and no one clause can be separated from the others. The Pact is binding as a whole in respect of its clauses, thers. It is not open to any to pick and choose what part of the Pact they wish to accept, and to conduct malicious propaClause 2 of the Parts.
parties at present pact states that the two gree mutually to represented in the Dail as against one another. Clause 4 states that "every and any interest is free to Panel,", the election with the Sinn Fein clause 4 excluded be as absurd to say that clause 4 excluded clause 2 as to suggest
that clause 2 excludes clause 4 . They both form part of one common compact. When, my opini I was asked to say, whether in candidaton as an individual, independent had morely to rocito the term election, I , which had safeguarded this point.

## UE FOUGHT BEFORE

word, the Pact had safeguarded the iberty of the people of Ireland. In any The old that is the only point at issue. the right of the people to free election by their candidates stood against the national interest. Some of us fought against the rish Party on that issue for precisely the same reasons as we fought against restrict the freedom of the Irish people. The issue is the same to-day; not because of the Pact, but because of the attempt to misuse the Pact.
Let us remember that we have had no
elections since 1918 elections since 1918. Some of the present voted upon by the people. The rest have not been roted upon since December, 1918. We are, therefore, almost as far from a genuine electiin as the Irish Party was.
And if we are not careful we will nother we andslide in the future os the Irish Party had in 1917-18.
THE SIMPLE ISSUE
Finally, let me say one word abint Sinn Fein. I have borne that title when it was dangerous to do so. I was proud of it then and I am proud of it now. Sinn It is itself a composition of many dile parties. Many independent candidates itil be chosen who will be as good Sinn Finers as any Panel candidate. If they are not, That is the That is the simple issue before us. The
people of Ireland are free and responsible and no one can restrict that freedom or diminish that responsibility. The Pact has not done so as I read it. Before the Farmers' Union I merely repeated what the every word I said.
It is stated in this Stop Press issue that I once described myself as a dootrinaire Republican. I am a doctrinaire Republican. the people themselves must decide without dietation from anybody within or without the country. That is my political faith. But this implies that they must have an opportunity of voing, wing taken from them by an artificial restriction of candidates

## /RTMEs. 29-10'21.

## IRISH INDUSTRIES.

## SINN FEIN COMMISSION TO BE WOUND UP

The Reconstruction in the New Treland", was
 Literary Union in connection of the Students
more Teclnical Schools
mith the Tullasaid that things were not Tacturlly night. He but he beliced that a not rery greatily decided yet, blunder vat
about to about to be made-that the closing of of the
imission mission of Inquiry into Trish Industriss and Re-
sources was in cont for which they hoped and wished could never be achieved unless they won it by industrial success. He wished to see that ind indtrystrial that prosperity, which would give industry and to all the children born within this tenritiory of remaining here and living honourable, decent lives, and having a share in the prosperity and trade which their work created. If that was to
be done ore be done, work such as the Commission of In-
quiry had been quiry had been doing for the last two years dence, they must have economic independenen-

## '/MDEPENDENT:' $5=12$-24. POWER RESOURCES O F IRELAND

## WORK OF AN DAIL INQUIRY

Mr. Darrell Figgis, Secretary, has furnished us with a copy of Vol. II. of the minutes of evidence taken by the Commis sion of inquiry appointed by Dail Eireann,
The evidence deals particulariy witi the Power Ressurces of preland. The witnesses Power Ressurces of lreland. tie witnesses
represent every shade of political opinion, represent every shade of political opinion,
if we may judge from their names, many country for industrial enterprise.
Mr. Hamilton Robb, Portadown, gave evi dence on the practical use of peat in pro
ducer plants as employed in his factory "I give it as my opinion," Mr. kobb states "that all power required in Ireland coula be better supplied from peat than trom coal. The onyy thing wanted is sufficient enterprise to get it done. Ar. Rono speaks large user of power.
Un the same subject, Mr. Thomas Tomlin son deals with tre Development of Irish the Peat Commission of 1810-14, and drews attention to the fact that these findings a as true to-day as they were when written, though nothing has been done in the meanparation of the bogs of Ireland for subsequent use by a caretiul and complete system of diainage.
OTHER PROBLEMS
Professor Cronshaw deals with the Struc ture and Composition of Irish Peat bogs ; Miss Ryan with the Cliemical Analysis of Irish Keat; and Mr. J. U. Noynan, C.S. N. lipperary, both with Peat and with $w$ ater Yower.
Rev.
Rev. T. Finlay, S.J., deals with Co-operation and General Economic Conditions. His evidence is concerned with general principles rather than with the application of all these points of riew displayed dence dealing with matters of first-rato importance to the country.
Mrish coal is also very well represented by Mr. J. J. Parkinson, proprietori of the Wolt Hill Coal Mines, and by Mr. Fercy Huxley,
who reports a number of experiments in Who reports a number of experiments in deep interest by those who are concerned in the development of our anthracite coal Mr. R. N. Tweedy deals, with Industrial Alcohol.

## GALWAY AND THE SHANNON.

Mr. Binns, Borough Surveyor of Galwar, gave evidence concerned wirh the develop-
ment of the Port of Galway, and the adjacent Water Powers that could assist in that development, and Mr. Robert Davisors non. Mr. Davison does not deal with theories; his evidence is occupied practical calculations that can be put to the test. He suggests definite engineering tasks, and even gives rough estimated costs for these works. Fach area in the County of Limerick is taken in turn, and its indus water power and minerals. Finally, he gives statistics of the fall of water of the Shannon, worked out for every day of 3 years; and these statistics are worked out by him in a diagram that appears at the end of the book.
The book has be
The book has been got up with an excellent
index, and, like the other volumes publislied this Commission, is
read and to handle.

## '/MDEPEMDENT 7-1-22

## APOLOGY.

strong complatnes continue to rimach US FROM BOOKSELLERS AND BEADHES That they haye been unable to procure copies of

## THE HOUSE OF SUCCESS,"

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tion, and to avoid disappointment tion, and to avoid disappointment we recous-
mend that, Booksellers and Readers ORDEF mend that Booksellers and Readers OpDer
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failures in the rusti of order to Order Now for all they mas want of this

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73 LOWER MOUNT ST., DUBLIN.

## /ndependent. MARCH 16. 1922.

## A TWO-CHAMBER GOVERNMENT

## INTERESTING DEBATE

Mr. Darrell Figgis presided at a meeting of the College Historical Society in Trinity College when a motion, proposed by the Aucition (Mr. R. Breveton Barry) that "Two Legislative Chambers are essontial to successful parliamentary Government, was carried by 18 votes to 6 .
The Auditor based his argumerts on : grounds: (1) That history taught a dual assembly was better than a single legislature; (2) that a Second Chamber would be a check on a pupu*
lar assembly, and (3)
that it would ent that poople representing the best ele ments of National ted with the associrnment of the Govtry. A parthe counnated and nomielected Seéond hamber would be Nowhere was a Second Chamber more essential than in Ireland. He held
 o brief for the

Mr. Darrell Figgis. Southern Unionists, but froma amongst thom men could be found capable of renthat was arising. Tho doctrin might be assailed in the sacred name of democracy by those most blind to the will of the nation, but, despite that, there could be no doubt the country would benefit.

## AEGUMENTS CONTRA.

Mr Bourke, Sch., was the leading speaker for the opposition, and held that dual Chambers were not essential to good Government. On the contrary, where singleChamber Government was given a Lair opportunity it had succe Chamber oitten rendered the Bill useless. C. P. Wallace, and Mr. R. H. Wright fallowed on the affirmaVive side, and Mr. R. M. Hilliard, Mr. M Wilson, Sch. Son. Mod., B.A., and M
H. Pike spolke on the negative side.

The Chairman said he refused to be menaced by the past or by the experience of other nations.
have 2 Chambers have 2 Chambers What separate corstituencies
functions
they to find ere them. "We bave," said Mr. Figgis, "tackled that problem and have found a satisficetory answer it.". These were men of eminent worlh and sel wis judgment and wis of their qualities woold be reluctant to pass through the ordeal of the hust-
 ings. These men, onght, nevertheless, to bo called into mational service. They would be chosen had an opportunity of choosing there. THE CONSTITUTION.
They would never be chosen by any one of the acknowledged political machines. By getting such men a function and a constituency would be found for them he work of the Constitution mareors had had been achieved, and
the question of a second Chamber had been answered-satisfactorily, he beo lieved, and strikingly, and in a way ato tempted by no country in the world eves before.
"I think you win agree with me," said the Ghairman, " that we ought to be abhe , ot differ with courtesy and vithout red-pepper." In ex.
pressing a good wiss towards the Soclety he said pressing a good wisk towards ine society he said was conducted under a system of one or two Cas conders, Trinity would be able to render con-
epicuous assistance, and in nothing more than this-that she will be able to teach as to con-
diact our business with dignity, good manuers. courtesy a

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Noss with dignity, go
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## FREEMANS' $5-5=22$.

Induence or Horeign press on Intending Visitors to Ireland.
Writing from Birkenhead to Mr. Darrel
Ficgis, Mr. M. J. McMahon, a native of the U.S:A states that a recent pleasant visit to Ireland which he has made disproved reports that Ireland is an unsafe place for foreigners to visit. He adds that the public of the world should be informed that a visit would be welcome and in perfect safety, for there are housands of Americans, to his knowledge who are deterred from coming to this country only by Press exaggeration of the state of ffairs here.
Mr. Figgis, in his reply, says it ought to be known that reports in the foreign Press are grotesque, due to the necessity for foreign pens. He says he is sure that justify their penll. make at known in America on his return that a visitor can tour the entire lenth and breadth of Treland without even being and breadu of political crisis. politio
In. Figgis illustrates the unreasonable at titude of foreigners towards Irish affairs by he was in London recently took place when he was in London recence. Ho pemarked to Fnclish poople had become instancinc the English people had become, instancing the divorce suits which, of London in the daily Press. Upon the Eng of London the dally Press. Upon the Eng not ropresent the twie these accouts did Timenced him why shotld he aflairs, Mr tho akied him suppose that the lenghish Press correctly represented the liable in matters relating to Englund. Mr. Figgis added that this question might be

## 'FREEMANS:

6-'22.

## Letters to the Editor

## What the Pact Implies.

Sir-I have seen the editorial in this week;
"Republic of Ireland," which is quoted in the Prea this morning, I wish to acknowledgg
the courtesy of their reference to me. Bul the courtesy of their reerence to me.
the editor misses the whole point at issue As 1 have already stated, the pract does not
consist only of Clause 2, but of Clause 2 and Clause 4 among other clauses, all of which are Ireland" is attempting to read into the Pact what would cause nothing less than an ine tolerable bondage for the lrish people. The
Pact makes it clear that no such bondage was intended. should know a little of the original purpose of the present Sinn Fein constitution. The editor of the not in Ireland at the time when it was first, allow me to inform him that Sinn Fein was never regarded as a political party, in the ordinary sense-much less as a close political corporation. The that as long as the final purpose was the samee, And, as a matter of historical fact, one of the
chief arcuments used from the Sinn Fein plate chief arguments used rrom the sinn against on pledge-bound political party, and the stitling of the national name.
FREEDOM OF ELECTORS
The position is the same to-day. There is
 lional Pane restricung he frecoms ot candit
dates and the treecom of electors, dates and the Ireatom or eatectross it does not speciticaly preseribe 1 am aware that thuis
construction was put upon the eact by. Deputy
bit ie alera at the Ard fheis, but de was
prompty repudiated by one of the delegates,
 Since, however, my action as a member oo
 Set me Faiut today praticilly does not exist,
Sit has not met since the February, Ard Fheit;
It and I nave no more intormation of how the panel is being constituted than the man in The moon. I was not present at the last Ard
Fheis. When I heard that discussion was not to be permitted on a formal motion 1 pre
 Standing Committee of Sinn Foin by the Ard. Chom harle, I will stand aside from all posi
sibe service on the standing Committee until

 In the meantime let me say that, in mg
 candiatate with whose ation and purpose he
disagree: As 1 read it, taken fairly, as a whole disagree. As Alead reat taken
he teact never intended this.
24 Kildare street, Dublin, 1st June

## '/R/SA TIMES': 8-6-22.

THE TREATY ISSUE.
MR. DARRELL FIGGIS'S CANDIDATURE.
In the course of a statement to the eleciors Mr Darrell Figgis says:-I stand (1) for the
Mreate Treaty or Peace ass the law of the land, con-
firmed by Dail Eireann and the British Paria. ment, and honourably binding on both; (2) for freedom of eiections and the right of the people
themselves to decide and vote on the candidates of their choice ; (3) for the responsibility public representatives to those who elect them
that they keep in touch with their that they keep in touch with their constituents
serve their interests serve their interests, and repiesent, and not
misrepresent, them: ment, and the firm putting down of disorernwithout which every hope for the country is in vain; (5) for a period of constructive govern ment, in order that the nation may get lime to
repair the damages of war and develo the portunities of peace; (6) for the completion of land purchase, as niecessary alike to financial and commercial stability as to the needs of agriculture; (7) for the development without vantage and employment of the peoses in the ad-
vate strict economy and emficiency in people; (i8) for vioe, and the decrease of taxation, which, under a strong Government, can with ease be brought continue in a state of indecision and turbulence.

## $1 / \operatorname{DJEPENDENT}$ 9-6-22

MR. FIGGIS BIRTH.PLACE
To the Editor "trish Independent." Sir-Because I am standing as an inde-
pendent Free State candidate for the pendent Free
county constituency of Dublin. $I$ have re not-d certain letters-some friendy, some know where I was born, and where my father was born. I recognise at once that recent events. in Ireland have made it
rery proper that such a question should be put to any candidate for an Irish con-
stituency. There could not be, I admit. any more pertinent inquiry, in whaterer sirit it is put. Permit me, therefore, to
say that I , my father, my grandfather, sayd my great-grandfather were all born either in the city or Co. of Dublin? N
is the family unknown in the county day. Earlier than that I do not know satisfy my inquirers, hoth those who have
signed their letters and those who have signed
not.
24 Kildare St., Dublin. June 8, 1022.

## Irish /ndependent. 10-b-22

MR. FIGGIS' CANDIDATURE REPORT OF SPEECH CORRECTED To the Editor "Irish Independent." Sir-Your report of my speech at Lacan wrong. You report me as having said that n my candidature "the pecple of Co. Dub. lin had an opportunity of deciding against
the Free State and the Treaty."
actually
ant
and actually said was the precise and exace opposite.
$i$ was. at Roscommono last Mr. Boland's speech said that "the Treaty was not going to the sibly befure another clection came there might not be aly Treaty at all. To that I
answered that every trouble in Ireland today is due directly to the fact that the people and the Frea Staite established. Had free elections been held immodiately the
Dail endorsed the Treaty last February most our present troubles would not have occurred. It is an open secret that the six
Counties would have come in. and, therefore, the fire, bloodshed and insult in Belfast are directly attributable to those who
rightly feared the judgment of the people. CAUSE OF ALL THE TROUBLE
Moreover by the establishment of the Fy Dail Fireann constructive wort could have been undertaken, and the present hunger and disemployment need never have
occurred. And so on. There is no trouble occurred. And to-day that cannot be traced in its present form to was not allowed to go go told that, in spite of what the people themselves may want,
their masters have decided that sthe Traty is not going to the people ret"the masterly anti-Treaty argiment for the Panel candidates, with which I was deal ing iy answer was that the statement was notes are not standing for a decision oi the Treaty and Free State issue; and that their defeat or return cannot be inter-
preted as the vice of the people in this mattir. Sut manv non-Panel candirates are standing on this definite issue. which,
in their person is, therefore, before the people.
WHAT DEFEAT WOULD MEAN
T was arguing for my own case as one
such caudidate. I stated that my return would be a definfte decision in Co. Dublin for the reaty and the ree State because
had made the Treaty and the Freo state
the it is notorious that my defeat would be cision of the people in the connty of Dub lin against the Treaty.
It is true that if $I$ fail to be returned the result will be regarded as a decision
against the Treaty. seeing that $I$ stand de finitely on that simple issue. But that is not what your sub-editor, in the haste
of the small hours of the night, makes me o say. For the reverse is equally true Dublin will be able to claim that the Treaty went to them, and that they decided
in favour of its acceptance. To the Editor "Irish Independent."

MR. DARRELL FIGGIS ASSAULTED Shortly before midnight last "night an
outrage was committed on the person outrage Dras Darrell Figgis, who has been nominated as an independent candidate for County Dublin is the coming clections.
Mr. Figgis, who, writh his wife, occupies a flat in Kildare street, Dublin, was about to retire for the night, when Mrs. Figgis heard a knock at the door., on opening it, she was con by three young men, to see Mr. Figgis, and that they came from a certain Mr. Murphy. Mrs. Figgis suspected their intentions, but was unable to prevent them raid. Th . Figois that they They told Mr. Figgis that they were acting
under instructions, and that part of their duty under instructions, and that part of their duty
was to cut off his beard. Naturally, he remonstrated with them, pointing out that conduct land's cause, but they refused to listen to ment, and two of them held Mr. Figgis down In a chair while the third cut off a large portion it his bea to hey were about to turn the attention to his hair vened, reminding them that their "in-
structions" already had been fulfilled. The three raiders then left the flat.
Mrs. Figgis suffered considerably from shock. Mr. Figgis, in an interview after the occul-
rence, said that at 11.40 last night the thre men pushed him into the sittingroom. Mrs. Figgis, fearing that they intended to shoot him, pushed into the room, and attempted to lock he door. The three men at once wrestled with her, but without success. They flung her away from the door, and then took hold of Mr. Figgis, and stated that they were under orders to mutilate him by removing his beard. The pose. Mr. Figgis asked them not to be guity of acts that would be disguaceful to Ireland, and Mrs. Figgis asked them if they were aware
ihat during the war she had nursed and prothat during the war she
vided for wounded mer.
One of the men said that they knew all this well, and they did not like the job that had been committed to them. Mr. Figgis asked One of the men, who appeared to acting. One of the men, who appeared to act as
spokesman for the three, stated that they were acting under Army orders, but refused to say from whom they had been received. Mr. Figgis then asked them if they realised
what disgrace would be thrown on Ireland's ame when this news got abroad. Upon this the three men drew aside into a corner of the room and had a consultation. They returned and stated that they would have to Marry out their orders. They then pulled Mr. Figgis and placed him in a chair. One of the men held back his head, another seized his arms, while the third proceeded to cut his beard and moustache. Resistance on his par
was useless, and when Mr. Figgis made an effort to throw the men off they said that if he did not at once cease they would cut away his hair as well. In fact, one of them made an attempt to do so when Mrs. Figgis again he room ran downstairs and out of the house Mr. Figgis, in reply to inquiries, stated tha
men again.
Mr. Figgis
Mr. Figgis said that he had nothing to say against the men in question. They had them-
selves stated that they strongly objected to the orders they had received and disliked the work
that had been committed to them. He added that the offence lay not with these boys, but fith the men who had charged them, and. the Treaty, unless they srecifically repudiated this act and took measures to see that prope iscipline was observed, and that other


A
MONG all those prominent!y identified with the present progressive movement for the re-building of Treland as a nation, there is no more familiar figure than that of Mr. Darrell Figgis. His finely chiselled features, his neatly trimmed ruddy-beard, his clear
teristics. He has fearlessness in the expression of his opinions and boldness amounting almost to audacity. In his capacity as President of Sinn Fein Courts, Mr. Figgis has shown outstanding ability in handling the most intricate and technical cases. He invariably took immense care in


MR. DARRELL FIGGIS
complexion, and bright eyes, are readily recognised in the well set up man who invariably carries an attache case. Mr. Figgis remained a familiar personality in the streets during that stormy time when practically all the Deputies of the Dail and all those who employed their energies against the British Government were in detention camps. Darrell Figgis and his attache case remained "when all but he had fled."

I mention this fact, as it illustrates one of his prominent charac-
dealing with each case and his judgments were always logical and fairminded.

At certain crises in Treland's recent history the figure of Mr. Darrell Figgis has been noticeable. When Sir Edward Carson organised the famous gun-ruming episode at Larne, it was Mr. Darrell Figgis who furnished an effective reply by ruming guns at Howth. When at the critical Longford election the issue swayed in the balance, it was Mr. Figgis who ran the gauntlet back from England, to where he had been deported, and achieved a recisive victory for his party.

Mr. Figgis did splendid work on the Committee of Enquiry which covered every phase of national resource, and the extraordinary grasp of each subject dealt with was so complete and masterful, that it is by no means surprising to find him now Acting-Chairman of the Committee forming the Constitution of the Free State. In addition to his political and commercial distinction, Mr. Darrell Figgis possesses literary and critical attainments of an extremely high order. His novel "The House of Success" has become enormously popular. He has a fascinating style which reveals the philosophic mind. Mr. Figgis is artistic in his tastes and takes a keen interest in music and drama.

Rambler

From the time of Adam to the time of Asquith the world has been steadily improving. No doubt it will be a little better a hundred years hence, but it is a comfortable enough place even as it is, and if people don't like it they have only got themselves to blame:

The Lyons Mail.

It is my lot to live a great deal in hotels. And the hotels in which I live are of the sumptuous order, with marble pillars and rubber trees and with two girls with waving golden hair sitting at a desk and running a telephone exchange. There is a grill-room where they serve lobster Newburg and hot dog all night and a palm room where they play music all day and where expensive - looking women eat French pastry with anæmic men. There is a ballroom where on nearly any evening you can see a débutante's dance going on and wish you were twenty years younger, and a concert room where you hear an Italian basso singing an aria, "Oh! Qual Chianti," to a Ladies' Fortnightly Musical Club. -Stephen Leacock, in

The Lyons Mail.

## POET'S BEARD : <br> DAILY SKETCH



Mr. Darrell Figgis, the poet and an indepen-
dent candidate in the trish elections, is the victim of an extraordinary Dublin outrage. Three men
rushed into his flat and cut off his beard and rushed into his flat and cut off his beard and mous
tache. These photographs show Mr. Figgis with the

These photographs show Mr. Figgis with the
beard and before he had grown it.

## Inist Indefendert

## NEW IRISH LAW MAKERS

## EXPLANATION OF CONSTITUTION

THE SWISS PRECEDENT

## By Darrell Figgis

(Acting-chairman, constitution Committee)。

## More is spoken of the two instruments of the eeferendum and the Initititive (par- tiellorly the former) than is known about ticularly the former) than is known about them, for in the countries where thoy have them; for in tha countries where they hat been adopted foll use othem and do not talle about them, and whero they have not beor andopted folk talk about them with ardour wr with fear, but vithout knowledge oriofly they may be described as a reeten or 





 of bis will and he at ase rimes reserved
the right to
send a message to them in fitructing them to malke laws on mattor
A RESERVED RIGHT.
This he did, being the sovereign. His State, but he preserved the Referendum and the Initiative, and held them as his sov-
ereign authority over the authority de-
puted to the Legislature. When, hovever, puted to the Legislature. When, hoyever
povereignty passed the to tooplo they
psonmed the attributes and the function
Rssumed the attributes and the function
of that sovereigntr.
Where once the king's person and the
Where once the king's person and the
king's dwelling, for example, had been
king's dwelling, nvolable, now (as in our
decilared to be invioal
Constitution) the people's persons and the people's
bo inviolable.
And whore once the King roserved the
xight to voto and to initiate legislation, so now (as again in our Constitution) th people reserve this. This is the plain an simple meaning of the two instruments of
the Referendum and the Initiativo. Thei
effect is to shift sovereignty from the Par

THEORY AND PRACTICE
It frequently happens that theories (for
Whatever they may be worth) are carried to
Whatever they may be worth) are carried to
their logical ends by practical people and
their logical ends by practical peoplo lags
not by theorists-for theory generally lage
in the rear of practice. So it happened in this case, For it was the soberly, practica
ond conservative people of j .tzerland
ond Who inservdern times. first devised the
TReferendum, and then tho Tnitiative. Since
then they have been adopted in many Teferendum, ave been adopted in many
then the have
countries, chief of which are Belgium, Aus countries, chier or of the American States
tralii. and many of the the appear in most of the Constitu
und the (ions recently a dopted in Europe. But it is is
In Sxizarland that they can most usfully
so studied, for there they have a solid exin S Witzarland that they can most usefully
so stadied, for there they have a solid ex-
perience of 90 , years continuous practice perience of
bohind then.
The Referen
modorn orom was first adopted in the Con
stitution of the Canton of St. Gall in 1831 sthe second and third articles of which read
Art. 2. - The people of the Canton are sove
reign. Sovereignty, which is the sum reign. Sovereignty, which is the sum whole body of citizens.
A.t. 3.-It results from this that the people themselves exercise the legislative powers, and every law is submitted to
their sanction. This sanction is the right of the peoplc to refuse to recognise any law submitted to them, and to pre vent ity execurion in virtue of therr sovereigr powar
Mrom St. Gall it spread to each of the CONSERVATIVE RESULT.
Everswhere it is either compulsory for TReferandum, or for laws to bo submittad
when a fiven number of electors, within
Limited period of time, have demand 3 d
that the Referendum be exercised, some of the Cantons having adopted it in one forn
and some in another, the Confederation adopting it in the optional rather than in the obligatory form. Then, after the Re
ferendum, followed the Initiative with quick pace, by whioh the people assertad
tne right, not mereiy that laws may be submitted to them tor their approval or
rejection, but that a given numper or elecrejection, but that a biven numver or elec
tors may, in writing demand that th
legislature proceai legislature proceed without delay to legis-
late oo any matter that they judge to be
of sutsiont of suticient importance.
At first sight measures such as these appear to be revolutionary and drastic In practice they have proved to be conservative.
The mere
The mere existenee of the Referend un
has proved to be a check on legislation that 11amentary manouvring for votes. the
poople, in actual fict have proved to be
both purer and more conservative thea their purer and more conservative thai
tepersentatives; and the tendency
towards economy in the expenditure lowards economy in the expenditure of pup
lic moneys has, in the main, been not the ic moneys has, in the main,
least benefit it has conferred.
POLITICAL INFL
People aro little inclined to study bills debated in the National Assembly when
they realiso that they are powerless to change or check the measures it may pass hange or check the measures
Che power to throw out their representa
tives the next ives at the next General milectio
is only a limited torm of Ireedom, and $1 t$
inlusory in face of the fact that those representatives aro generally chosen by care to select pliant and obedient tools.
Only at times of great crisis dose the
wish of the peoplo become vocal; and ever theu it is more usually neglected than not.
But with the Referondum in their hands
(especially with the Initiative added to the will of the people is always present
The people can hasten logislation where it moves slowhe cand hasten They can ratard it where
motar presses too fast ahead. They themselves
it can make the pace. And the effect on
themselves is that, with this added re sponsibility, they talk a quick interest in
荷heir own concerns. In the firs place,
they break up the power of political orcanisations; and in the second place they
themsilves beome alert and eucated citi-
cens, responsible and intelligent guiders of zens, responsible and intelligent guiders or
theirionr destinies.
Nor are these the arinings of theory. They are the practical outcome in every
country or state where the Referendum
Ihy and Intiative have been adopted. Thes
have especially been the result in Switzerland, where,
means of the Initiative, the people hav insisted on measures being passed that no political party would have dared undertak. which thare not offend a majority or minority, and where, therefore, the unit of the party comes before the interest the nation.
But minorit
But minorities from all parties may join
in Switzerland have joined, togethe press for their andoption, with the con-
quence that the National Assembly ha lad no alternative but to frame legislatio
deal with them. And when such legi ation has come before the people by tan
Referendum, the peoplo have, in man SUGGESTED CHANGE
The presence in our Constitution of bot
e Referendum and the Initiative is therefore, a sign that the people of Ireland are to be ruiers merely as aneign control, but a against the dominance of political parties It means more. It means that responsiHiere are provisions which, in the present
raft of the Constitution, could with adto require, in Article 46, that a petition from the people of not less than "one-
twentieth of gistor" is necessary (in the alternative of a vote of three-fifths of the Senate) before a measure may be put to the Referendum, is to impose an almost impracticable, and
difficult, task
$\qquad$ Referendum that experience in other coun
tries doos not justury. With the wide fran ohise dous not justaff. With the wide fran-
on the Constitution, the ten
denoy will be to political parties, and ond of the hands oo
of the Reforendum is to dostroy the powes
of political parties hare may easily bo made. And the essen
tial fact in that the neoplo of Treland, hav
thasserted the fact of their sovereignty
 eachtas the two instruments of the Refer
ondum and tho Initiative

BUSINESS OR POLITICS
Lecture At Rotary Club By Mr. Darrell Figgis, T.D.
 ourse of which he said or that whilics, the poltiti
lan was not very highly thought of, a different lan was not very highly thought of, a difforent
dea prevailed about the business man, with-
out, it seemed to him, any regard to the fact Hat he might be an allogy rether ind to the facient man
o man
difieroce between the the the en was that the politician did net foen the two
elled to com- carry forward a bad balance, which
uld be shouldered over to a successor. The Business man, straining aver to a successor. development and
mpro
mprovemunt,
judged results by the or the reverse of ghe results by the prosperity
ote in the Lobby. Thern -the other by the
ous at least that undamental difference between the two; and
while the one accuired a good name, the other chieved the requirse.
It was at the presest time necessary that in
Ireland they should set out to justify themselves as a nation, and look upon this country
as a business concern rather than as a political a business concern rather than as a polititry
amble (hear, hear). It was to the future
are
 had been neglected. Every business man man was
eware of the necessity for laving plans for the
uture and taking time by the forelook. The resent was conditioned by the plans made for
the future. Those who were ococered with
The future, and they all had a magnificent reservoir to draw upon in the accumulatede ex-
perience of the world, but they must make up
their minds upon their line of action if success was to be achieved. CAUSE OF PRESENT STRIFE,
As the present position in Ireland, if they
ould only establish good order all would ga could only establish good order all would go.
well There would bo tremendous oportui.
ties. for dereloopment. Money would not be dificult to fond Building would be ne needed,
and they should have to start at once.
 present trouble was caused by unemployment
1 more than half of it. ${ }^{\text {To }}$ his definto know
ledge, a large number of men in the Four
Courts and Courts and in other places were people out of
work. How could unemployment be revuced
at once? He remembered in 1915 in London
 of a great explosion, What was done there
could bo done here (applase).
A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Eiggis A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Figgi
in the motion of Mr. Wm. Findlater.

We publish below further letters Which we have received on the subject of the Irish Constitution now being discussed by the Dail:-

## MR. FIGGIS REPLIES

## TO "E" AND MR. DOUGLAS

To the Editow "Irish Independent."
Sir-I have too often admived my friend "It" doing the stme thing before to be dismayed now that he makes mo the vic vim. For it is part of his repertoire in controversy to faster upon an apparent contradiction, and then speedily to sound the tocsin of victory, in the expectation that subsequent argument will be silenced in the ensuing clamour.
Yet I am glad that " E " points to this apparent contradiation he lras discovered. It helps to illustrato the very point that that there is no contradiction at all, but that his pertinence in argument has
brought him to the very heart of the question.
For the whole problem lies in the world of difference, between the words "may "
and "must." In my book I stathed, truly, that
the Chamber to appoint as Minister the-Chamber to appoint as Ministers persons who may be specially
but who may pot be members.

 "F ", or anybody else to produce one single provision in
But that is quite a different thing from insisting in a Constitution that they mus appoint persons who must not remain members of the legislature-and quite a different thing from saying in and pes under normal proDeputy Ministers to eight non-Deputy Ministers, the like of
tion ever saw before.

## l IBERTY TO CHOQSE

If this liberty were allowed in the Irish Constitution, as in every other Constifution, we in Ireland would then be able to put to the test the experience of other nations. We have seen that in practically Mery other nation chosen from deputies, in spite of the allowance that they may be chosen from persons who are not be prome oxWe would be able to prove from our deperience whether it wore or were not de to appoint to high Ministerial positions persons who have not been positions by the people of Ireland.
But that, again, is quite a different matBut that, again, is qu advance that we
ter from insisting in must choose such persons, and must This, then, is the cantradiction concern-
tour. ing which "A have said, the, difierence beIt is, as I have said, must", as a constitutional provision. Let us, like every other nation, leave high ministerial positions those appoint to high been chosen by the people of Ireland; but let us, at the same time, also leave the Legislature at liberty to learn from experience how far this liberty may property be exercised, or properly be nations warn us) The main thing is to exercised at all. for we cannot tell in adensure that the teaching of experience in rance That the teach
FACTS AND THEORIES.
Nor may "A,", or James Douglas, sidetrack the issue by referring once again to the "British system." The liberty to appoint Ministers who are not Deputies is in point Ministerstion. The decision to confine such appointments to elected persons is the result of experience the same liberty and Constitutionatical results are to be seen, the same practical older Constitutions, but not only all the newer Constitutions, of riaalso in all have only achieved self-government and constitutional libert
ment and of hostilities in 1914.
These are very remarkable facts; and are more important than beautiful theories which no one has ever seen yet put to the fest. By all means eories. But do not let ireo to test these hand and foot to them us bind ourselves
withou ase better asurance than we
worese sulu

So much for the contradiction over which AI" makes so merry. He develops his case, however, (which he complicates by being brought to ment, of on the indisoretions of another Mefeat by the thister. he argues that Ministers shouid be
to Parliament.
I may say that I have not argued against this. "A " may have all the fun he wishes knocking over the skittles in his own alley, but I would like do poith the skittles in my alley.

## EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE.

vertheless, he is not the first person in time to have discovered this incongruity A little knowledge of Duropean politica afiairs will show that this problem has frequently been ancountered thered to general satisfaction. lean answered it is the experience in European Ministries that if a Munister proves himself ol energy and capacity in his office, he is
generally taken on by the next succeeding gonerally taken on by the next succeeding this problem has been answered in Germany, in France, in Czecho-Slovakia, in Ttaly, and in all the other Continental
countries-and under party
to boot.
With the many other armuments against the scheme put forward I have not dealt. I have examined some of them in my book. For whatever may be said for the right of the Legislature to appoint non-Deputies as
Mimisters, the present draft goes further
It says that, though some Deputios on
appointment as Ministers may remain Deappointment as Ministers may remain Deputies, other Deputies, if they are ap-
pointed as Ministers, nust resign as Do pointed Consider what this fantastic prorision will mean in practice. For if such a Minister, for good reasons, resigned te

## ELECTIONS AND CONFUSION.

Moreover, the whole Proportional Representation of the nation would be ulset, includin, the repiesentaun of
minorities. If any Deputies were apminorities. If any Deputies Fere ap-
pointed to these non-Deputy Minstries, then immediately after the turmoil and confusion of a general election, by-elec-
tions vould occur And in these by-elections, apart from
the added turmoil and confusion, persene
of an entirely different party might be of an entirely different party might be roturned from those whose resignations
created the vacancies. And tore exast what gain is all this maximum of con
fusion caused?

 ment, constantly made and as constantly answered, that "the existence of the Free
state itself might also be endangered" if state itself might also be endangered "if
the Ministry were defeated on a minor part
of their policy. it. As long as the Dail has a clear Free State majority, and as long as an Execu-
tive is appointed epresentative of that majority, the Free State can never be en dangered, whatever may happen to partiis not very honouring, to the intelligence of your readers.
The other concerns the ingenuous sug gestion that the Executive of the present ce are to believe that a part majority, having appointed four Deputy gesture, give away the eight non-Deputy Ministries non-party persons. I am bound non-party persons. I am
that theink tho event un

## ARTEMUS WARD'S PHILOSOPHY.

Was it not Artemus Ward who suggested that the wisdon of Life was to be prepared, not only for what we expect, but also fo What we shall get? And would not the cases) be to effect least in the majority o parliamentary jobs in the hands of the party majority, while making it impossible for the Dail to be rid of them except b an elaborate and cumbrous machinery?
"Now as to the other matter to which say one word to wound a beloved friend But there are certain public rights which must be firmly stated. As knows very and semi-political circles in de Valera's part in a future Fte Stato Ministrv was being freely discussed during

One of the original arguments put up in favour of this scheme was that it would find a place for him. But it is now asstated in public. What politieal and semipolitical circles in Dublin may theme of gossip, the people of Ireland neve not know, to that doctrine subscribed, and never will subse.
I believe that the Executive scheme in the present draft (whatever its mer have never seen the light but for the political circumstances of the time. I have more than good grounds for believing to say Therelore, the right place for me to
it is in the most public place possible.
"AN ORIGINAL PROTAGONIST."
I do not know if "屃" had any part in this. I do not believe he had. I mentioned his name for quite another reason, very proper to debate, For $I$ was led to bele inspiration of the scheme was his. I do not kniration whether this was so or not
While this work was on I had neither the inclination nor the time to do any-
thing but keep at the task before me. thing but keep at the task belore me
But we all had liberty to consult others But we all had liberty to consult others in chat permission. And in mentioning him now I wished to acknowledge that I was confronted with an original protadonist. There was nothing derogatory in that acknowledgment. If "AD" think there was. I will willingly withdraw it But I am reluctant to do this, as it would mean that "A"" did not care to be of the scheme.

Kildare 86 , Dublin, $25 \% / 9 \mathrm{FBEL} 2$.
'IRISH INDEPENDENCE 28. G-22

Mr. Darrell Figgis said they were dealing with a state of affairs so severe and so un. usual that unless it was dealt with in a very Draconian method the health and the sanity of that country might be permanently destroyed. It must be dealt with in a very vigorous way. He did not agree, chosen in giving to the Army what he could only describe as a blank cheque, While a good deal more stringent action could be taken, he urged that the President should not ask them to pass a resolution
which permitted the penalty of death belng which permitted the penalty of death being
imposed on persons in respect of imposed on
If the Minister said that in cases of aming what had occurred he (Mr. Figgis) would be with such decision. It was tim that certain persons who had helped and were known as having helped the forces of treason ill this country, and were known
to be pervons of considerable or of certain to be persons of considerable or of certain or indefinite amount of property should be also attainted as to their persons, but was proco ding to deal with amendments .
Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, Minister for Home
ffairs, said the Ministry would bor nave a vote on the spirit of the resolution, then the could go into committeso to dis cuss the details, but if they had amendments at this stage they would have cross
voting ond a confusion of issu Mr. Figris continui
ing with his proposals, not soid he was dealments, but wished to explain his amendThe amendments, he said, he intended to (1) Wherever the word "Goverriment" appears to substitute the word "Minis
(2) Wherever the words "Army Au,
thorities "appear to substitute the thorities" appear to substitute the words (3) In the Dence.
(3) In the third paragraph, at the end of legal knowledge and experience person pointed by the Minister for Defence, the sub-section words that now conclude (4) In the nin
"and the detention baragraph to read courts and committees of such military any period to be decided by them for or until hostilities shall have come and end," instead of the words that now an pear in that paragraph.
(5) To add the following additional paragraph to the resolution:- additional
"And it confirms such sanction for a date of the passing of this resolutione subject to the renewal of such sanction
for further period to exceed fourteen of time, in no one caso Minister for Defence shall and when the a report to the Dail on the stause on country under these powers hereby grane

## Irish Endypendent <br> FRAMING OF THE CONSTITUTION <br> MINISTERS AND THEIR <br> STATUS <br> MR. FIGGIS'S ALTERNATIVE ARTICLES <br> To the Editor "Irish Independent." Sir-Before carrying this matter one stage farther into tical development, there are but two points in James Douglas's letter in your issue to- day that reauire sttention day that require attention. In the first place, he is n  elected representative or may, not, aceord- ing to the decision of the Dail int the the point  ever. Pour Ministers may be andowed to to remain as Deputies, but eight must not. I doescribed this proposal before as fan- tastio. I repeat the word. to to more fic. tastio, arbitrary, or meaningless provision was surely ever made in a Constitution Why should a President be required to to makee this invidious distinction bottween | make of his somileausues who would be per- |
| :--- |
| those |
| mitted by him to remain as membors of of | the Dail, and those whom he would put out of their position as public representatives before he allowed them to serve as Ministers? And who is more ntited to And Yoisters, Bild than the very Minister who has on given it thought and attention, and has hat     I revent it again As 1 write the words, i have the original argument before me in THE ALTERNATIVE DRAFT. <br> However, it is necessary that this dis- cussion, to be profitable, should be brought    det in it the habait of ocriticisising withoit boing nrepared to furnish an atternative if called upon: and I the re orore meet the invitation by giving you possible alternative articles.     they would torm a more satisfactory basis for discussion than the counplieated clauses of the erresent darati. <br> ALTERATIVE EXECUTIVE PROVISION <br>   <br>  hereby declared to to to rested in in thi TKing and al Executivo antion taken in the name of the Crown, including ever    President end not more than nine or loss than forr other Mrinisters appointed by the Representative of the crown. Article . 51 The Fxecutive Council shall be direecty responsible to and removable by Deil yireann, hut shall continue to canry on their dutios until their suc- coll Artiole 52-The President of the Execu'ive <br>  <br> Dail may by a rote of lack of confidenco remeve the entire Exeoutive Councll or any individual Minister. Article 53 .-The ERecutive  Councala die President of the Iixecutive     $\underset{\text { abecutive Council auring his temporary }}{\text { absenco }}$ <br> Article 54.-If any Minister shall be nomi nated who is not a member of the Pat liament//ivireachtas he shall, before his   attend and answer cuestions, and may speak in the Chauber/Dail by its leave.  Counci. Shall members of the surecutive as may from tiine to time tine bee prescribibed and hy law, but the remune ration of any alinistor shan not he diminished during hiss term of oftice Arciolele 50 .The Representative of the          COMMENTARY Article 50 - It will be oberved that I hivo ept what the Ministry have stated to the the assential part of this Clause without material chango except tor a tulier aumplitivantion as Sus   Exsecturve ponding, ar a dissolutition of thio Leeislaturo.      match division . Arte matter in this Article 5.3. Tho     Finally, let ine say that if the abore Articcs bo caretuly conimared with tho constimitional   tat justify provirins that experience may I Ihare venture to say that if the majority    one answerabie to the veoplis. st winhes.

MR. FIGGIS REPLIES TO MR DOUGLAS

To the Editor "Irish Independent Sir-In further, and I hope final, reply to James Douglas, let me say that I was careful not to neglect the point he raises my letters would have observed that, when speaking of 4 Deputy Ministers and 8 nonDeputy Ministers, I had used the word under the normal procedure.
I assume that an exceptional procedure addded as an anterthonght and proviso, is
not inserted in the belief that the excep-
tional will be the normal tional will be the normal. And I assume that it is not proposed that the norma
should be the exceptional-although $I$ con fess I am almost prepared to believe any-
thing of the present trovisions, to judge thing of the present Trovisions, o judge
from the arguments that have been from the arguments tha
adduced in favour of them
However, $I$ am willing to meet James
Douglas co his owu ground, and to conDouglas on his own ground, and to con
cede him all the advantage he deserves for the advocacy of so impossible a scheme,
He says that, of 12 possible Ministers, i
shat Shall be Deputies, but that these Deputy
Ministers may be increased to That is to say, of the 12 possible Minis ters, as between Deputies and non-
Deputies, the proportion normally shall b 4. and 8, but it may be increased to 7 and 5. Good. But why only ${ }^{7}$ and 5 ? Why
not 9 and 3 or 10 and 2 ? For that mat ter, why not the other way about: 3 and
or 2 and 10 ? Why sheuld the liberty or 2 and 10 ? Why sheuld the liberty of
the Legislature in this critical matter,
where smooth wiking is vital to where smooth working is vital to efficien
government, be limited as to the propor

THE PRESENT PROPOSALS
The assumption underlying the present proposals is that the Irish people are such fools that they will not choose efficient persons as Deputies. Let me be generous, and
allow that the assumption is correct, ever unflattering it may be. But, to vary a famous phrase, the people are not fools
all the time. Enlightenment all the time. Enlightenment might sud-
denly come to them. The heavenly wisdom of politicical circles in Dublin unight descend
upon them. I presume James Douglas will upon them. I presume James Douglas wi
not rule out a possibility even so remote. What would happen then? The wise men of the nation would be returned to
Parliament. Parliament would find within itself all the capable Ministers it wanted ivithout having to send messengers int the highways and bye-ways of political
Dublin. In that case the present draft (if Dublin. In that case the present draft (it
Ireland chanced to be inflicted with it would step in, and Parliament would find
that it could not choose 12 Ministers. from that it could not choose 12 elinisters. from
within istelf without compelling 5 of them
to resign, although it will be permitted to resign, although it will be permitted
nobly to allow 7 of them not to resign. And
the por the poor President of that day woun hav
to sit in the midst of these Ministers, and pick and choose which of them he allowed he would compel to resign.
No, sir, it will not do. I presume that we are writing a. Constitution for the
practical and smooth working of the re-
sponsible business of sponsible business of government. We are
liot writing a Constitution for the purpose of providing material for political satirist
alternative proposals.
James Douglas, however, retorts on
as to my alternative proposals, that for as to my allature to require the resignation of
Len the entire Ministry is "as unworkable in irabl
These are brave words. Unfortunately, a. litte study of the practice in such mat
ters in other nations shows that in every country, on critical issues, individual Manisters are frequently remored without
casing the fall of the Ministry of which
they form pit they form a part
The brief experience of the past 3 years is full of such examples in the Govern-
ments of Europe. Has James Douldas
never heard of a oertain Sir Eric Geddes in England, or of a certain even more
notorious Noske in Germany? What he states, as both "unworkable and undesir-
able" has, in the political practice of other able" has, in the political practice of other
countries, proved to be both practical and cocessary. My alternative articles ond ond
made explicit what lies implicit in all made explicit Wha
other Constitutions.
Indeed, I have already stated that the proposals in the present draft would never have seen the light of day but for the ex-
ceptional circumstances in Ireland that gave them rise, and that have now passed.
I venture to go further now and say, that
they I venture to go further now and say, that
they would not have seen the light of day
if a little care had been given to studying the practice of liberty in other nations in-
toad of closeting for the pounding abstract elaborations that have no
reference at all to the political experience

## A PERSONAL FOIBIE

It is one thing to argue that the whole worid is wrong, and the arguer the only
person who is right. I have something of that disposition myself, and have a great it is of sympathy another thing to others. But purely personal foible a constitutional pro-
vision to bind the entire future of a nation. Surely what is required in a Constitution
is liberty of movement while carrying the urden of government. I I am all for that iberty as much as possible both liberty experiments that have proved disastrous. harsh yooke that want in a Constitution is a harsh yoke that will gall the
of the nation that wears it.

## P.S.-It is a striking fact, and worthy of

 been appointed Minister under the present not have removed him, in Parliament couldto do so, until that Parliament itself waish
toame to an end unti Under Parliament itself came
English Parliament would have had the
the English Parliament would have had t
stick to Dr. Addison, of whom it wished $t$
be stick to Noske, of whom would have had the thished to b countries these undesirable Ministers wert
cole mailing in thes easily got rid of. Under the draft schemf
these Parliaments would have ben with them to the end of the chapter. thank James Douglas for having pointer
this out to me. I liquidate my debt to hin this out to me. I liquidate m
by pointing it out to others.

