

IRISH VOTE ASSURES STABLE GOVERNMENT

Overwhelming Victory for Min- isters Sanctions Free State Rule.

NEW DAIL MUCH STRONGER

It Gets Larger Membership, In- cluding Many Deputies of Ability.

DE VALERA STAND IN DOUBT

It Is Believed That He Must Enter Parliament With His Supporters.

By STEPHEN GWYNN.

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DUBLIN, Sept. 1.—The Irish Government skillfully fixed the date of their general election so that the candidates were nominated just before the anniversary of Arthur Griffith's death and the polling took place immediately after the day on which Michael Collins was shot a year ago. The unveiling of the cenotaph, which commemorates the two, and the memorial processions of troops through the capital undoubtedly helped to remind the public of its duty to the cause for which they died.

President Cosgrave and his colleagues are their living representatives; they carry on the work in which Griffith and Collins were checked by sudden death, and beyond a year or a day the country has given them personally an emphatic vote of support. This was plain so soon as the first results came through.

Cosgrave himself, Kevin O'Higgins, General Mulcahy and Ernest Blythe were the Ministers most in the public eye and on them chiefly had fallen the hateful task of justifying the executions and the wholesale imprisonments of their opponents. Yet each of these was returned by staggering majorities, their votes being double, treble, and that of Mr. O'Higgins even five times as many as the next on the poll.

Mr. Hogan, the young Minister for Agriculture, who had charge of their main constructive measure, the Land act, did almost as well as they. So did Postmaster General Walsh in Cork City. Desmond Fitzgerald, Minister for Foreign Affairs, showed up less because he ran in double harness with Mr. O'Higgins.

Mr. Fitzgerald had less responsibility for the acts of severity, yet the voters gave their first support to the Minister who actually advised the measures taken. Fitzgerald got their second choice, and when these votes were counted he also had twice as many as were needed to put him in.

Eleven Ministers Are Returned.

Every one of the eleven Ministers was re-elected, but in two cases there was a rebuff. Mr. McGrath stood in North Mayo, which is deemed to be a Republican stronghold. His opponent was Rutledge, who is de Valera's deputy, and McGrath came second by a small margin, but in Clare de Valera had a personal success which rivaled the vote given to the Ministers in Dublin, Cork, Kilkenny and Monaghan. He had 16,000 first preferences to Professor MacNeill's 8,000, yet in selecting MacNeill to fight the issue the Government probably sent down their most trusted man.

Undoubtedly, however, they weakened their candidate's chances by arresting de Valera as soon as he appeared on a platform in the constituency. This step has been much criticised, and the fact that the troops fired to disperse the crowd when the arrest was made increased the public dislike. The firing was in the air, but many were hurt in the stampede.

Yet upon the whole it signified little whether or no de Valera headed the poll in Clare. It mattered enormously that the Government should show determination. There was danger lest the whole election should be rendered futile by riot and violence; as it was, the country understood that law would prevail and no general election in the oldest man's memory passed over so quietly.

The arrest was the Government's action and the country's verdict endorsed it, for in Limerick and in Galway, counties bordering on Clare, de Valera's supporters were low on the poll. In Dublin, which was the true cradle of the Sinn Fein and the scene of the 1916 rebellion, the Republican first preferences were not ten in a hundred of the total. They numbered about 12,000 out of 160,000 votes actually cast. The Dublin electorate between city and country is over a quarter of a million, one-seventh of the entire electorate.

Dublin, however, does not accurately represent Irish feeling, and probably when the long count is concluded nearly a fourth of the members returned will be Republicans.

Labor has lost heavily and the parties who support the treaty will have a majority even if Labor should combine with the Republicans. This alliance, however, is very improbable. Mr. Johnson, the leader of the Labor Party in the last Dail, promptly accepted the treaty and gave valuable help in working on the Constitution. So did several of his colleagues who are again elected. The extremist of his party, Cathal O'Shannon, has lost his seat.

Larkin Split Labor.

In truth, Labor in Ireland is split from top to bottom. Jim Larkin, who made the split since his return from America, did not stand himself. It is probable that he influenced Labor where he could to throw its vote for the Republicans to the neglect of the Labor candidates. This would help to explain one surprising result.

Ireland west of the Shannon is very much less educated politically than the eastern seaboard. In Connaught and in West Munster it was natural to expect that the electors could be swayed by passion and would answer to tradition, which prompts all Irishmen to be "agin" government. Clare, Mayo and the country districts of Cork did nothing surprising when they put a Republican at the head of their list. But County Waterford, which comprises the fourth city of the Free State, is one of our best educated constituencies and it

Continued on Page Two, This Section.

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Continued from Page 1, This Section.

also put a Republican at the head, the widow of Cathal Brugha, the Republican War Minister, who was killed in the fighting after the Four Courts fell. Sympathy for the dead helped, but the result in Waterford is partly due to local anger, and partly to the alliance between Labor and the Republicans. For months a strike of farm labor has been going on there, and Government troops have been employed to protect the farmers, carrying their goods back and forward. Labor has resented this and has known that the return of a Republican would vex the Government most. In addition Waterford City was late John Redmond's constituency. His son Captain Redmond, who gained the distinguished service order with the Irish guards in France, won a seat after his father's death. He has stood now for the joint constituency and got great popular support. At a meeting on the eve of the poll his supporters accidentally interrupted a meeting which President Cosgrave was addressing. Troops fired and broke up Redmond's procession. Evidently this was bitterly resented. Mr. Redmond came second on the poll. The Government's candidate, though an unusually good man, was thrown out.

Louth Vote Causes Surprise.

Louth is even more surprising than Waterford. It is an Eastern county, bordering on Ulster, and contains the large industrial town of Dundalk. Yet it puts as its first choice Mr. Aiken, chief of the Republican staff. Documents of his have recently been published suggesting the use of poison gas in the war against the Free State. One can hardly suppose that the Louth electors desire to see this experiment tried among them, or in any part of Ireland. The vote is sentimental. Aiken, who has long avoided arrest, has become a local hero, a kind of Robin Hood, and the Government's candidates

in this as in many other constituencies were not inspiring personages.

Though all the Ministers have come back without the loss of any of their number, a good many of their supporters have been replaced by others. Some of the new men are real additions. Captain Redmond had twelve years' experience at Westminster, and inherits much of his father's talent. He will be a more difficult critic to meet in debate than the Government has yet encountered.

Major Bryan Cooper was second in County Dublin, which he formerly represented at Westminster. He was a Unionist but a good Irishman, and has much experience of administration.

The remarkable success of the two distinguished soldiers who stood as independents, with no organization behind them, shows how widespread is the influence of those who served in the European war. There are some 150,000 survivors of them in the Free State, and these men could hope for no more from a Sinn Fein Ministry than that their war record should not count against them. Now they have gained two powerful advocates in the Dail, and they have shown their strength.

Some of the candidates returned as business representatives are deeply committed to the same interest, as are also the three members for Dublin University. In the last Dail this little group was the only one which did not accept Sinn Fein doctrines, or at most criticised them with whispering humbleness. Things will be different now. The Dail has the chance to become a living Assembly.

New Dail Will Be Larger.

In the last one, 36 out of 128 members, being Republicans, stayed away on principle, many vacancies occurred through death, or by members accepting posts which disqualified them for membership, and owing to the impossibility of holding by-elections then, the vacancies could not be filled. Other members again were constantly absent on military duty. So that the House seldom consisted of more than thirty or forty. They could never fill the Chamber, which was depressing or demoralizing.

The new Dail will have 143 members, and even should the Republicans abstain over 100 will be available. The public will insist that the members attend and show signs of life.

The Government has got rid of its

ablest critic, George Gavan Duffy, but several of the independents are as well equipped as he was. Moreover, the Government's own ranks have been strengthened by the election of some men with good brains and education, and one, at least, who has been a leading figure in the landlord class. There will be more criticism, better informed criticism, and the task of reply need not fall, as in the past, entirely upon the Ministers.

The Parliament ought to become much more interesting, and therefore more influential. The Republicans can undoubtedly tinge its proceedings with the color of morality if they stay away, for they are the second party in point of number and should be the main opposition, but if the Parliament gains ground in spite of their abstention, they will be increasingly unpopular, for, after all, no electorate will continue to elect people to do nothing.

May Sit by Themselves.

They may conceivably attempt to sit by themselves as a deliberative assembly, a parliament of the imaginary republic. If this assembly attempted to frame decisions dealing with other people the real Government would have no choice but to put the imaginary one in jail.

But powers of reasoning can divine in advance how de Valera will think right to act. If he wishes to be a power he must go into the Dail and later his supporters with him, but this involves taking the oath imposed by law at the insistence of the British Government. This he certainly will not do. One may infer that he and his will stay outside, where they can be not a power, but a nuisance.

The present treaty, whose safety was never in doubt, is secured indisputably. President Cosgrave may not command a majority through those who are his official supporters, but he will certainly get a majority for all essentials of his policy, and very wisely he has shown his complete confidence in the situation long before the polls were completed or the state of parties determined. He has gone to Geneva to put forward Ireland's claim for admission to the League of Nations as one of the free, self-governing dominions. That is the most eloquent and most sensible way of telling the world that the treaty stands.