

A COMPARISON OF THE ECONOMIC POSITION AND TREND IN ÉIRE AND NORTHERN IRELAND.

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This paper is an abridged version of a thesis presented for the degree of M.Econ.Sc., in the National University of Ireland. In its statistical design the paper consists principally of a comparison of the figures which Dr. J. P. Beddy prepared for the Twenty-Six Counties for his paper "A Comparison of the Principal Economic Features of Éire and Denmark" (read in November, 1943), with figures for the Six Counties. The author particularly wishes to express his indebtedness to Dr. Beddy and to this Society for permission to use the material and to thank Dr. Beddy for helpful advice and criticism in the preparation of the paper.

Introductory

The political differences that divide Éire and Northern Ireland have been well ventilated during the course of the past two decades or so, but little attention and much less thought has been devoted to the economic and social differences that exist between the two areas. Small wonder, then, that the average Irishman in Éire or Northern Ireland is only vaguely aware of the economic and social structures prevailing on the other side of the Border.

A number of interesting and little known facts emerge from a study of the economic conditions obtaining in each area, the main results of which have been summarised in this paper. For obvious reasons, the abnormal conditions of war-time have been ignored and attention has, for the most part, been directed to the period 1924—1938-39.

The terms North and South and Northern Ireland and Éire, have been used indiscriminately, as a matter of convenience, and do not indicate any particular political predilection.

Northern Ireland, as a separate political unit, comprises the six counties of Antrim, Down, Armagh, Fermanagh, Tyrone and Derry, with the County Boroughs of Belfast and Derry. Its area, exclusive of the larger rivers, lakes and waterways, is 3,351,444 acres or 5,237 square miles, and it is approximately one-sixth of the total land area of all Ireland. The land area of Éire is 17,024,425 acres or 26,601 square miles. Thus, the area popularly known as the Six Counties is about one-fifth of the size of Éire.

There are no climatic or physical differences of any consequential importance between Northern Ireland and Éire. In the North, the winters are a little colder by 2-3 degrees, the summers a little cooler, with less sunshine (5½ hours per month less), and the rainfall is lighter—3 inches per month compared with 3½ inches in Éire. The rainfall in each area decreases from west to east and the best soils are found in the eastern districts.

Population

The Census taken in Northern Ireland on the 28th February, 1937, disclosed that the population of that area had increased from 1,256,561.

persons in 1926 to 1,279,745 in 1937, an increase of 23,184 or 1·8 per cent. Belfast, which had increased from 415,151 to 438,086 during the inter-censal period, accounted for 98 per cent. of the increase for the entire Six Counties. The contiguous Counties Antrim and Down with increases of 5,623 and 1,459, respectively, making up the balance. Elsewhere, decreases in population were reported, particularly in the Counties Tyrone and Fermanagh.

In Éire, on the other hand, the population declined slightly by 3,572 persons between 1926 and 1936, a decline of 0·1 per cent.; the actual figures being 2,971,992 and 2,968,420 in 1926 and 1936, respectively.

Thus 31·1 per cent. of the total population of all Ireland resided in Northern Ireland, which comprises approximately one-sixth of the total land area of Ireland, and 69·9 per cent. resided in Éire.

The density of population in Northern Ireland is more than twice as great as that of Éire, being 38·1 persons per 100 acres as compared with 17·4 persons per 100 acres in Éire. Even in the rural areas in the North, density of population is 18·1 persons per 100 acres as compared with 10·1 persons in Éire.

The figures for Marriages, Births and Deaths are shown in Table I. From 1881 onwards the birth rate in each area has fallen, but in the North it is still a little in excess of that of Éire. The death rate in Éire has always remained below that of the North, but in this connection it must be remembered that in Northern Ireland a greater proportion of the total population reside in urban areas than is the case in Éire. A higher death rate in urban areas is a normal feature of the population returns of most countries. The marriage rate has always been and still is higher in the North than in Éire. There is no doubt but that Belfast City exerts a considerable influence on the rates for Northern Ireland as a whole, and this is illustrated—to take one example—by the birth rate figures set out in Table II.

In Éire, over the whole period, 1841-1936, the population declined by roughly 3½ million, or by 55 per cent. From 1841-1891, the population of Northern Ireland decreased by about 25 per cent., almost one-half of this loss occurring in the decade 1841-51. In 1891, the population reached its minimum of 1,236,000 persons. At each censal year from 1891 onwards, increases in population have been recorded. Despite these increases, however, Northern Ireland has, since 1901, failed to retain 30 per cent. of its natural increase which, as in Éire, has been more than offset by emigration.

As can be seen from the following figures, emigration has been a considerable factor in its effects upon the population figures.

Average Annual Emigration since 1871.

	N. Ireland	Éire
1871-1881	15,872	50,172
1881-1891	14,067	59,733
1891-1901	6,773	39,641
1901-1911	6,541	26,154
1911-1926	7,151	27,002
1926-1936	5,765*	16,675

* 1926-37.

During the 55 years preceding 1926, emigration losses in Northern Ireland amounted to more than 500,000, nearly 10,000 per annum on an average. The natural increase during the same period was over 400,000.

During the period 1926—1936-37, the total rate of net emigration per annum was greater in Éire at 5·6 per cent. as against 4·6 per cent. for Northern Ireland during the period 1926-37, and the loss by emigration from the latter area was greater among males than among females. In this respect, the North differed from Éire, where females predominated in emigration. No accurate statistics are available showing the total number of emigrants from the North by county of origin, but from such material as has been published it may be concluded that the counties most affected by emigration losses were Armagh, Derry, Fermanagh and Tyrone.

The corresponding counties in Éire were Donegal, Mayo, Sligo, Leitrim, Galway and Kerry.

During the period 1841-1937, even while the population as a whole was declining, a great shift of population took place in the Six Counties from west to east, and from rural to urban areas. This was paralleled by a similar movement in Éire during the same period.

An outstanding feature of the population returns of Northern Ireland is the abnormally heavy concentration of population in the north east corner of that area. In 1937 there were about 1,280,000 people in the North. Of these 438,000, or 34 per cent., lived in the area of the Belfast County Borough.

The lopsidedness of the distribution of population in the Six Counties as a whole is further demonstrated by the fact that some 809,000 people, or 63 per cent. of the whole population, reside in the Belfast area—which is roughly, the district within a thirty mile radius of that city.†

Outside of the Belfast area, the only town of any considerable size is Derry County Borough with a population of 47,813. Then comes a sudden drop to 13,766 in Lurgan.

There are only eight towns in Northern Ireland having a population of over 10,000 and, with the exception of Newry, seven of these towns, Bangor, Lurgan, Lisburn, Ballymena, Portadown, Larne and Newtownards are situated within thirty-five miles of Belfast. In the counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh there is no town with a population of over 6,000.

In Éire, while 40 per cent. of the population reside in Leinster, only 17·1 per cent. reside in the area comprised by the County Borough of Dublin and the Borough of Dún Laoghaire. The Cities of Cork, Limerick and Waterford together make up 5·0 per cent. of the population. Eight towns distributed fairly evenly over the remainder of the country, each having a population over 10,000, constitute in the aggregate a further 3·5 per cent.

A further 17·1 per cent. are contained by towns and villages ranging in size from below 10,000 to less than 200 inhabitants and 57·3 per cent. live outside towns and villages.

† (It comprises: (a) Belfast, (b) Co. Down except for Kilkeel and Newry R.D.'s, and Newcastle, Newry and Warrenpoint U.D.'s, (c) Co. Antrim except for Ballycastle and Ballymoney R.D.'s and Ballycastle, Ballymoney and Portrush U.D.'s (d) part of Co. Armagh, viz., Lurgan and Tanderagee R.D.'s and Lurgan, Tanderagee and Portadown U.D.'s.)

Thus it can be seen that the population of Éire is much more evenly distributed than that of Northern Ireland.

It is already clear from the foregoing that Northern Ireland is more urbanised than Éire, but the following comparison of the changes in rural and urban populations in the two areas since the turn of the century is of interest.

Year	POPULATION (THOUSANDS)				PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION			
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural	
	N.I.	Éire	N.I.	Éire	N.I.	Éire	N.I.	Éire
1901	531	911	706	2,311	42.9	28.3	57.1	71.7
1911	587	942	664	2,197	46.9	29.7	53.1	69.9
1926	638	959	619	2,013	50.8	32.3	49.2	67.7
1936-7	678	1,055	602	1,914	52.9	35.5	47.1	64.5

The above figures illustrate the fact that even in Éire the proportion of the population living in towns and cities is growing apace, and in part at least, at the expense of the rural areas.

The urban population in each area has increased during the period 1901-37, both absolutely and relatively, but the absolute increase (27.7 per cent.) in Northern Ireland was greater than that in Éire, where it was only 15.8 per cent., the relative increases being 10.0 per cent. and 7.2 per cent. respectively.

In Northern Ireland, the rural population declined absolutely by 14.7 per cent., the relative decrease being 10.0 per cent. The corresponding figures for Éire were 17.2 per cent. and 7.2 per cent. respectively.

A feature of the 1936 Census in Éire was the increase of the male population; both absolutely and proportionately, to the female population. The same tendency was apparent in Northern Ireland, with the qualification that while the female population of Northern Ireland increased that of Éire diminished. The increase in the male population was the first recorded in Éire since 1841. The female population of Éire has continued to decline since that year.

In Northern Ireland the male population has increased, if slightly, ever since 1901.

Ever since 1841, the ratio of females per thousand males has been higher for Northern Ireland in each census year than in Éire. Although since 1901, the ratio has fallen in each area, it still remains much higher in Northern Ireland (1,054) than in Éire, where it is abnormally low at 952 per thousand males.

In fact, this ratio is lower than that of twenty-two other European countries, and one of the lowest in the world. Low female-male ratios are normally associated with newly settled countries overseas, such as Canada, Australia or New Zealand and not with long settled countries such as Éire.

An explanation of the variance in the sex ratios as between the two areas lies in the fact that throughout the whole of the last century and up to recent years there was very little employment available for females in Éire. As a consequence, females predominated among the emigrants from Éire during the whole of the period 1841-1936, whereas in Northern Ireland the reverse was the case. In Northern Ireland, the linen, textile and allied industries, mostly located in that area provided employment for females.

It is worthy of note that the male excess in Éire is a feature of the rural areas only. In 1936 there were 1,111 females per 1,000 males in the towns and 875 females per 1,000 males in the rural areas.

A similar feature can be observed in the returns for 1937 in Northern Ireland.

In Éire the number of children under 15 years of age fell by 47,000 between the years 1926 and 1936, and the population under 21 years of age fell by 69,000. The number of elderly persons (aged 65 years and over) increased by 15,000 during the same period. Similar tendencies are to be observed in the population statistics of Northern Ireland with the qualification that in that area there is a slightly lower proportion of children under 15 years of age than in Éire. On the other hand, as can be observed from Table III, the proportion of older people (60 years and over) is higher in Éire, where the majority of the population live in rural areas.

It will be noted that the proportion of females at the child-bearing ages (15-44 years) is higher in Northern Ireland; 45.4 per cent. as against 42.7 per cent. in Éire. In Éire, the proportion of married women aged 15-44 years per 1,000 of the population is exceptionally low, being 73 as against 97 in Northern Ireland.

The following figures reveal that the proportion of married women between 15-45 years of age in the youngest and most fertile age group is lower in Éire than in Northern Ireland and higher in the two oldest and least fertile age groups.

Percentage Age Distribution of Married Women under 45 years of age.

	15—29	30—34	35—39	40—44
N. Ireland	30.4%	22.9%	24.9%	21.9%
Éire	24.9%	22.4%	28.2%	24.5%

Despite the later marriage age the fertility of married women in Éire is considerably higher than in Northern Ireland, the number of children under 5 years per 100 married women under 45 years of age being 123 as compared with 91 in Northern Ireland. A much discussed feature of the Éire population figures is the extremely low proportion of the population who are married and the late marriage age. The figures for Northern Ireland and Éire are contrasted in Table IV. In 1936, 82.3 per cent. of males in Éire between the ages of 25 and 29 years were unmarried. Even at the more mature ages of 40-49 years, 37 per cent. remain unmarried. At every age the proportion of unmarried males is greater in Éire than in any other country in the world for which reliable records are available.

The position is considerably better in Northern Ireland. Turning to the returns for females, the contrast is not so marked, but even here, the two youngest age groups in Éire contain a much larger proportion of unmarried females. When comparing the figures for each area, it must be borne in mind that in Northern Ireland where the population is more urbanised than in Éire, marriages occur at a much earlier age and the influence exerted by the Belfast area on the marriage rates for Northern Ireland as a whole is considerable.

To summarise, it may be said, that, on the whole, Northern Ireland contains a younger population than Éire, has a higher and an earlier

marriage rate—but a lower fertility rate—and the proportion of unmarried young persons is much lower, particularly among males.

The industrial distribution of the respective populations of Northern Ireland and Éire is shown in Table V. The figures for Northern Ireland relate to 1926, no occupational census being taken in 1937.

In view of the important changes in the economic structure of Éire during the period 1926-1936, it has been considered desirable to give Éire figures for 1936 instead of 1926.

In 1936, 41.6 per cent. of the population of Éire aged 14 years and over were gainfully employed as compared with 59.1 per cent. of the population of Northern Ireland in 1926. Here, however, it must be stated that the figures for Northern Ireland include both those actually employed and those temporarily out of work, whereas Éire figures exclude persons described as "Out of Work". In 1936 this category numbered some 95,000 in Éire.

While approximately one-half of the working population in Éire was engaged in agriculture in 1936, in Northern Ireland the proportion was about one-quarter, agriculture being the second largest industry in that area. The proportion engaged in industry in the North was more than double the proportion so engaged in Éire. The higher proportion engaged in commerce and finance in Northern Ireland will be noted. The remaining groups presented little differences in their respective proportions of the total working population in each area.

Agriculture

The place of agriculture in the economic and social life of Northern Ireland is a very important one. Despite the presence of important linen, shipbuilding and engineering industries, the population of Northern Ireland has remained predominantly agrarian in character and the process of industrialisation has been largely confined to the urban centres of Belfast and Derry. In Northern Ireland about 90 per cent. of the total land area is used productively in agriculture as compared with some 68 per cent. in Éire.

The changes in the utilisation of land during the period 1871-1938 are summarised in Table VI. It will be observed that the proportion of land devoted to tillage showed a continuous decline, both in Éire and in Northern Ireland. Tillage declined from 37.2 per cent. to 19.7 per cent. of the cultivated land in the North, and from 21.4 to 13.5 per cent. in Éire.

In marked contrast to the decline in the tillage area has been the increase in the area devoted to hay and pasture, which has shown a progressive upward tendency throughout the whole of the period under review. The figures indicate that there has been a greater proportionate swing over from tillage to pasture in the case of Northern Ireland than in Éire. The proportion of cultivated land devoted to pasture in the North increased from 50.8 per cent. in 1871 to 63.0 in 1938 as compared with an increase of only 1.2 per cent. in Éire.

On the other hand, a somewhat greater proportionate increase in the acreage under hay is shown in Éire.

It is evident that farming in Northern Ireland always has been and still continues to be more intensive than in Éire.

In both cases, however, these figures are but reflections of the

change that came over Irish agriculture as a whole from 1851 onwards, when under the influence of world price movements, the Irish farmers changed over to the production of livestock and livestock products.

In Table VII are shown details of how the cultivated land in each area was utilised in 1938. Oats is the predominant cereal grown in the North, accounting for 12·0 per cent. of the total corn crops, and in fact, 34·2 per cent. of the total acreage in all Ireland devoted to oats is situated in the North.

The amount of wheat grown in the North is almost negligible and its cultivation is more or less confined to County Down, and in particular to the districts of Downpatrick and Newtownards. In the inter-war period the acreage has fluctuated between 5,000 and 7,000 acres. This is in marked contrast to the position in Éire, where there has been a tremendous expansion in the acreage given over to wheat; from 21,000 acres in 1931 to 230,000 acres in 1938. Flax, grown fairly extensively in Éire, prior to 1891, was once a very important crop and still is one of the most important cash crops in Northern Ireland. The area devoted to it in the North has shown extreme fluctuations during the past century.

In 1864, 207,107 acres were under flax in the North. In 1872, the acreage fell below 100,000 acres, and only in three years—1880, 1881, and 1918—has the level of 100,000 acres been exceeded.

Since 1923, the acreage has fluctuated between 42,700 acres and 6,000 acres.

At no time during the past 60 or 70 years have the farmers of Northern Ireland been able to produce at home all the flax requirements of the linen industry in the North. Of the 35,000 tons of flax fibre required annually only about one-sixth is produced at home. The farmers of the North have not been able to compete with the flax producers of the Baltic States and the Lowlands, and prior to the 1914 War, the Russian flax producers. Furthermore, the finer type of yarn required for the export trade is not produced in Northern Ireland. All things considered, it is most unlikely that the acreage under flax in the North will ever again reach the 100,000 acres mark in normal times.

In Northern Ireland, with its predominance of small holdings, mixed farming is the type of farming that prevails throughout the whole area. As in Éire, the livestock industry forms an important branch of the agricultural industry. Alongside and partly dependent upon the livestock industry, has gone the production of butter, bacon and hams, poultry and eggs.

The livestock position in the two areas is shown hereunder.

	N. Ireland (1938)	Éire (1938)
	thousands	
Milch Cows ..	229	1,282
Heifers ..	30	64
Other Cattle ..	473	2,710
Sheep	893	3,197
Pigs	562	959
Horses	90	442
Poultry ..	10,193	19,630

With an acreage a little over one-fifth that of Éire, Northern Ireland has a pig and poultry population 59·0 per cent. and 52·0 per cent. respectively of that of Éire. It is just these two sections of the livestock industry that have experienced the greatest expansion in the agriculture of Northern Ireland during the inter-war period.

In both areas considerable changes have occurred in the livestock population since the second half of the last century. (Table VIII.)

From 1854 to 1921 there was a great increase in the number of cattle in Éire, the greatest proportionate increase being shown in cattle other than dairy cattle; an increase of 94 per cent. Since 1921, "Other Cattle" have actually decreased in numbers by 367,000. Dairy cattle, over the whole period 1854-1938, have only increased by some 14 per cent.

In Northern Ireland, during the period 1854-1923, "Other Cattle" increased by 28·0 per cent., while dairy cattle declined by 17·8 per cent. The decline in the size of the dairy herd in the North has continued throughout the inter-war period but "Other Cattle" have actually increased by 5,000 during the years 1923-1938.

The number of sheep in Éire has declined by 11·7 per cent. between the years 1854 and 1938, but in Northern Ireland there has been a steady increase throughout practically the whole of this period, a more than four fold increase.

As regards the pig population, considerable fluctuations in the numbers in Éire are to be observed. Only once, in 1871, has the number of pigs in Éire exceeded 1½ million. The number for 1938 shows a decline of 12·5 per cent. when compared with the number for 1854.

Similar fluctuations are to be seen in the figures for Northern Ireland prior to 1895. After that year, a general downward movement was apparent which continued up to the year 1925, when the number of pigs was only 112,000. In 1932, the number had reached 220,000. Since then production has increased every year until in 1938, it had reached 562,000, an increase of 155 per cent. in six years.

Turning to the poultry returns another expansion in production in the North is noted. Both North and South experienced an almost uninterrupted increase in numbers during the period 1854-1911.

Between 1923 and 1938, however, poultry in Northern Ireland have increased by 52·5 per cent., whereas in Éire, there has not been anything like that measure of expansion. Between 1921 and 1938, the number of poultry in Éire has fluctuated between 17 and 23 million.

The relative densities of livestock per one thousand acres of crops in 1938 and pastures are shown in the following figures:—

	Horses	Cows	Total Cattle	Sheep	Pigs	Poultry
N. Ireland	37	92	294	359	226	4,104
Éire	38	110	348	275	82	1,687

Here again is illustrated the greater extent to which sheep, pigs and poultry figure in the livestock population of Northern Ireland. The figures for pigs and poultry in Northern Ireland are remarkably high. The density of poultry is indeed higher than that of Denmark

for the same year, Denmark's density although more than double Éire's, is 3,497 per thousand acres.

Although the farms in the 100-200 acres and over 200 acres carry more poultry than the corresponding class of farm in Éire, it is true to say that poultry rearing and egg production in the North is largely the work of the small holders. Large-scale poultry farms on any considerable scale do not exist in the North.

Northern Ireland, even more so than Éire, is essentially a land of small farms. Comprised in the total cultivated land of Northern Ireland in 1934 were 96,526 holdings exceeding one acre in extent, of which 39.0 per cent. were under 15 acres and 27.6 per cent. came within the 15-30 acres class.

This compares with 30.9 per cent. and 26.9 per cent. for the corresponding class of holdings in Éire (1931).

A further 17.1 per cent. of the holdings in the North were between 30 and 50 acres in extent, whereas in Éire this class of holdings made up 18.6 per cent. of the total holdings. The proportion of farms over 100 acres in extent in Éire (8.7 per cent.) was more than double the proportion in the North (4.1 per cent.).

Without going into details, it can be stated that the tendency for holdings under 30 acres to decrease in numbers, noticeable in Éire, in the course of the past eighty years is reproduced in Northern Ireland.

In view of the foregoing, it necessarily follows that the bulk of the persons engaged in agriculture, both North and South, will consist of small farmers and their families. This fact is illustrated by the figures shown hereunder.

Group.	N. Ireland (1938)	Éire (1936)
	Total Nos. 153,487	Total Nos. 643,965
	% occupied Agrl. Pop.	
Farmers	40.2	42.4
Farmers' children and relatives	37.9	36.8
Other Agricultural Workers	21.9	20.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

There is little difference in the proportions borne by the respective categories to the total labour force engaged in agriculture in each area.

The proportion of paid labour amounts to only about one-fifth. But, with regard to female labour, a difference does exist. In 1938, of the 153,487 persons engaged in agriculture in the North, 33,334 or 21.7 per cent. were females. In Éire, the females engaged in agriculture in 1936, only amounted to 83,594 or 13.7 of the total number of persons in the industry. The greater proportion of females in the North may, in part, be attributed to the greater importance of the poultry and egg industries in that area.

Between 1926 and 1936 the number of persons engaged in agriculture in Éire declined by 37,355 or by 5.8 per cent., and in the North,

during the same period, the number declined by 30,500 or 15·3 per cent.

In each area the decline in the number of persons engaged in agriculture was more or less confined to persons working on farms of 30 acres or under. The greatest decline, both absolutely and relatively, occurred among persons on farms of 1-15 acres.

Table IX sets out the estimated gross output and value of agricultural products in Northern Ireland and in Éire in respect of the year 1938-39, with details of the principal products. The returns for Northern Ireland are provisional and are less the sum of £885,000, paid to the farmers by way of State subsidies.

The figures indicate clearly the predominant place occupied in each area by the livestock industry. Livestock and livestock products constituted by far the greater portion of the value of total output, being 87·8 per cent. in Northern Ireland and 75·7 per cent. in Éire. The importance of the pigs, eggs and poultry industries in the North can be readily seen and also the greater importance of the cattle industry in Éire. The tendency in Northern Ireland for the past twelve years or so—prior to the war—is for the proportion of total value of gross output formed by livestock and livestock products to slowly increase while the proportion formed by field crops decreases. In the year 1924-25, livestock and livestock products constituted 78 per cent. of the total value. This is due, in the main, to the great expansion in the pig, sheep, eggs and poultry industries that has taken place in the North. A contributory factor undoubtedly has been the better prices realisable by these products as compared with field crops. In Éire, the reverse tendency is apparent. Livestock and livestock products made up 78·7 per cent. of the total value of output in 1926-7, compared with 75·7 per cent. in 1938-9. The increased proportion borne by field crops in Éire can be attributed to the great expansion that took place in beet and wheat production during the period 1932-1939.

Prior to the year 1924, inquiries into the output of agriculture related to Ireland as a whole. In 1924-5, the first Census of Agricultural Output for Northern Ireland was taken. The first Census for Éire (then Saorstát Éireann) was taken for the year 1926-7.

Examination of the Census returns for the years 1924-5 and 1926-7† reveals that considerable changes have taken place in the quantities produced of each class of livestock and commodity both in Northern Ireland and in Éire during the period 1924—1938-9.

As far as livestock are concerned, only cattle showed a decline in Northern Ireland, a decline of 37·0 per cent. during the period. Milk production also declined by 6·7 per cent. But, elsewhere in the livestock industry increases were experienced. The output of sheep increased by 94·0 per cent., poultry by 146·0 per cent., eggs were up by 18·9 per cent., while pig production showed a fourfold increase. The wool clip doubled also.

When one turns to examine the field crop returns, however, it is found that every crop without exception showed a decreased output. Wheat declined by 21·7 per cent, barley by 35·5 per cent., and flax by 32·0 per cent. Considerable declines were also shown in the output of oats and potatoes.

† Figures for 1926-27, as amended in the *Irish Trade Journal*, June, 1945, have been used here.

In Éire, during the period 1926-7 to 1938-9, every branch of the livestock industry, with the exception of cattle and sheep showed a decline. Output of cattle increased by 24·3 per cent. and sheep by 12·9 per cent. Milk production increased by some 19·6 per cent. But the production of pigs (-1·0 per cent.), poultry (-30·3 per cent.), eggs (-23·4 per cent.) and farmers' butter (-29·3 per cent.), all showed a decline. The output of wool was also down by 9·9 per cent.

Turning to field crops, a great expansion in the wheat output can be reported. The cultivation of sugar beet was not undertaken until 1931. Every year since then, with the exception of 1938 and 1939 it has shown a continuous increase in output. Oats showed an increase of 44 per cent., barley declined by 41·8 per cent., and potatoes were down by 2·0 per cent. The output of hay declined by 33·0 per cent.

The following table compares the value of the agricultural output of Northern Ireland with that of Éire per worker employed in agriculture and per 100 acres of crops and pasture.

Year	Value of Output	Workers in Agriculture	Output per Worker	Output per 100 acres of crops and pasture
	£'000	No.	£	£
N. Ireland, 1938-39 ...	14,987	153,487	97·6	603
Éire	53,481	643,965	83·0	459

The above figures show that output per worker engaged in agriculture is 17·5 per cent. greater in Northern Ireland and that the output per 100 acres of crops and pastures is 31·3 per cent. greater than in Éire.

The foregoing facts, incomplete as they may be, in some directions, at least present an outline of the immediate pre-war structure of agriculture in Northern Ireland and in Éire. The impression gained by a study of the figures is one of an expanding agricultural economy in the North and a stationary if not a declining agricultural economy in the South.

Particulars as to yields of certain crops per acre and annual average prices of some agricultural products are shown in the Appendix.

There are no great differences in yield of crops per acre between the two areas. Apart from wheat and flax, the yields in Éire are a little higher than in Northern Ireland. The higher yield in the North in the case of wheat may be explained by the fact that wheat growing in that area is on a small scale and confined to the drier and more fertile soils of the eastern districts. Greater experience in the cultivation of the crop probably accounts for the higher flax yield in the North.

As to prices, with the exception of beef and pork—and sometimes hay—the average prices of all the products shown in Appendix II were higher in Éire during the five year period ending in 1937. The lower prices obtaining for beef in Éire from 1934 onwards reflect the effects of the Economic War, although even in 1933, beef prices were

considerably higher in the North. The higher prices for pork in the North explain to some extent the greater expansion of the pig industry in that area.

Industry

Agriculture, in which some 153,000 persons are directly engaged, is the basic industry of Northern Ireland. The number indirectly dependent on the industry has been estimated at 350,000.

The other main supports of the economic structure of Northern Ireland are the linen and the shipbuilding and engineering industries, which unlike agriculture have experienced no expansion of production during the inter-war years. In fact, an actual decline has occurred in industry in the North and in the linen industry in particular.

According to the Census of Production for Northern Ireland taken in 1924, the net output of industry was £23,880,000 and the average number engaged in industry was 156,834. By 1935, the net output had declined to £20,005,000 and the number engaged to 140,176.

Due allowances must be made for the fall in the general price level in the intervening period when comparing the net output for the two years. As regards the average number engaged, the census of 1924, extended to all firms and undertakings, however small, whereas in 1935, firms and undertakings which did not employ more than ten persons on the average were exempted from the census. To that extent the figures for the two censuses are not strictly comparable. However, the trend in industry is plain to be seen.

The number of males employed in industry in 1935 was 74,955 or 53·5 per cent. Females employed numbered 65,221 or 46·5 per cent. This was nearly double the proportion of females to males employed in industry in Éire. The high percentage of female labour in industry in the North can be attributed in the main to the clothing and textile industries where females formed 58,097 or 71·6 per cent. of the total numbers employed (81,155).

Juveniles engaged in industry at mid-October, 1935, numbered 20,503 and formed 14·4 per cent. of the total number engaged and exceeded by 4 per cent. the proportion of juveniles employed in industry in Éire.

The dominant position occupied by the textile group and the shipbuilding, engineering and metal trades group is evident from the figures set out in Table X, which summarises the industrial output of Northern Ireland (1935) and Éire (1936). These two groups together accounted for about 50 per cent. of the total net output and engaged 61·0 per cent. of all persons employed in industry. Whatever affects these two groups is bound to have repercussions on Northern Ireland as a whole and such has been the case during the whole of the period 1924-38.

Between 1924 and 1935, the numbers engaged in the textile group fell from 86,762 to 67,328 persons or by 22·4 per cent.; the linen industry accounting for 19,137 persons or practically the whole of the decline. (The persons employed by exempted concerns only amounted to 783 at the census taken in 1935.)

The shipbuilding, engineering and metal group has displayed moderate fluctuations over the period 1924-35, ranging from 19,445

persons employed in 1924 to 23,609 in 1930 and falling to 18,179 persons in 1935. The shipbuilding industry accounted for about 45.0 per cent. of the total number engaged in the whole group.

Of the other groups included in Table X, food, drink and tobacco, clothing and public utilities, etc., have shown increases of 1,388, 3,161 and 968, respectively, in the numbers employed.

The number of persons employed in the building and contracting group declined by 1,106 during the period.

Next to agriculture, the linen industry is the most important industry in the North and, at one time, normally employed directly and indirectly through subsidiary trades approximately 110,000 workers.

The industry is carried on in almost every part of Northern Ireland but by far the greater part of the total output is produced within a radius of 30 miles from Belfast.

Ever since World War I, the linen industry has been declining both in net output and in the number engaged in the industry. Net output declined from £8.9 million in 1924 to £5.4 million in 1935, and the number of workers employed declined from 74,758 to 55,621.

Normally 60 per cent. of the output of the linen industry was exported and the home market absorbed the remaining 40 per cent. The average yearly requirements of the linen industry in the North were between 40,000 and 50,000 tons of flax fibre and flax yarn, which calls for a flax acreage of at least 200,000 acres, on the basis that the output of flax is about 4 cwt. to one statute acre.

Home-produced flax normally only amounted to 5,000 tons approximately, one-eighth of the industry's requirements. So, as has already been mentioned in the section dealing with agriculture in the North, the linen industry was mainly dependent to the extent of 85-90 per cent. on outside sources of supply for its raw material.

Russia, the world's largest producer of flax and Northern Ireland's chief source of supply, has ceased to supply flax to the North since 1938. The other sources of supply were the Baltic States and the Low Countries.

In view of the unsettled political situation of these post-war days and the physical damage wrought in Europe during recent years, it is most unlikely that the afore-mentioned countries will be in any position to supply Northern Ireland with flax for some years to come.

It is apparent that in the coming years the linen industry in the North will be faced with serious problems of sources of supply of its raw material and with a further contraction of its trade in the export markets. A decrease in the size of the industry seems inevitable, and if one can judge from the report issued in March, 1944, by the Post-war Planning Committee on the linen industry, a reorganisation and modernisation of the linen industry is overdue and State aid will be imperative.

One thing seems quite obvious, however, and that is, that the linen industry will hardly ever again provide such a large measure of employment as it did before World War I.

The shipbuilding and engineering industries, like the linen industry, depend on external sources of supply for their raw materials and cater primarily for an export market, the shipbuilding industry exclusively so.

The products of the engineering industry, which are closely allied to the linen and shipbuilding industries, were distributed in much the same proportions as were the products of the linen industry.

Prior to World War II the engineering industry of Northern Ireland had not specialised in high precision or mass production work but during the war munition making and aircraft manufacture have been carried on by the industry. Over fifty firms are engaged in the engineering industry, mainly in Belfast and in the immediate vicinity.

Heavy unemployment has been experienced by shipyard and engineering workers during the period 1924-'39. The average annual percentage of persons unemployed in these two industries has fluctuated between 35.3 per cent. in 1924, falling to 19.8 per cent. in 1930, rising as high as 57 per cent. in 1932-3 and averaging 21.3 per cent. for the four years 1934-37.

The position in Éire with regard to industrial development during the inter-war years is quite the reverse of that of Northern Ireland. While agricultural production in Éire has more or less remained stationary, and in some instances declined, there has been a considerable expansion in industry during the period 1926-36. The net output increased by £10.7 million or 32 per cent., and the numbers engaged in industry rose by 51,375 or 39 per cent.

The number of males employed in all industries covered by the 1936 Census was 118,881 or 75.3 per cent., and the number of females was 39,099 or 24.7 per cent. Females predominated in the clothing, hosiery, boots, shoes and laundry and dyeing industries. The number of juveniles (under 18 years) engaged in industry in 1936 was 16,355 or 10.4 per cent. of the total number engaged in industry.

The industries of Éire are far more diversified than those of Northern Ireland, not so susceptible to fluctuations of international trade and the groups do not follow the same order of importance as in the North. The most important group of industries, judged by the amount of employment provided, apart from the transport, public utilities, Local and Central Government groups, are the food, drink and tobacco group. The brewing industry in Éire is the most important industry in the country with a net output of £4,474,000 (exclusive of excise duty) or 13 per cent. of the total net output of all industries. The next most important industries, ranged in order of their total net output in 1936, were building and construction (£3,007,692), bread, flour, confectionery and biscuits (£2,100,972), printing and publishing, etc. (£1,812,789), sugar, sugar confectionery and jam making (£1,506,437), and grain milling (£1,494,498).

It will be noticed that all these industries, producing consumer goods, are, with the exception of brewing, catering primarily if not wholly for the home market and deriving the bulk of their raw materials from internal sources. Whereas the most important industries in the North—linen, shipbuilding and engineering—are mainly, wholly in the case of shipbuilding, concerned with the export market.

With the exception of the drink industry, and the soap and candles industry and transport all industries in Éire showed increases in net output and numbers engaged during the period 1926-36.

Attention has already been drawn to the disproportionately large proportion of the population of Northern Ireland living in the Belfast city area. It naturally follows that most of the industry of the North will be concentrated in this area also. Of the total net output of industry in the North 68·4 per cent. was produced in the area of the Belfast County Borough, and 61 per cent. of the total number of workers in industry were employed in the same area. Derry County Borough, the next urban area of any size, only produced 4·2 per cent. of the total net output and employed 5 per cent. of the total number of workers. Counties Antrim, Armagh and Down, all more or less lying within the Belfast area, together produced 26·7 per cent. of the total net output and provided 21·2 per cent. of the employment. Thus, the industry of Northern Ireland is concentrated in the more densely populated, more urbanised eastern portion of the area and in the Belfast area in particular. Outside of Belfast City, industry in Northern Ireland suffers from lack of diversification and the relatively smaller industrial population is unduly dependent on two staple industries—textiles and clothing—which during the inter-war years suffered badly from trade fluctuations.

In Éire, on the other hand, while the greater part of industry is situated in the Dublin County Borough area (including Dún Laoghaire) there is not the same disproportionate distribution of industry and industrial population. Dublin County Borough and Dún Laoghaire accounted for 53 per cent. of the total net output of industry in 1936, and for 43 per cent. of the total number engaged. The four comparatively large county boroughs produced 24 per cent. of the total net output and provided 26 per cent. of total industrial employment. The place occupied by Connacht and the three Ulster counties in the industry of Éire is comparable to that occupied by the Counties Derry, Tyrone and Fermanagh in Northern Ireland's industrial economy.

At the foot of Table X, the net output per person employed in industry in Éire and in Northern Ireland is shown. The net output per head in Éire declined from £225 in 1926, to £220 in 1936, while in Northern Ireland, net output per person, which was £152 in 1924, fell to £139 in 1930 and in 1935 rose to £146, which is considerably below the corresponding figure for Éire in 1936.

But these figures must be regarded with a certain amount of reserve.

Calculations as to net output are at best only approximations and form but a crude measure of the respective levels of efficiency of

Industry	Net Output per person engaged	
	Éire (1936)	N. Ireland (1935)
Bacon Curing	£ 336	£ 371
Grain Milling	364	324
Bread, Biscuits, Flours	265	241
Woollens and Worsteds	134	153
Boots and Shoes	151	135
Hosiery	132	92
Printing, Publishing, etc.	262	222
Building and Contracting	165	158

different industries. This fact must be borne in mind when considering the following figures which show the net output per person in Éire and in Northern Ireland for a limited number of individual industrial groups which produce more or less similar kinds of goods. Subject to the qualification referred to above, the figures would indicate that of these eight industries in Éire, which are broadly comparable to those in Northern Ireland, the net output per person engaged is greater in Éire in six cases.

It is sometimes stated that differences in scope of the Unemployment Insurance Acts and in systems of registration render invalid any comparison made between the unemployment figures of Northern Ireland and of Éire. Such differences as do exist are but minor ones and do not appreciably affect any conclusions that may be drawn from a comparison of the figures for the respective areas.

For instance, the insurability of agricultural labourers in the North under the Unemployment Insurance Acts is offset by the fact that in Éire, agricultural workers come within the scope of the Unemployment Assistance Acts and so enter into the Live Register figures.

In December, 1939, the peak period in each area, there were 78,134 persons on the Live Register in the North and 101,904 persons in Éire. The following figures show the main groups in each area, making up these totals:—

Insured persons (16-64 years) recorded as unemployed.

Industrial Groups	N. Ireland (Dec. 1939)		Éire (16 Dec. 1939)	
	No. of Registered unemployed persons	Percentage of insured persons engaged in the industry	No. of Registered unemployed persons	Percentage of insured persons engaged in the industry
	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	10,394	34.1	40,375	—
Building and Contracting	13,429	47.6	26,276	25.4
Clothing	4,701	17.2	2,488	10.5
Distributive Trades ...	9,579	21.2	7,535	11.6
Engineering	2,763	10.5	3,273	14.7
Linen Manufactures ...	10,915	18.5	—	—
Other Textiles	2,494	19.2	—	—
Shipbuilding	1,162	11.1	—	—
Miscellaneous Trades and Services	22,697	—	21,957	—
TOTALS	78,134	—	101,904	—

It will be noted that, apart from agriculture and the distributive trades, the incidence of unemployment in the North was heaviest in the building group. Unemployment has always been particularly heavy in the building industry. Throughout the whole of the inter-war period the unemployment rate in the industry never fell below 24.0 per cent.

This reflects the fact that, in direct contrast to Éire, building activities in the North have been on a small scale during the years 1924-1938. During that period only 4,200 houses were built by local authorities in the North under State-aided schemes as compared with

over 37,000 houses built in Éire under corresponding schemes. The amount of slum clearances carried out in Belfast and in other urban areas has been comparatively negligible.

In Table XI are shown a number of wage rates payable in a representative group of occupations in Dublin and in Belfast in 1938.

The occupations shown have been taken indiscriminately from wage statistics published, in the case of Éire, by the Statistics Branch, Department of Industry and Commerce, and the Belfast rates have been supplied from the records of the Belfast Trades Union Council. In every case, the Dublin standard rate of wages was in excess of the wage obtaining in Belfast. While the rates of wages shown are only in respect of the two principal cities, it can be stated that the rates obtaining in Dublin and Belfast set the standard for the rest of Éire and Northern Ireland, respectively.

External Trade

After making allowances for the "Transit Trade" Éire, in 1938, imported from Northern Ireland goods to the value of £577,295, of which cattle comprised £90,000.† In the same year Éire exported for retention in Northern Ireland goods to the value of £2,536,878, being principally cattle (£1,856,000) and eggs (£422,000).

The following figures set out the foreign trade of Northern Ireland and of Éire in the year 1938 and the average value of trade per head of the population and indicate that the external trade of the North was considerably greater than that of Éire, exceeding Éire's total trade by some 61 per cent.

	N. IRELAND		ÉIRE	
	£ mill.	Per Head of Population (1937 Census)	£ mill.	Per Head of Population (1936 Census)
Imports	54.4	42.5	41.4	14.0
Exports	51.1	39.9	24.2	8.1
TOTAL TRADE ...	105.5	82.4	65.6	22.1

Éire's import trade was 76 per cent. of that of Northern Ireland, her export trade was 47.4 per cent., her total trade was 62 per cent. and her trade per head of population was only 26.8 per cent. of that of Northern Ireland. The trade per head of population in the North was remarkably high and compared with £38.1 per head in Denmark in 1938.

The very much higher value of import and export trade and total trade per head of the population in the North is partly due to the higher value of the manufactured goods and articles which enter

* The Transit Trade (goods in transit to and from Éire, via N. Ireland) amounted to £3.3 mill. in 1938, and this sum must be deducted from N. Ireland trade returns to arrive at the true Import and Export totals.

into the external trade of the North and partly to the smaller population in that area.

From Table XII it can be seen that throughout the whole of the period 1924-1938 the annual total trade of Northern Ireland has always exceeded that of Éire even during the depression years 1929-1932.

From the year 1924 up to 1931 the value of the annual imports of Éire were in excess of those of Northern Ireland. Since 1932, and up to and including 1938, the annual imports into Éire were less than those of Northern Ireland where imports showed progressive annual increases up to the year 1938 when a decrease of £2·7 million was recorded.

The decrease of imports into Éire from the year 1932 onwards reflects the policy of intensive industrialisation pursued in Éire as from that year in particular and the replacing of some categories of imports by home produced goods and articles.

Generally speaking it can be said that both North and South import the same class of commodities but that their order and magnitude in the import lists differ. (Table XIII.)

The apparent differences between the Éire figures shown in Table XIII and XIV and elsewhere in this paper and those given in Dr. Beddy's paper arise out of differences in methods of classification only.

As can be expected textile fabrics and materials figured prominently in Northern Ireland's imports, in fact topping the list and accounted for 20·6 per cent. of total imports.

The dependence of Northern Ireland on external sources of supplies of cotton and woollen goods, clothing and boots and shoes is evident from the figures set out in the table. Éire's requirements of these articles are largely home manufactured.

Cereals occupied an important place in the imports of each area. From the figures given for maize and animal feeding stuffs imported into Northern Ireland, it would appear that the bacon, pigs, eggs and poultry industries of the North rely mainly on imported supplies of feeding stuffs. Animal feeding stuffs imported into Éire during 1938 were less than £500,000 in value.

Imports of live stock into the North consisted mainly of cattle in transit to Scotland and North of England ports.

The comparatively large imports of butter into Northern Ireland draws attention to the fact that butter production does not enter to any great extent into the agricultural economy of the North. The precise extent to which butter in transit from Éire enters into the import figure of £1,085,000 is not known, but in view of what is known of Éire's export trade in butter and its direction, it may be hazarded that it is not to any large degree and that Northern Ireland draws most of her butter supplies from outside of Ireland.

Approximately 64 per cent. of the exports of Northern Ireland in 1938 consisted of manufactured products mainly textile goods, metals, ships, tobacco, rope, etc., whereas in Éire 78·3 per cent. of total exports were made up of agricultural products.

The most important groups in the export trade of Northern Ireland and of Éire are shown in Table XIV. As has already been pointed out, Éire's exports consisted largely of agricultural products, one item, cattle, being predominant. The export trade of Northern Ireland is somewhat more diffused, despite the large proportion occupied

by the textile group, which was almost double in value Éire's trade in live animals. Northern Ireland's export of meat, poultry, game, dairy products and eggs was nearly as large as that of Éire's in the same products. The four groups for Éire, set out in the Table together, made up 88.1 per cent. of Éire's total exports and underline the extent to which Éire's export trade is mainly dependent upon her agricultural products. There is nothing remaining in Éire's leading export items to offset the Northern Ireland trade in ships, aircraft, tobacco, ropes, etc., or against the metals and metal manufactures and apparel groups.

The great advances made in the production of pigs, poultry and eggs in Northern Ireland during the inter-war period, are reflected in the export figures for these products. Exports of bacon and hams together were 29.0 per cent. greater in value than the bacon and other pig products exported from Éire. Northern Ireland's trade in eggs and poultry was 14.5 per cent. and 71.9, respectively, greater than Éire's trade in these two products. The export value of pigs from the North was nearly 2½ times that of Éire.

With regard to direction of trade, particulars regarding the destination of exports and the source of imports of both areas, according to country of *consignment*, are summarised in the following table. [The year 1936 has been selected for a comparison of source of imports owing to the fact that, after 1936, imports into Éire have been recorded by country of *origin* only.]

Country of Consignment	IMPORTS, 1936		EXPORTS, 1938	
	N. Ireland	Éire	N. Ireland	Éire
Great Britain	75.7	66.8	90.6	82.1
N. Ireland	—	4.0	—	10.5
Éire	6.0	—	4.3	—
European Countries ...	8.8	12.8	1.0	5.2
U.S.A.	1.0	4.6	3.1	0.5
British Dominions and Colonies.	3.1	6.6	0.2	0.5
Elsewhere	5.4	5.2	0.8	1.2

The importance of the British market to both North and South is amply demonstrated by the figures. It will be observed that Éire had a wider choice of sources of supply than Northern Ireland and was not so restricted to Great Britain, drawing 66.3 per cent. of her imports from that country as compared with 75.7 per cent. in the North. Éire also drew a greater proportion of her imports from the United States than did Northern Ireland.

Finance

It is not within the purpose of this paper to subject the public finances of Northern Ireland to a detailed examination, complicated as they are by the financial relationship existing between the Governments of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and by the system of dual taxation and dual administration that prevails in the area of Northern Ireland. Such a task would be particularly arduous and

inconclusive, having regard to the incompleteness of published statistics relating to the finances of Northern Ireland.

It is proposed here to do no more than to sketch in broad outline such as the salient features of the public finances of Northern Ireland as permit of a comparison with the public finances of Éire.

The Government of Ireland Act, 1920, which forms the original basis of the financial relations between the two Governments, gave only very limited powers of taxation to the Government of Northern Ireland, and reserved to British control, customs and excise duties, postal revenues, income-tax, surtax and any other taxes on capital or profits. Consequently, the bulk of the taxation is imposed, and collected by the British Government. The revenues accruing from these reserved taxes, which are levied at the British scales, are termed "Reserved Tax Revenues". In the financial year 1938-9, reserved revenue amounted to £10.2 million or 85.7 per cent. of the total revenue raised by taxation. During the whole of the period, 1922-1939, reserved tax revenue has averaged over 70.0 per cent. of the total tax revenue.

The remainder of the taxes is raised under Northern Ireland direct control and is called "Transferred Tax Revenue". The "Transferred Taxes" are, in general, imposed at the same rates as in Britain and in 1938-9 amounted to a sum of £1.7 million or 14.3 per cent. of total tax revenue.

There are certain other "Reserved Revenues" of a non-tax nature which brought in £1.2 million to the British Government; £1,000,000 being derived from Post Office services.

The first charge on the Reserved Revenue is the cost of Reserved Services (£2.4 million in 1938-9) and certain other charges. The next allocation made is the Residuary Share of Reserved Taxes (£7.7 million in 1938-9) which is paid over to the Northern Ireland Exchequer. This is the amount required, together with Transferred Revenue (£2.6 million) raised by the Northern Ireland Government to meet the cost of Transferred Services which are directly administered by the Northern Ireland Government.

These Transferred Services comprise those relating to law and order, local government, public health, social services, education, agriculture, fishery, harbours, transport and local commercial services. In 1938-9 their cost amounted to £11.5 million. All matters relating to external trade are controlled by the British Government.

The amount of Reserved Revenue raised in Northern Ireland which then remains in the British Exchequer, after offsetting the actual cost of Reserved Services and the Residuary Share, represents the Imperial contribution of Northern Ireland towards the cost of Imperial services, including Army, Navy and Air Force, and service of the National Debt of the United Kingdom.

The amount of the Imperial contribution is subject to considerable variation and during the depression years of the early 'thirties dwindled to comparatively small figures.

The total amount paid by Northern Ireland to the British Exchequer by way of Imperial contribution in the period of 18 years prior to the outbreak of war in September, 1939, was £25.9 millions. (During the war years the contribution reached phenomenal heights, rising from £3 million in 1939-40 to £35 million in 1943-4 and again 1944-5, or from 16 per cent. to 64 per cent. of total revenue).

In addition to certain other receipts of a non-tax nature derived locally the Government of Northern Ireland receives grants from the British Government. The amount thus received in the same period of 18 years (exclusive of Residuary Share) amounted to £20 millions. This sum total included payments towards the relief of unemployment in the North. Under this latter heading the Government of Northern Ireland has received approximately £8·8 million during the period 1924-1939. For the year ending 31st March, 1939, the payment made by the British Government under the Unemployment (Agreement) Act, 1936, was £1,786,752.

The Northern Ireland Government has also been allowed to retain amounts (approximately £656,000 p.a.) collected from tenants in respect of Land Purchase annuities, amounting in all to £11·8 million during the period 1922-1939. In all, the Government has received the sum of £31·8 million from the British Government, which leaves on balance, Northern Ireland, the gainer by £5·1 million. And this sum does not include agricultural subsidies paid by the British Government direct to the Northern Ireland farmer. In the year 1938-9, £885,000 was paid in such subsidies.

One condition of the financial relations existing between the Northern Ireland and British Governments is that changes in rates of taxation in the two areas should be almost identical and that the same or equal social services will be undertaken in each area.

Particulars of the taxation, both central and local, levied in Northern Ireland and in Éire are set out in Table XV. Total taxation per head of the population (1936) was higher at £12·2 in Éire as compared with £11·3 per head of the population in the North (1937). (Since 1st April, 1936, a new Valuation List, based on a Central Revaluation taken in 1933-34, has had the effect of raising the total valuation of Northern Ireland by £2 million and has increased the local taxation yield correspondingly.)

In both areas indirect taxation by way of Customs and Excise duties provided the two largest sources of revenue derived from taxation. The chief items under these heads are practically the same both North and South, being in order of yield, tobacco, beer, spirits imported wines, hydrocarbon oils and entertainment duties.

Indirect taxation amounted to £4·5 per head in Northern Ireland as compared with £5·5 per head in Éire.

It will be noted that while Excise duties in Éire accounted for 20·5 per cent. of the total tax revenue, the corresponding figure in Northern Ireland was only 8·8 per cent. Custom and Excises together provided 54·3 per cent. of the total tax revenue in Éire as compared with 48·3 per cent. in the North.

Of the direct taxes, income tax and surtax (and property tax in Éire) provided the greater proportion of the remainder of tax revenue. The yield per head of the population of income tax and surtax was greater in Northern Ireland than in Éire, the figures being £3·43 in Northern Ireland and £1·97 per head in Éire.

This, however, is no indication as to the taxable capacities of the respective areas, as different rates of taxation, exemption limits and allowances obtained in each area. The lower yield in Éire is also partly accounted for by the fact that in a community where agriculturists predominate, the income tax paying group is usually smaller than in an industrial community such as Northern Ireland.

In Northern Ireland, however income tax and surtax accounted for a greater proportion of total tax revenue (36.6 per cent.) than did the corresponding taxes in Éire where the proportion was 20.5 per cent. Even when adjustments are made for the difference in standard rates of income tax (4/6 in the £ in Éire, 5/6 in the £ in Northern Ireland) the proportion still remains higher in Northern Ireland. The income structure in the North would appear to approximate to that of Great Britain rather than to that of Éire. That is, there is a far greater proportion of higher income groups in Northern Ireland liable to payment of income tax than there is in Éire. This is easily realisable when the activities and greater importance of the industrial and commercial classes in the North are considered.

The principal items of combined expenditure of the Central and Local Authorities are shown in Table XVI and the proportion borne by the respective groups to combined tax revenue.

On the items classified under the head of Social Expenditure, Northern Ireland spent a greater proportion of its combined tax revenue than did Éire; 64.4 per cent. as compared with 37.7 per cent.

Closer examination of the figures reveals that direct expenditure in respect of unemployment constituted by far the largest single item of social expenditure in the North; 28.3 per cent. of combined tax revenue being devoted to the relief of unemployment as compared with 3.4 per cent. in Éire.

These figures underline the much heavier burden of unemployment in the North and also the higher rates of unemployment benefit and assistance paid in that area.

Northern Ireland's expenditure on education was higher at 19.0 per cent. of tax revenue as compared with 14.2 per cent. in Éire.

The amount devoted to agriculture, a transferred service in Northern Ireland, appears to be relatively small. In Éire a much greater proportion of tax revenue was devoted to this important sector of the country's economy, without, however, achieving such startling results as achieved by the North with their lower expenditure.

A precise comparison of the relative debt burdens of both areas is not possible owing to the absence of the relevant statistics so far as Northern Ireland is concerned.

Such statistics as have been published in Northern Ireland relate only to the debt position of the locally administered transferred services. Separate figures for the reserved services are not available, being amalgamated with the figures for the United Kingdom as a whole.

The debts of local authorities in both areas are available however. In 1938 the total indebtedness of the Northern Ireland local authorities was £21.4 million or £16.7 per head of the population, compared with £30.1 million or just over £10 per head of the population in Éire.

As far as can be ascertained, no estimate either official or unofficial, has been made of the National Income of Northern Ireland, consequently no comparison in that direction is possible. Likewise with regard to the cost-of-living figures. No separate Cost-of-Living Index Number for Northern Ireland is published. Certain statistics are collected for inclusion in the Cost-of-Living Index Number for the United Kingdom but to what extent that Index Number is indicative

of the cost of living in Northern Ireland it is difficult to say, in the absence of the relevant statistics. Therefore, no attempt is made here to compare the trends in the cost of living in the North and in Éire.

This paper makes no claim to represent a complete study of the economic structure of the two areas, but it is hoped that it will form a starting point for discussion and further study on the aspect of Partition that is only too often overlooked and forgotten—the economic aspect.

It is submitted that Irishmen on both sides of the Border can profit from a study of the economic experiences of each area during the past twenty five years. Perhaps fresh minds working together, objectively and dispassionately in this hitherto neglected field of action, may through co-operation arrive at conclusions and opinions leading to agreement in the economic sphere much more amicably and more readily than through endeavours in the political arena.

It was with such an idea in mind that the preparation of this paper was undertaken, and if, as a result, others are prompted to study in the same direction, the effort will be well repaid.

VII.—Utilisation of Areas under Crops and Pastures in 1938.

Description	Acres (thousands)		Percentage of Total Area under Crops and Pasture	
	N.I.	Éire	N.I.	Éire
CORN CROPS :				
Oats	297	570	} 0.3	4.9
Wheat	6	230		2.0
Barley	3	118		1.0
Rye	—	2		—
Mixed Cereals	—	—		—
Others	—	—	—	—
TOTAL ...	306	920	12.3	7.9
ROOT AND GREEN CROPS :				
Potatoes	124	327	5.0	2.8
Turnips	26	143	1.0	1.2
Sugar Beet	—	51	—	0.5
Mangels and Swedes	1	85	} 0.2	0.7
Others	3	29		0.3
TOTAL ...	154	636	6.2	5.5
Flax and Fruit and other cropped lands.	29	12	1.2	0.1
Total Corn, Root, Green Crops, Flax and Fruit.	489	1,568	19.7	13.5
Hay	431	2,037	17.3	17.5
Total Crops (including Hay) ...	920	3,605	37.0	31.0
Pasture	1,564	8,040	63.0	69.0
TOTAL Area under Crops and Pasture.	2,484	11,645	100.0	100.0

VIII.—Changes in Number (thousands) of Livestock, 1854-1938.

Livestock	1854	1912	1923	1932	1938
		N. Ireland			
Milch Cows and In-calf Heifers	341	298	280	268	259
Other Cattle	365	457	468	447	473
Sheep	215	379	464	792	893
Pigs	247	210	195	220	562
Poultry	1,580 (avg.)	6,323 (avg.)	6,682	9,371	10,193
	Éire				
Milch Cows and In-calf Heifers	1,177	1,188	1,278	1,222	1,346
Other Cattle	1,617	2,762	3,141	2,807	2,710
Sheep	3,507	3,543	3,020	3,575	3,197
Pigs	1,096	1,160	891	1,227	959
Poultry	6,913*	19,010	17,093	22,782	19,630

* Does not include young poultry.

IX.—Estimated Gross Output and Value of Agricultural Products, 1938-39.

Product	N. IRELAND (PROVISIONAL)				ÉIRE		
	Unit of Quantity	Estimated Quantity (thousands)	Estimated Value (thousand £'s)	Percentage of Total Value of Gross Output	Estimated Quantity (thousands)	Estimated Value (thousand £'s)	Percentage of Total Value of Gross Output
LIVESTOCK AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS :			£	%		£	%
Cattle	No.	156*	2,203	14.7	937	13,115	24.5
Sheep	"	397	471	3.1	1,135	1,980	3.7
Pigs	"	833	4,375	29.2	1,371	6,549	12.3
Poultry	"	6,214	924	6.2	9,520	1,744	3.3
Eggs	Grt. hds.	4,275	2,394	16.0	8,978	4,666	8.7
Wool	lbs.	2,230	52	0.3	13,033	494	0.9
MILK :							
For Liquid Consumption ..	gallons	31,000	1,665	11.1	92,000	3,538	6.6
For Manufacture	"	52,000	1,082	7.2	197,000	4,596	8.6
Farmers' Butter	cwt.	—	—	—	452	2,597	4.9
Other	—	—	—	—	—	1,186	2.2
Total Livestock and Livestock Products	—	—	13,166	87.8	—	40,465	75.7
FIELD CROPS :							
Sugar Beet	ton	nil	nil	nil	3,950	918	1.8
Wheat	cwt.	54	14	0.1	3,463	2,035	3.8
Oats	"	472	130	0.9	2,353	853	1.6
Barley	"	29	9	0.1	1,312	545	1.0
Potatoes	Tons	333	942	6.3	639	3,268	6.1
Flax	cwt.	80	313	2.1	13	48	0.1
Grass Seed	"	337	349	2.3	1	1	—
Hay	Tons	16	47	0.3	73	258	0.5
Straw	"	8	17	0.1	7	15	—
Turf	"	—	—	—	3,339	3,687	6.9
Other	—	—	—	—	—	2,305	2.5
Total Value Crops and Turf ..	—	—	1,821	12.2	—	13,016	24.3
Total Value of Agricultural Output	—	—	14,987	100	—	53,481	100.0

*Does not include Cattle imported from Éire for fattening in N.I.

— Not available.

X.—Industrial Production.

NOTE.—Éire figures are exclusive of small, including "one man" concerns, net output of which was £5.4 Mln. Numbers employed was 58,430 persons. Figures for N. Ireland are exclusive of concerns which did not employ more than ten persons on the average. These concerns employed together 14,520 persons.

N. Ireland (1935)				Éire (1936)			
Nature of Commodity	Net Output	Average Number of persons engaged	Net Output per person Employed	Nature of Commodity	Net Output	Average Number of persons engaged	Net Output per person Employed
Textiles	£'000 7,050	67,326	£ 105	Transport, Public Utilities, Local Authorities and Government Depts.	£'000 5,645	Number 35,159	£ 161
Shipbuilding, Engineering and Metals.	3,049	18,179	168	Food, Drink and Tobacco	13,213	31,411	421
Clothing	1,311	13,827	95	Building and Construction..	3,008	18,207	165
Transport, Public Utility Services, Local Authorities and Government Depts.	2,182	11,835	184	Clothing	1,362	11,690	116
Food, Drinks and Tobacco	3,658	11,406	321	Engineering and Metals ..	2,147	10,618	202
Building and Contracting ..	1,158	7,309	158	Textiles	1,242	9,770	121
Paper, Printing, etc. ..	949	4,615	206	Printing and Publishing etc.	1,813	6,916	262
Miscellaneous	1,131	5,677	199	Wood	1,185	6,769	175
TOTALS	20,488	140,176	146	Boots and Shoes	846	5,617	151
1930	20,005	143,739	139	Paper Making	275	1,753	157
1924	23,880	156,834	152	Miscellaneous	3,058	15,978	191
TOTALS				TOTALS	33,791	153,888	220
				1926	23,078	102,515	225

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XI.—*Standard Wage Rates of Adult Male Workers in Dublin and Belfast in the year 1938.*

Industry and Occupation	Hourly Rate		Weekly Rate		Remarks
	Dublin	Belfast	Dublin	Belfast	
ENGINEERING TRADES :	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	
Fitter	—	—	79 6	69 9	47 hours
Turner	—	—	79 6	73 3	" "
Labourer	—	—	60 2	49 0	" "
BUILDING TRADES :					
Brick Layer	1 11½	1 8½	—	—	
Painter	1 10½	1 8½	—	—	
Joiner	1 11	1 8½	—	—	
Plumber	2 0½	1 9½	—	—	
PRINTING TRADES :					
Bookbinder	—	—	89 0	74 6	45 hours
Compositor	—	—	89 0	74 6	" "
Transport Bus Driver	—	—	65 0	62 0	48 hours
Electrician	2 1	1 7	—	—	
Local Authority Labourer	—	—	64 0 to 69 0	50 0	

XII.—*External Trade of N. Ireland and Éire. 1924-38 (£ millions)*

Year	N. Ireland			Éire		
	Imports*	Exports*	Total Trade*	Imports	Exports	Total Trade
1924 ..	£'000 67.4	£'000 63.8	£'000 131.2	£'000 68.9	£'000 51.0	£'000 119.9
1925 ..	61.0	59.2	120.2	62.9	43.8	106.7
1926 ..	56.0	54.4	110.4	61.3	41.3	102.6
1927 ..	58.9	54.7	113.6	60.8	44.3	105.1
1928 ..	56.3	54.2	110.5	59.9	45.8	105.6
1929 ..	59.3	58.1	117.4	61.3	47.3	108.6
1930 ..	54.4	52.2	106.6	56.8	44.9	101.7
1931 ..	48.0	40.6	88.6	50.5	36.3	86.8
1932 ..	43.6	36.4	80.0	42.6	26.3	68.9
1933 ..	41.3	35.6	76.9	35.8	19.0	54.8
1934 ..	45.3	43.0	88.3	39.1	17.9	57.0
1935 ..	47.1	45.4	92.5	37.3	19.9	57.3
1936 ..	51.6	48.0	99.6	39.9	22.5	62.4
1937 ..	57.1	54.4	111.5	44.1	22.8	67.0
1938 ..	54.4	51.0	105.4	41.4	24.2	65.7

* Inclusive of Transit Trade between Éire and N. Ireland.

XIII.—Some Leading Import Items. 1938.

N. Ireland.				Éire			
Description	Value	Large Individual Items	Percentage of Total Imports	Description	Value	Large Individual Items	Percentage of Total Imports
	£'000		%		£'000		%
Textile Fabrics and Materials.	11,199	Cotton goods, 5,086 Flax and Flax Tow 2,822 Woollen goods 1,187	20.6	Metals and Metal Manufactures.	6,549	Machinery 2,733	15.8
Metals and Metal Manufactures.	6,008	Machinery 1,805 Plates, Sheets .. 758 Iron and Steel .. 1,245		11.0	Cereals	5,690	Wheat .. 3,048 Maize .. 2,258
Grain and Flour ..	5,075	Maize 2,945 Wheat 1,072	9.3	Products for Heating, Lighting, Power and Lubricants.	5,083	Coal 3,319 Petrol 695	12.3
Tea, Coffee, Cocoa, Sugar, Beverages, and Tobacco.	4,851	Tobacco 2,132 Beverages .. 1,372 Tea 747 Sugar 353	8.9	Textile Fabrics and Materials.	2,616	Cotton 1,003 Wool and Fine Hairs 548 Art Textile Fabrics 357	6.3
Products for Heating, Lighting, Power and Lubricants, etc.	3,809	Coal 2,763 Petrol 525	7.0	Tea, Coffee, Cocoa, Sugar, Beverages and Tobacco.	2,613	Tea 1,672 Tobacco 867 Drink 648 Sugar 309	
Apparel	2,816	Boots and Shoes 1,309 Apparel, hosiery, and hats, etc. 1,507	5.2	Vehicles and Transport Equipment.	1,830	Motor cars (Chassis) .. 805 (Bodies) .. 531	4.4
Meat, Dairy Products and Eggs	2,467	Butter 1,085 Eggs 422 Margarine 249	4.5	Yarns and Threads	1,496	Wool and Fine Hair 582 Cotton 370	3.6
Livestock	2,138	Cattle 1,856	3.9	Wood, Cork and Manufactures.	1,462		3.5
Vehicles and Transport Equipment	2,035	Motor cars 1,887	3.7	Fruit and Veggies.	1,420		3.4
Yarns and Threads	1,295	Cotton yarn 762 Wool yarn 208	2.4	Pulp, Paper, etc.	1,183		2.8
Animal Feeding Stuffs	1,240		2.3	Apparel	948		2.3
	43,933		78.8		30,890		74.4

XIV.—Principal Export Items in 1938.

Group	N. Ireland			Eire		
	Value	Mainly Consisting of	% of total Exports	Value	Mainly Consisting of	% of total Domestic Exports
Textiles and Manufactures	£'000 20,408	£'000 Linen Goods 12,301 Cotton goods 4,919 Linen Yarns 1,246	40.0	£'000 —	£'000 —	—
Tobacco, Cigs., Rope, Cordage, Twine. Value of ships and aircraft built and repair work done for owners outside of Northern Ireland.	9,632	Sep. figures not available	18.9	—	—	—
Metals and Metal Manufactures ..	2,554	Machinery 2,196	5.0	—	—	—
Apparel	1,007		2.0	—	—	—
Live Animals	4,169	Cattle 3,230 Pigs 546	8.2	11,942	Cattle 9,574 Horses 1,473 Pigs 221	50.0
Meat, Poultry and Game	4,103	Bacon 2,146 Hams 1,007 Poultry 734	8.0	3,070	Bacon 2,206 Other pig products 238 Poultry 427	12.8
Dairy Products and Eggs	2,294	Eggs 2,035	4.5	3,708	Butter 2,160 Eggs 1,777	15.5
Beverages	—	—	—	2,345	Porter, Beer and Ale 2,205	9.8
	44,167		86.6	21,065		88.1

NOTE.—Figures for N. Ireland include re-exports, for which separate figures are not available.

XV.—Central and Local Taxation.

N. Ireland 1938-9			Éire 1938-9		
		Percentage of Revenue			Percentage of Revenue
TRANSFERRED TAX REVENUE.					
Estate, etc., Duties	£ 669,000	5·6	Estate, etc., Duties	£ 1,201,000	4·0
Stamp Duties	235,400	1·9	Stamp Duties	960,000	3·2
			(exclusive of Stamp Fees)		
Excise Duties	138,000	1·2	Motor Vehicle Duties	1,162,000	3·9
Motor Vehicles Duties, etc. ..	671,678	5·6			
Total Transferred Tax Revenue	1,714,078	14·3			
RESERVED TAX REVENUE :					
Customs	4,735,614	39·5	Customs	10,091,000	33·8
Excise	895,517	7·5	Excise	6,110,000	20·5
Income and Sur Tax	4,386,973	36·6	Property, Income and Sur Tax ..	5,803,000	19·4
Corporation Profits Tax	405	} 2·1	Corporation Profit Tax	591,000	} 2·2
Excess Profits Duty	8,825		Excess Profit Tax	69,000	
National Defence Contribution	241,152		Miscellaneous	3,882,000	
Total Reserved Tax Revenue ..	10,268,486	85·7	Total Taxation	29,869,000	100·0
Total Central Taxation	11,982,564	100·0			
Local Taxation	2,485,275		Local Taxation	6,270,505	
Total Central and Local Taxation	14,467,839		Total Central and Local Taxation	36,139,505	
Taxation per head of population	£11·3		Taxation per head of population	£12·2	

XVI.—Principal Items of Combined Expenditure, 1938-9.

	N. Ireland		Éire	
	£ million	Percentage of Combined Tax Revenue	£ million	Percentage of Combined Tax Revenue
SOCIAL EXPENDITURE				
Old Age Pensions	1,488,000	10·3	3,484,476	9·6
U. Insurance Benefit and U. Assistance	3,697,500	28·3	1,219,067	3·4
Widows' and Orphans' Pensions (also Contributory Old Age Pensions in N.I.)	415,000	2·8	450,000	1·2
National Health Insurance	146,500	1·0	295,194	0·8
Employment Schemes	94,000	—	1,290,088	3·6
Public Assistance	434,338	3·0	1,781,239	4·9
Education	2,755,756	19·0	5,140,405	14·2
		64·4		37·7
OTHER EXPENDITURE :				
Roads, Streets, Sewerage and Water Schemes ..	1,777,945	12·3	3,823,133	10·6
Defence	—	—	1,766,375	4·9
Justice	904,369	6·2	2,328,755	6·4
Agriculture and Fisheries	246,473	1·7	4,562,364	12·6
TOTAL	—	84·6	—	72·2

APPENDICES

(1) Yield of Crops per Acre. (1934-8 average.)

Crop	N. Ireland	Eire
Wheat cwts.	21.2	18.9
Barley	19.6	19.7
Oats	19.3	19.5
Potatoes tons	6.5	7.6
Mangels	} 15.3	19.0
Turnips		17.9
Hay cwts. (1938 only) ..	38.2	43.9
Flax, stone (14 lbs.) ..	35.1	30.7

(2) Annual Average Prices of some Agricultural Products, 1933-37.

Description	Unit	N. Ireland					Eire				
		1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
White Oats	cwt.	4 10	5 1	5 7	5 2	6 5½	5 4	7 7	6 7	7 3	7 8
Potatoes	"	1 8	2 2½	2 7	3 5	4 0	3 0	4 1	3 9	3 11	4 6
Hay, 1st and 2nd years	ton	57 2	53 4	55 7½	61 11½	70 5½	56 9	56 3	61 3	59 9	66 9
Hay, Meadow	"	43 5	37 4	42 6½	47 10	50 10½	44 3	45 6	48 3	45 9	53 3
Beef (dead wt. price)	cwt.	59 9½	60 4½	55 2	58 11	68 1	44 3	38 0	37 3	40 3	51 9
Pork	"	56 2	59 1	56 0	56 5	65 3	52 0	56 6	51 6	54 3	61 6
Wool	lb.	0 3½	0 4½	0 4½	0 6½	1 0	0 5	0 7½	0 7½	0 9½	1 3½
Chickens	per head	2 4	2 1	2 3	2 4	2 6	2 4	2 5½	2 5	2 3½	2 7½
Ducks	"	2 0½	2 0	2 0	2 1½	2 5	2 1	1 11½	1 10	1 11½	2 3

DISCUSSION ON MR. Ó NUALLÁIN'S PAPER

Mr. Eamonn Kennedy proposed the vote of thanks to Mr. Ó Nualláin, and stated that the author had rendered a great service in clarifying the economic position and trend in the two areas. Discussion on these topics since the Treaty had tended to be clouded by special pleading, so that the student had the greatest difficulty in understanding the true position. Moreover, statistics for the Six Counties alone were difficult to obtain, since they are generally bulked in with United Kingdom figures. By his researches, the author had succeeded in isolating the relevant statistics, and his paper would be, accordingly, of the greatest assistance to economists, politicians, and students alike.

An interesting feature of the paper is the manner in which it enables the reader to make some rough forecasts about the economic trend and position in Ireland as a unit, should the country be united, say, in our generation. Probably little change would take place in population trends. A surprising feature of the paper is, indeed, the general similarity in trend in both areas, and what important differences do occur can generally be shown to be the result of the much greater urbanisation in the Six Counties. It is particularly noteworthy that three of the trends which cause most anxiety in the Twenty-six Counties are reproduced in the Six Counties, *viz.*, emigration, rural depopulation, and declining numbers in the lower age groups.

The figures for agriculture, however, show a remarkable difference in trend. This is of the greatest importance, since agriculture is the basic industry in both areas. The statistics indicate an expanding agricultural economy in the North, and a declining agricultural economy in the South. While farms are generally smaller in the Six Counties, they are cultivated more intensively, with a greater output per worker and per 100 acres. This difference in trend reflects a difference in aims. While in the South the provision of employment, the relief of pressure on the balance of payments, the development of the home market and the realisation of self-sufficiency appear as the aims of agricultural policy, the increase of net output appears to be the aim of policy in the North. We can see this clearly by comparing the history of flax production in the Six Counties with wheat production in the Twenty-Six Counties. Both crops play an important part in the industry of their respective areas, but both can be produced cheaper abroad. Yet, while flax production has decreased in the North, wheat production has increased in the South.

In the case of industry, we also find a difference in trend reflecting a difference in policy. This time it is the industry of the Twenty-Six Counties which is expanding. The latter area possesses a more diversified industrial structure, a bigger net output per person, better wage rates and a smaller proportional burden of unemployment. Whereas industry in the South mainly depends on the home market and draws most of its raw materials from domestic resources, industry in the North caters for an export market and imports most of its raw materials.

This important difference in regard to the export market can be seen from the fact that the total trade per head of the population in the North is four times that per head in the South. So different are these trends in Agriculture, Industry and Trade, that it is reasonable to expect that a consolidation of policy would result in a change in trend in one area or the other, if not in both. We cannot now say which area will change its policy since that will depend on world economic conditions at a future date. But we can suggest that the longer Partition continues the more divergent the trends in both areas may become, with the consequent danger of the formation of vested interests. As the author suggests, the economic and social realities of the situation deserve as much attention as the political, and his paper has the great advantage of clarifying them.

Mr. Kevin Rush in seconding the vote of thanks said that Mr. Ó Nualláin has applied the "Buddy Method" to Northern Ireland. The result is of absorbing interest.

As a source for discussion and controversy, this paper is a veritable covert teeming with statistical game. With fair game available in such profusion, and with time so comparatively scarce, we might each of us be well advised to concentrate on one quarry.

My first impression of the paper was one of unexpected contrasts. The predominant position of agriculture in Northern Ireland was something of a surprise to me: its continued progress and prosperity something of a revelation. Conversely, the relatively lesser importance of manufacturing industry there, and in particular, the severity of its depression, came as a shock to me.

By comparison, agriculture in Éire though of outstanding importance, is—according to Mr. Ó Nualláin—by no means flourishing. We find a higher degree of agricultural efficiency in the North, despite the higher

percentage of small holdings there : this on the evidence of the table on page 514 which institutes a comparison under the heads of net output, (i) per worker engaged, and (ii) per 100 acres cultivated. Northern superiority in this respect may, perhaps, be attributed—at least, in part—to more intensive farming. The divergence in the trend on either side of the Border is so extreme, however, in the case of pigs and poultry, as to raise larger issues.

Students of economics will recall the text-book dictum that one cannot have one's loaf and eat it. One cannot simultaneously pursue conflicting economic policies. As a corollary, it is vain to dwell on the might-have-beens of economic history. One cannot usefully compare the actual fruits of a chosen policy with the hypothetical results of an alternative policy which was rejected. Mr. Ó Nualláin has, however, given us an unique opportunity for instituting just such an apparently impossible comparison. He enables us to compare the actual results which have flowed, and which continue to flow, side by side, from two mutually-exclusive policies for Irish agriculture ; on the one hand, the so-called "self-sufficiency" or "protectionist" policy, which we in Éire adopted in 1932 ; on the other, the so-called "free trade" or "Hogan" policy, which was abandoned by us at that time, but has been maintained, virtually unchanged, even to the present day, north of the Border.

Personally, I find the comparison highly instructive, in fact, most intriguing. It seems for example, to offer an answer to the large question posed by the diverging trends, north and south of the Border of the pig and poultry industries. To the ban on imports of "yalla male"—in accordance with our protectionist cereals policy—must be attributed, it seems, the comparative blighting of our pig, bacon, poultry and egg prospects. It might be held, however, that this was the necessary price of our beet and wheat. Let those who will pursue the matter further.

Turning to industry, I am tempted to draw a similar comparison. The dire distress of the principal manufacturing industries in Northern Ireland furnishes a sharp reminder of the disadvantages of the "free trade" system, when, for example, the terms of trade are unfavourable : whereas, by contrast, the new "infant" industries in Éire seem to be thriving remarkably behind the shelter of their "protective" walls.

I should like, in conclusion, to pay tribute to the service Mr. Ó Nualláin has rendered to students of national economics in Ireland.

Dr. E. J. T. McSweeney said that Mr. Ó Nualláin pointed out that the death-rate in Éire has always remained below that of the North. This is not true of the tuberculosis death-rate and a comparison of the rates of death from this disease in Éire and in Northern Ireland is well worth making. For 1911-13 the annual average rate per 100,000 population in the 26 counties now comprising Éire was 211. For the same period the rate in the Six Counties now under the Northern Ireland Government stood higher at 230. For 1925-1927 the figure for Éire was 150 and that for Northern Ireland 145. A still greater divergence is apparent in the period 1935-37 when the respective rates were 121 and 102. Still more striking are the differences in the annual average percentage decline. For 1912-26 this was 2.1 in Éire, for 1926-36, 1.9. But in Northern Ireland the corresponding figures are 2.4 and 3.3 showing a very considerable improvement in the tuberculosis situation as compared to Éire in the second period.

In his 1942 paper on the "Statistics of Tuberculosis" Professor T. W. T. Dillon, ascribes the more favourable rate of decline in death-rate

in Northern Ireland in part to more efficient anti-tuberculosis service in that area than in Éire. I cannot agree with this view. Only in very recent years has the Belfast Municipal Tuberculosis Service offered facilities for diagnosis and treatment superior to those available in Dublin whilst the anti-tuberculosis service in our rural counties has been and is still better than that in the Northern Ireland rural areas. Professor Dillon is on sounder ground when he assigns a large share of the responsibility for the difference in tuberculosis mortality between the two areas to the differences in rates of real wages in them.

Mr. P. S. O'Hegarty said that he desired to join in the commendation of the paper, but that the only comment he wanted to make related to a speculation by one of the previous speakers as to what would happen if Partition ended in the morning. He would like to carry that speculation a little further and to suggest that it depended on how it ended. If it ended by the Six Counties rejoining us, then the "frozen mitt" which was at present being extended to us by the Socialist Government in England, would be extended to the Six Counties also, and they would lose their free entry to the British markets, including the labour and professional markets. If on the other hand, we rejoined them, then the whole of Ireland would be governed and exploited for England's benefit, as it was under the Union. The Socialist Government of England was no less certain than any previous Government that its duty was to London, Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow, rather than to Belfast or Dublin, and that if there was to be unemployment, it should be somewhere else other than in Great Britain. He felt that the less said about Partition down here the better: it must be solved by the Northern Nationalists.

Dr. Geary congratulated Mr. Ó Nualláin on his paper which, with the speeches of the proposer and the seconder of the vote of thanks, all from junior members, gave high promise for the future of the Society. He (Dr. Geary) was struck by the very sympathetic manner in which the economic problems of Northern Ireland were dealt with by all the speakers, including the Lecturer.

On a statistical point in regard to Mr. Ó Nualláin's Table XII it should be emphasised that the external trade statistics of the two areas are compiled on entirely different principles. The trade statistics of Éire are derived from Customs declarations, that is to say, from documents presented under statutory authority showing for each single consignment the value and, in most cases, the quantity as well as the exact description of each consignment imported and exported. The trade statistics of Northern Ireland, on the contrary, are compiled from returns of "coastwise" trade with Great Britain furnished by the harbour authorities in Northern Ireland and from the particulars of direct trade furnished by the Board of Customs and Excise. The returns from the harbour authorities show, under rather broad descriptions, the gross weight of the goods but do not provide any information regarding value which has to be assessed on rough and ready principles. This was the method used for all Ireland during the period 1904-1921, inclusive. The results were probably accurate enough as regards exports but values of imports were highly suspect. Even the Annual aggregate value of imports may be several millions in error so that it would be dangerous to draw any inferences as to the magnitude of the Northern Ireland international balance of payments from the official figures. He (Dr. Geary) had always been of the opinion that the import excess (commonly mis-called the adverse balance of trade) was too low for the northern area.