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Trinity News

DUBLIN UNIVERSITY

REGISTERED AT THE G.P.O. AS A NEWSPAPER

Vol. VI-No. 12.

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THURSDAY, 12th MARCH, 1959

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JOHN PENTLAND MAHAFFY

Honorary Degrees

Recently the Senate confirmed the award of seven honorary degrees made by the Board of T.C.D.

Sir Hugh Beaver, who was formerly Chairman of the Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, received an LL.D. He is Managing Director of Arthur Guinness, Son and

Professor J. L. Montrose, Dean of the Faculty of Law, Queen's University, Belfast, also received an LL.D.

A third LL.D. was conferred on Mr. W. H. Taft, III, former United States Ambassador in Dublin. Mr. Taft took his Ph.D. at Princetown in 1942. He is associated with the Scholarship Exchange Board, which has sent us Prof. Gluck and Mr. Sungaard. Mr. Taft is a member of the America Council of T.C.D.

One person received the Litt.D. He One person received the Litt.D. He is an author and playwright. He was born in Dublin (1906), educated at Portora and Trinity. He lectured in English at the Ecoles Normales Supéricure, Paris (1928-30) and in French at Trinity from 1930-32. "En Attendant Godot" (1952), "Waiting for Godot" (1956), and a play for broadcasting, "All That Fall" (1957), are some of his creations. He is, of course, Samuel Beckett.

Professor E. L. Hirst, F.R.S., received the Sc.D. He is a holder of the Davy Medal of the Royal Society, and has been President of the chemical section

of the British Association.

Lady Mayer, benefactress of music and education, has been awarded the Mus.D., and Dr. Juan Greene, President, National Farmers' Association, the

The Rt. Rev. Alan Buchanan, Bishop of Clogher; Rt. Rev. Arthur H. Butler, Bishop of Tuam, and the Rt. Rev. Edward F. B. Moore, Bishop of Kilmore, all received the D.D.

M.A.'s were awarded to Dr. A. C. Allen, Dr. L. Bass and Mr. W. J. Tarleton.

John Millington Synge

J. M. Synge died on 24th March, 1909. An exhibition of his works to com-memorate the fiftieth anniversary of his death will be opened in the Long Room on 16th April, at a special meeting of the Friends of the Library, by J. M. Synge's nephew, Professor J. L. Synge, M.A., Sc.D., F.R.S., Honorary Fellow of T.C.D. A catalogue will be issued and the exhibition will continue through the summer.

The exhibition is being arranged and the catalogue compiled by Mr. Ian MacPhail, M.A., F.L.A., of the Library staff, with the assistance of Miss M. M. Pollard, A.L.A., of Marsh's Library. in co-operation with the Irish Bibliomarkhill Carint With the Irish Bibliomarkhill Carint With Inc. graphical Society.

at the

METROPOLE

Centre of the City's Entertainment

- LUXURIOUS BALLROOM
- POPULAR RESTAURANT
- GEORGIAN ROOM
- LONG BAR



(1839 - 1919)

SECOND only in brilliance to the President's Opening Meeting was last Thursday evening's Phil. Celebration of the Centenary of the Presidency of John Pentland Mahaffy. To an audience which included many members of the staff and ex-officers who had distinguished themselves in other walks of life, Mr. J. T. Killen (Sch.) read a masterly paper on "The Greatest Provost of Them All."

on his own extensive knowledge of life and literature. But he was not temperamentally endowed with the punctiliousness required by the specialists and on this account came in for some sharp criticism to which he replied with equal but sometimes unwarranted vigour. Mahaffy himself had said that irregularities may only be flaws in genius of the highest order. order.

The President introduced Prof. H. O. White by telling us that Mahaffy had been one of the "platform" of Prof. White's Presidential opening meeting, and Prof. White recalled Mahaffy's great affection for the Phil., which he had adorned in his younger days. He described the portraits of the great Provost hanging in the College and dealt with hanging in the College and dealt with his fondness for College students and for the boys of the Chapel choir whom he annually treated to tea in the Provost's House.

Mr. Godfrey felt that Dr. Stanford had been too keen to dwell on Mahaffy's foibles, which abound in all human beings, and thought we should think

He dealt with Mahaffy's brilliant scholastic career, his remarkable versatility, his tremendous wit and personality. But, said the essayist, like all great claimants to encyclopaedic knowledge, there was something of the imposter about him. We were told of his attitude of well-bred arrogance to Irish Nationalism and of his petulance in his criticism of the work of others.

This was enlarged upon in a fine, lengthy speech by Dr. Stanford, who started by congratulating the Society on holding such a meeting, and Mr. Killen on his paper, which he described as mature, delightful, fair and comprehensive. Mahaffy, he said, stands with the greater Hellenists of the last 100 years, he excelled in general surveys, drawing on his own extensive knowledge of life and literature. But he was not temperamentally endowed with the punctiliousness

Dr. McDowell stated that but for a twist of fortune Mahaffy would have entered the Indian Civil Service, and wondered how much our recollection of him is based on the last twenty years of his life. He felt that an unhappy thread ran through Mahaffy's life, that he was not altogether at ease in contemporary life, and that he was not adjusted to the Ireland of his day. Indeed he had encouraged his sons to go abroad and join the Imperial Civil Service. His love for his country was intense, he took a great delight in rustic life and peasant speech, but disliked prevalent trends in Irish politics.

His unhappiness, perhaps, fostered the bold, venturesome spirit which linked with the Victorian characteristic of super-abundant health made up the man. He loved to fascinate people and how pleased he would have been to have been present at this meeting, 40 years after wondered how much our recollection of

present at this meeting, 40 years after his death, and to see that in the Univer-sity Philosophical Society an altar still

Our Gothic Cathedral

At last a satisfactory use has been found for our Examination Hall—as substitute for a Gothic cathedral. College Singers demonstrated this very clearly at their concert given last Friday, when their performance of sacred music by Lassus, Buxtehude and Bach was greatly enhanced by the reverberent accustics. enhanced by the reverberant acoustics of the Hall. Though such acoustic qualities are often a hinderance to certain types of music, they are in fact a necessary adjunct to this polyphonic music, which was, after all, written for performance in a resonant building such as our Examination Hall.

In these ideal surroundings, it was.

In these ideal surroundings, it was, therefore, all the more distressing to see how few people were present to hear an

how few people were present to hear an exquisite performance of what must be the most ambitious programme that Singers have ever put on.

The parts were evenly balanced throughout, and there was a richness of tone, especially among the basses, which the echo of the Hall amplified beautifully. The tonal quality of the sopranos was particularly pure and piercing was particularly pure and piercing (though never shrill), and this added piquancy and "bite" which are so necessary if a performance is to maintain its rhythm and interest in resonant surroundings.

tain its rhythm and interest in resonant surroundings.

Julian Dawson, conducting, showed himself in full command of the group all the time. The attack throughout was excellent. Probably the complicated rhythms of the Bach motet were the greatest test in this respect, and the lively movements of it were sung with great verve and precision.

The lengthy applause at the end, from a comparatively sparcely populated auditorium, bore witness as to the excellence of the whole concert. It is to be hoped that this able band of singers will be given better support in their efforts next term, though perhaps on this occasion the fault lay with bad advertising. It is rumoured that next term they will be advertising their concert by singing rounds at Front Gate!

Incidentally, it appears that all seats for the Choral concert to-day are sold. But I understand that nobody will be turned away, as non-ticket holders can get into the promenade at the back of the hall for 1/-.

George Frederick Handel

An important bicentenary, that of the death of Handel, occurs on 14th April. Its main significance for Dublin derives from the fact that the first performance of the "Messiah" was given here, on 13th April, 1742. This was in the New Musick-Hall, Fishamble Street, and it was presented in aid of three Dublin charities. charities.

The preliminary advertisements and an enthusiastic report of the performance appeared in contemporary issues of George Faulkner's "Dublin Journal," which can be consulted in Marsh's Library. Trinity College Library has a copy, although incomplete, of the wordbook issued for the first performance; the only other copy known to exist is in other copy known to exist is in the British Museum. A small exhibition of Handel material is being held in Marsh's Library at the present time.

Alchemy

Miss Mary Carson covered many aspects of her subject in an interesting and often amusing address on alchemy to the D.U.E.S.A. last Tuesday. From the Chinese philosophers many centuries before Christ, who were fascinated by the number five (they thought of directions, for instance, as north, south, east, west and centre), she moved to the early Egyptian experimenters, and thence to European alchemists such as

Norton (who stipulated that lab. workers should be clean and sober, and either all men or all women, not both!)

Gold was considered a perfect metal, said Miss Carson, probably because it is the colour of the sun, an object of worship from primitive times. Many

men have sought the philosophers' stone and some claimed to have produced gold, but usually were discovered to have used various fraudulent means, such as false-bottomed containers, or gold embedded in charcoal which was burnt away. Even in our century, a man called Tansend, claiming knowledge of the secret, formed a company and made £50,000 before being reported to the

The possibility has always had an attraction for people, even in this atomic age; one cannot, as Miss Carson said, imagine the golden gates made of radio-active metal. Gold still has an almost mystic attraction, and alchemy is not quite dead.

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TRINITY NEWS 3 Trinity College

Chairman: FRANCES-JANE FRENCH

TRINITY NEWS No. 12 THURSDAY, 12TH MARCH, 1959

Trinity

WHAT is Trinity's role in the Ireland of to-day? This question is frequently being posed, although more often than not, it does not extend beyond a subconscious thought.

Trinity is in a unique position, for it is a watershed of ideas. Within its walls, Protestants and Catholics, English, Northern Irish and Southern Irish meet to work and play together. Here these different types learn to tolerate and respect the views and opinions of others.

But what happens when these same people leave College? Each goes his own way, giving little thought to the valuable contacts he has made with other people whilst at Trinity.

Many of these same people are destined eventually to play important roles in their own countries. It is up to this generation of Trinity men and women to ensure that the contacts they have made here endure into the future. For, if this attitude once became universally accepted, Trinity would once again be in a position to shape the destinies of these islands.

It is up to those of us who are not so fortunate as to be the direct inheritors of positions of influence to offer our services, however limited they may be, in some form of public work, both social and political, in our respective countries, whilst at the same time retaining our connections with the contacts we made while at Trinity.

Because of her unique position, Trinity, and Trinity men and women, should be able to view the major questions of the day in a detached and analytical way; and having weighed the evidence, to produce a constructive and considered contribution to any topic worthy of discussion.

This is an asset which is not being made enough of at the moment. Trinity can and must play her part to the full in the future of these islands. But she cannot do so unless the young men and women who come here to study are determined to put Trinity once more in the forefront of public affairs; and this can best be done

along the path outlined above.

If Trinity means anything to you, act now and cease considering the situation hopeless and beyond repair. It is not YET too late, although the time at our disposal to take the initiative is seriously limited.

ELECTIONS

At the annual general meeting of S.C.M. held on Tuesday, February 17th, the following officers and committee were elected for the coming session: Chairman, Mr. C. W. Musgrave; Vice-Chairman and Irish Industrial Secretary, Mr. R. E. S. Dunlop; Secretary, Miss B. McCague; Treasurer, Mr. J. Wallace; Librarian, Mr. W. J. Moore; Committee: Miss C. Dalap, Miss K. Thompson, Miss M. Hall, Mr. S. Lacey, Mr. H. Patrick, Mr. P. Skelton.

EASTMANS

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Profile Ronnie Wathen — The One and Only

A major danger of University life is that one becomes a mere member of a crowd-or so we are told by many selfstyled individualists as they carefully stroke an unruly beard or tug at a



-By courtesy Sunday Independent.

neatly battered hat. The real personality, however, does not rely on external gimmicks to make himself known; rather does he present an apparently severe face to the world while maintaining his individuality. Such a man is Ronnie Wathen.

A background of Marlborough and the Royal Irish Hussars would lead one to Royal Irish Hussars would lead one to expect a carefully preserved, cavalry-twilled anonymity. Ronnie, however, a student of English and German, preserves instead that "sweet disorder in the dress" which is indicative, not of an untidy mind, but of a mind which concerns itself primarily with essentials. Ronnie's main interests are mountaineering and writing. He is not concerned merely with the business of getting up and down rock faces, but with talking about it, interesting other people in it, and with writing about it. Two years ago he was a member of an expedition to the Peruvian Andes; last year he be-

ago he was a member of an expedition to the Peruvian Andes; last year he became the first President and moving spirit of the Trinity College Climbing Club. This year he edited the Irish Mountaineering Club Journal, after having published many articles in that magazine since arriving in College three and a half years ago. Nor is this and a half years ago. Nor is this Ronnie's only claim to literary fame. He edited this term's issue of "Icarus"—and like most of his activities, it bears the mark of independence and

originality.

He does not suffer fools gladly, but paradoxically has a wide circle of friends to whom he will offer a sympathetic if occasionally deaf ear, tea in his sumptuously appointed rooms, and an abundance of succinctly worded insults. "I only argue with my friends," he says, and only those fortunate enough to have argued, or been argued with, can appreciate the wisdom of his motto. Tenacious and unyielding, with an open contempt for narrowness of outlook, Ronnie never fails to exhilarate or exasperate, to convince of his point of view or of his obstinacy. His climbing ability to get out of tight corners stands him in good stead in many disputes, but equally it makes him generous to those who drag on the rope. who drag on the rope.

New Three-Year Rule

"The Registrar of Chambers will notify by 1st June all students who will have enjoyed three years' residence next October that they must vacate their rooms." This notice recently displayed on the Arts notice-board at Front Gate has come as a shock to many residents in College. It comes at the end of a statement of the Board's new regulations concerning tenure of College rooms.

At first sight this new ruling seems arbitrary and severe. Eviction is a stern

word in any circumstances. One must, however, bear in mind the present long waiting list for rooms. It is also unfortunate that only a small percentage of Junior Freshmen is resident in College. While many people prefer to live outside, many would maintain that to live in rooms is to sample the most enjoyable life that Trinity can offer. The new ruling is, therefore, to be commended if it affords greater pleasure to a greater number. a greater number.

Although we are often warned against any attempt at comparison with Oxford conditions, it should be remembered that there a student can only reside inside his college for one year. A three-year tenure seems in this light more reasonable. It has been suggested that the first students to be asked to vacate rooms should be Dubliners, since they could be said to be occupying places un-necessarily. There is no sound reason for adopting this discrimination against Dublin residents, but they might be dissuaded in cases where residence in rooms was not of vital importance.

The new regulations have reinforced the position of a few years ago when students were simply "liable" to eviction. They are an inevitable result of the great increase in the number of students which has set many problems for Trinity.

College Classical Society

The Auditorial meeting of the College The Auditorial meeting of the College Classical Society took place yesterday in the Graduates' Memorial Building. The Society has been in existence since 1906, and it is now an established tradition that each year the Auditor invites a distinguished classicist to deliver a paper. Last year the guest of honour was Dr. D. L. Page, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge.

This year's Auditor, Mr. J. T. Killen (Sch.), is particularly interested in philology, and he invited Professor L. R.

philology, and he invited Professor L. R. Palmer of Oxford University, whose book, "The Latin Language," has become the standard work in English on Latin philology. Professor Palmer was educated at the University College of South Wales, and was head of the Classical Department at King's College, London, before accepting the Chair of London, before accepting the Chair of Comparative Philology at Oxford in 1952.

The paper was entitled "Vir Fortis ac Strenuus." Professor Palmer was particularly interesting in relating the Mycenean social system to the whole European scheme. His title represents the "Baron" of feudal times.

Mr. Killen broadened the scope of his meeting by inviting as supporting speakers two authorities on Celtic Philology, Professor Myles Dillon of the Institute for Advanced Studies, and Mr. E. G. Quinn, F.T.C.D., our own lecturer in Philology. The meeting thus attracted a wider audience, and as well as those interested in classice, many Dublin Celtic scholars accepted the Society's invitation to attend.

After a reception in the U.P.S. Conversation Room, the chair was taken by the President of the Society, Dr. H. W. Parke, Vice-Provost and Librarian.

Co-op. and Buffet

There were not twelve shareholders present at the Co-op. meeting which was to decide the future of Buffet. The Chairman was Dr. Pyle. Mr. Thornton and Mr. Packenham-Walsh spoke strongly in favour of the proposal to hand over Buffet to College together. hand over Buffet to College, together with £2,500 of the reserves, leaving £1,200 reserves for Co-op. There were signs of opposition from some of the student shareholders. In particular, the Photographic Association and Chess Club representatives did not like to see a company giving away its only profitable

There was much discussion, including considerations of the immorality of using Buffet profits for Co-op. dividends. It was decided to accept the proposal, with the proviso that the renovations must be carried out by October 1st, 1959. Failing this, Co-op will retain the £2,500. A request was made for adequate representation on the management of Buffet. We can now expect something new in the way of lunch service in the coming academic year.

Of Dust-bins and a Tape Recorder

There is a rumour that Players' Theatre is to be used for a most interesting production during the vacation. The show will be a double-bill production of "End Game" and "Knapp's Last Tape" by Samuel Beckett, and it will open, we are informed, on March 30th.

These plays will be the first staged by the newly-formed professional company which is called Art Theatre, Dublin. The founders and directors of this company are Robert Somerset and Players' own Louis Lentin. Other Players' stars involved in the forthcoming production are John Jay, who will play the part of Nagr—the gentlewill play the part of Nagg—the gentle-man who lives in a dust-bin, as you may remember.

The plays, incidentally, will probably be under the auspices of the Arts Council, and will almost certainly be worth a visit by any student staying in Dublin during the vacation.

College Observed

The crocus pushing up out of the black earth, cold blue sky, silent stone buildings, smiling mask faces, "College Observed," and myself, feeling suddenly old and very tired.

The end of term closer and the tempo ebbing and then changing into a different pace as the character of the beat changes from the term to the yearting.

changes from the term to the vacation. The last parties coming fast and leaving nothing save a memory of an empty laugh and vanity.

Another seven weeks are past and there is still nothing save in the change of the mind; the fibre of the mind stiffened even harder: that is strange after no hardship.

Thoughts ahead; a long stretch on stinging sand and whispering marram grass, or a friendly hand on the shoulder and a warm glass in the hand, anxious eyes looking into eyes for any change in the mind and finding still the sadness, only a litle harder now and the eyes a little softer in their sympathy and love

The emptiness in the chest aching to be filled, aching to find somewhere soft and clean and warm, aching to taste something fresh, something fresh, like the dew resting so soft on the spikiness of the grass.

Thoughts back; the broken clay of life lying putrid on the pristine hope of the heart. Things nearly held, then their delicacy lying broken on the pathway. Knowledge suddenly blossoming, then dying with its own limitation and the mind seeing too much, and hope dying.

Looking around, reflecting; all around, suffering, and some of them blind to their own suffering, not seeing the mountain for the ant-hill, easy to break waiting to be beaten up by Life. And others, having been stabbed, finding that a scratch wrecks them with pain, and others after so long, getting hardened so that now there is only a long grey so that how there is only a long grey ache that becomes even more constant and grey, and others pulling themselves erect and slugging away at their brains and making themselves fight. Then falling again, and yet again picking themselves up out of their own defeat.

And what are all these grey buildings and these people in gowns, in tweeds, all these books and all these words? Is it all just "living and partly living?" Or is it really the gateway to LIVING? . . I mean positively living. Bending life into sympathy with the will.

College becomes a boxing ring; some people fight like light-weights, shifting feat and hitting head always at the statement of the stat

fast and hitting hard, always attacking, defending with the quick sidestep while attacking with another punch; sometimes they become exhausted, but recover quickly and jump into the attack again. Quickly and Jump into the attack again. Others are more cautious and hit carefully and watch for themselves. Others go in like an old heavy-weight with 15 rounds to go. They think, they slug away, they get slugged, they get hurt, but they are used to the hurt, and only wish to avaid new pain; they can ride wish to avoid new pain; they can ride over past hurts because they are rugged And there are some who sit in the ring without seeing anything to fight. Maybe they are lucky . . . Maybe they are

right.

I observe the people in College while grey buildings obscure me, looking at Axel Munthe saying: "Man was built to carry his own cross, that is why he was given his strong shoulders," and smiling faintly in his old wisdom. But are his shoulders always strong? If not, he still has to bear his cross or be defeated. has to bear his cross or be defeated, and he was not made for defeat—only to

be broken a little.

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Vol. VI-No. 12.

THE HISTORY OF P.R. IN IRELAND

PROINSIAS Mac AONGHUSA

A letter in the "Freeman's Journal" on January 14, 1911, first aroused the interest of the Irish people in electoral reform. The latter was from Lord Courtney to Thomas Sexton, M.P., and it advocated that the country be divided into large constituences each returning from three to five members to the House of Commons. It also stated that the actual system of voting should be based on the principle of the single ransferable vote and that the counting

should be done by the quota system. Lord Courtney's system found considerable support among readers of the Freeman." The British spot voting had not given the country much satisfaction n preceding years and the Irish-Ireland elements and the growing Labour movement were very much opposed to it. The iny Sinn Féin organisation felt, wrongly as it turned out, that it could never make any progress under the British election system and that the corrupt, arrogant and priest-ridden Nationalist Party would forever be in an overwhelming

P.R. Society

A meeting was held to discuss the Proportional Representation principle of lection in the Ancient Concert Rooms in Dublin on April 20, 1911, and a large sudience heard Courtney and others tell the history of P.R. and its advantages over all other methods of election. Afterwards a model election was held and the system was fully explained and illustrated. As a result of that meeting, the Proportional Representation Society of Ireland was formed some months later with the object of convincing the Government that P.R. ought to be introduced into Ireland at the earliest possible moment. Among its first members were Arthur Griffith, the founder and leader of Sinn Féin, and Mrs. Kathleen Moloney, a sister of Kevin Barry, who became the first secretary of the movement.

Quite a number of the Nationalist Members at Westminster gave the society unexpected support. They believed that it offered a solution to some of the country's unique problems and they realised that a way must be found to give the minority-the Unionists of Leinster and Munster and the Nationalists of Ulsterfair representation in the Home Rule Parliament which they believed would be set up within a short time. They knew, of course, that under the existing spot voting system it would be very difficult for these elements to secure any representation whatsoever.

Arthur Griffith

Mr. Griffith's views on P.R. were expressed in many references which he made to the necessity of having representatives of all sections in the proposed legislature and especially in his article in "Sinn Féin" on February 25, 1911, where he declared: "P.R. secures that the majority of the electors shall rule, and that minorities shall be represented in proportion to their strength. It is the me just system of election in democratic Government."

Largely as a result of the work done by the Proportional Representation Society of Ireland the system was embodied in the Home Rule scheme of 1912 and subsequently in the ill-fated Home Rule Act of 1914. By then it had gained a considerable amount of support among the thinking sections of the but the ordinary voters knew little about it and understood less. They were not particularly happy with some of the freak results in elections held under the existing British system but on the whole they looked on it as the only possible method of choosing Members of Parliament liament.

Enthusiasm

It was not until 1919 that the P.R. Was not until 1919 that the P.R. system was tried out in any part of the United Kingdom and that the man in the street had a chance for the first time to see the theory in practice. What the people of Ireland saw delighted them and a general call went forward from local bodies, clubs and organisations and newspapers for the P.R. principle to be

applied to all local and Parliamentary elections in the country. Only one large group stood out against P.R. and said that they would not have it under any circumstances. They were the Unionists

of Ulster.

This first election on P.R. principles was held at Sligo on Wednesday, January 15, 1919, under the Sligo Corporation Act of 1918. The town of Sligo had become a by-word throughout the three kingdoms as the last word in badly-run boroughs. As a result of misbadly-run boroughs. As a result of mis-management, waste, neglect and lack of powers for increasing local taxation the condition of the town was bad in the extreme. In addition, even though 25 per cent. of the voters were Unionists they were unable to elect even one member to the Corporation because of the relative majority voting system. The Corpora-tion was exclusively in the hands of the Nationalists. Before the extension of the franchise under the Local Govern-ment Act of 1898 the exact opposite was the case, with the Unionists and Capitalists having complete control of the local government. There had been no opposition to speak of and the result in the words of the "Sligo Champion"

of the Ratepayers' Association, who realised that if the substantial minority taxes was to be represented on the new Corporation a fairer method of election than the British one would have to be found-

Verdict on P.R.

The general verdict on the election was, in the words of the "Irish Independent," that "it has given Sligo a model council." The local verdict on it was just as enthusiastic. "We saw it was just as enthusiastic. "We saw it work, we saw its simplicity; we saw the result, the final count, and we join in the general expression of those who followed it with an intelligent interest: "It is as easy as the old way; it is a big improvement; it is absolutely fair." That is the character Proportional Representation deserves and it is the character it got as an operating factor in the Sligo election," declared the "Sligo Champion."

Ulster Unionists

These words were echoed throughout Ireland and as a result the British Government agreed to make provision for holding all local elections in Ireland under the P.R. system. The P.R. principle of elections became law in the

securing any representation in predominantly Unionist areas under the old system. A similar fate would be in store for all who did not believe in the Republic in the three southern provinces in spite of the fact that such people formed a very strong minority. The results in Belfast and Dublin show how this injustice was avoided.

Dublin City returned seven Sinn Féiners and no others to Parliament in 1918; Belfast elected eight Unionists and one Nationalist. In both cities there was considerable opposition to the members

one Nationalist. In both cities there was considerable opposition to the members returned. On the face of it, it seemed probable that the Belfast Unionists and the Dublin Sinn Féiners would sweep all before them at the municipal elections. But in fact the following was the result since the election was held on P.R. principles: Dublin: Sinn Féin, 42; Labour, 15; Unionists, 12; Nationalists, 9; Independents, 2. Belfast: Unionists, 35; Labour, 12; Sinn Féin, 5; Nationalists, 5; Independents, 3.

The Belfast Unionists were the only people to complain of the result and their leaders said that they would return to the old system at the earliest opportunity. They could see no reason for having fair representation for their opponents.

opponents.

Democracy?

Democracy?

To safeguard the interests of minorities, North and South, a provision was included in the 1920 Government of Ireland Act which prevented the election system from being changed for three years. At the earliest moment permitted by the Act (June, 1924) the N.I. Government reverted to the British system. This was just in time for the 1924 Local Elections. The 1925 General Elections were held under P.R. but it was abolished in time for the 1929 contest. It is interesting to note that in 1921, under P.R., there were no uncontested seats in N.I. In 1925, again with P.R., only eight seats went without a fight. But in 1929 there were 22 seats uncontested and in the General Election fought four years later no less than 33 members out of a total of 52 were returned to Parliament without any opportunity being given to the electors to pass judgment upon them. As is well known, the pattern has continued up to the Pearguard

Legion of the Rearguard

In what became the Irish Free State and later, Eire, the system worked well and, until recently, there was no move to revert to the British method. It helped to heal the wounds left by the Civil War by giving fair representation to the defeated Republicans and by opening the way for them to enter Parliament with a respectable number of deputies. Under the other system they would be bound to remain in the wilderness with a handful of parliamentary representatives for many years and the likelihood of their taking to the gun once more would be greatly increased. Throughout the years since self-government was attained it has given the country fair representation and reasonable stability. Since the State was founded there have been only three Prime Ministers in office; one Government lasted 16 years, another lasted 10 years, two lasted three years each and the present administration has the greatest majority ever given to an Irish present administration has greatest majority ever given to an Irish Government. There has never been any popular feeling against it and those who care to study the figures for the various elections from 1922 to 1957 will find that justice was done at all times and the will of the people was seen clearly in the results. It will also be seen that the system as worked in Ireland tends to give a slight bonus at all times to the two major parties at the expense of their smaller competitors but at the same time that it guarantees that no substantial minority will be artificially kept out of the Dáil and forced to forward its policy by other, and possibly more bloody, means than parliamentary action.

Return to the Gun?

Over the years a number of small parties have arisen in this country for one reason or another. Some of them got considerable support, elected members to the House, fulfilled their function and then disappeared. Under another system they would have survived as a frustrated minority outside the Dail frustrated minority outside the Dail plotting and planning against the Government and making mischief generally for the country. No doubt, with our traditions, they would have taken to the gun in a number of cases. Fortunately, thanks to P.R., all that was avoided and the country was given some avoided and the country was given some chance to develop in a democratic fashion. It seems a great pity that these benefits and blessings may now be thrown away and that the country may once more be thrown into the melting-pot.

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was "general waste, mismanagement, who paid the greatest amount of local decay of industries, enterprise and the contraction of a bad load of debt. The new position, following the 1898 Act, was that the most heavily rated sections of the community were barred from having representatives on the Corpora-

Nationalists

As it happened, the Nationalists were extraordinarily bad administrators who allowed things to drift from bad to worse until, eventually, the climax came and it was realised that the town was on the verge of bankruptcy, and that emergency measures were necessary at once. The Sligo people realised that many changes would have to be made in the town's constitution and because of pressure from all sides in Sligo the Local Government Board assisted the Corporation and the local Ratenevers' Association to ment Board assisted the Corporation and the local Ratepayers' Association to draft a Parliamentary Bill giving wider powers to the Council and stipulating that all future Councils in the town be elected on P.R. principles. Contrary to what interested politicians have said lately the P.R. clause in the Bill was not introduced at the instinctions of the Leville Councils. introduced at the instigation of the Local Government Board but at the behest of Sligo citizens, led by Mr. T. J. Kilgannon

middle of 1919 in spite of bitter opposi-tion by Ulster Unionists inside and out-side Parliament. It is no exaggeration to say that this reactionary attitude of the Ulstermen was largely responsible for the unfriendly division which arose between Southern and Northern Unionists and for the bitterness that followed in the coming years. Needless to say, Southern Unionists, whose sole representative in the Commons at that time was Sir Maurice Dockrell, supported the electoral reform move

electoral reform move.

The Local Government elections were The Local Government elections were held in 1920 with results which gave general satisfaction. Had it been held on the British system, as had the General Election of 1919, the Unionists, no doubt, would have swept all before them in the North and Sinn Féin would face no effective opposition in the South. This would have suited the Unionists, but even in their hour of strength, the Sinn Féiners were all in favour of the new system and declared openly that they believed in democracy and that the democratic ideal was better served by P.R. than by any other known method of election. of election.

Sinn Féiners

Nationalists and Sinn Féiners would have stood a very poor chance

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THE WEAKNESS OF A PROPORTIONAL ELECTORAL SYSTEM

The main weakness and danger of a proportional electoral system has been excellently summarised by Deputy J. A. Costello as being one that leads "to a large number of small parties being returned, making for instability in Government. That is inherent in the system of P.R. and the single transferable vote"

The Red Light

In our system so far this weakness has not yet become fully apparent, but the danger signs have already appeared. There has always been a number of small parties in the Dáil, and greater multiplicity has been avoided only bemultiplicity has been avoided only because (to quote Deputy Costello again)
"we have been fortunate, or misfortunate if you like, in this country in having two big political parties with big issues dividing them. It may be—and the probability is—that in the course of time the issues that divide these parties will be completely swept aside." It has been suggested, however, that the proposal to amend the system is premature, but further delay could very easily make amendment impossible. No Coalition Government could pass the necessary legislation to enable a referendum to be held, as its own smaller groups would have a vested interest in the maintenance of a system which had been to their benefit.

Negligible Minorities

Instability of government has also been experienced by the return of governments with negligible minorities. This has resulted in elections having to be held long before a government had completed its full statutory term. Incompleted its full statutory term. In-stability has been shown more obviously by the virtual disintegration of the two recent Coalition or Inter-Party Govern-ments. In each case the withdrawal of support by the smallest of the parties concerned caused the collapse and dis-solution. In this instance, too, further delay could be very dangerous if not disastrous, as instability leads to loss of confidence by the electorate in normal parliamentary democracy and this, in its turn, can lead to dictatorship. LIONEL BOOTH, T.D., Fianna Fail Deputy for Dun Laoghaire, Rathdown

Continental Election Systems

Comparison with European electoral systems is deceptive unless the full facts of each case are appreciated. In no other country in the world is the national other country in the world is the national parliament elected by the single transferable vote which is used here. Various forms of proportionalism are in use in Europe, but they differ considerably from each other. Their basic similarity, however, is that they favour a "Party List" system whereby the votes are cast for parties and not for candidates, and seats are allotted to parties in some seats are allotted to parties in some proportion to the number of votes cast for each party. The seats are then filled by the nominees of the party selected by the party from its list of approved candidates.

Norway

In Scandinavian countries, proportionalism has had to be adjusted to give preference to the larger political groups in an effort to prevent the dangers of multiplicity of parties. This is illustrated by the return of a Labour Government in Norway in 1949 with 57 per cent. of the seats, although it received only 48 per cent. of the votes.

Switzerland

Switzerland is often quoted as the ideal of democratic government, but the great amount of autonomy enjoyed by the separate cantons makes comparison the separate cantons makes comparison of little value to us. In any case, the central government does little more than suggest legislation which is then referred to a referendum, and this frequent, sometimes monthly, recourse to a referendum seems to be hardly suitable to us. At a Swiss election each party selects a list of its candidates and this list can be used, and is in fact used by the majority of voters, as a ballot paper by simply dropping it in the ballot box. Any ex-Minister of the Government is entitled to be returned without contesting the election at all. The franchise is restricted to men only. It is hard to

France

Recent examples of political instability due to proportionalism in other countries deserve to be noted. In France, since the last war, instability and the rise to power of the Communist Party led to the virtual collapse of democracy in 1958. The country was saved by the leadership of General de Gaulle who insisted that proportionalism be eliminated from the electoral system and that a majority system be substituted.

Deadlock and Minority Governments

In the early months of 1958 the Belgian Cabinet of a Coalition Govern-ment reached a deadlock due to inability ment reached a deadlock due to inability to reconcile its own inherent differences. For four months there was no Cabinet in office while negotiations proceeded in an effort to form a new Government. If any crisis, such as the recent riots in the coal mining districts, had occurred during those four months the result could have been disastrous. In December, 1958, some Ministers of the Coalition Government of Luxembourg resigned from office. No substitutes could be found and the "rump" of the Cabinet was asked to continue in office until further notice, although it was a until further notice, although it was a blatantly misrepresentative, minority group. The Italian Coalition similarly group. The Italian Coalition similarly foundered this year, and only after prolonged negotiations has a new Government been formed by the Christian Democrats who are a minority in the country and in the Parliament. The future of such a Government is not difficult to foretell.

Instability Likely Here

While no definite proof can be given that the same results would follow in Ireland from a proportional system as have followed elsewhere, it is impossible, too, to find any proof to the contrary; but, on balance, it appears more than

visualise the enthusiastic acceptance of such a system in Ireland.

probable that the unhappy experience of other countries will inevitably be ours too if the present system continues.

Weakness of Coalition Governments

The basic fallacy in the argument favouring proportionalism is that "representation" is assumed to be the test of government; in fact the main test is a government's capacity to govern. A Coalition is wide open to criticism both as regards representation and capacity to govern. Its policy must be a com-promise from the outset and its govern-ment must be of a tentative nature in an effort to prevent its own disintegration through the alienation of the support of, some of its constitutional groups. This means that a Coalition is not representative of any of its groups, or is representative of only one, and that it is essentially weak. While a strong government is not necessarily a good or a wise government, its worth depends a wise government, its worth depends solely on the ability and principles of the men who form it; but a Coalition, by its very nature, must be weak and cannot govern decisively. A war-time Coalition is an exception as, in such circumstances, all party differences on social, economic and international affairs are swept aside by the united national effort for victory. effort for victory.

Remedy in Our Own Hands

History has shown, and present events still show, that proportionalism is inherently dangerous, though superficially attractive to the amateur political theorist. No such criticism can be theorist. No such criticism can be levelled at the simple and direct system known as "the relative majority vote" which has been developed through centuries of experience in Britain and adopted by the members of the British Commonwealth and by the U.S.A. These countries have a record of stable government which is the envy of the world. We should not be content to remain envious any longer when the remedy lies in our own hands.

THE CASE FOR THE RETENTION OF P.R.

In discussing Proportional Representation it is necessary at the outset to decide what we mean by parliamentary democracy. Do we want a parliament which reflects as closely as possible the views of the electorate or do we want a parliament which reflects the views of only some portion of the electorate? Or, in other words, do we want government by the people or government by only some of the people?

There can be no doubt that the aim is to elect a government which is representative of all sections of the people. Proportional representation serves that purpose. The system of P.R. which we use here is by no means mathematically accurate enough to ensure absolute proportional representation, but it does achieve a reasonable result and, on the whole, it favours the majority parties.

The British System

The system used in Britain, which the Government proposes to introduce here, makes no attempt to ensure that the parliament elected will be representative. On the contrary, more often than not it results in a parliament in which the majority party has secured only a minority of the votes of the electorate. The result of the South African general election is an illustration of what may and does frequently occur. In that election the Covernment party secured election the Government party secured 598,685 votes and obtained 92 seats, whereas the Opposition party, which polled 608,165 votes, only secured 43 seats. Such a result cannot in any way be described as representative democracy. Not only is it not proportional, but it achieves minority rule instead of majority rule. In eight of the last ten British general elections, the government which resulted had not polled a majority of the votes majority of the votes.

Why Ireland Adopted the P.R. System

Proportional representation was adopted here and approved by all parties

BOOKS

FRED HANNA LTD. 28-29 Nassau Street NEW & SECOND-HAND system for three main reasons:

1. Because it was regarded as, and admitted to be, the fairest way of enabling the will of the people to be ascertained.

2. To ensure that, both while Partition subsisted and when Ireland was ultimately united, the "Unionist" and non-Catholic minority in the Twentysix Counties and ultimately in a united Ireland would have due representation, and that their minority rights would be was regarded as such an essential constitutional guarantee for a united Ireland that it was enshrined in the Constitution.

3. To give minority groups and parties due representation and thus to ensure, in a country where constitutional practice had had a chequered history, there would be respect for our parlia-

mentary institutions.

No amount of party propaganda by the Government can disguise their real purpose in now wishing to abolish P.R. They realise from the bye-election results and their growing unpopularity that they have lost the confidence of the majority of the people; for these reasons they are now contemplating a form of "gerrymandering" to maintain Fianna Fáil in power.

Acceptance by All Parties

In a country where political differences are sharp and where there is seldom agreement, P.R. has been accepted by all parties without exception until now. P.R. was embodied in the 1922 Constitution and again in the 1937 Constitution. Of all the constitutional provisions in our system, it is the one which has caused the least criticism. Why then this sudden urge to change from P.R. by the Government in power?

Government Relying on Electors' Apathy

I have no doubt that the majority of the people do not want to do away with

since 1921 as the basis of our electoral proportional representation, but there is a real danger that through apathy and inertia they will not rally energetically enough to defeat this proposal. This is what the Government is relying upon.

SEAN MacBRIDE, S.C., Former Minister for External Affairs

Reasons Advanced for Abolition

Very many different and conflicting reasons were originally advanced for the Government's proposal to do away with P.R. The leader of the Government, Mr. de Valera, at first suggested that it was because P.R. had led to instability of adequately safeguarded. This, indeed, government in France. When it was pointed out that this was nonsense because France never had P.R. except for a short period in 1945-46, that argument was put aside. We were then told that, anyway, it led to instability; when it was pointed out that there was greater stability here and in countries which had P.R., we were then told that P.R. was bad because it was introduced here under British rule. The ridiculousness of this argument is highlighted by the fact that P.R. was embodied in the 1937 Constitution by Mr. de Valera himself. Surely, it cannot be suggested now that the British Government compelled him to do so?

Fianna Fáil's Real Aim

It was only when the complete fallacy of all these arguments became apparent that the real reasons for the desire to amend the Constitution was stated. In his speech in the Senate, which has not received sufficient attention, Mr. de Valera stated:

"The Government have come to the conclusion that it was not in the best interest of the country to have governments of a coalition kind."

So, the purpose of this proposal is to prevent the people from being able to choose the type of government they want and to compel the people to have a single party government whether or not they want it and whether or not that government is a minority govern-

ment. And, of course, when Mr. de Valera talks of a single party government he really means a Fianna Fáil government. Anyone who has studied the British electoral system knows that the strongest party, even though it may only poll a minority of the votes, will sweep the boards. Thus, in all probability, if P.R. is done away with here, our next Dáil will be composed of anything from 100 to 130 Fianna Fáil deputies and there will be virtually no Opposition.

It is now blatantly admitted that the smaller parties will be completely obliterated—that includes Labour, Sinn , Clann na Talmhan and Clann Poblachta. The aim of the proposal is, roblachta. The aim of the proposal is, therefore, to deprive the people of their right to choose the policy, the party or the representatives they want. If they want their vote to count, they will have to vote for one or other of the main position.

Purpose of P.R.

The aim of P.R. is to give the different raries representation proportionate to their strength. There is no system which is equally fair. That is why we embodied it in our Constitutions and why all parties have hitherto accepted it enthusiastically. It was correctly described by the political philosopher. John Stuart Mill, as "the greatest improvement yet made in the theory improvement yet made in the theory and practice of government."

As to the argument that P.R. produces instability, we need go no further than our example to test the falseness this argument. In 26 years, Mr. de Valera has had the reins of Government in his own hands for over 20 years; during that period there were only two changes of Government. In the same period there were seven different Prime Ministers in Britain.

Books on P.R.

and any book you want

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THE PROPOSAL TO ABOLISH P.R.

The great majority of the voters who will decide the issue of P.R. or the simple majority system will probably not be much influenced by the current debate on the subject. If we could but know it, most people will either vote for the change as a vote for Dev. and the party, or against it because that is a vote against them. But some, a very small minority, want to make up their minds sound principles. This change as a vote for Dev. and the party, minority, want to make up their minds on facts and sound principles. This article is addressed to them. It does not, however, pretend to present the "facts" or to lay down the "sound principles." It is rather an attempt to suggest a number of aspects which might be worth

Changing the Constitution

First, this is a proposal to amend the Constitution. There is much to be said for regarding the Constitution, which is our basic law, as unchangeable except for the most pressing of reasons and in response to a considerable and sustained public demand for change. Governments, it is true, earth not merely to follow but public demand for change. Governments, it is true, ought not merely to follow but also to lead. Is it desirable, however, to attempt to create a demand for constitutional change, let alone to bring out the voters, who have not been obviously dissatisfied to settle this matter largely on party lines?

on party lines?

On the other hand, it may be pointed out that our present Constitution itself was very much a party measure and yet it has been successful. But this is surely because it accords with the general social and political experience and ideas of the community. Can the same be said of the amendment now being proposed? I shall turn to this question below, but, first, some warnings.

Over-Generalisation

One of the features of the present debate is the tendency to generalise about "the effects" of P.R. and the simple majority system. P.R., it is said, "leads to" or even "causes" divisions in the community, a multi-party system, coalition government, unstable government. The simple majority system "leads to" the two-party system, strong government, dictatorial Cabinets and party hegemony. But do the facts available support these assertions?

As far as our system of P.R. is concerned, we have few examples to go on and even those have been all too little studied. But Tasmania, the other important example of P.R. has a two-party system. Nor does our experience itself support such assertions. To take but One of the features of the present

An Academic View

BASIL CHUBB, D.Phil., F.T.C.D., Bursar of Trinity College

one example, coalition Governments. In almost thirty-seven years Ireland has experienced only two and from 1922-48 there were none. Ireland, indeed, exhibited that most important feature of the two-party system, one-party Governments, and an alteration of Governments in an "ins and outs" pattern rather than the pattern of, for example, the French Fourth Republic. For fourteen of these twenty-five and a half years Governments had absolute majorities and even when they had not, they were not even when they had not, they were not so embarrassed as to seek the ties of coalition.

Even since 1948 the Coalition Governments have tended to develop into the stable variety more reminiscent of New Zealand and Australia than of the Fourth Republic in France. Yet New Zealand and Australia operate majority systems, the one a relative majority system, the other an absolute majority system.

But, it will be objected, the pattern of Irish government has been due to particular circumstances — the split of Sinn Féin: the existence of cabinet

Sinn Féin; the existence of cabinet government of the British variety; the fact of Fianna Fáil being almost a majority in the country; Mr. de Valera's antipathy to coalitions. Certainly. And such is always and everywhere the case. This prompts a second warning. Election systems might have an influence on the number of parties, the working of government, and the relation of the party to its members or of the represen-tative to his constituents. They clearly do not govern them. The constitutional do not govern them. The constitutional system, enduring social and political divisions in the community and, more immediately, the political circumstances of any election all play their part, together a very large part. What is bedevilling much of the current debate is talk of election systems in vacuo as counting systems to be judged in themselves for their mathematical or logical qualities and arguments of the post hoc ergo propter hoc variety.

Criteria by Which to Judge
Instead of attempting to generalise in the face of insufficient data and of the difficulty of measuring the weight of any single factor, it might be better to decide criteria by which to judge of the success

or failure of our present system as it works in an Irish context. Only if it appears to have failed, or the alternative can be shown to produce better results for a certainty, is a change justified.

In his recent book "Free Elections," Professor W. J. M. Mackenzie suggests a number of criteria and the list that follows is based on his.

Quality of Members

Does the system produce good quality members? P.R. gives voters more opportunity of expressing opinions about the merits of individual candidates than does the simple majority system. There is substantial local choice of candidates and the voters place them 1, 2, 3 in the order of their choice. Whether this leads order of their choice. Whether this leads to good quality members depends on the electorate, but is there any reason to believe that the single choice of the party militants (the few active members who run local party affairs) would be better? In any case, under P.R. the elector takes a bigger part in choosing representatives than he does under the majority system. If democracy involves taking a part in government, this is a point to be considered.

The Member and his Constituency

Does the system produce members in close touch with their constituencies? Here in Ireland personal and local factors are very important and would be so under any system. The Irish member, particularly the rival member, is very closely in touch at least with his own part of the constituency. P.R. surely encourages this: some may hold, indeed, that it encourages too much the role of that it encourages too much the role of the T.D. as a contact man. Party col-leagues cannot fight one another on policy; instead they vie with one another to give service. It is at least doubtful either that single member constituencies would enhance this contact or, given our Irish ways, that they would lessen it.

An Effective Assembly

Does the system make it possible for the Dail to do the business required of it? In our cabinet system the Govern-ment is continually dependent on the Dail in order to do its job and must. therefore, be capable of maintaining a

stable majority. Under our P.R. system such effective assemblies are the product of the political situation. Until now, circumstances in Ireland have polarised political life and have produced stable majorities and, hence, effective assemblies. However, between 1948 and 1957 there were signs of what might happen when Governments have to rely on unwhen Governments have to rely on un-reliable groups and Independents. Under some circumstances, the simple majority system gives a bonus to the largest party and, hence, increases parliamentary majorities. It is one of the main arguments used in favour of the system that it tends to ensure effective assemblies and governments whatever the circumstances and this is no doubt a legitimate

Reflecting Public Opinion

Elections ought to reflect opinion. But in what sense? Some argue that elections should "face the elector with a choice, which he is to make in a par-ticular set of circumstances, between alternatives that are real and present." This is to say in effect that the role of the elector is that of Government maker, choosing from two alternatives known in advance. In some circumstances under advance. In some circumstances under the majority system, it is true, the mathematics of the system make this a travesty. The P.R. system allows all sorts of considerations and interests, some of them extra-party and local, to have due weight. But the danger is that the electorate may be deprived of the function of choosing the Government. Ought this to be his role rather than that of putting local candidates in the order of his choice for whatever reasons move him?

Confidence

Do the people believe the present system to be fair? Until the current debate started, there was little sign of public discontent. Having experienced a system in which the relation between seats and votes is proportional, people may well find the capricious inequalities of the simple majority contents. of the simple majority system unfair.

Effect of Majority System

Effect of Majority System

Finally, yet another warning. It is difficult and dangerous enough to ascribe this or that feature of Irish politics to the present electoral system. It is nearly impossible to forecast the effects of a change. If the generalisations about the effects of other electoral systems are as ill-founded as some of those about P.R., Irish experience with the majority system may be as confounding as it has been with P.R.

Proportional Representation and the Protestant Minority

Proportional representation was established in the Irish constitutions of 1922 and 1937 for the purpose of safeguarding the rights of the minorities. Both the constitutional and the military leaders in the struggle for Irish dependence before and after 1916 liberally affirmed their determination to preserve these rights, not only for the sake of the minorities themselves but in the name of justice and for the general good of the many-peopled Irish nation. Long before the British Government introduced proportional representation into Ireland, it had been advocated by independent-minded Irishmen for Ireland whole.

It may well be believed that the less attention paid to our religious differences

"Trinity News" presents this "Symposium on P.R.," with the conviction that Trinity should make a constructive contribution to this vital discussion. We have, therefore, much pleasure in offering our readers the considered views of a number of prominent people, each of whom has objectively discussed a specific aspect of the

We would also like to take this opportunity to thank our distinguished contributors, as well as those firms who have kindly given us advertisements for the Symposium.

of sectarianism in Irish politics. But I also hold that the Protestant minority should be allowed to retain the power to elect some representatives on its own vote alone, if necessary and desirable for them (as it could become in changed circumstances). A change from proportional representation to the method of the single-seat constituency with the single non-transferable vote will remove that power.

Percentage of Poll Required

Let us consider the elementary mathematics of the contrasting systems. Under P.R. the following are the percentages of votes which are certain to win a seat:-

5-Member Constituency ... 163%+1 4-Member Constituency ... 20% +1 3-Member Constituency ... 25% +1

Under the other system a group must command 50% + 1 of the votes to be command 30% + 1 of the votes to be certain of winning a seat; and the minimum possible winning majority is 33½% + 1 when there are three candidates for the constituency, 25% + 1 when there are four (more are unlikely). The average vote needed for election is likely to be 40-50%. Anyone who examines the distribution of Protestants in the constituencies of the Republic will see that this second system will most likely prevent the Protestant vote by itself from securing a single representa-tive in the Dáil. P.R. (even in its attenuated form as we now have it) ensures that as long as they have 25 % to 16\frac{2}{3}\% in some constituences they will retain this right (or privilege, if you like). In fact, at the moment three out of the four Protestants in the Dáil are members of the two larger parties (2 Fianna Fáil, 1 Fine Gael), and only one is an Independent. But if Protestants wished to elect more Independents under the present system of P.R., they could.

warning.

Chances of Election

What about the future of Protestants as members of the major political parties? I hope they will steadily increase. But will the proposed change improve their chances of election to the Dáil? I think not. Under P.R. there is every attraction for a party to make a bid for the existing Protestants, 30% to 10% in several constituences, by putting up a Protestant candidate. In fact a party is much more likely to gain than lose by this. (And, incidentally, even if there are two rival Protestant candidates, they are unlikely to cancel even if there are two rival Protestant candidates, they are unlikely to cancel each other out under P.R.) But in a single-member constituency it is only reasonable that in normal circumstances the Roman Catholic majority will prefer to be represented by one of themselves, and a party nominating a Protestant may lose more votes than it gains. It would be silly, I think, to call this bigotry, or to think that it is peculiar to Ireland. It would be equally silly in my opinion to deny it. The consequence, then, of abandoning P.R. would be to reduce every Protestant party-member's chances every Protestant party-member's chances of nomination and election.

Prospects for the Future

There are, I know, complicating factors and subtleties which may suggest modifications of the broad view which I have taken here. (A good deal, for example, depends on how the constituences are drawn, and on local loyalties.) At any rate I have no personal prejudice against the party system, or the parties, or the present parliamentary representation in Ireland (apart from the lack of vocationalism in the Senate, which we hope soon to amend). So far as the religious minority is concerned, the less sectarianism it encourages or encounters, the better, in my opinion not only for itself but also for Ireland as a whole. As long as the Protestant minority con-tinues to produce men of parliamentary

SENATOR W.B. STANFORD, Litt.D., S.F.T.C.D.

Regius Professor of Greek

in politics the better. I prefer that view myself, and I would deplore any increase of sectarianism in Irish politics. But I

This will be almost impossible if the proposed change is made. The fate of the Liberals in England is a clear warning.

and ministerial calibre, Protestants will, I hope, continue to have an opportunity to serve the country at the highest levels of public service. So I am not contending that the abandonment of P.R. will drive Protestants will, I hope, continue to have an opportunity to serve the country at the highest levels of public service. So I am not contending that the abandonment of P.R. will drive Protestant would-be parliamentarians completely into the wilderness. But I do assert that it will make it almost impossible for the Protestants by themselves to serve the country at the highest levels of public service. So I am not contending that the abandonment of P.R. will drive Protestant would-be parliamentarians completely into the wilderness. But I do assert that it will make it almost impossible for the Protestants by themselves to serve the country at the highest levels of public service. So I am not contending that the abandonment of P.R. will drive Protestant would-be parliamentarians completely into the wilderness. But I do assert that it will make it almost impossible for the Protestants by themselves to serve the country at the highest levels of public service. So I am not contending that the abandonment of P.R. will drive Protestant would-be parliamentarians completely into the wilderness. by themselves to secure representation in the Dáil, and harder for them to win seats as party members.

By request I have confined myself here to a single aspect of the controversy. In my speech to the Senate on February 4th I gave my reasons for believing that the abolition of proportional representation would injure our parliament and people in general. The five other university representatives The five other university representatives in the Senate — four of them not members of the Protestant minority also opposed the Government's proposals.



THE VALUE OF P.R.

ENID LAKEMAN, B.Sc., A.R.I.C., Research Secretary of the P.R. Society

University Seats

We had P.R. in Britain for thirty years in four university constituencies and the difference it made to them is some guide to the probable effects (in reverse) if P.R. were abolished in Ireland.

Until university representation was abolished before our 1950 election, Oxford and Cambridge had for many years each elected two M.P.s Up to 1910, these were always two Conservatives, who could equally well have been elected for an ordinary constituency. Any non-Conservative elements were in so hopeless a position that they did not even contest the seats. At that time, voting was by X's, each elector having one vote for each of the two seats in his

one vote for each of the two seats in his constituency.

At the next election (1918), the same constituencies voted by P.R. and there was an immediate change. Although a two-member constituency is too small to give the full benefits of P.R., it did mean that (a) a large minority could get a seat and, therefore, any group that might hope to poll more than one-third of the votes found it worth while to fight, and (b) the personalities of the candidates assumed vastly greater importance. In 1935, for example, the result in Oxford was:—

Candidates

Lord Hugh Cecil (Conservati	ve)	-
C. R. M. F. Cruttwell (Conseil	rvative)	
A. P. Herbert (Independent)		
J. L. Stocks (Labour)		
Non-transferable Votes		-
	•••	4
Quota: $\frac{15,241}{3}$ +1=5,081.		

Cecil was elected on first preferences. His surplus went mainly to Cruttwell, but was insufficient to elect him; Herbert won the second seat with votes transferred from Stocks. Had the election been held under the old system, each of the Conservative voters would have been able to give one X to Cecil and another to Cruttwell, so both of these would have been elected, each with about 9,000 votes, although they were very unequal in popularity. The electorate remained, as before, predominantly Conservative, but instead of electing any candidate that party chose to put forward, it elected only the better ones, like Cecil; inferior Conservative candidates found themselves beaten by right-wing Independents—people still of a Conservative type but not accepting the party whin.

T.D.'s-Cogs, Not Individuals

If P.R. were abolished in Ireland, it is certain that the personal merits of a candidate would count far less than they do now, and each Deputy, like a British M.P., would tend to become more and more a cog in the party machine, subject to control by his party because of his dependence on it for his seat. Under P.R., it is the voters on whom he depends, the voters who can over-rule the party in any election if they so choose.

Bournemouth East and Gravesend

The effect of the single-member system can be seen all too clearly in the dispute that has bedevilled Bournemouth East for two and a half years. The local Conservative Party Executive insisted on choosing a new candidate in place of the sitting M.P., Nigel Nicolson, who had opposed his party in the Suez affair. After a bitter public quarrel, the matter was eventually settled by the unprecedented step of taking a poll of all the local party members; this revealed them to be nearly equally divided, 3,671 for Nicolson and 3,762 against him. Moreover, the subscribing members entitled to take part in this poll were only one-third of the number who voted Conservative in the last election there; we still do not know the opinions of the other 18,000.

All this trouble arose only because the British electoral system forces each party to select just one candidate for submission to the electors in any one constituency. If Nicolson were to stand as an Independent Conservative, giving the electors the chance to choose between him and the official nominee, he would almost certainly present the seat to an opposing party, as Sir Richard Acland

1st Count	Last Count
7,365	5,081 — elected, 1
1,803	3,697
3,390	5,206 — elected, 2
2,683	
	1,257
15,241	15,241

did in our last general election in Gravesend:

P. M. Kirk (Conservative), 22,058—elected; C. J. V. Mishcon (Labour) (19,149), Sir R. Acland (Independent) (6,514), 25,663.

Since Acland differed from Labour only in his attitude to the hydrogen bomb, it may be regarded as certain that the majority in Gravesend preferred Labour to Conservative, but the attempt to give the electors a voice in that one very important question enabled the minority to win. Moreover, it was not even a fair test of how many agreed with Acland's ban-the-bomb policy, for there may have been many besides the 6,514 who agreed with him but who voted for the official Labour candidate because they thought he had the better chance of beating the Conservative.

If the vote were transferable, these difficulties would disappear, and under P.R. the Bournemouth affair would probably never have reached the stage of an open dispute at all—the local Conservatives would in any case be nominating at least two candidates and there would be nothing remarkable in having an extra one; the voters would choose freely between the orthodox and the

more independent-minded, and indeed they would probably elect both, for there are enough Conservatives in that district to fill at least two seats and they seem to be fairly evenly divided. Both factions would have been satisfied, while as things are, many are bitter and considerable numbers of them may desert the party.

Carpet-Baggers

Another inevitable consequence of changing to single-member constituencies would be a great weakening of the link between a T.D. and his constituents. Besides losing their present power to select the person they want, the electors would often find themselves saddled with, say, a Dubliner to represent Galway or a Cork man in Sligo. That is what happens in England, because anyone belonging to a party that is in a minority in the place where he lives can never represent his own home, but must go seeking a seat in some different place where his party commands a majority.

Minority Groups

Religious minorities also would be much worse off, because it would be much more difficult for, say, a Protestant to get himself adopted as the one candidate of a mainly Catholic party than it is now for him to become one of several candidates for that party in a P.R. constituency. (In England this is less important, because there are certain districts where Catholics or Jews are so numerous that a candidate of that community is preferred.)

Nature of Support and Opposition

The number of seats that would be won by any given party under the single-member system is much less predictable, because, while under P.R. this depends on the number of votes cast for that party's candidates and not to any serious extent on anything else, under a single-member system it also depends very largely on such factors as whether the party's supporters are scattered or concentrated, whether its opponents form one party or several, and how the constituency boundaries are drawn.

If a party's votes are concentrated in pockets, that party can be helped or hindered by drawing the boundaries so as to leave those pockets intact or so as to cut them in half. If all parties have their strength evenly spread, this gerrymandering is impossible, and several Government speakers have expressed the opinion that this is the case in Ireland. That, however, means that the party having the most votes in any one of the existing constituencies would also have the most votes in any one of the single-member constituencies into which these might be divided, and therefore would win them all. On that basis, Fianna Fáil, having in 1957 most votes everywhere except in Sligo-Leitrim, would win 142 out of the 147 seats (and in the three preceding elections it would have won, respectively, 126, 131 and 135 seats).

On the other hand, if all non-Fianna Fáil voters combined against it, that party would then win only those constituencies where it polls more votes than all other parties and Independents combined. In 1957, there were 13 such constituencies, containing 46 seats, so in those circumstances the same amount of support that would give 142 seats in the first case would give it only 46. Judging my experience in Britain (and in Northern Ireland, where the last general election was contested by 13 parties), a successful alliance against the largest party is unlikely; therefore, Fianna Fáil's representation would probably be nearer to the 142 seats than to the 46.

The Greatest Gamble on Earth

The kind of government that would result is also doubtful. You might get anything from the perpetual rule of one party which the single-member system has given in the Six Counties to the instability of Britain in the 1920's when three succesive general elections gave us three changes of government in under two years. Again, the former is the more probable, because Ireland has one party so much bigger than any one of its rivals, but no-one can tell for certain; a former secretary of the British Labour Party said there was "no greater gamble on earth" than a general election under our single-member system. My advice is to rest content with the Irish Sweep if you want to gamble, and for your elections to stick to the system you have—a system under which no party can get many more or fewer seats than the people want it to have, and the voters (not the party machines) have the last word in deciding what particular men and women shall fill those seats.

THE P.R. VOTING PAPER

A. A. LUCE, D.D., S.F.T.C.D., Berkeley Professor of Metaphysics

The "P.R." voting-paper has long appealed to me, not only for its more concrete results, but for its educative value. I wrote to the press in support of it some thirty years ago, and again some twenty years ago. My relative silence on this occasion is not due to any change of mind, but rather, being old, I ought to "seem so" and hold my tongue.

Positive, Not Negative, Votes

On these complex issues the intelligent citizen fixes his attention on the part nearest him, the part that affects his action. In this case that part is the voting-paper. Mr. MacEntee may be right about the sort of T.D.s singlemember constituencies would give us, or he may be wrong. The Taoiseach may be right about the sort of Governments we should get, or he may be wrong. You and I find it hard to judge these remoter questions; but we can all judge the merits of the "P.R." voting-paper. This is the voting-paper for the public-spirited, intelligent man or woman. On this voting-paper the voter can express more of his political mind than on any other. Its very form takes the sting, the acid, and the poison out of political strife; for it reminds me, in the act of voting, that I am not voting against any candidate, but am voting for them in the order of my preference. As a result I feel in some degree that "my man" is always in, whether the successful candidate was my first choice, or my last.

That thought and the feeling it engenders are of the essence of government by consent of the governed.

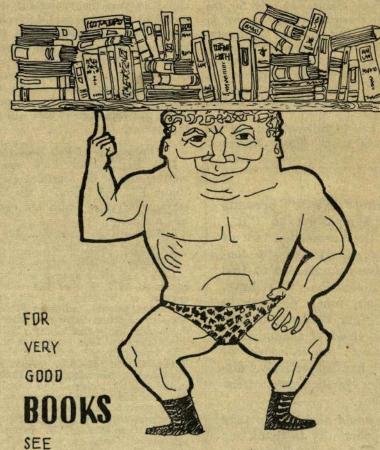
P.R. Has Helped to Heal the Split

I cast my mind back to "unhappy faroff things." I recall the civil war, and
the terrible animosities that stalked
through the land, and split almost every
town and village. It seemed then as if
we should remain for ever "a house
divided against itself." For the unity
and the measure of internal peace
achieved, the "P.R." voting-paper
deserves much credit.

deserves much credit.

And so does the present Taoiseach. He has made the minority feel that the country wants them. He has resolutely opposed religious intolerance. He has set an example of breadth of mind in things great and small. I have even seen him patiently watching cricket in the College Park, and Dr. Sheehy-Skeffington impatiently hitting "sixes" with avid zeal and zest. I do not believe that Mr. de Valera is aiming at purely Party advantage. I do not believe that he has narrowed his mind. I doubt if he could do so; for he has been too well educated politically by the "P.R." voting-paper, or at any rate by the liberal tradition for which it stands and which it expresses. I thought his final speech in the Senate debate frank and fair. Its conclusion is mistaken, I hold; but it was the speech of a statesman who owes much to the spirit of "P.R."; and I believe that the young men and women of to-day still need the liberalising education of the "P.R." voting-paper.

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March

(Wi My d You you th ferous, here ge "degree mount, festivit Margue Cooper brightly from D the "e quite Michae and "J of us t

Next time & Deveull Bolland was "missi Hull hat the "fi Anne I ing" in

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FOUR SIX

(With Apologies to A. P. Herbert) My dear Myrtle,

(With Apologies to A. P. Herbert)

My dear Myrtle,
You are "always" asking me to give
you the "low-down" on the "junketiferous" parties here at "Trinity." Well,
here goes. Last Thursday a party of
"degree-people" assembled in "Sandymount" — too "coast-like" — for the
festivities given by "medicine-woman"
Marguerite Newman and Rosemary
(coper. We all "chirped" and "chortled,"
brightly fortified by "flashes" of wit
from Denzil Stewart, "Nature's" gift to
the "earnest" female, and John Jay,
quite "Byronous"—he's a "writer."
Michael Philcox looking "too" scrubbed
and "British," "hovered," but the rest
of us tucked into the most "evanescent"
sausages and "fruity" drinks.
Next day it was "another" party, this
time given by Edward Wilson, John
Deveulle, Tony Francis and Chris.
Bolland, all too hospitable, "Everyone"
was there. Lawrence Roche, too
"mission-like" for words, had Bridget
Hull hanging on "every" syllable. All
the "filly-school," including Angela and
Anne Ferney, "screamed" about "hunting" in the most "horrifying" way. All

the "Colonial" girls forgot debbery is done and "hovered" round Charles done and "hovered" round Charles
D'Arcy—my dear, too "gelatinous."
Then "who" should come but—"crashes!"
Michael Brereton with a "pink-faced"
man called Fowke, quite too "digestiondisturbing!" "Britain's subaltern"
Patrick Perkins just went on being
"smooth." Felicity Findlay with "hair"
done in the most "curtain-like" way
screamed "fashionably," but people kept
on arriving from "another" festivity
given by Mary Hamilton and George
Green — the most "silent" thing since
John Mason. Edward was there, too,
"cavalry-twill" with that "angelic"
looking Daphne Greene and "everyone
bubbling" with "witticisms"; Catherine
Bury chattered looking "too" sweet. bubbling "with "witticisms"; Catherine Bury chattered looking "too" sweet. And "there" we all were—it was so "confidence-making," knowing that those other "adjectival" people I told you about—"teeny" Bontoft (too "Norman") quite definitely "oleaginous" and John Wilkins too "mountaineery" were "still" in the "coffee bar." Which reminds me I must "fly" or the "party" will have started.—Yours "crashingly,"

Topsy.

with science. There are more religions

than Christianity, and many more books

to consider than the Bible. This was not

the fault of the speakers (they believed

what they believed), but the person who chose the four Christians to speak. The meeting would have been much more stimulating if the speakers were one Muslim, one Buddhist, one Christian and one atheist.

Perhaps in future the advertisements

will be honest. People do not like to be dragged into a meeting on false pretences: it wastes time, and there is no way of capturing lost time.

Topsy.

SCIENCE RELIGION

It was hoped that the S.C.M. and D.U.E.S.A. would come to blows on Tuesday, the 24th of February; instead, the brains trust turned out to be nothing more than a group of Christians (some of them scientists) discussing their

The questioning opened with a query on how Genesis could be reconciled with religion. Perhaps it was because the question was badly worded, but every speaker gave his own interpretation of what the writer of Genesis had in mind. Nobody thought of the very interesting point that Genesis was thought to be the word of God Himself through a prophet until very recently, and that it is possible that even now there are many things which are accepted as Divinely authorised that may be so much nonsense.

Some of the following questions were very well conceived and wasted on the panel. Such questions as, "When does a conglomeration of cells acquire a soul?" and "Is man the final product of a conglomeration of cens acquire a soul?" and "Is man the final product of evolution?" were all answered in the same unimaginative way without considering the possibility that it was only through pride that man ever considered himself to be "Divinely authorised."

However, it was not all wasted. Some of the differing explanations of the four Christians under fire were well expressed, and must have clarified some of the more casual thoughts of the Christians present, and it must have awakened in them new thoughts that they had never before considered.

The most telling speaker there, from a Christian point of view, was probably Mr. Dawson who, before answering, thought, and then said: "I believe," rather than I think.

The second of th controversial definitions of science, soul

and religion.

At the end of the evening most of the members of the S.C.M. left with a look of demure satisfaction on their faces; they must have been reassured that it to be a nice scientist and a good Christian at the same time, and that they need have no qualms about working on the development of a bomb, or in a munitions factory, and that after all the Bible still contained much truth. Perhaps this is too harsh; I could only interpret the expression on their faces.

However, there was a small group of scientists that were not Christians who were far from satisfied. They felt cheated. The meeting was advertised as "Religion versus Science" and it developed into a discussion of various ways of making Christianity compatible

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A WORN STAIRCASE—WHY?

The staircase of No. 4 must be one of the best-known staircases in College. Up and down it there tramps every day Op and down it there tramps every day a constant stream of people; some going to the Choral Society, others to the Jazz Session, and the elite even to Singers. Players' Theatre, on the ground floor, is known to all; the S.R.C., with its vital function in College, operates from the second floor; whilst the D.U.A.I.A. has recently acquired rooms on the third recently acquired rooms on the third

Between Chorus and Controversy, however, lies the Christian Union on the second floor. Although well known to some, it is unknown by others; and it is for this reason that we would examine the activities of this College Society. Its aim is to "present the claims of Jesus Christ to the College, and to provide opportunities for Christians to meet together to learn, and to encourage one another in the Christian life."

The Christian Union's term card has recently been enlarged to one of the 3-fold variety in order to include all their various activities. During this term, and in previous ones, there has been a series of Lunch Hour Meetings on Wednesdays, when well-known Dublin speakers have been asked to speak on such subjects as "The Fact of Christ," and on the personal aspect of the claims of Christ. Saturday evening meetings with talks on the practical out-working of the Christian Life and on the teachings of Christianity have drawn good numbers. Prayer Meetings and group Bible Studies have been held regularly. Two films, of particular interest to scientists, "The Stones Cry Out" and "Time and Eternity," were shown in the Dixon Hall carlier on in the term. The former of

Eternity," were shown in the Dixon Hall earlier on in the term. The former of these American productions demonstrated graphically the fulfilment of certain Biblical Prophecies, and the latter, the fact that man, in contrast to God, is bound by a fixed time basis.

The Christian Union's programme for next term will begin with a week-end House Party in Greystones. The Saturday evening Meetings are to alternate between talks on the Bible given by outside speakers, and more informal evenings, perhaps including a tape-recording and discussion. They hope also, weather permitting, to arrange a hike and barpermitting, to arrange a hike and bar-becue one Saturday. Although all members of the university are invited to these meetings, two evenings are planned provisionally, at which the speakers will be known beyond Dublin circles, and it is hoped that large numbers will be

With all these activities past, present, and anticipated for the future, it appears that the Christian Union has played, is playing, and may be expected to continue playing, its part in the wearing out of that much traversed staircase in No. 4.

Organisation

At the last meeting of the College Theological Society this term, Mr. J. Jackson read a paper on "Organisation." Mr. Jackson, an older member of the Society, brought his wide experience to bear on the subject, having served as an officer in the First World War and later in the Postal Service. He used his experiences as illustrations as to how the Church should be organised. He showed that organisation was not enough. "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it." He then went on to deal with the various Church organisations. This was one of

the best papers read to the Society this

During the evening there were many teresting speeches. Mr. C. W. M. During the evening there were many interesting speeches. Mr. C. W. M. Cooper, B.A., stressed organisation with regard to one's own life and especially that of the priest working in a busy parish. Mr. Toase said that we should bear in mind Our Lord's saying: "I am among you as one that serveth." Mr. Cummins asserted that there were too many organisations which were chalmany organisations which were challenging the spiritual life of the Church. There were many other good speeches, including that of the Rev. M. L. Ferrar, who summed up.

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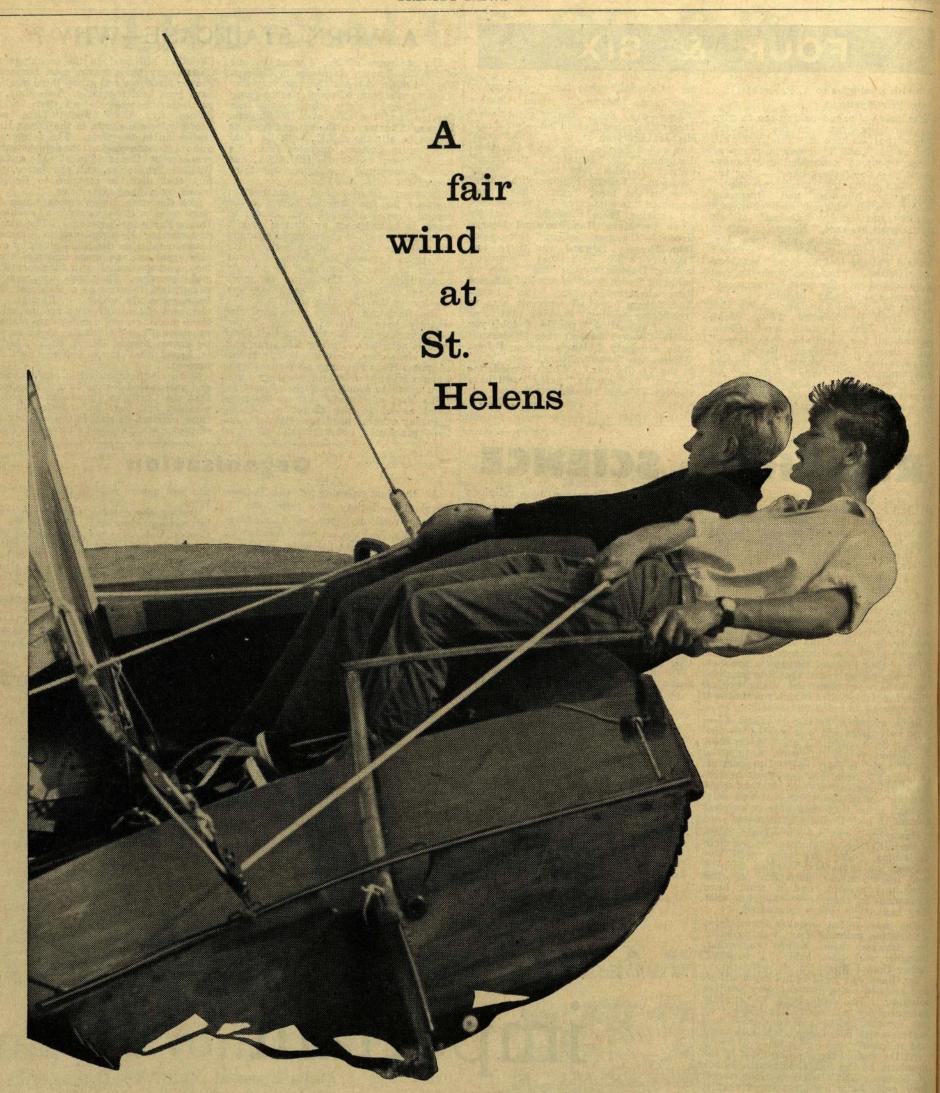
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The Irish Central Library For Students

Many Trinity students and staff are familiar with the yellow forms, available in the Reading Room, on which applications for books are made to the Irish Central Library for Students. These applications are usually for books and periodicals which either are not in the called Library at all, or are indeed in college Library at all, or are indeed in it, but are required for reading at home. Certain types of book may not be applied for, and books in print costing less than

Certain types of book may not be applied for, and books in print costing less than fifteen shillings.

In the year 1957-8, Trinity College readers actually borrowed 131 volumes through the I.C.L.S., which is more than were borrowed by users of any other university library in Ireland, except that of University College, Galway. It is, therefore, appropriate that this final article in the series on Dublin libraries should be about a service which is of considerable benefit to readers of "Trinity News."

The I.C.L.S. was created in 1923 by the Carnegie Trust, which has done so much for the development of public library services in this country and Britain, and which last year gave Trinity College Library its new exhibition cases. In 1919 the Trust had established in Dublin a depôt from which books could be supplied on loan to rural areas pending the establishment in Ireland of a county library system. But it was realised that even when library services became properly organised, a local library unit could never be large enough to be self-sufficient in the matter of books; and yet at the same time it would probably carry books, temporarily idle. books; and yet at the same time it would probably carry books, temporarily idle, which were wanted by readers elsewhere. One of the principal functions, therefore, of the I.C.L.S., as of its slightly older counterparts in England and Scotland (also founded with the help of the Carnegie Trust), has always been to act as a clearing house for requests for books. By co-operating with every type of library—public, university and special—it enables a reader anywhere in Ireland to borrow, from wherever it happens to be available for loan, the book which his own libray cannot supply. If the book is not on the shelves of the I.C.L.S. itself and cannot be obtained in Ireland, the request may be passed on to its equivalent in other countries. At the same time, as indicated earlier, books; and yet at the same time it would

to its equivalent in other countries. At the same time, as indicated earlier, there are certain types of books not covered by the service, which in any case can be operated only through the applicant's own local librarian.

In the year 1957-58, the I.C.L.S. was responsible for supplying 12,819 books. Nearly half of these were for 31 Irish county libraries (the Border does not restrict the activities of the Library), and about a third for the varied collection of special libraries. Most of the rest went to Irish municipal and university libraries, but over 400 were lent to rest went to Irish municipal and university libraries, but over 400 were lent to libraries in England and Scotland. Among the many special libraries receiving loans appear such names as Bord na Mona, the Central Catholic

By F. J. E. Hurst, Deputy Librarian, T.C.D.

Library, the Dáil Eireann Library, the Income Tax Commission, Kimmage Manor, the Royal Dublin Society, the Society of Irish Foresters, and the School of Cosmic Physics, to mention only a few. In order to supply these books, any that were not actually in stock in the I.C.L.S. had in turn to be

British Plastics Federation, Imperial Chemical Industries, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, in addition to twenty-seven university or college libraries and nearly one hundred public libraries. Books were also borrowed for Irish readers from Berlin, Berne, Brussels, Calcutta, The Hague, Cologne,

I.C.L.S. are ample evidence of the internationalism of libraries and of the existence of cultural co-operation regardless of political and religious differences.

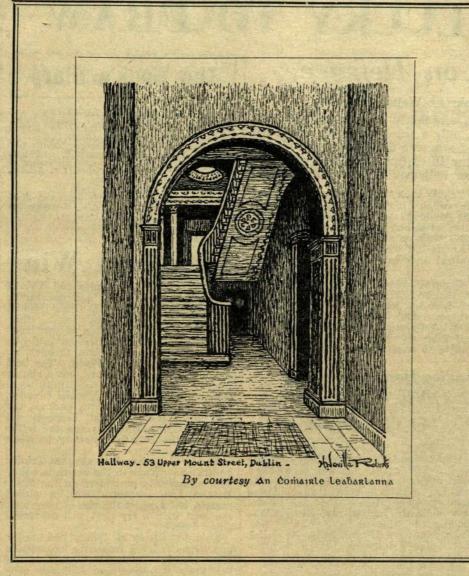
less of political and religious differences.

The I.C.L.S., as has been stated above, has its own bookstock, to which it adds gradually as the result of the specialised requests it receives. But this bookstock is chosen so as to be auxiliary to, and not a substitute for, the bookstocks one can reasonably expect to find in other libraries. When it opened its doors in 1923, this stock could be accommodated on one shelf. A year later it had grown to 187 volumes. By now it is about 40,000, kept in the many rooms of 53 Upper Mount Street, whither the Library migrated from 32 Merrion Square in 1932. Needles to say, like many another library, the I.C.L.S. needs mor space.

The control of the I.C.L.S. was transferred in 1948 from the Carnegie Trust to An Chomhairle Leabharlanna, which was established as the result of the Bublis Libraria.

The control of the I.C.L.S. was transferred in 1948 from the Carnegie Trust to An Chomhairle Leabharlanna, which was established as the result of the Public Libraries Act of 1947. This Library Council was charged with accepting the gifts of the I.C.L.S. from the Carnegie Trust, with operating a central library, and with assisting local authorities to improve their library services. Thus the I.C.L.S. is now maintained from public funds. An Chomhairle Leabharlanna (on which T.C.D. has two nominations) has produced two important reports on county and municipal libraries and has made recommendations about their improvement.

No reference to the I.C.L.S. can be complete without mention of its Librarian, Miss Christina Keogh, A.L.A., F.L.A.I. Born in Dublin, and working for a time at Rathmines Public Library (now part of Dublin Municipal Libraries), Miss Keogh joined the Carnegie Trust in 1920 and has been in charge of the I.C.L.S. since it came into existence. From 1948 she has also been secretary to An Chomhairle Leabharlanna. Diminutive but dynamic, she has built up the I.C.L.S. from nothing into an institution that is now known to librarians everywhere. Her contribution to Irish librarianship showed itself particularly in the years before the last war when she was writing and broadcasting about Irish library Association of Ireland since 1928, having last month just completed a year as its President. In a week's time, at the invitation of the Library Association of Ireland, the first group of Library School students ever to visit this country will arrive from Britain to see something of Dublin's libraries. Almost half of them will be from countries beyond the British Isles. It is reasonably certain that the one Dublin library, apart from our own in Trinity, that most of them already have heard about is the I.C.L.S., and this is mainly due to the patient work over nearly forty years of the librarian who, on 23th March, will welcome them in the hallway shown in our illustration.



borrowed from elsewhere, and 799 came via the National Central Library in London. The biggest single lender in Ireland was the Royal Dublin Society with 206, followed by the Royal Irish Academy and University College, Dublin. Among the many British special libraries that lent books to Ireland appear names like Boot's Pure Drug Company, the

Paris, Pennsylvania, Rome, Vienna, Warsaw, Washington and the U.S.S.R. Warsaw, Washington and the U.S.S.R. (How many of these were for Trinity readers?) Likewise, books were sent from Ireland to 153 different British libraries (including those of the House of Commons and the B.B.C.) and to places like Cologne, Stockholm, Vienna and Rhodesia. The activities of the

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Alcoholism

On Tuesday evening the Sociological Society invited a member of Alcoholics Anonymous to speak on "Alcoholism." The title of the meeting certainly drew

people for very mixed reasons, but most of us learnt a great deal that was new to us about this subject.

The anonymous speaker defined alcoholism by giving us a short illustration. If a lighted match fell on to a carpet or tablecloth, nine times out of ten very little harm would be done, but if a lighted match fell into a can full if a lighted match fell into a can full of petrol there would inevitably be an explosion. The first illustration represented the normal drinker who runs a selight risk of becoming an alcoholic, but the second shows how, once an alcoholic, the first drink causes an explosion in the body which makes it virtually im-possible for the alcoholic to know when he will be able to stop drinking. Alcoholism, then, is an illness over

which the victim has very little control, once this reaction is started off in his body. No amount of self will or outside body. No amount of self will or outside influence can help him once this stage has been reached. A new light was, therefore, thrown on this very serious problem for us all around and we realised that; (a) the word alcoholism should be applied to a certain type of "drinker," and (b) that alcoholism is an illness and must be treated with illness and sympathy like others. understanding and sympathy like other

Alcoholics Anonymous is an affiliation of groups of anonymous men and women throughout the world who have been helped in their mutual problem by each other and endeavour to help those outside their groups who are in need.

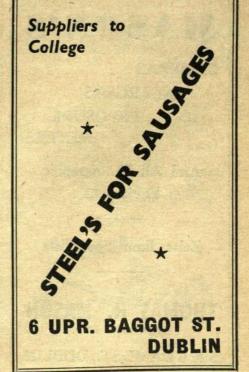
It is universally accepted by doctors, clergymen and psychiatrists that an alcoholic can never be helped until he wants to be helped. Once this step has been taken the A.A.'s "prescription" is very simple. All the overwhelming problems are whittled down to one focal point and that is the damage done by the first drink. It is always the first drink that does the irreparable damage and, that does the irreparable damage and, therefore, if this can be avoided the main problem is solved. The problem of rehabilitation follows with a 10-point plan to follow for each "patient." The results are varied, but on the whole about 85 per cent. of these people are helped in the end the end.

The speaker emphasised the word helped, and not cured, for once an alcoholic always an alcoholic; that first drink can cause just as much damage three weeks after the plan has started as 30 years after.

He assured us that after 30 years of drinking he had not had a single drink for 12 years since the night of his first A.A. meeting and yet he knew that if he were to take a drink now he would be back where he was 12 years ago. He ended his talk by telling us of the weekly meetings of the A.A. held in the Country Shop on Monday evenings at 8 p.m. in the hope that many who may interested will feel free to come

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Hockey-1st XI

TRINITY LUCKY TO DRAW

Congratulations to the six members of the 2nd XI who were selected for the Leinster junior team to play Ulster juniors. The honoured players were: Wood, Johnson, Varian, English, Moffett and Wheeler. Varian and Wheeler were unable to accept their invitations.

ONE DOWN ...

D.U.. 1; Loreto 2nd, 0
On Wednesday, when Trinity took the field at 5.30, squalls of rain were driven into their faces and the surface was sticky. Neither team was daunted and play swung recklessly from end to end as thought the fury of the elements was driving the players to frantic efforts.

driving the players to frantic efforts. Shortly after half-time Edna Broderick scored for Trinity and after this the tempo slackened as darkness fell.

U.C.D., 6; D.U., 2

U.C.D. advertised Saturday's match as their Colours' match. To celebrate the occasion they beat Trinity for the first time in over five years. Edna Broderick shot for Trinity after 15 minutes and it appeared that the team's more polished play would be successful. However, the U.C.D. forward line soon came dashing through to level the scores. Trinity again took the lead when Hazel Henry scored. It was then the Trinity defence crumbled. The chief weakness was at wing-half where substitutes Penny Ruddock and Olga Johnston were far too slow to mark their wings or to interchange with the backs. The latter, marking five forwards, had also a bumpy surface to contend with, and the combination proved too much. Half-time came with U.C.D. leading 5-2.

The second half revealed the weakness of the Trinity forwards as clearly as the first had shown up those of the defence. Playing downhill on a bumpy field, they tried to keep the ball moving without over-hitting. For this they had neither the speed nor the flexibility of their opponents, so that U.C.D., penned in their own half, were able to prevent a

the speed nor the flexibility of their opponents, so that U.C.D., penned in their own half, were able to prevent a score. In a break away, U.C.D. added yet another and

Acknowledgement

The Editor wishes to acknowledge the reports sent in during the past term by the following:—Rugsby, 2nd and 3rd XV—T. C. D. Mulraine, F.

Augoy, and and srd XV—T. C. D. Musaigel.
Soccer—D. White, F. Baigel.
Hockey (Men's)—A. C. Stewart.
Hockey (Ladies)—Miss E. M. Irvine.
Swimming—T. Murnane.
Fencing—B. Hamilton.
Rowing—G. I. Blanchard.
Lacrosse—Miss R. Phillips.
Badminton—P. T. Welch.
Boxing—R. Gibbons, C. Mumford.
Motoring—R. Backman.
Squash Racquets—J. Gillam.
Table Tennis—R. V. Wood.
Golf—P. R. M. Hincheliffe.
Climbing—G. D. Cochrane.

yet another goal.

ONE UP ...

Ladies Hockey

Great Burden on Defence

Dublin University, 1; Pembroke Wanderers, 1.

FRESH from Mauritius Cup triumphs, one might have expected to see Trinity in rampant form; instead, only a fine rearguard action by the full-backs and goalkeeper prevented a severe defeat. Steepe played the powerful game which we have come to expect from him, and was understandably disappointed at the poor response by some of his men. Trinity took the lead after 10 minutes' play when Findlater scored a good goal, but Pembroke fought back and equalised after sustained pressure. In the second half, both sets of forwards had their chances, but the respective defences remained undefeated.

Shirley, deputising for Judge, made a very promising début, his tackling, clearing and covering all being extremely sound. With goalkeeper Stewart in very good form, the defence came through a hard afternoon with much credit. Varian, electing to play for Trinity 1st XI in preference to Leinster Juniors, proved his worth with a good all-round display, but centre-half Blackmore failed to dominate in mid-field as he should, and right-half Grigg was found lacking in the first essential of wing-half play—marking his wing.

Of the forwards, only McCarthy and

Of the forwards, only McCarthy and Keely can look back on this game with any satisfaction. The former ploughed a lone furrow down the middle, while Keely tried hard with limited opportunities. To say the least of it, the inside forwards Findlater and Byrn were not impressive; true, Findlater scored Trinity's only goal, but one swallow does not make a summer. Byrn never seemed rimity's only goal, but one swallow does not make a summer. Byrn never seemed to catch up with the game, and Lavan, on the right-wing, suffered accordingly. It did, however, expose a critical weakness in Lavan's game, for, once deprived of a good service, he showed himself completely unable to make his own

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D.U. FENCING CLUB

Monday, March 16th—Foil League, Trinity "A"
v. Royal College of Surgeons "B," 8.0 p.m.
Fencing Salle: Trinity "B" v. Royal College of
Surgeons "A," 9.15. Ladies' Team: v. Achilles,
8.0 p.m.; v. Setanta, 9.15 p.m.

D.U. HOCKEY CLUB
St. Patrick's Day, March 17th—Mills Cup Final
—Dublin University v. Y.M.C.A., Londonbridge

Rugby-2nd XV

Deserved Win

Bective 2nd XV, 8; Trinity 2nd XV, 14
Trinity won the toss and decided to play against the wind. Throwing the ball nonchalantly across the backs, they pressed, but Bective began to win more of the ball from the line-out and the tight. Trinity scored first through an unconverted try from Henry. The lead should have been increased, but a simple penalty goal was missed. Trinity were penalised too often for juvenile offences, but regained the lead with perhaps the best move of the match. Drewery did a scissors with Harrison and the latter returned the ball for Drewery to score wide out. wide out.

had the advantage in the backs, but they were completely outhooked in the tight. Bective lost a centre with a pulled muscle, but against the run of play took

muscle, but against the run of play took the lead with a try that was converted from wide out.

This was the spurt Trinity had needed and Jones led his forwards into attack after attack. Trinity won more of the ball from the loose and Mulraine continuously supplied his backs with the ball. The College side had to score and once again it was Henry who picked up a loose ball and flung himself over for a try. Then Dorman, who had played an outstanding game, sent the opposition the wrong way and scored a solo try.

SUCCESSFUL ARISTOCRATS

The Dublin Foil League started last Monday in the Salle in Morehampton Rd. This year, owing to the increase in membership, Trinity has entered two teams. In the 1st round, the "A" team fenced the "B" team and won by a victory of nine fights to none. Then the "A" team fenced the holders, College of Surgeons "A" team, and won by nine victory of the same part of t of Surgeons "A" team, and won by nine victories to none. The "B" then fenced College of Surgeons "B" team, defeating them by five victories to four.

Congratulations to Malcolm Boyd for being chasen to represent the Boyd of

being chosen to represent the South of Ireland (26 Counties) v. The North of Ireland. This venue takes place on Saturday in the Salle. Malcolm Boyd and Brian Hamilton have both been chosen for trials in the Foil section

chosen for the trials in the Foil section of the Irish team which are being held next Sunday in Dublin.

Pearce Fencing Club had the Novices' Championships last Saturday in Dublin. Christopher Woods (D.U.F.C.) convincingly won the men's event and shows great promise as a failet

great promise as a foilist.

Team "A"—(1) B. Hamilton, (2) M.
Boyd, (3) M. Makower.

Team "B"—(1) C. Wood, (2) C. Rye,
(3) H. Harte.

ANYTHING ...

from a handkerchief to a duffle coat WASHING is BEST and CHEAPER the COURT LAUNDRY collects regularly in college

The Week's Diary

D.U. TABLE TENNIS CLUB Saturday, March 14th—D.U. v. Queen's Univ.,

It was plain for all to see that Trinity

an outstanding game, sent the opposition the wrong way and scored a solo try. There can be no doubt that Trinity's power lay in the backs, but the forwards, although beaten in the tight, ran rampant in the loose and twice covered the length of the field with their interpassing, only for the tries to be disallowed.

Fencing

OF HARRY PRESTON CUP

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RETENTION

The

Inn

Boxing

Coffee

Copenhagen

Trinity continued its remarkable run of success in the Universities' and Hospitals' Championships held at the Firth Hall, Sheffield, on Friday last, and retained the team trophy in the Harry Processor cup. Preston cup.

The preliminary bouts saw the exit of two Trinity men, D. Millar (lightwelter) and C. Mumford (middle), who

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Son D.U.C Colles

two Trinity men, D. Millar (light welter) and C. Mumford (middle), who both dropped close points decisions to S. Nwachuku (Loughborough) and S. Lorent (Durham), respectively.

D. Wheeler, D. Tulalamba, G. Lemon, T. McCarthy, R. Molesworth, C. O'Flynn and R. Taylor all successfully overcame their hurdles to enter the semi-finals.

R. Molesworth after a courageous resistance was stopped by R. Nichols, Loughborough's knock-out specialist—a veteran of 111 fights. In the cruiser weight division, C. O'Flynn dropped a split decision to F. Honeyman (Glasgow). T. McCarthy (light) was the third Trinity boxer to fail in the semi-finals, being a shade unlucky when decisioned by L. Jones (U.C.B.).

In the finals, D. Wheeler, Trinity's captain, proved too much for G. Lawson (Loughborough) and won the feather crown with ease (this is Dave's third U.A.A. title).

D. Tulalamba, weakened by weight reducing sessions in the Turkish baths gave a great exhibition of the noble ard to outpoint E. Rynne (U.C.D.)—his third fight of a very rough passage to the title—a great performance.

fight of a very rough passage to the title—a great performance.
G. Lemon hit too hard for A. Owen (Loughborough) in the light-middle find

(Loughborough) in the light-middle final and won a close contest.

At this stage, with Trinity leading Loughborough by 18-17, R. Taylor (Trinity) stepped into the ring to face J. Goodyear (Loughborough), and he put the issue beyond doubt by gaining an easy points victory.

So Trinity triumphed for the eighth successive year—a wonderful tribute to the prowess of coach Frank Kerr and

So I finity triumphed for the eight successive year—a wonderful tribute to the prowess of coach Frank Kerr and the enthusiasm of captain Dave Wheeler. The Club has had a remarkable run of successes under Frank's guidance—long may the association continue.

Results:—
Flyweight—T. Gilligan (Glasgow), walk-over. Bantam—D. Tulalamba (Trinity) beat E. Rynn (U.C.D.).
Feather—D. Wheeler (Trinity) beat G. Lawsof (Loughborough).

Light—K. McLarnan (Glasgow) beat L. Jone (U.C.D.), stopped 2nd round.

Light-Welter—C. Ross (Durham) beat S. Nwachuku (Loughborough).

Welter—J. R. Nichols (Loughborough) beat C. Timoney (U.C.D.), k.o. round 2.

Light-Middle—G. Lemon (Trinity) beat A. Owens (Loughborough).

Middle—J. Campbell (Liverpool) beat J. Palef (Loughborough), k.o. round 1.

Light-Heavy—C. M. Hill (Cambridge) beat F. Honeyman (Glasgow), k.o. round 1.

Heavy—R. H. Taylor (Trinity) beat J. Goof year (Loughborough).

TEAM EVENT

RALEIGH

THE ALL STEEL BICYCLE

AND

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WERE AWARDED A

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