

# AN t-ÉIREANNAC AONTUISTE THE UNITED IRISHMAN

IML. XI. UIMHIR 4.

AIBREAN (APR.), 1959.

4d. (10 CENTS)

## NATION ON THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

ON this the 43rd anniversary of the Rising of Easter Week, 1916, the Irish Resistance Movement sends greetings to the entire Irish race at home and abroad.

The event commemorated to-day at the graves of our soldiers who have fallen in the fight, opened one of the most glorious chapters in the history of Ireland's centuries old struggle for national independence. It inspired the Irish Nation to face the might of an Empire in an epic four-year-old struggle that brought a united people within reach of freedom.

The march forward was halted by the enemy, the ranks were disrupted and the task of securing the freedom of Ireland left unaccomplished. In the succeeding decades the Irish Republican Movement again took up the fight, but 40 years after the Easter Rising, British Occupation Forces were still in Ireland.

Since December 1956 and for two and a quarter years now, the Irish Resistance Movement has been engaged on active service against those British Forces in Occupied Ireland. In that period nine of Ireland's bravest and best have made the supreme sacrifice; hundreds have suffered imprisonment for the Unity and Independence of the Irish Nation; savage torture and ceaseless terrorisation by the Crown Forces have been the lot of our people in the Six Occupied Counties. In the face of this most ruthless repression the Resistance to British Rule has been maintained unbroken and the spirit of our people is still undaunted.

The efforts of successive 26-Co. administrations in attempting to kill that Resistance are most regrettable, but the past year

has seen a definite victory for the Irish people in their striving to curb that shameful collaboration and end it for all time. That victory has manifested itself in the fact that the 26-Co. Concentration Camp has now yielded up the last of its 200 odd prisoners.

To the entire Irish people at home and in exile, and to them alone, is due the credit for halting, for however short a period, this most degrading aspect of present day coercion and collaboration. That success demonstrates clearly that the Irish people have in their own hands the power to bring to an end all forms of collaboration with Ireland's only enemy. They must use that power. With the confidence engendered by the present hard won victory as an incentive, they must ensure that by their action also the freedom of Ireland is finally realised in this phase of the struggle.

The Irish Nation is on the right road to freedom. Drawing inspiration from the example of the men at whose graves to-day's commemorations take place, the Irish Resistance Movement renews its pledge to strengthen the Resistance to British Occupation, to sustain the move forward and to complete the task bequeathed by our Republican dead of all generations—the achievement of the unqualified Unity and Independence of all Ireland.

*Issued by the Resistance Movement in Occupied Ireland and distributed on its behalf by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau.*

British reinforcements for Occupied Ireland.

### Pat McManus — James Crossan Tribute

## 4,000 March To Memorial Site

**MORE** than 4,000 people marched from Mullan on the Fermanagh-Cavan border to Drumkask outside Swanlinbar where a Celtic Cross memorial was unveiled to the memories of Pat McManus of Kinawley, Co. Fermanagh, and James Crossan of Bawnboy, Co. Cavan, on Easter Sunday.

A colour party guard of honour, composed of comrades of the two martyrs, led the parade on the four-mile route. They moved through Swanlinbar town to the drum-beats of the dead march. The parade itself was almost two miles in length. Despite showers and hailstones the people of Leirrim, Cavan and Fermanagh—with representatives of many other areas present—joined the parade through the mountain road leading to Drumkask.

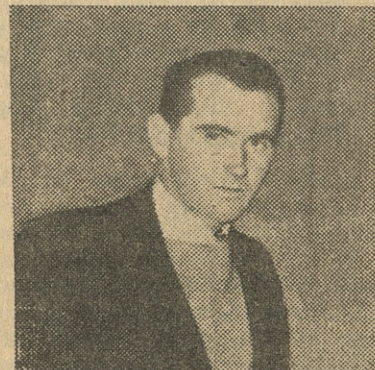
There were three bands in the line of march. Many wreaths were placed at the base of the Celtic memorial Cross. Relatives of the martyrs were on the platform.

### LINES OF R.U.C.

R.U.C. armed with machine-guns lined the Border as the parade began. Jeep-loads of British military were stationed at key points along the main roads to Enniskillen and Kinawley.

Along the hills, directly overlooking the parade, R.U.C. took up vantage positions.

A cordon of R.U.C. held back the crowds at the Border itself. Contingents from Fermanagh were checked through as they joined the parade. When a section of the parade crossed the Border (as the parade began) to take their



James Crossan

places in the line of march they were flung back by the R.U.C.

### MEMORIAL

Thousands knelt around the Cross as the memorial was un-



Patrick MacManus, Kinawley

veiled, a decade of the Rosary was recited in Irish, the Last Post and Reveille were sounded by a Fianna Éireann bugler, the honour guard dipped the Tricolour, and the Proclamation of the Republic was read. A statement from the Resistance Movement was also read and an oration delivered.

Patrick Duffy unveiled the memorial. Miss Mary Brady led the recitation of the rosary in Irish. Eddie McCaffrey (Fermanagh) read the Statement. The Proclamation of the Republic was read by Patrick Duffy (Cavan). The oration was delivered by Sean Cronin (Dublin).

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## Easter Parades In British-Occupied Ireland

**C**ROWN forces were on the alert throughout Occupied Ireland during Easter and ceremonies commemorating the 1916 Rising and paying tribute to our martyred dead were held in many centres in the Occupied area. Considerable activity occurred in the Fermanagh area by the Crown forces. Fermanagh people were ordered to remove Easter Lilies from their coat-lapels.

Plain-clothes and uniformed R.U.C. mingled with the crowd during the Easter Commemoration at Milltown Cemetery, Belfast, held under the auspices of the National Graves Association, and which was headed by the Tricolour.

At the Republican Plot an oration in Irish was given by L. O.

Mairtin and wreaths were laid by Mrs. D. McCarthy, Mrs. S. McGurk and Mr. P. Twomey.

### NEWRY

At Newry, the oration was delivered in Irish by Mr. Dan Sheridan. Accompanied by four bands the parade marched from the Mall to St. Mary's Cemetery. Similar ceremonies took place in various parts of South Armagh.

At Camlough the Tricolour was carried and R.U.C. took names of participants. Three bands took part.

### BAN DEFIED

The Stormont ban on the carrying of the Tricolour was defied for the third year in succession at Swatragh, Co. Derry.

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## Letters to the Editor

# British Bullying and Irish Toadying

A Chara,

The tone of Mr. de Valera's reply to Mr. Macmillan's arrogant bullying statement at Belfast, was indeed a vindication — if such were needed — of the stand taken by the Republican movement down the years.

That stand is, simply, that Britain has no jot of right whatsoever to interfere in the affairs of any part of Ireland; and, furthermore, that the more we knuckle down to the British bully, the more he will walk on us. There is no need to labour the point. Our history, right down to the present day, is thickly studded with instances of this truth.

But what a change there would have been, how much better and brighter the country would be, how much tragedy and heartbreak and bitter hardship would have been averted if the party politicians had held true to the allegiance they had pledged to the Republic of all Ireland, and had told the British bluntly and in the most unequivocal terms: "Partition was forced on Ireland against the freely expressed wishes of the vast majority of the Irish people; it was imposed by force and fraud and it is maintained by force and fraud; but we will not do your dirty work for you—we won't jail or execute Republicans and we won't lift a hand to help you maintain the Border."

I have no doubt, whatsoever, from a study of the history of 1920-'21-'22 that Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith and their colleagues had something like this in mind when they claimed for the Treaty of 1921 that it meant "freedom to achieve freedom." I believe they had the best of intentions. However, once they set up the Free State Parliament, once they departed from the straight and narrow path mapped out by the leaders of 1916, they were trapped. They started off by compromising and ended up as toadies doing Britain's dirty work.

And even if there had never been a civil war, even if all the Republican movement had agreed to send representatives to Leinster House, and accept, albeit under protest, the partition of Ireland, all would have been trapped in the same way. They would have had to (as all the Dublin Governments have done since) build up all their institutions on the basis of a 26-County State; their representatives abroad would be the representatives of a 26-County State; the State would receive international recognition as a 26-County State; the artificial division between the Irish people at each side of the Border would be, inevitably, widened and deepened; two totally different systems of economy would be built, neither of which could stand on its own and both of which would be totally dependent on Britain.

And if, as has happened, there was resort to armed revolt in the North against British rule, the 26-County State would find itself expected to take up the position of an independent, neutral "country." it would be expected to intern the people it has deserted if they

should seek refuge in its territory: it would be expected to use its police, and even its armed forces, against the resistance in the "neighbouring country" if the resistance fighters should happen to "violate the Border."

The leaders of the Republican movement pointed all this out to those who set up and entered the first Free State Parliament. Mr. de Valera himself said it. Here is what he said at a public meeting in Thurles, Co. Tipperary, on November 6, 1926:

"I spoke to you here before about the fallacy of the argument that the Treaty had given freedom to achieve freedom. I then advised patriotic young men not to be deceived by that fallacy because I clearly foresaw what the result would be. I saw that it would be little better than Dublin Castle as an instrument for imposing the will of England on this country . . . I saw that immediately following it, there would be set up an army whose purpose would not be to defend this country against outside powers

**BUT WHOSE POWER WOULD BE USED AS A BAR AND A BLOCK AGAINST IRISHMEN WHO WANTED TO CONTINUE THE FIGHT FOR IRISH INDEPENDENCE."**

I have no doubt that Mr. de Valera too like Collins and Griffith and the others, had the best of intentions when he deserted Sinn Féin (and repudiated his allegiance to the Parliament of the Republic of all Ireland) and entered Leinster House. But, once he departed from the straight path, he, too, went exactly the same way as Collins and Griffith, to the British Crown, enacting a Constitution for this State (even though that Constitution purports, foolishly, to apply to all Ireland), giving this State titles such as "Eire" in place of the "Irish Free State," and so on, changed nothing that mattered as far as the freedom, unity and prosperity of Ireland were concerned.

The late Miss Mary MacSwiney and others who were prominent in the Republican movement, told Mr. de Valera in 1926 what would happen if he entered Leinster House. It has happened.

When Mr. de Valera spoke at Thurles, in 1926, he unwittingly forecast what would happen in his own case. And what he said would happen has been happening since. He has protested at home and abroad against Partition, but he might as well have saved his breath.

Then, inevitably, shamefully, Mr. de Valera fell back on appeasement. He proceeded to jail and even execute Republicans. And from that moment, the toadying to British bullying that went on in Ireland, at both sides of the Border, took every conceivable form. John Bull proceeded to crack the whip. The toadying took the form of utter and abject submission when the British bully called, nearly two years ago, for the imprisonment of Republicans. Mr. de Valera obediently and without a word, opened the concentration camp

at the Curragh and proceeded to imprison Republicans there.

I recall reading in "The Irish Independent" of July 5, 1957, an impudent, bullying speech by the Stormont Minister, Topping, who asked in reference to the Dublin Government: Why don't they intern those men?" Topping was referring to Republicans at this side of the Border. What was Mr. de Valera's reply then? Did he resent Topping's "interference" then? He did not. Next day, July 6, a number of men were arrested and imprisoned at the Curragh Camp, uncharged and untried. We learnt later that a protest Note had already been presented by the British Ambassador in Dublin, Sir Alexander Clutterbuck. The British bully had cracked the whip and Mr. de Valera and his Government had jumped to toe the line.

In the period since that, the whole Irish race at home and abroad, has seen how truly were fulfilled the prophecies made by many gifted Irish men and women who refused to enter Leinster House and held, some of them as they lay wounded and dying or as they faced the firing squad or the rope, that every Leinster House regime would have no choice but to continue doing John Bull's dirty work in Ireland.

I recall last year, reading in a Donegal newspaper, a report that crowds of people gathered before a police station in Co. Donegal and booed armed forces of this State who stood with fixed bayonets while some Republican prisoners were held pending their removal to the Curragh prison camp.

Does Mr. de Valera now remember his own words at Thurles on November 6, 1926:

"I saw that there would be set up an army whose power would be used as a bar and a block against Irishmen who wanted to continue the fight for Irish independence?"

I think the release of so many prisoners at the Curragh was due solely to the pressure of Irish public opinion and not to any repentance on the part of the jailers. The people are tired of the toadying.

Mr. de Valera is in an unenviable position, trying to sit on two stools—verbally defying John Bull and, at the same time, doing John Bull's bidding, using the police and armed forces of this State in collaboration with the British armed forces in the North to hunt down Republican resistance fighters.

It is a bit late in the day for Mr. de Valera's protests. And as long as Irish police and soldiers are used to protect the British-imposed Border and to join their opposite numbers at the other side in the hunt for resistance fighters, Mr. de Valera's protests are nothing but a mockery and a total sham. Such empty protests have never achieved anything, and they never will achieve anything. The British bully can afford to ignore them. But he can't afford to ignore the resistance in the North.

Limerick Republican.

## R.U.C. METHODS

A Chara,

In a letter to the "New Statesman," and in many public utterances since then, Colonel Topping has denied the torture of Republican prisoners by the armed thugs of the Crown.

It may interest you to know that during my interrogation by C.I.D. Special Branch men at Liverpool Bridewell on March 19, 20, and 27 of last year, they mentioned the barbarous methods of the R.U.C. on several occasions.

On the evening of March 19, Sergt. James Sutcliffe threatened, 'We will send you to Belfast and you know what they are like there.'

A few hours after my arrest Det.-Sgt. Hughes said: "You are lucky to have fallen into our

hands. If the R.U.C. had you, you'd be beaten into pulp by now."

During questioning on March 20, one of the interrogators remarked that the C.I.D. "had ways of getting information." When I replied that torture would not be any use, Chief-Supt. Morris said: "Oh, no, we do not mean that. We are not like the police in Northern Ireland, we never torture prisoners."

These were all high-ranking police officers, whose duties take them to Occupied Ireland frequently. They are well acquainted with R.U.C. methods of interrogation.

Mise le meas,

Michael Joseph Hanly.  
Ros Comain.

## "Not Fooling Anyone" Irish-American Comment

THE Irish-American newspaper, "The Irish World" (February 14) referred in the course of an editorial to a message sent, in former times, by British General Carew, who had been sent by Queen Elizabeth on a "fire and sword" mission to Ireland. Carew, after laying waste to the country in a campaign of unbridled savagery and wholesale slaughter, wrote to his Queen: "Ireland is pacified." The "Irish World" editorial stated: "To-day, almost four hundred years later, were a General Carew of Her British Majesty's forces of 1959, to appear in Ireland, he would find how wrong he was in his conclusion that Ireland was "pacified." For he would find other English generals serving under the second Queen Elizabeth trying to "pacify" Ireland by fire and gun; and they, too, like Carew, have failed and shall fail. Who said 'Irish history is something for Irishmen to forget and Englishmen to remember?'"

Columnist in "The Irish World" (February 14, New York): "The second anniversary of the December 12 revolt against British aggression in Ireland has come and gone and to many of us it came and went unnoticed. For two glorious years, the 'high-bred of our nation,' dedicated young Irishmen, have courageously carried the fight to the old enemy, and have made known to the world the fact that 'Ireland unfree shall never be at peace'."

## OBITUARY

The death took place at his residence, Cahirmore, Kinvara, Co. Galway, of Mr. John Burke. He was a veteran of the War of Independence. He took part in the 1916 Rising and was interned in Frongoch. Later he served a prison sentence in Dundalk Jail, where he was on hunger strike with the late Thomas Ashe. He was a loyal supporter of the Republican movement up to the time of his death.

The Kevin Barry Cumann, Kinvara, passed a vote of sympathy to his relatives.

A Chara,

The recent verbal skirmish between Mr. Harold Macmillan and Eamonn de Valera regarding the release of Curragh internees, is reminiscent of the war-time vapourings indulged in by "The leader of the Dail" and Winston Churchill, on the question of bases.

Then, as now, the motive was obviously to display to the uninitiated the autonomous powers of the "Eire Government."

Fortunately, however, such duplicity is too childishly clumsy to prove deceptive, and we are compelled to explain categorically — "Sorry, Dev,—you're not fooling anyone!"

Is mise le meas,

Seamus McClafferty.

80 Megan St.,  
Glasgow S.E.  
10th March, 1959.

A Chara,

With reference to Mr. de Valera's reply to Mr. Macmillan, is it not a fact that Mr. de Valera has been obeying these same demands for over two years when they were issued via the British Ambassador in Dublin?

And now when Mr. Macmillan commits the indiscretion of making his demands in public, and when Mr. de Valera, in face of the protests of public bodies, has now closed the Curragh Camp (temporarily, no doubt) he pretends to be worried at these demands which for over two years he has been obeying.

It is evident they all fear public opinion.

Jas. Haverty.....

Spring Lane,  
Mount Bellew.  
16/3/59.

## CORRECTION

In the March issue "United Irishman," in the column reporting the Lisdoonvarna Sinn Féin Ceili, the name of the dancer was given as Miss Anna Fitzpatrick. This should have read Miss Rosaleen Purdy (Coffee School of Dancing, Clones).



## Inside Occupied Ireland

### IN CRUMLIN ROAD GAOL BELFAST

IN A-Wing of Her Majesty's Prison, Crumlin Road, Belfast to give it its official title, there are 75 Irishmen serving sentences of from 3 to 15 years penal servitude for their part in the Campaign of Resistance to British Rule.

The O/C. Republican prisoners is not recognised by the Prison Governor who refuses to deal with any of the prisoners in a representative capacity. The Governor has in fact been very hostile to A-Wing prisoners since March, 1958 when the R.U.C. Commandos were called into the prison.

It would appear that the authorities are simply waiting for a suitable opportunity to repeat the atrocities of that time.

The food in A-Wing continues to be very disagreeable and in some instances uneatable.

#### D-WING

In D-Wing of the Prison, 156 Irishmen are imprisoned without charge or trial. With the exception of two Dublin men and one Cavan man, all are from the Occupied area. Men of all ages from every one of the Six Counties are held, including 50 from Belfast alone. Many of them are in their third year in prison—since December, 1956. For veterans of the struggle among them it is their third or fourth term in jail for Ireland.

Following on the discovery of an escape tunnel from one of the cells in D-Wing on March 12, of last year, and the brutal beatings of individual prisoners in their cells by gangs of steel-helmeted R.U.C. Commandos, severe punishments were inflicted on the prisoners.

Now, a year later, some of these are still in force, notably the denial of the right to associate freely on the "tiers" during the day and to visit each other in the cells. The "tiers" correspond to corridors or decks. As in A-Wing, the food is again extremely bad.

#### MACMILLAN'S VISIT

THE British Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan came on a visit to Occupied Ireland last month. He wanted to give a fillip to the "Tory-Unionist" and pro-British elements in preparation for the forthcoming Westminster elections.

Of course, Britain's Bastille at Crumlin Road was not included in his itinerary, but his speech included all the usual platitudes about British democracy, British justice and the "loyalty" of "Northern Ireland" to the Crown.

No reference was made to the means by which this "loyalty" is enforced — British troops, militarised "police" who patrol in armoured vehicles, Special Powers Acts, "unseating" of elected representatives, the torture of young men, the murder of civilians and the most familiar badge of British rule in any country — the political jail with its watchtowers and gun-slits its massive and intimidating walls, its machine-guns, tracker-dogs and powerful search-lights.

H.M. Prison, Crumlin Road, Belfast, is, in the fullest sense, a concentration camp. Its purpose — to extract "loyalty" to the British Crown by naked force.

### Irish Freedom Radio Fantastic Claims by R.U.C.

#### IRISH REPUBLICAN PUBLICITY BUREAU STATEMENT

Some fantastic claims in the matter of arms captures have been made by the R.U.C. since the Resistance Campaign opened in December 1956.

The recent searches in the South Derry area (described by Col. Topping as "operations" — a term hardly applicable to police duty) resulted in two arrests and the finding of arms and explosives. Not content with exaggerating these, R.U.C. Headquarters announced that "radio equipment had been seized." In time the "equipment" grew to "a transmitter" which in turn became "Irish Freedom Radio" which was heard on the air in recent months.

What the R.U.C. did find was a couple of flashlight bulb-testers and lamp batteries, all of which can be bought for a few shillings.

These well-worn propaganda "gimmicks" aim at lowering the morale of the Republican people of the Occupied area and weakening their will to resist British Rule. In this, the Crown Forces will fail, because eventually every

lie will be seen for what it is. It was also stated that two men, both residents of Occupied Ireland, had "crossed secretly into the Six Counties a few days previously." That too was a lie, as was the original report that both were natives of the 26-Counties.

In line with these tactics of the British Crown Forces was a story which appeared in the Sunday newspapers on February 22. "Gardai in Co. Monaghan," it said, "had seized two transmitters and a microphone," and in effect, the voice of the Resistance Movement had been silenced.

In actual fact the Gardai found and confiscated the transmitting equipment of a private radio "ham" and not Irish Freedom Radio.

The lack of sensational news for Sunday publication is understandable, but the purpose in circulating such stories is something more sinister. It discloses a desire, akin to that of the Crown Forces, to sabotage the Resistance Campaign.

### Police Dogs Track Resistance Fighters

IRISH Resistance Fighters were active in Counties Derry, Armagh and Fermanagh, during the late February and the early part of March despite unprecedented activity by all Crown Forces.

In the last week of February gigantic sweeps were made involving thousands of British troops and R.U.C. Commandos in armoured vehicles, R.U.C. and B-Specials.

R.A.F. spotter planes took part in most areas and tracker dogs were used extensively.

The comb-outs took place in all six occupied counties, and apart from two arrests and an arms capture in the South Derry area, were without result.

#### DERRY AND ANTRIM SEARCHES

FOR an entire week, South Derry was subjected to the most intensive searches on record since December 1956, extending from the Sperrin Mountains right into North Antrim.

In Mid-Tyrone the main feature of Crown Forces activity was the participation of large convoys of British military from Omagh Barracks and Lisanelly Camp.

Searches were switched from the Brookeborough and Coney areas of North Fermanagh to

repeater station at Killeen was destroyed by explosives. Almost all the intricate equipment was wrecked and Belfast-Dublin telephone calls had to be routed through Liverpool.

Two nights later a railway bridge at Killnasaggart was badly damaged by a mine. This was on same day as the British Premier expressed his concern in Belfast at the continued threat which Irish Republican "terrorists" constitute to British occupation in Ireland. Passengers and goods were ferried from Dundalk to Newry by road, as the upline track was completely wrecked.

No newspaper reported that prior to the explosion red warning lamps and fog signals were placed on the track and on the roadway underneath for some distance on all sides of the bridge. Also, the last train of the day passed down at 9.30 p.m., forty minutes previous

to the placing of the mine, while the next train was due at 3.00 a.m., leaving a margin of five hours.

#### CROSSMAGLEN

THESE attacks were followed up by a series in the Crossmaglen district on March 13. At 8 o'clock in the evening transport on the town square was attacked and burned, while electricity installations behind the Courthouse were destroyed by explosives, and a roadblock damaged.

Although it is heavily garrisoned by three platoons of R.U.C. Commandos stationed at Keady, Whitecross and Newry, in addition to a network of strongly fortified R.U.C. Barracks, British troops were rushed that night from Ballykinlar Camp, Co. Down, to assist in enforcing British rule in this 90% Nationalist area.

Latest report from the occupied six counties is that the British Naval Air Station at Eglinton, Co. Derry, is not to be closed down. The air force units will be replaced shortly by a British armoured unit.

### The Constitution Comes of Age

THE following is an appeal issued in Belfast in 1938.

#### IRISH REPUBLICAN PRISONERS' DEFENCE ASSOCIATION

Headquarters: 61 CASTLE ST., BELFAST.

*The need for financial aid for the victims and their dependents, of Imperial persecution in North East Ulster is urgent. The unceasing reign of Terror and victimisation means that there is a constant drain on the funds available locally. There are many in jail men, even women—serving savage sentences of penal servitude and hard labour.*

*Anybody who takes an active part in the National Movement is marked down for victimisation. To be imprisoned means that on release the doors of shipyard, factory, office and shop are closed by the bigots against ex-prisoners. There is an organised boycott against employing anybody who works for the ending of partition and the restoration of the Sovereign Irish Republic.*

*The much boosted British Constitution and system of law and justice are suspended in North East Ulster. The Imperial regime is upheld by arbitrary methods and the employment of a partisan and bigoted police force. Homes are raided without search warrants. Citizens are held up by armed police in the streets and searched. Men and women are arrested and held without any charge being made against them. To refuse to answer any question is a crime. Deportation orders have been issued against many Irish citizens of the area and of other parts of Ireland.*

*We appeal to all friends of Irish Freedom and to all lovers of justice to aid those who are suffering under the heel of Imperial tyranny and religious bigotry.*

P. MCORMACK, Chairman  
J. M'GURK, Secretary  
C. O'HARA, Treasurer

The above appeal was issued when Mr. de Valera and his Party were urging the people to vote for his new Constitution which purports to apply to the whole 32 Counties.

To-day in the midst of the simulated rejoicings at the coming of age of that same Constitution it is significant to note that the exact same conditions pertain in North East Ulster. The wording of the 26-County Constitution may have changed — the reality remains the same.

It is not amendments of that "Constitution" that we need. Rather must we scrap it in its entirety and return to the basis of an All-Ireland Republic.

Our slogan must be:—

STOP COLLABORATION WITH THE ENEMY  
BREAK THE CONNECTION WITH ENGLAND



Derrylin and Teemore in the south of the county, and back to Clontivrin and Rosslea. The entire South Armagh area and most parts of South Down were also subjected to a most vigorous combing by all Crown Forces.

#### FRESH GUERRILLA STRIKES

AT the height of this activity, on February 24, Resistance Fighters in North Fermanagh mined a bridge at Crockada on the main Rosslea—Fivemiletown road, wrecking it completely. The two feet wide strip of roadway remaining accommodates pedestrian traffic. A detour of several miles takes all light vehicles, but its surface will not take the heavy armour in use by British Forces.

The net result is that pending the reconstruction of the bridge, British forces are unable to patrol a key road.

#### SOUTH ARMAGH

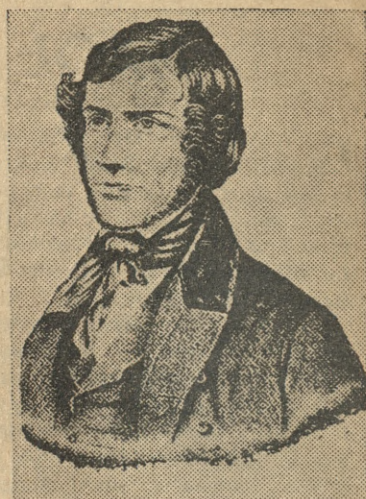
DURING the first two weeks of March there were guerrilla attacks in the South Armagh area. On March 3 a main line telephone



## Writings of Revolutionary Ireland

# JOHN MITCHEL'S CALL TO IRELAND

We continue in this issue Mitchel's Introduction to his "Jail Journal" which he commenced on board the Shearwater steamer in Dublin Bay on May 27, 1848 and concluded in New York Harbour on November 29, 1853.



had her revenge. Ireland, and all Irish produce and industry, were totally in her power; and Ireland having but one member in six to what, they called the Imperial Parliament, security was taken that the arrangement should never be disturbed.

This time, once more, Ireland was fully conquered—never nation yet took so much conquering and remained unsubdued. For twenty years after the Union the country was as absolutely prostrated in means and in spirit as she seems to be now; and as a matter of course she had her cruel famine every year. Without a famine in Ireland, England could not live as she had a right to expect; and the exact complement of a comfortable family dinner in England, is a coroner's inquest in Ireland: verdict, *Starvation*. In 1817 the famine was more desperate than usual, and in the best counties of Ireland, people fed on weeds. In 1822 it was more terrible still. Sir John Newport of Waterford, in his place in the House of Commons, described one parish in which fifteen persons had already died of hunger; twenty-eight more were past all hope of recovery, and one hundred and twenty (still in the same parish) ill of famine-fever — and told of another parish where the priest had gone round and administered extreme unction to every man, woman and child of his parishioners, *all in articulo mortis* by mere starvation.

All these years the Agricultural produce of Ireland was increasing more and more, and the English were devouring it. Indeed, so rapidly did this food-export (the only Irish commerce) grow and swell, that in 1826, to conceal the amount of it, the English Parliament placed it, "on the footing of a coasting-trade" that is to say, no accounts were to be kept of it.

During the same period, every Parliament was sure to enact at least one Arms Bill: intending to deprive all mere Celts of necessary weapons for defence, and to kill in them the spirit of men

Two distinct movements were all this while stirring the people; one open and noisy—the Catholic Relief Agitation, the other secret and silent—the Ribbon and White-boy movement. The first proposed to itself the admission of professional and genteel Catholics to Parliament and to the honours of the professions, all under London Law—the other originating in an utter horror and defiance of London Law, contemplated nothing less than social, ultimately political *revolution*. For fear of the last, Great Britain with a very ill grace yielded to the first. Unfortunately for

Ireland, Catholic Emancipation was carried in 1829. "Respectable Catholics" were contented, and became West Britons from that day.

At the head of that open and legal agitation, was a man of giant proportions in body and in mind; with no profound learning indeed, even in his own profession of the law, but with a vast and varied knowledge of human nature, in all its strength, and especially in all its weakness; with a voice like thunder and earthquake, yet musical and soft at will, as the song of birds; with a genius and fancy, tempestuous, playful, cloudy, fiery, mournful, merry, lofty and mean by turns, as the mood was on him—a humour broad, bacchant, riant, genial and jovial—with profound and spontaneous natural feeling, and superhuman and subter-human passions, yet withal, a boundless fund of masterly affection and consummate histrionism — hating and loving heartily, outrageous in his merriment, and passionate in his lamentation, he had the power to make other men hate or love, laugh or weep, at his good pleasure — inasmuch that Daniel O'Connell, by virtue of being more intensely Irish, carrying to a more extravagant pitch all Irish strength and passion and weakness, than other Irishmen, led and swayed his people by a kind of divine, or else diabolic right.

He led them, as I believe, all

wrong for forty years. He was a lawyer; and never could come to the point of denying and defying all British Law. He was a Catholic, sincere and devout; and would not see that the Church had ever been the enemy of Irish Freedom. He was an aristocrat, by position and by taste; and the name of a Republic was odious to him. Moreover, his success as a Catholic Agitator ruined both him and his country. By mere *agitation*, by harmless exhibition of numerical force, by imposing demonstrations (which are fatal nonsense), and by eternally half-unsheathing a visionary sword, which friends and foes alike knew to be a phantom—he had, as he believed, coerced the British Government to pass a Relief Bill, and admit Catholics to Parliament and some offices.

It is true that Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington *said* they brought in this measure, to avert civil war; but no British statesmen ever officially tells the truth, or assigns to any act its real motive. Their real motive was, to buy into the British interests, the landed and educated Catholics; that so the great multitudinous Celtic enemy might be left more absolutely at their mercy.

## Collaboration with Britain: I.R.P.B. Statement

**VIEWED** in retrospect, the British Prime Minister's recent statement on the releases from the Curragh Concentration Camp and Mr. de Valera's immediate replies form a pattern and create a situation much too opportune for Mr. de Valera to be entirely accidental. Mr. Macmillan is not the only politician preparing for an election.

All things considered, Mr. de Valera stands to gain by the situation the British Premier created. That this is widely appreciated is amply proved by the headlong rush of politicians and political parties North and South of the Border, to make their reply to Mr. Macmillan and so garner their share of the kudos.

A feature of the veritable spate of replies is that all are confined to criticism of Mr. Macmillan's interference in the affairs of the 26-County Government. No part of this barrage of protest is directed against British Occupation of

Six Irish Counties; no voice is raised against Mr. de Valera's active collaboration with British Crown Forces in maintaining that foreign Occupation.

Indeed, it was this collaboration with Ireland's only enemy, which paved the way for Mr. Macmillan's references. Had Mr. de Valera's Government not given way to pressure from the British Ambassador in July 1957 and opened the Curragh Concentration Camp, the British Premier's Belfast statement would scarcely have any relevance to 26-County affairs.

As far as 6-County affairs are concerned, de Valera's only interest in them, other than at election time, is to ensure that no assistance, either moral or material, reaches our people in the Occupied area who have been struggling gallantly against British Occupation for the past two and a quarter years.

THOSE restrictive laws no longer exist. They have been repealed from time to time, merely because England wanted them no longer. The work was done; the British were in possession. To revive manufactures in Ireland, there must have been protective duties imposed on manufactured articles from England; but there was no free Irish Parliament to do this. Besides, the time became so enlightened that the Spirit of the Age was against such duties. In other words, the English could then afford to cry out "Free Trade!" "True principles of political economy!" and so-forth; taking care only to prevent any interference by law or otherwise, with the satisfactory state of things they had established. To lose a trade is easy; to recover it in the face of wealthy rivals now in possession, impossible.

When manufacturers are crushed, and a peasantry bound to the plough-tail and the cattle-shed, of course the manufactured commodities they require must come to them from abroad, and their raw agricultural produce must go in payment for them.

Further, when the condition of the peasantry is embittered by subjection to an alien and hostile class of landlords, who hold by lineage and affection to another country, and whose sole interest in their tenantry is to draw from them the very uttermost farthing, that they may spend it in that other country — and when that rental, also, as well as the price of manufactures, must be paid in raw produce, the arrangement is as good as perfect. You can want no more to account for the starved skeletons of Ireland — and the comforts which brighten "the happy homes of England."

So went by the eighteenth century in Ireland. One can hardly believe that the sun shone as he is wont in those days. So dreary and miserable in the landscape — a good Bishop Berkeley putting these dismal queries in 1734—"Whether there be upon earth any Christian or civilised people so beggarly wretched, and destitute as the common Irish." — "Whether, nevertheless, there is any other people whose wants may be more easily supplied from home." Or writing thus to his friend, Prior, in Dublin—"The distresses of the sick and poor are endless. The havoc of mankind in the counties of Cork, Limerick and some adjacent places, have been incredible. The nation, probably, will not recover this loss in a century. The other day I heard one from the County of Limerick say that whole villages were entirely depopulated. About two months since, I heard Sir Richard Cox say that five hundred were dead in the parish, though in a county, I believe not very populous";—a bitter Dean Swift, with accustomed ferocity of sarcasm, while the *saeva indignatio* gnawed his heart, making and publishing his "Modest Proposal" to relieve the fearful distress by cooking and eating the children of the poor.

Yet, before the end of that same century—such vitality is there in the Irish race, and the Irish cause—Dublin streets beheld a wonderful spectacle—the Volunteer Army in its brilliant battalions, and an Independent Parliament legislating

for the Sovereign Kingdom of Ireland! Apparently the conquest of Ireland had not yet been entirely finished.

For eighteen years, it seemed as if the steady progress of the British system in Ireland was about to be stopped or even turned back. The instinct and zeal of British "Amelioration," indeed, was as strong as ever, but 80,000 volunteer bayonets stopped the way. British statesmen were as desirous as ever to regulate in their minutest detail all the trade and traffic of Britain's sister island—surely for her sister's good — but on the muzzles of the Irish artillery was engraved the legend "*Free Trade or Else*."

During those eighteen years of Irish independence then, British policy was suspended. Honest John Bull all those years was losing a yearly income which he felt to be justly his due. Our countrymen began to manufacture again; and seditiously consumed their own corn and beef. Revenue expended in public improvements at home, to the prejudice of the British services—the metropolis of Dublin beautified and enriched, to the heavy loss of industrious Londoners — Irish landlords keeping their town-houses in Ireland and spending their rents at home, instead of paying rent and wages in England! The thing was not to be borne—and though—"intolerance of Irish prosperity," preparations were made to conquer Ireland again by the Act of Union.

First, the Volunteers were to be disbanded and disarmed. Without that, no progress in civilisation could be made; nor could the British Providence carry out his wise designs. The disbanding was accomplished by pretending to grant fully (for the time) *all* that Ireland demanded. The too credulous people were taught that it would look suspicious if they kept up such an armament; and in an evil hour the Volunteers once more committed the defence of their island to her sister country.

Next, to frighten the gentry of Ireland into an Union, an insurrection had to be provoked. The expedients by which this was affected are known well enough; but the rebellion of '98, when it did burst out, had nearly proved too strong for its formers; and it needed General Lake with twenty thousand disciplined men, and complete batteries of field-artillery, to suppress it in the county of Wexford alone.

The noble owners of nomination boroughs were bribed, at £15,000 per borough to sell them to the English Government.

The Catholic Bishops were bribed by promises of Emancipation (which the English delayed to fulfil for thirty years), to deliver over their flocks into the hands of the British.

The country was in abject terror; the Press was crushed by prosecutions; public meetings were dispersed by dragoons. The Irish Parliament was crowded (through the prudent bargaining of the noble owners of nomination boroughs) with English officers—in short, the year 1800 saw the Act of Union. At one blow, England



# 'Irish Recruits For British Armed Forces'

THE National Commemoration for Co. Meath was held at the grave of Thomas Allen (Longwood), who was killed at the Four Courts, Dublin, during Easter Week, 1916. About 1,000 people participated led by a Colour Party and pipers band. Chief Marshal was **Dermot Blake**.

A decade of the Rosary in Irish was recited by **S. L. McCormack**. The Proclamation was read by **Brendan Lynch** and the Statement by **Peter Kane** (Navan). Wreaths were laid on the grave on behalf of Meath S.F. Cumainn. **Anthony Magann** delivered the following oration:

THIS is the day on which Republican Ireland commemorates the memory of all those who in every generation gave their lives in an endeavour to secure the freedom and independence of the Irish nation.

In the centuries long history of resistance to British rule in Ireland, each generation has produced illustrious men whose names are linked forever with the particular phase of the struggle in which they took part.

O'Neill and O'Donnell, Tone and Emmet, Pearse and Connolly, Brugha and Mellows, Sean Russell and Paddy McGrath, Sean South and Feargal O'Hanlon spring readily to mind.

But there has also been the countless thousands of the plain, ordinary people of Ireland who have suffered and died; dared all and risked all and sacrificed all for the ideal of Irish independence.

It is these countless thousands who have been the backbone of every revolt against the conqueror; and whose courage and fierce desire to be free have made possible each new attempt to break the links that bind us to England.

Tom Allen, whose mortal remains lie in this little graveyard, was one of those who, when the call to arms came in 1916 answered that call unselfishly and unhesitatingly; he testified with his life his belief in Ireland's right to freedom.

**Because he did a noble deed and died a noble death we have come here to-day to honour his memory. Here by his grave let each of us look into his own heart and ask ourselves if our tribute to his memory is in any way marred by anything mean, or selfish or ignoble, or above all by any suspicion of hypocrisy.**

If we are sincere in our commemoration here to-day, then the test of our sincerity must be our willingness and determination to follow the example he has left us, and to prepare ourselves to continue the work in which he was engaged when a British bullet cut short his life.

In order that we may better understand where our duty lies, it is well to compare the circumstances of Tom Allen's day with those of our own.

Britain ruled Ireland in the interest of Britain and maintained and enforced that rule with a British Army of Occupation. Irishmen of that day resented British interference and their resentment grew to resistance and in taking part in that resistance bullets from the guns of Britain's Army of Occupation put an end to Tom Allen's life. Those were the circumstances of Tom Allen's day.

These evil circumstances are still present in our day; and the fact that Britain succeeded in dividing our country into two statelets

under two institutions of government does not alter the basic fact that we are still unfree.

**Because the occupation forces are confined to the Six Counties does not alter the fact that they are still in Ireland; and while they remain in Ireland, Irishmen will continue to resent and resist them.**

The people of the Six Counties have been engaged in active resistance against these occupation forces for the past two years and look to Irishmen in all Ireland and throughout the world to assist them in this present phase to achieve the full freedom and reunification of this land of ours.

Their resistance is fortified by the example of past generations; and the Republican Movement endorses their appeal for support and assistance.

It is indeed a tragedy that the Dublin Government have seen fit to collaborate with the British forces in their effort to crush the resistance and have used the forces at their disposal to coerce, imprison and persecute members of the Republican Movement in the 26 Counties who desire to render assistance to the resistance movement in the occupied area.

Such perfidy is a blot and a shame on our people and must be repudiated. It is all the more shameful when we consider that young men in the 26 Counties are openly recruited into the British forces without let or hindrance from the Dublin Government.

Many of these young recruits have been drafted to the British expeditionary forces in Cyprus, Kenya, etc., where Britain is engaged in her Imperial conquest—to shoot and kill and massacre the native peoples who seek to win their freedom.

Those young British Army recruits from the 26 Counties may even join the occupation forces in the Six Counties in order to hold the territory for England and perhaps kill and murder their own kith and kin in doing so.

Yet members or supporters of the Republican Movement in the 26 Counties, giving moral, financial or other support to the Resistance Fighters in the Six County area will find themselves in a jail or a concentration camp or otherwise victimised.

These deeds are done in the name of the people of Ireland—in your name. The claim is made that collaboration with Britain in the attempt to crush out the revolt of this generation of Irishmen against British occupation and British interference is your will; your desire; your mandate.

You must give the lie to this. You owe it to the dead who died for you—and to the living who are to-day prepared to sacrifice themselves and die for you—to

disassociate yourselves from such perfidious acts.

The Irish people have recently shown their power when their continued protest succeeded in having the concentration camp in the Curragh closed. This was indeed a very concrete example of the power the people hold in their own hands; but it behoves them to be watchful and vigilant lest that power be surreptitiously filched from them.

Be on your guard. The reign of coercion is not over yet. New methods will be devised to nullify the progress that has been made and the support that is steadily growing in this phase of the struggle to achieve the ideal for which Tom Allen and the noble patriots of every generation of Irishmen gave their lives—the complete and sovereign independence of the Irish nation.

The success or failure of the effort of this generation lies in your hands. You are the custodians of a sacred trust left to you by the dead whose memory we commemorate to-day.

You are the trustees for the generations of Irishmen yet unborn. Let us resolve here and now in this cemetery which is hallowed by the ashes of Tom Allen that we will be true to the past and to the future.

## DUBLIN'S TRIBUTE

DUBLIN County Commemoration was held at Deans Grange Cemetery. The parade formed outside the Church of St. John the Baptist after 10 o'clock Mass and was led by a colour party of men recently released from the Curragh Concentration Camp.

Contingents from Fianna Eireann and Cumann na mBan and other branches of the Republican Movement were preceded by the Howth Pipe Band.

Wreaths were laid on behalf of Cumann na mBan and the National Commemoration Committee. The Rosary was recited and the Last Post sounded.

The Easter statement from the Resistance Movement was read by **Risteard de Burca**, Ath Cliath.

Contingents of the Fianna and Cumann na mBan, and other branches of the Republican Movement and the public marched to Glasnevin Cemetery where **Myles Shevlin** delivered the oration.

The Rosary was recited; a wreath was laid on behalf of the National Commemoration Committee and the Last Post sounded. The Easter statement was read by **Seosamh Mac Grainne**, Ath Cliath.

In the course of his oration **Mr. Shevlin** emphasised that the closing down of the Curragh Concentration Camp had been the result of the unified will of the Irish people, giving expression to its abhorrence of coercion and collaboration in any form. He appealed to them to add strength to their condemnation and to indicate, in unmistakable terms, that any repetition of such measures would not be tolerated. He pledged on behalf of the whole Republican Movement, an intensification of the fight for independence, a fight that could only be won by a movement strong in its unselfish idealism and resolute in its disciplined action.



Field-Marshal Sir Gerald Templer meets recruits for British forces in Occupied Ireland. Man on right was identified as being from Dublin. ...

## Notes From London

'Se do beatha a leightheoir. Ta mi eile imithe agus a lan obair deanta. An mi seo beidh ceilidhe agus cruinniu poiblidhe ar siul ag an gluaiseacht. Ta cumann peile curtha ar bun ag an gluaiseacht agus ta fuirreann ina bhall de Cumann Luith-Chleas Gael, Lonn-dain. I mbliana agus le cognamh De, beidh an lamh uachtar acu i gcomortas no dho.

We regret to announce the death in March of Colmain Ó Mochair (late of Edenderry) which occurred at his residence in Luton. Colmain was held in high esteem by all members of the Republican Movement with whom he was familiar and his demise occasioned deep regret. He was a staunch helper of the Irish Republican Movement in England. Ar Dheis De go raibh a h-anam.

Among Sinn Fein members in London has risen a junior G.A.A. team which should give a good account of itself in football circles in the coming months. This team which is a G.A.A. club in every sense of the word uses Gaelic when at all possible, has players from the Fíor-Gaeltacht in its membership and runs Ceilidhthe only, for the raising of funds as well as Irish-Ireland concerts. This club which is known as "Sean Sabhat and Fergal O h-Annluain" runs a Fíor-cheilidhe on Thursday, April 23 in the "Cricklewood Hotel," Edgware Road, N.W.2 at 8.30 p.m. All members and intending members are asked to attend this ceilidhe and names will be taken of all new members.

The G.A.A. is doing a worthwhile job here amid sneers from the seoinini but are nothing daunted. Vivid insights to England's view of the proper games for Ireland's manhood has been given too often. A recent instance can be cited from the London County Board's effort to get reduced fares for the two week-ends of both senior All-Ireland finals in 1958 from British Railways. Not one penny was taken from the standard return

fare of £6-14-0 as many G.A.A. followers found to their disgust. A couple of months later a rugby game was played in Dublin between Ireland and England. Large posters in London and elsewhere in England proclaimed that the return fare to the Dublin game was to be £3-5-0 (a reduction of 50%) N.B. Four trains were needed to carry G.A.A. supporters and two trains to carry rugby followers.

"An t-Iolar."

## Suspension Cancelled

**PADRAIG O CUANACAIN** of Cork was released from the Curragh Concentration Camp on November 14, 1958. He was one of many arrested and imprisoned without trial in July 1957. Shortly after he was imprisoned he was suspended from his employment as a Clerical Officer with Cork County Council on the excuse that he had failed to perform satisfactorily the duties of his office by being absent without leave. On release he applied to the Cork County Secretary for reinstatement, but had to wait nearly four months before the 26 Co. Minister for Local Government terminated the suspension unconditionally and he was able to resume duty on March 6. No expiation as to the delay was given and the Minister also made an order forfeiting his salary during the period of suspension.

## Commemorations

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April, 1959

Is í An Phoblacht ár gcuspóir

## IRELAND'S NEED

THE greatest need in Ireland to-day is an informed public opinion. Our people accept too readily the slogans and the party propaganda which they read in their daily and weekly newspapers.

We would consider it very unwise and foolish of our readers to accept unquestioningly everything we publish in our columns: we rather recommend that our readers relate what we say to their own experience, their knowledge of history, their knowledge of human nature, their observation of events around them in Ireland and throughout the world.

To think is difficult. To force our brains to concentrate on problems until we find a solution is much harder than turning on the radio, the television, going to the movies or into a public house—to escape from it all.

But think we must, or as a nation we shall perish. What are our problems of unemployment, emigration, partition, British occupation, but the result of our failure to examine the causes of them and by study and thinking understand clearly how they can be removed.

As a nation we have oft been betrayed. But the betrayal was often caused by our peoples too easy acceptance of individual leaders; by our failure to understand the issues at stake at times of national crisis.

An uninformed people thus takes what seems to be the easy way but which in fact can lead to disaster, like Hitler's Germany, Stalin's Russia or De Valera's Ireland.

## NATIONAL PROTEST

LEST there be any slackening in the campaign which has been so successful in many areas, we remind the members of the Republican Movement and our readers, that the protest is directed against the imprisonment, anywhere and at anytime, of Irishmen whose only "crime" is their love of Ireland and its freedom and prosperity.

The Curragh Concentration Camp has been cleared of Republican prisoners; but there is no guarantee (unless the Irish people make known their abhorrence of it) that Republicans will not be incarcerated there again when it suits the party politicians in power.

It is an unfortunate fact that many people have accepted the 26-Counties as Ireland: and when the last man was released from the Curragh a sigh of relief went out over the country. "Thank God," it was said, "all the prisoners are free at last."

But all the prisoners are not free. In Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast, there are 75 men serving sentences ranging from 3 to 15 years penal servitude; 165 men interned without charge, and at the time of writing nine are detained while the police make up their minds whether to intern them or charge them and have them sentenced to long terms of penal servitude. (It is whilst being "detained" that Republicans are subjected to torture in an effort to extract confessions).

In Portlaoighise Pádraig Ó Dolain is undergoing two years' imprisonment for the support he gave the Resistance Movement.

In England Joe Doyle and Donal Murphy are serving life sentences.

We are glad to report that in many areas there has been a magnificent response by the public; as high as 90% is reported from many rural areas.

We urge our readers to press the campaign with even greater zeal so that there will no doubt in the minds of our "Governors" about the will of the Irish people.

## JOIN SINN FEIN

## RECRUITING — FOR WHAT?

FOR some months now the newspapers have been reporting the "progress" of a recruiting drive for the 26 Counties army. Accompanied by all the old time display of bands, banners, etc., this drive has been carried out in most of the counties of the Southern partition State, but despite all the ballyhoo, the results have been pitiable—Why?

In order to answer this query it is necessary to get our ideas straight on what we need, as a nation, in the matter of defence forces. First of all, the very title Defence Forces owes its origin to the First Republican Government, and it showed from the start the wish to break away completely from the British idea of soldiering. No longer were we thinking in terms of a War Office, of a Secretary of State for War or any of the other propaganda of which the dominant keynote was aggression.

In the Irish Republican idea of military forces, the keynote was to be defence, the defence of the national territory against all enemies, foreign or domestic. We had no imperial ambitions, we had no thoughts of aggression against any outside country, we merely wanted our own country, for our own people to defend and develop for the national benefit.

Now, how has the 26 County army measured up to this standard? First of all, from its very inception it has carried the idea, not of defence of the nation, but of a scope of activities restricted within certain definite limits laid down by British law.

Its field of activity and its very numbers and equipment are all subject to sanction from the British. Its method of training and indeed its whole outlook, more particularly of its officers, is modelled on the British.

Its only function has been, not "to defend the nation against all enemies, foreign and domestic," but to hold the 26 County State within the British Commonwealth and to co-operate with the occupation forces in the Northern State in an effort to keep the whole country "pacified" under British control.

In recent years this has become even more clear, for the whole effort of this army has been directed to keeping "suspected" Republicans in a Concentration Camp.

Even when the last group of those prisoners were being released early in March, scores of the new recruits, under the direction of a newly commissioned lieutenant, were to be seen putting more and more barbed wire defences round that same Concentration Camp.

What a reflection on our defence force—what a task to impose on young Irishmen who probably have as good national instincts as the next, but who will quickly become as non-national as their predecessors when submitted for any length of time to the prescribed training. This is the more deplorable in the case of young men from the Six County area, who, unwilling to join the British forces (as given any sense of nationality at all they should surely be), come to join the "Irish" army and then discover that they are being sent to co-operate with the invaders they had shunned at home.

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**Tomás Ó Dubhghaill**  
*examines the Recruiting Drive in the Twenty-Six Counties*  
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Is it any wonder that the recruiting drive is meeting with so little success? Even after reducing the qualifying age to as low as 16 years (many of the recruits look even less) it is still failing. Why? Surely the answer is obvious. Surely, even the most unlettered amongst us realise quite clearly that the "Irish" army is not what it purports to be—that far from defending the nation "against all enemies, foreign and domestic" it is now and has been from its inception actively collaborating with the invader in keeping the country under British control. It is a bitter, demoralising position to put any Irishman into and those who unfortunately have fallen into it are objects of sympathy.

But if the defence force were really to carry out the duties visualised by the First Dail Eireann—if it were to accept the task of defending the nation "against all enemies, foreign and domestic" there would be no shortage of recruits. But it would have to face up to the fact that there is already an enemy within our gates—that there are already occupation forces holding portion of our national territory and, far from co-operating with these forces, our first duty is to get them out.

We are quite confident that this is a task which would have the eager support of every young Irishman. There would be no need of bands, banners or ballyhoo to win them to the cause. And we feel sure, as ready as any other group in the nation would be the young men who are now in the 26 County forces who are anxious to break away from the humiliation of collaboration with the country's only enemy.

## A Malignant Growth

RECENTLY I have been reading a book entitled "They Fell From God's Hands" which is a translation of a German novel by Hans Wiener Richter, dealing with the war refugees.

It contains some very apt observations on a particular concentration camp by a "Board of Works" man, whose job it was to put tar on the roofs. In the space of a few years he had seen it hold German politicals, Jews, Russians, Frenchmen, Belgians and then former S.S. men and finally the refugees or displaced persons of all European nationalists.

He says — "These camps have got a sort of life of their own—like some malignant growth it was worming its way into the lives of the community." And again "It stands right on the edge of our town, like a canker it eats further and further every day into our lives, threatening all our standards of civilisation. So long as it is there it is a danger. No one can be sure that tomorrow we shall not be in it ourselves."

Becoming a member of the Town Council he urges "That camp must be abolished at once. It must disappear from the face of the earth—completely, so that no one is ever tempted to revive it. Not only is it a practical danger, it is a moral stigma."

And again "There's a danger these camps will become per-

manent institutions, a beacon for any would be dictator. Anyone who is an awkward problem for society gets shoved into them." The Curragh Concentration Camp was used first by the British, then by the first Free State Government and now at two different periods by De Valera Governments.

Here's a final comment, which we feel sure will have the heartfelt agreement of every former prisoner in the Curragh.

He says—"The Concentration Camp ought to be burnt down and all traces of it obliterated before it had time to infect the new order of things (after the war). Such a place was far too convenient, it was a dangerous temptation to those in power."

Concentration camps were a British invention first used against the Boers. Recently they have been very evident in Kenya, Cyprus, Rhodesia, Nyasaland and other places. Of course, Mr. de Valera and Basil Brooke had to keep in line to maintain British influence in Ireland.

Will the Irish people rouse themselves now to see that this stigma on the fair name of our country is wiped out both North and South?

T.D.

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The following publications are available from the "United Irishman" Office, One Gardiner's Row, Dublin.

RESISTANCE (2/6) postage 3d.

THEY KEPT FAITH (1/-) postage 2d.

THE MURDER OF JAMES CROSSAN (6d.) postage 2d.

BRITISH TROOPS MUST GO (6d.) postage 2d.



## LORG NA LAOC

## RUAIRÍ MAC EASMUINN

1 bparóiste Clóc Ceann faolairí i dtír Conaill a taispeán an seanóine críon seo agus é ag ticim ar a báta dom ionas na ballóige ar gháta le Ruairí Mac Easmainn cuairt a tabairt uirthi nuair a bí sé ag freastal ar Coláiste Clóc Ceann faolairí na céad blianta a foscadh an coláiste sin. Bí uírl mór aige ins an fhaelact seo agus bí a croí sa teanga díreach mar a bí ag mórán eile de Laochra na saoirse.

Da beag a samhail luét an ceantair ins an am fúrb é seo fear a raib cliú air ar fuo an domhain agus a raib an oiread sin cainte faoi pán obair a rinne sé d'aitheabais an Congo agus Putomayo, cé go raib a beo féir i gcontúirt ón céad lá a leas sé cos ar an talamh imigéiniúil sin. Da túise an cás go mbead sé mar samhail acu go dtabairfod an fear céanna seo a beo ar a son agus ar son a tíre ins na blianta corraça a bí le teact, suas go dtí 1916.

Ag cur síos ar éis óglaig na héireann ina leabhar, deir Colm Ó Saura:

"Chuir an tósac seo dócas is díocas i sean agus in óg ar fuo na tíre. Ní i bpad téis cruinníte baile átha Cluac go ndearnamanna áeris ortu i nGaillimh. Bí cruinníú agaim i halla na Caetac agus labair pádraic mac piarais agus Ruairí Mac Easmainn ag an gcruinníú an oíche údán. Ó i bpad roime seo bí baint ag Ruairí Mac Easmainn le Conamara. Ní raib léam ar an gcion a bí aige ar muincir na h-áite ná leis an tsuim a cuiread sé i mbocta na h-oileán sin. Céannaíod sé bia agus an-lann dóib seo a bíod ina cáll go minic. Cuiread sé éadac ar scoláirí na scol bliam i ndiaib bliana. Nuair a bíod a mbíod aige féin caite ortu, baileod sé díol a bpreastal dóib. Go deimhin ba mór an cáilliúint i gConamara a bás trí bliana ina diaib sin."

Cár cás fhaelact amáin a bí ann—bí dá ag Ruairí na nGaet le acan áit a raib tobair na teangán, mar tuig sé ina croí go raib an teanga fhaelge agus an násiúntact ag gabáil le céile taob le taob. Da i an teanga an taob eile de scálaí comais na saoirse.

## A BUNAD AGUS A ÓIGE

Da san bliam 1864 a rugad Ruairí Mac Easmainn ag Doyle's Cottage, Sandycove, Baile Átha Cluac. Da de shíora stoc Protastúnac a bí ina gcónaí i gcúige Ulad le faoa a áitair, Ruairí Mac Easmainn posta. Bí seisean ina captaen insan Antrim Militia. Da Caiteacac a máitair, Annie Jepson. Agus cé gur baistead Ruairí níor cleact a máitair an creideamh Caiteacac ina diaib sin. Bí ceatrar clainne ann agus tógad uilig iao ina bProtastúnac.

Fuair an t-áitair agus an máitair bás nuair nac raib na páistí ac ina n-óige agus cuiread Ruairí cuig faoltaí a áitair i gcontae Dountroma. Cuais sé cuig scoil a bí ag an Oócúir King i mBaile Meanac, cáit tamall ag staoéar le h-áitair na stát-seirbise agus annsan cuais sé go Learpoll

go bfuair sé post leis an Elder Dempster Shipping Company. Bí a súil i gcónaí aige ar fionnactain agus i gcionn tamall fuair sé an ois le fáil cun na hAfraice ar ceann de cuio lonsa na comlacta.

## OBÁIR SAN AFRAIC

Cart pán bliam 1887 fuair Mac Easmainn istead le buion o'fionnactóirí an Shinearail

AN DARNÁ ALT I SRAIC NUA  
LE RUAIRÍ Ó DOMHAILL

Sandford ar a dturas cun na hAfraice. Níl léam ná scriob ar an obair a rinne sé agus ar an contúirt a dtáinig sé trí nuair a tuig sé an cuntas cliúiteac ar a n-oro-óig a bí ar áitheabais an Congo agus Peru, agus ar an fospairt a bí siad a fáil ag múnlaó an 'rubber'. I 1910 cuiread níos faise i gcéim é go dtí an Putomayo agus tá cáil domanda ar an cuntas beact san éoraó san éoraó a tuig sé ar tion-scat an 'rubber' ins an tír fiáin sin.

Fuair sé molaó mór ó Rialtas na Breataine ac ca raib Ruairí Mac Easmainn ag smaoinéam ar Sasain. Bí spéis aige i gcónaí i saoirse na ríocta beaga agus nuair a táinig sé na baile in 1911 fuair sé spiorad na h-áit-beoacana ag borrad i gcoirte na nGaet. Bí sé i dteangimáil le Eoin Mac Néill agus le Bulmer Hobson agus o'iarr Tomás Mac Donnacáda agus Seosamh Pluincéad air alt a scriob don iris a bí acu san am, an Irish Review. Scriob sé alt 'Ireland, Germany and the Next War' paoin ainm pinn, an tSean-bean doct.

## CABÁIR ÓN nGEARMÁIN

Sa bliam 1914 bí sé ina cuioib mór leis na h-áitair a tabairt i dtír do na h-óglais i mBeann Éadair agus nuair a b'is an cois amac ior Sasain agus an Gearmáin i 1914 cuais Mac Easmainn cun na Gearmáine.

I mí na Mollag na bliana sin d'éirig leis mar fear údarasac i gcúrsaí scáit sócrú a déanam le Rialtas na Gearmáine ainm agus lón coisad a cur go héirinn, agus díorma de fairsiúirí éirean-naa a fáil as na príosúnais coisad ansin nac mbead ortu croib do tír ar bié ac d'éirinn.

Níor oibrig acan rud amac com mait agus a ba mian le Ruairí Mac Easmainn, ac ní air-sin a bí an loct. Níor mian leis go fóill go mbead éirí-amac in éirinn go dtí go mbead neart arm agus gléas-raí coisad acu.

Da seo an t-áitair a ba mó a bí aige féin a teact go héirinn i 1916 — le eolas a tabairt doib cá h-áit leis na h-áitair a tabairt i dtír agus le cose a cur leis an éirí-amac go b'paisead sé tuillead cabrac ón nGearmáin.

Táinig an áitair i dtír i nTráilí ró-luat — ní raib na h-áitair le teact i dtír go dtí oíche Domnac Cáscá agus rugad ar an soiteac. Níor mian leis

an gCaptaen Karl Spindler géillead do na Sasanaig agus nuair a bíteas ag tarraing an tsóitig go cuan Corcaí tuig sé orodú dá cuio fear púdar a cur inti agus a cur sa spéir. Cuais an lorg agus na 20,000 gunna go tóin na farraise.

(Leanar de)

RUAIRÍ Ó DOMHAILL.

BREAK THE  
CONNECTION  
WITH  
ENGLANDThe Teaching of History  
and its Suppression

A Chara,

Reading "Australian Visitor's Impressions" in your January issue in which he says that Partition is not a really live issue with the majority in the 26-Cos., it struck me that the indifference to which he refers owes much to our ignorance or forgetfulness of the ancient province of Ulster.

It has suited the Free State politicians to let the vividness of our history be smothered in the statistic-style teaching of our schools, and any reference to our country's story is made with some cheap political twist or in such a wishy-washy manner as not to provoke any feelings of outrage at Ireland's divided enslavement.

Typical of this suppression and misrepresentation was a recent article by David Hogan in the "Sunday Press" on the national ballads of Willie Rooney. He quoted some verses Rooney wrote about Ulster, but did not include the more pertinent words:—

"Oh, Ulaid! last to bend the knees, awaken

And give these knaves the lie. Say you stand still unawed, unbought, unshaken,

True to the days gone by."

This is an example of the way in which the vivid reality of Partition is kept from the minds of people in the 26-Cos. Most of us have been lulled into having no particular feelings about the sundered part of Ireland because it is dead to us and forgotten.

It would help to counter the politicians' "Know - Nothing" methods and to bring to our minds what "the border" means to us if the glories of our history, with particular reference to Ulster, were vividly recalled in a regular monthly feature in the "United Irishman."

COMMEMORATION  
IN CO. CORK

ON Sunday, February 22, one of the biggest crowds ever was present in Middleton for the Annual East Cork Commemoration in honour of those who died in the historic fight at Clonmult 38 years ago. The parade, which formed up at the Green was headed by the Cork Volunteer Pipe Band and included units of Cumann na mBan, Cumann na gCailini, Fianna Éireann and Sinn Féin as well as the general public.

A stop was made near the old churchyard while a colour party and Fianna buglers went to the grave of Volunteer Sean Deasy of Killacloyne who was killed in the attack on General Strickland at Killacloyne Bridge near Carraig-twohill.

A wreath was laid on the grave while the buglers sounded the Last Post and Reveille. Relatives of the late volunteer present included his brother, Mr. Frank Deasy of Killacloyne.

As the parade wended its way through the town towards the cemetery it was estimated that there was nearly 5,000 people present. In the cemetery a decade of the Rosary was recited in Irish and wreaths were laid on the graves.

The parade returned to the

Rock where a public meeting was held. Mr. Denny Connors, Ballyvodka presided and introduced the speaker, Liam Early, T.C. Mr. Early, who had only recently been released from the Curragh, was accorded a great reception from the crowd as he appeared on the platform to speak.

During his oration, Mr. Early appealed to his listeners to rally to the Republican cause and to make every effort in their power to achieve the ideals for which the men of Clonmult gave their lives. Continuing, he said that the fight in the North to-day was a continuation of our seven hundred year struggle for freedom.

He appealed to the people to sign the national protest forms as hundreds had been interned in the name of the people. The Government had got no mandate from the people to intern anyone; they were interning people to please England and to try and smash the Republican movement. Concluding, Mr. Early said that thousands of Irishmen had died, not for the State which we had to-day, but for an Irish Republic and it was the duty of every one present to help achieve this. The meeting concluded with the National Anthem.

In this "rock and roll" age it is the simple (and worthwhile) people of our countryside alone who retain their appreciation of the rebel ballad, when they can hear it nowadays. Their sense of nationhood would be heartened and revived by your giving to them that vividness of our history which they cannot get elsewhere.

It was Mitchel who explained how he, of planter stock, could be a fervent nationalist by saying that he owed all his devotion to "the land where my mother gave me birth and where my father's bones are laid."

Ulster stands forth as the mother of much of our national tradition. Cuchulainn is the very symbol of Ireland's dauntless resistance. It was to Ulster Patrick first came; the noble line of Hy-Neill played a major part in the independent Ireland; in the centuries of invasion sons of the North were always to the fore in the wars for freedom; and when the old order was destroyed, in Belfast was born the Republican faith to which we give our allegiance to-day.

How rich is Ulster in the graves of Ireland's dead! Padraig, Brid and Columille; Brian who smashed the Danish invaders; the clansmen, who, at the Yellow Ford and Benburb, and on a hundred fields of glory beat back the English foe, sleep beneath the Ulster sod; the occupied part of the province holds the graves of Orr and Munro, Betsy Grey and Henry Joy, and Mitchel, home from exile, now sleeps beside his father in Newry.

How vividly could be emphasised the links that make us one despite the present artificial border! Thomas Russell of Cork, hanged at Downpatrick; Charlie Daly of Kerry, executed near the

Beir buadh and beannacht.  
6 "Phobhlachtánach."  
Tralee.



# An Cumann Cabhrach

FOR THE DEPENDENTS OF REPUBLICAN PRISONERS

|                           |      |                             |      |     |    |   |  |                           |      |     |    |    |
|---------------------------|------|-----------------------------|------|-----|----|---|--|---------------------------|------|-----|----|----|
| ANTRIM :                  |      | Glenageary                  | .... | 3   | 7  | 3 |  | Grecora and               |      |     |    |    |
| Antrim                    | .... | Howth                       | .... | 7   | 0  | 0 |  | Raheen                    | .... | 10  | 4  | 6  |
| CAVAN :                   |      | GALWAY :                    |      |     |    |   |  | LONGFORD :                |      |     |    |    |
| Cumann Sinn Fein,         |      | Galway City collection      | .... | 54  | 8  | 6 |  | House to house collection |      |     |    |    |
| Corlough                  | .... | Ballinderreen               | .... | 4   | 13 | 0 |  | Longford Town             | .... | 26  | 14 | 0  |
| CLARE :                   |      | KERRY :                     |      |     |    |   |  | Weekly collections—       |      |     |    |    |
| Cumann Sinn Fein,         |      | Tralee                      | .... | 103 | 13 | 0 |  | Longford                  | .... | 7   | 16 | 9  |
| Cill Ruis                 | .... | Ballymacelligott            | .... | 30  | 0  | 0 |  | Football matches,         |      |     |    |    |
| Kilmihil                  | .... | Kilflynn                    | .... | 11  | 0  | 3 |  | Longford                  | .... | 2   | 7  | 3  |
| Cluain an Atha            | .... | Curraheen                   | .... | 8   | 2  | 0 |  | LOUTH :                   |      |     |    |    |
| Cubhar                    | .... | Abbeydorney                 | .... | 13  | 10 | 0 |  | Fatima                    | .... | 1   | 18 | 0  |
| Coillte                   | .... | Camp                        | .... | 4   | 5  | 3 |  | Bridgetchin               | .... | 1   | 4  | 6  |
| Cuar a' Chlair            | .... | Lixnaw                      | .... | 21  | 10 | 0 |  | Kilcurry                  | .... | 3   | 1  | 3  |
| Mullach                   | .... | Keel                        | .... | 6   | 6  | 6 |  | MONAGHAN :                |      |     |    |    |
| Dun Bheag                 | .... | Currans                     | .... | 9   | 2  | 6 |  | Knockatallon              | .... | 7   | 9  | 6  |
| Beal Atha                 | .... | Dingle                      | .... | 21  | 2  | 6 |  | Aghabog                   | .... | 7   | 10 | 0  |
| Crioch                    | .... | Castlegregory               | .... | 10  | 10 | 0 |  | OFFALY :                  |      |     |    |    |
| Cill Caoidhe              | .... | Cloghane                    | .... | 18  | 2  | 6 |  | Tubber                    | .... | 16  | 6  |    |
| Shaid na Cathrach         | .... | Lyrecrompane                | .... | 6   | 3  | 0 |  | Pullough                  | .... | 4   | 15 | 0  |
| Magh                      | .... | Lispole                     | .... | 10  | 15 | 0 |  | Mountbolus                | .... | 4   | 4  | 0  |
| Crusheen                  | .... | Churchill                   | .... | 13  | 15 | 0 |  | Kilcormac                 | .... | 5   | 0  | 0  |
| Doora                     | .... | Ballylongford and           |      |     |    |   |  | Tullamore (Church         |      |     |    |    |
| Ballinruan                | .... | Tarbert                     | .... | 38  | 0  | 0 |  | Gate)                     | .... | 27  | 0  | 0  |
| Tubber                    | .... | Irramore                    | .... | 7   | 3  | 7 |  | Killeigh                  | .... | 4   | 19 | 0  |
| Boston                    | .... | Ballyheigue                 | .... | 9   | 13 | 3 |  | Kinnity                   | .... | 2   | 13 | 0  |
| Barefield                 | .... | Ardfert                     | .... | 16  | 0  | 0 |  | Cadamstown                | .... | 1   | 6  | 0  |
| Sixmilebridge             | .... | Maharees                    | .... | 9   | 10 | 0 |  | Tullamore (G.A.A.         |      |     |    |    |
| Cratloe                   | .... | Doon                        | .... | 2   | 12 | 0 |  | match)                    | .... | 7   | 0  | 0  |
| Kilmurry                  | .... | Rathea                      | .... | 2   | 9  | 1 |  | Shinrone and Tullamore    |      |     |    |    |
| The Wells                 | .... | Asdee                       | .... | 10  | 2  | 6 |  | Cumainn — collection      |      |     |    |    |
| Cloonusker                | .... | Knocknagoshel               | .... | 7   | 3  | 4 |  | at Birr                   | .... | 12  | 9  | 6  |
| Scariff                   | .... | Brosna and                  |      |     |    |   |  | TIPPERARY :               |      |     |    |    |
| Feakle                    | .... | Knocknacarrig               | .... | 8   | 18 | 6 |  | Ballypatrick Sinn Fein    |      |     |    |    |
| Kilclaren                 | .... | KILDARE :                   |      |     |    |   |  | Cumann—Kilcash and        |      |     |    |    |
| Clooney                   | .... | Kilcullen                   | .... | 3   | 8  | 0 |  | Kilsheelan                | .... | 5   | 0  | 0  |
| Killanena                 | .... | Athy, Castledermot, Barrow- |      |     |    |   |  | Grange                    | .... | 6   | 5  | 0  |
| CORK :                    |      | house and                   |      |     |    |   |  | Nenagh collections        | .... | 71  | 0  | 0  |
| Cumann Liam O Loinsigh,   |      | Ballylinan                  | .... | 49  | 0  | 0 |  | Hurling Match in          |      |     |    |    |
| Mitchelstown              | .... | Cumann Sinn Fein,           |      |     |    |   |  | Thurles                   | .... | 12  | 2  | 6  |
| Cumann Donal O Sionnaigh, |      | Leixlip                     | .... | 2   | 5  | 6 |  | WATERFORD :               |      |     |    |    |
| Castletownroche           | .... | KILKENNY :                  |      |     |    |   |  | An Cumann Cabhrach,       |      |     |    |    |
| Cumann Eamonn Uitear,     |      | Gathabawn, Freshford        |      |     |    |   |  | Waterford City            | .... | 137 | 0  | 0  |
| Magh Ealla                | .... | (21/12/58)                  | .... | 3   | 15 | 0 |  | WESTMEATH :               |      |     |    |    |
| Killavullen               | .... | LAOIS :                     |      |     |    |   |  | Raharney                  | .... | 10  | 0  |    |
| Cumann J. Leary,          |      | Rathdowney (Ceili)          | .... | 35  | 10 | 0 |  | WEXFORD :                 |      |     |    |    |
| Drinagh                   | .... | LEITRIM :                   |      |     |    |   |  | Adamstown                 | .... | 2   | 19 | 7  |
| Cumann Traolach Mac       |      | Ceili in Aughnasheelin      | .... | 16  | 16 | 0 |  | Cloughbawn                | .... | 1   | 18 | 7  |
| Suibhne, Passage          |      | South Leitrim Church        |      |     |    |   |  | Raheen                    | .... | 15  | 0  |    |
| West                      | .... | Gate Collections            | .... | 195 | 6  | 0 |  | Bree                      | .... | 1   | 19 | 10 |
| Craobh Cathair            |      | Mullies Church Gate         |      |     |    |   |  | Galbally                  | .... | 1   | 14 | 1  |
| Chorcaighe                | .... | Collection                  | .... | 9   | 1  | 6 |  | Enniscorthy               | .... | 1   | 0  | 0  |
| DUBLIN :                  |      | LIMERICK :                  |      |     |    |   |  | WICKLOW :                 |      |     |    |    |
| Dublin Committee          | .... | Limerick                    | .... | 16  | 0  | 0 |  | An Cumann Cabhrach,       |      |     |    |    |
| Cumann Sean Treacy,       |      | Lurriga, Ballybrown, Adare, |      |     |    |   |  | Bri Cualann               | .... | 10  | 7  | 6  |

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"An guth is tuise . . ." Uimhir 3

# An Fhiannaíocht agus MacPherson

"An guth is túisce ó shibhialtacht na hEorpa thiar" a thug Kuno Meyer ar litríocht mheán-aoiseach na Gaeilge. Faoin teideal sin táimid ag foilsiú sreath de altanna ar an nGaeilge agus an litríocht a bhaineann léi.

Bhíomar ag cur síos cheana féin ar na seanscéalta eachtraíochta agus laochais. Sa dara aois déag chuardar-san ar cheal agus tháinig na scéalta Fiannaíochta i dtreise. Tháinig an cineál seo scéalta go mór leis na daoine coitianta. Tá scéalta go móre leis na daoine coitianta. Tá scéalta gaisce sa litríocht seo, agus go leor laoithe (saghas bailéidí fada) meascaithe tríothe.

Sa tuairisc bheag seo nílimid chun dul isteach i gceisteanna staire féachaint ar mhair Fionn Mac Cumhaill agus na Fianna ariamh. Ní bhacfaimid ach leis an litríocht. Mhair siad i gcroí na ndaoine, agus sin an rud is tábhachtaí. Arm seasta i seirbhís an Árd-rí a bhí sa bhFéinn agus tá go leor scéalta a bhaineas lena n-eachtraí. An ceannaire atá orthu, Fionn, is fear flaithiúil é, ach é uabhrach agus cealgach.

Léirítear tréithe meoin agus meanman go cruinn sa litríocht seo. 'Sé Tóraíocht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne an sompla is fearr de seo. Chímíid Gráinne, an bhean láidir, ann, agus Diarmaid Ó Duibhne, gan eagla gan aon locht. Cuirtear a thréithe san i gcontrárthacht le drochaigne agus nea-mhaitheacht Fhinn, ag iarraidh díoltais i gcónaí.

In Eachtra Lomnochtáin tá iarracht den ghreann, le Conán Maol, Falstaff na Gaeilge, agus a dhúil go léir sa mbia agus sa digh.

Tagann an saol ósnádúrtha i gceist, le Aonghus an Bhrugha, a chabhráíonn le Diarmaid Ó Duibhne agus Gráinne nuair atá siad ar a seachnadh. Ar ndóigh, scéalta págántachta a bhí iontu seo, ach rinneadh iarracht ar iad a cheangailt leis an nGriostaíocht. Chaith Oisín céad go leith bliain i dTír na nÓg agus bhuail sé le Pádraic nuair a tháinig sé ar ais. I gcuid de na laoithe cuirtear an bheirt acu ag cómhrá agus tugann sin deis do dhaoine nithe do rá i gcoinne na hEaglaise. Cnuasach eile scéal a bhaineann le Pádraic agus Caoilte, isea Agallamh na Seanórach.

### MACPHERSON.

BHAIN ár sinsear an-thaithneamh as na scéalta seo agus bhíodh siad á n-innsint ar fud na hÉireann agus Alban. Ní rabh fhios ag an domhan mór go raibh a leitheidí ann go dtí gur fhoilsigh Albanach darbh ainm James Macpherson leabhar sa mbliain 1760—"Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland and translated from the Gaelic or Erse language."

Anois, nua-chumadóireacht ghlan a bhí iontu-siúd, mar a cruthaíodh ó shoin. Cuirtear an-spéis iontu ag an am toisc gur ceapadh gurbh ársa a bhíodar. Bhí lucht léinn agus litríochta an t-am sin ag tabhairt cuil le na sean-mhúnláí coibhinsiúnacha a bhí bunaithe ar an Laidin agus an Ghréigis. Tugadh aghaidh ar litríocht na ndaoine coitianta arís. Cé gur chum MacPherson na laoithe seo é féin, bhí eolas aige ar an bhFiannaíocht ceart go leor. Chrom Napoleon ar iad a léamh, agus Goethe, agus ceapadh go rabhadar thar cinn ar fad.

Bhí daoine in amhras faoi na laoithe seo, agus h-iarraidh ar MacPherson na bun-leaganacha a thaispeáint, rud nach ndearna sé. Fear amháin a bhí go mór in amhras a bea Samuel Johnson agus dúirt sé gur cheap sé é sin. Bhí MacPherson le báiní nuair a chuala sé é sin agus bhagair sé comhrac aonair ar Johnson, ach ní throidfeadh seisean.

Mhol na léirmheastóirí go h-ard na laoithe seo agus cuireadh i gcomparáid le saothar Homer iad.

Chun an scéal do dhéanamh i bhfad níos measa chrom Mac Pherson ar an mBéarla d'aistriú go Gaeilge! Fuair sé bás sa mbliain 1796. Nuair a foilsíodh na leaganacha "Gaeilge," 1807, níor tuigeadh ins na h-oileáin iad, an áit ar dhúirt sé go bhfuair sé iad. Droch-Ghaeilge a bhí iontu.

Feictear ó laoi amháin. "Fingal" go bhfuil Cúchulainn agus Fionn Mac Cumhaill ann—an Rúraíocht agus an Fhiannaíocht meascaithe in aon laoi amháin! Bréagnaíodh MacPherson.

### TORADH AR OBAIR AN ALBANAIGH

ACH tháinig tairbhe as an obair go léir. Músclaíodh spéis lucht léinn san Eoraip sna teangacha Ceilteacha, aicme uasal daoine le oideachas, airgead agus am le spáráil. Chuireadar spéis san ársaíocht ar a son féin, agus bhí de thoradh ar an obair gur scríobhadh síos ó shean-daoine sa Ghaeltacht go leor béaloidis.

Rinneadh an-gháire faoi na léirmheastóirí, mar bhí na laoithe seo comh maith le Homer fhaid is a ceapadh go rabhadar seanda, ach nuair a fritheadh amach gur chum MacPherson é féin iad ní raibh ach an lag-mheas orthu!

Idir 1250 agus 1400 a cumadh furmhór na laoithe Fiannaíochta. Ní fios cé chum iad, ach is cosúil nárbh fhilí oithe iad. Cnuasacht de fhoirmlí cainte atá ins na scéalta, litríocht as intinn simplí, neamh-chasta.

Bhí tuisctint ag na scéalaithé do dhúchas an duine agus thugaidis na cuntais ar uaisleacht na Féinne mar shompla ar an uaisleacht do measadh ba chóir a bheith i ngach Gael. Dúirt Oisín le Pádraic:

Ní chanaimisne an Fhiann go  
Bréag leo níor samhlaíodh riamh,  
Acht le firinne 's le neart ár lámh  
Thagamais slán as gach gliadh.

Leabhra tagartha:

Cormac Ó Cadhlaigh, An Fhiannaíocht.

Eoin Mac Néill, Duanaire Finn.

Kuno Meyer, Fianaigeacht.

Gerard Murphy, The Ossianic Lore and Romantic Tales of Medieval Ireland.

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# REPUBLICANS STILL IN JAIL

A Chara,

As one of the men recently released from the Curragh Concentration Camp I would be glad if you would allow me to comment on some aspects of the situation to-day as I find it.

I am aware that I may not yet be fully in touch with developments, but even so, feel that my comments may be of help.

First the *National Protest*. This has now been under way for about six weeks and it seems to me that its potential value is not appreciated by many of our members, with the result that it is not being pushed as energetically as it ought to be. Many people have asked me why I think the Curragh Concentration Camp was closed.

While arguing that there were a number of factors involved, I have maintained that the principle one was the *National Protest*. I admit that the expected defeat of the Fianna Fail Government at the Human Rights Court certainly had a bearing on it, but much more important than any international legal decision, is the expressed opinion of the Irish people.

The *National Protest* aims at bringing to the notice of the people that it is in their name that jailing without charge or trial is being carried out, and that the people can stop it. Whatever about the legal decision, the politicians are very much alive to the consequences of a considerable build-up of public opinion against them.

Now the Curragh Camp is empty, but surely that doesn't mean we should now lie back. We have always maintained that Belfast is in Ireland and the Crumlin Road Jail holds over 200 Republican prisoners.

The *National Protest* aims at helping them too and it is even more important now that we push the *National Protest* for all we are worth, in order to convince the people in the South that what happens in Belfast is our concern too—that we really mean it when we talk about a 32 County Republic—and that we show the Stormont junta as well as that in Dublin, that we are in earnest about the job we have undertaken.

## The Will of the People

Kerryman, March 21.

" . . . . . Of what use it is to talk about the will of the people, self-determination, the rights of small nations? They are only fine-sounding phrases to us whose country is maimed and maligned, whose people are divided and dispirited. On our soil we have a president, a governor-general, two governments, two parliaments, two civil services; three armies, one foreign, one native and one illegal; three police forces, the Garda Síochána, the R.U.C. and the B Specials. All these on a tiny island situated on the north-western extremity of Europe."

If the members of the Republican Movement would only look at the *National Protest* in this light I'm sure there would be a big increase in the number of workers available and a much greater enthusiasm shown to get the job done quickly and well.

Now for *An Cumann Cabhrach*. Many of us have come to take *An Cumann Cabhrach* for granted. It has been there for some years now and has immediately stepped in to help a man's relatives on his arrest. But we seldom give a thought to the work involved. When we realise that hundreds of pounds have been paid out each week over the past two and a half years we get some idea of the work done.

The Free State Government, in throwing men into the Curragh Concentration Camp, hoped that *An Cumann Cabhrach* would break under the strain, and that the prisoners, confronted with the need of their dependents, would be forced to sign out. *An Cumann Cabhrach* did not break—all credit to the loyal band of workers who carried it through the ordeal. They certainly deserve our thanks.

Now the Curragh is empty but once again we must remind ourselves of the men in Belfast Jail and in the English jails. There are

still over 200 Republican prisoners and their dependents have to be looked after.

Too readily do people say "All the prisoners are out—the Curragh is closed." It is essential that our members realise the position themselves and make it clear to their friends at every opportunity.

The Curragh may be closed but it accounted for less than half the number of prisoners on the lists of *An Cumann Cabhrach*—there is still an awful lot of work to be done.

Now a word to the released men. I know it is only natural that they should feel they are entitled to a rest. Fair enough, but let that rest be short. They must realise that they are being looked up to because they have been prisoners.

They are expected to give a lead. If they show energy and enthusiasm in the various activities of the movement they will have a wonderful vitalising effect on the whole organisation.

I feel sure that once they realise this they will put their backs into the work—more especially as we have to-day, I am convinced, a better opportunity of making real progress towards our goal than the Movement has had for many a long year. It is up to ourselves.

Tomas Ó Dubhghaill.

## A.P. Meeting in London

THE London correspondent of the *Irish Times* began his article on Monday, March 30 thus: "The only adjective which could be used to describe the meeting held by the Anti-Partition League at Trafalgar Square (on Easter Sunday) is pathetic."

The meeting was arranged as an Easter Commemoration by Mr. Tadg Feehan, full-time Secretary and organiser of the League, and was attended by two members of Leinster House.

This has been the procedure for some years past and it is the main annual effort of the moribund Mansion House Committee which promised to do so much but in fact achieved nothing but the squandering of the £50,000 subscribed to it by a deluded people.

That the people have seen through the pretence at last, is welcome. That the League (it only consists of a few party hench-men to-day) is deciding to fold up is timely. The patent insincerity of the whole business has only brought ridicule and derision on our people who have been misled into helping it, can now direct their efforts into more honest and more worthwhile channels.

In saying the above we do not wish to be construed as in any way condoning rowdiness or attempts to break up these meetings. On the other hand the patent insincerity of the whole business was bound to arouse the national resentment of the people, and give rise to such incidents.

## SINN FEIN

A Chara,

Do thoghadh na h-Oifigigh seo leanas ag an cruinniú bliantúil de Comhairle Ceanntar Iar Chlair:

Cathaoirleach: Mairtin de Faoite, Liosdunbhearn; Leas Cathaoirleach: S. MacMathúna, Sr. na Cathrach; Cisteoirí: A. O Lochlainn, Cill Fionabhrach agus T. O h-Earain, Inisdiomain; Runai: Pádaig O Maoileoin, Sr. na Cathrach; Timire: M. O Caoimh, Inisdiomain.

## S.F. CUMANN

A new Cumann of Sinn Féin has been formed in Mullach, Co. Clare. At the initial meeting a short talk was given by Michael O'Keeffe on Mrs. Buckley's booklet, *A Proud History of Sinn Féin*.

## NORTH ANTRIM

On St. Patrick's Day, which was a quiet day, the Tricolour was hoisted in a few places; there was one put up on a tree near the village of Dunloy; it had a box hanging to it which scared the police, so it remained hanging all day. No one saw it come down; it is believed that the British military removed it.

## FAIR PLAY

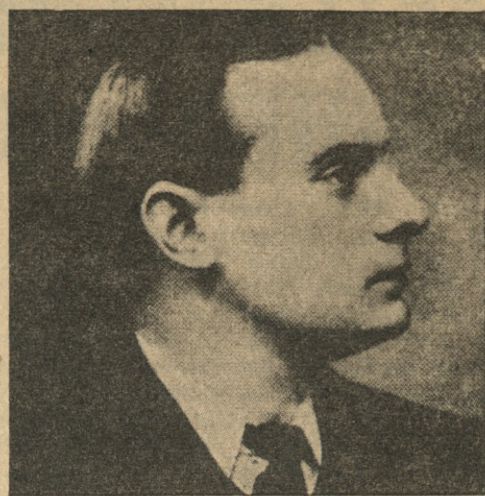
A REPORT in the "Cork Examiner", February 23, dealing with the release of Greek-Cypriot detainees in Cyprus, said: "Some ex-detainees who later drove in triumph to Nicosia were stoned by British troops on the way."

## PARADES IN THE NORTH

(From Page 1)

As the parade was moving off the local R.U.C. District Inspector, F. I. Armstrong, spoke to the man carrying the flag. More than 600 young men wearing Easter Lilies marched four-deep through Swatragh and back again to the Gaelic Field, where the Commemoration ceremony was held.

The R.U.C. did not otherwise interfere.



PADRAIG PEARSE

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MAZZIBELLE—Norman Daly, The Cottages, Lifford, Co. Donegal—Ticket 46211

## THE FOLLOWING WON £1 PRIZES

Ticket Nos. 19442, 23140, 7347, 4546, 45969, 4635  
3583, 4592, 11638, 27127, 1605, 22562

THE COMMITTEE WISH TO THANK ALL WHO HELPED TO MAKE THE DRAW A SUCCESS

## WHAT THEY ARE SAYING

"THE border difficulty arises primarily from the fact that there is a border and its existence is due to British interference in Irish affairs"—Mr. Norton in Leinster House.

IN Leinster House Capt. Giles (F.G.) said that of all their problems Partition was the most important.

It was tomfoolery and humbug to buy jets for the sake of "a fake prestige."

Referring to recent statements on Partition by Mr. Macmillan and Mr. de Valera, Capt. Giles said that nothing had been done to abolish the Border. If Mr. de Valera would not do it, if Fianna Fail would not do it, the Irish people would step in and do it.

IN the 26-Co. Senate, referring to the P.R. Bill, Mr. J. O'Leary said Fianna Fail brought in the measure because they saw the danger from a third party—Sinn Féin. Mr. de Valera was not in touch with the people; he was going away from the Party, and the proposed measure was the

best thing to keep the Party together.

IT is time the people of the Six Counties were made to realise that they are bordering on the brink of an economic catastrophe, said Mr. F. Hanna (Ind. Lab.) in a Stormont debate on the economic situation.

"The signs and portents are there," he continued. "To deny the matter any longer or to pretend that things are all right is to play a political confidence trick on the people."

Between 1945 and 1958 employment in agriculture had fallen from 23,000 to 12,000 and in linen from 44,000 to 30,000 and linen factories were closing weekly—five in the past two weeks.

The British shipbuilding industry, on which Belfast was dependent, was declining and Belfast would be the first to suffer, while ship repairing in Cork was being revived. There were 3,800 unemployed in Derry. A cotton factory there was to have employed 500 but was actually employing 25 or 30.

## THE NINTH ANNUAL

## Feis Birmingham

Roinn na Rince at St. Patrick's R.C. School, Dudley Road, 16, 17, 18 May (Whitsuntide).

Roinn na Gaelige, Amhránaíocht, Drama agus Ceol Abbey Hall, Erdington, Sunday 24 May.

This Feis is organised annually by the two Birmingham branches of the Gaelic League

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Croabh an Athar O Flanagan, Horse Fair.

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# EASTER CEREMONIES AT DROGHEDA AND DUNDALK

THE Drogheda Easter Commemoration took place after the 11 a.m. Mass in St. Peter's Church. Headed by the Drogheda Brass and Reed Band, the parade formed up outside the Church and marched through the town to the Halpin-Moran Memorial on the Marsh Road.

Wreaths were laid on behalf of the relatives and the Republican Movement, a decade of the rosary was recited and the Last Post sounded, and the Statement from the Resistance Movement was read.

**Tomas Ó Dubhain**, Droichead Atha, presided, and the oration was given by **Tomas Ó Dubhghaill**, Dublin.

The Mayor and members of the Corporation attended in the robes of office and some hundreds of the townspeople accompanied the parade to the memorial.

The Commemoration in Dundalk was attended by the Thos. Ashe Pipe Band of Corduff, Co. Monaghan and the Sean Larkin Accordion Band from Maghera, Co. Derry. Headed by a Colour Party the parade marched from the Square through Clanbassil St. and the Newry Road to the Republican Plot.

**Tommy Greene** of Dundalk presided, and recited a decade of the rosary, wreaths were laid and the Statement from the Resistance Movement read. The oration was given by **Tomas O Dubhghaill**, Dublin. Many people from Newry and South Armagh areas took part in the ceremony.

In the course of his oration **Tomas O Dubhghaill** said:

"Gathered here to-day to commemorate the Rising of 1916 and to honour the men who died then and since for the Irish Republic,

it behoves us to examine what progress, if any, has been made towards that goal. Here in Co. Louth you people are well aware of the so-called Border which divides us into two Statelets, both set up under the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. You are well aware of the co-operation that has gone on, particularly during the past two years, between the military and police forces of North and South in trying to maintain that "Border" and thereby maintain British domination in Ireland. Let us examine very briefly the position of the two statelets.

"The Southern Statelet was accepted by many on the plea that it was 'a stepping stone to the Republic, that it gave freedom to achieve freedom. It is not necessary for me to point out that this has proved a delusion — that nothing has been achieved through the Free State (apart from changing a few names — from Governor General to President for example). The 26-County State remains as securely under British domination to-day as it was when first it was set up.

"What about the Northern Statelet? The people there were told that their hopes of security and prosperity lay in continued union with Britain. Has that prosperity and security materialised? No more than in the Southern State, those promises have not been fulfilled. On economic grounds alone a very strong case can be made against both statelets with their abject failure to deal with the problems of unemployment and emigration."

"What have the politicians done about it? Year after year we see Stormont ministers going over to London to beg for some assistance from Whitehall. Year

after year we have seen them return with a few crumbs, and try to persuade their long suffering people that they have worked wonders.

"There is another suggestion made in connection with Mr. O'Kelly's current trip to the U.S. It is said that he has approached Mr. Eisenhower with a view to getting him to use his influence to bring about the unity of the two statelets. It is pointed out that a solution was reached in Cyprus, without recourse to partition and that could be a model for Ireland.

"Such wishful thinking! It is worse than pitiable! The great contrast between our position and Cyprus is that Cyprus, an island with a population equal to that of Dublin County, fought stubbornly for years against the British invaders, and by their courage have forced this settlement. We, on the other hand, apparently have lain down under the lash that whipped us—our politicians both North and South have collaborated with the enemy."

"Speaking here in Co. Louth, so close to the British-made Border, I want to address some remarks to our fellow-countrymen in the North. I want to point out to them that the Proclamation of 1916 asserted 'The Irish Republic guarantees civil and religious liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally.'"

"We of the Republican Movement stand over that guarantee, and we will welcome with open arms our brothers from the North, both Protestant and Catholic, the only proviso being that they accept their place in the Irish nation."

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### 15cúimne

The 11 o'clock Mass in University Church, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, on Sunday, April 12, will be offered for the repose of the souls of

TONY DARCY, died on hunger strike, April 16, 1940.

SEAN MacNEELA, died on hunger strike, April 19, 1940.

SEAN MARTIN, Belfast, killed in accidental explosion, April 25, 1940.

## Co. Longford Easter Commemoration

THE County Longford Annual Easter Commemoration Ceremony was held on Easter Sunday in Carra Cemetery at the graveside of Captain Patrick Murphy I.R.A., who died in defence of the Republic on January 24, 1923.

**Tomas Ó hUiginn**, Longford, presided, and the Proclamation of the Republic and the County Longford Roll of Honour were read by **Hubert C. Wilson**. The Last Post and Reveille were sounded and the Resistance Easter Statement read.

Several hundred people marched to the cemetery from Granard, led by a Colour Party and Newtownforbes Boys' Fife and Drum Band.

**Sean Ó Bradaigh**, who delivered the oration, said:—

"This year we meet in Carra at the graveside of Captain Patrick Murphy, Irish Republican Army, who died in defence of the Republic on January 24, 1923.

"This scene is being re-enacted in cemeteries all over Ireland to-day and in places as far away as America and Australia. This simple but nonetheless solemn and dignified ceremony is performed for two purposes—to give respect and honour to all those who gave their lives for the freedom of Ireland, and to obtain inspiration from their deeds and sacrifices to continue with the struggle for the attainment of their ideals.

"Those who we commemorate laboured fought and died to assert and maintain the right of the Irish people to full control over their own affairs and freedom from interference from any outside power. In every generation since the conquest of Ireland was begun efforts have been made to overthrow that conquest. In our own day the struggle goes on in the hills of Ulster and in the jails and concentration camps.

### SAME DOCTRINE

"The Irish Republican Movement to-day preaches the same doctrine as the men of 1916 held — complete separation from

England. It is said by some that we claim a monopoly of patriotism and that we glorify militarism. That is untrue. The men and women of the Resistance Movement in our six occupied counties are simply striving to complete the task left unfinished by another generation. With God's help and with your help, this generation will surely complete the task of freeing Ireland.

"It is indeed shameful that as our people in the six counties endure all the trials, privations and hardships that stem from British occupation, here in the 26 Counties there are Irishmen who are actively collaborating in maintaining British rule in the North. Ever since its establishment in 1922 the role of the Free State has always been that of collaboration — not merely collaboration, but betrayal of the Nationalist people of the North, who are enduring all forms of torture and terrorisation at the hands of British troops, R.U.C. and B. Specials.

"£28,000 of your monies have been earmarked for the operation of the Offences Against the State Act in the coming year, compared with £18,000 this year. Let no one think that the release of all the prisoners from the Curragh Concentration Camp indicates a change of heart on the part of the Fianna Fail regime — it is merely a change of tactics. At this very moment Special Branch detectives and police are patrolling this side of the Border in conjunction with the R.U.C."

The speech concluded: "But all is not lost. There is hope still, and that hope is in a return to ideals and principles which motivate Sinn Féin and the Resistance Movement. It is imperative that at this stage now we get into our minds a clear concept of our objectives and stand fast, by the principles enunciated by all the great teachers from Tone to Pearse, MacSwiney and Sean Sabhat in our own day — the principles for which Captain Patrick Murphy gave his life."

## McManus-Crossan Memorial Tribute

(Continued from Page 1)

The Chairman was **Peter Albert McGovern** of Swanlinbar.

In the course of the oration **Sean Cronin** recalled the death by explosion of **Pat McManus** on July 15, 1958, and the killing of **James Crossan** on August 28, 1958.

Speaking of the loyalty of the Irish people to the Republican tradition and to the struggle for independence, as could be seen by the throngs gathered there that day. He said this was something British rule in Ireland had never understood. Others also were in danger of forgetting it.

"This loyalty, this faith, is symbolised in these wayside Crosses," the speaker said. "They tell us the story of brave men who went out to fight for the freedom of their country and who died for the cause. At a time like this it is fitting to ask why it is that men have to die, and others lose their liberty in our time for the cause of Irish freedom?"

### VINDICATION

Pointing out that because the prisoners held in the Curragh Concentration Camp had been re-

leased was no reason for us to forget that 300 men are still held in Belfast Prison and two are serving life sentences in England. He said:

"There is no release for **Pat McManus** or **James Crossan** or their comrades who gave their lives during this period of struggle so that Ireland might be free. Vindication can only come when Ireland is free, when British occupation forces have been driven out, when Britain has ceased interfering in the affairs of Ireland and her people."

He concluded: "Pat McManus and James Crossan made this pledge with their blood. And we must honour their pledge. Less than that we cannot do."

Wreaths were laid by representatives of the following:— The Resistance Movement in Occupied Ireland; Cavan Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin; Leitrim Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin; Longford Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin; Belturbet Cumann na mBan; Leitrim Cumann na mBan; Templecrowe, Co. Cavan, James Crossan Cumann of Sinn Féin; Paul Smith Sinn Féin Cumann, Swanlinbar.

## TRIBUTE TO MARTYRS KILLED AT DRUMBOE

THE annual commemoration at Drumboe, Co. Donegal opened with a parade from Johnson's Corner led by a Colour Party. Wreaths were laid at the foot of the County Memorial by **Sean Duggan** of Antrim and **Pat Dawson** of Letterkenny.

The Easter Statement was read by **James Gallagher** and the 1916 Proclamation by **Paddy Curran**. A decade of the rosary was recited by **Sean Heaney** and the Donegal Roll of Honour was read by **Pat Dawson**.

In the course of an oration **Sean Duggan** (Antrim) said:

"To-day and since December 1956 the Resistance Movement in the Six Counties is struggling with the British Army of Occupation in support of the same separatist ideal—to break the connection with England—which is the root cause of all our troubles.

"The Resistance will not end until the last thread of connection with England is broken. The Resistance will not die because it has its roots in and stems from the hearts and minds of the Irish

people. When the people of the Six Counties entered into this fight with the British they did so because every other constitutional method was barred to them.

"They entered this fight well aware of the torture and treachery that would be dealt out to them. But they realised that there is only one language that British Imperial power understands or will listen to and that is the language the Resistance forces are using towards the British forces for the last two and a half years."

The speaker concluded: "Only when Ireland is established as a free and independent nation will we have really honoured our patriot dead. May God bless the work and guide the actions of our Movement."

## Released

Kevin O'Brien who was serving a sentence of three months in Mountjoy Jail for possession of firearms was released unconditionally on Wednesday, March 25.



# Merely a Change of Tactics

THE intrusion of Mr. Macmillan into the affairs of the 26 Counties — for that is what it constitutes in spite of his vehement denials—is but another instance of British interference in Irish affairs and of official Irish acquiescence to such interference. Mr. de Valera's reply to the British Premier did nothing to allay the suspicions of the people of Ireland that it was but another spate of words "signifying nothing."

Mr. Macmillan, in his speech before leaving Belfast, referred to the release of internees from the Curragh Concentration Camp and protested strongly over these releases—as well he might, seeing he is a typical Tory politician with a conviction that Britain still has a mandate to keep the unruly Irish in their places.

Mr. de Valera, however, although he waxed eloquent about the injustice of "Partition," was strangely silent in regard to the question of the internees. Surely, if he wished to show his independence of Britain and British politicians, he should have replied to Macmillan's principal point. Or is Mr. de Valera not in a position to quarrel with the British over the internees?

This strange silence on his part was noted in many quarters. The "Daily Express," no lover of Ireland at any time, pointed out: But in his speech . . . (Mr. de Valera) did not refer to the British Prime Minister's protest over the release of more than 100 political prisoners from the Curragh internment camp."

Instead, Mr. de Valera repeated the facts of British injustice in Occupied Ireland — as if Britain herself did not realise and know of the existence of such injustice long ago! How naive can Mr. de Valera get? He would have been better employed in pin-pointing the cause of all the trouble—the presence of British troops in Occupied Ireland against the wishes of the majority of the people of all Ireland. But not once did Mr. de Valera mention that fact. Over it, as well as over the question of the internees, a veil of silence and secrecy seems to be drawn. Is Mr. de Valera afraid of the truth? Is he reluctant to annoy the British by

drawing attention to ugly facts? Or is he simply electioneering?

Mr. Hugh Delargy, Labour M.P. for Turrock in the British Commons, may have been nearer the truth than he realised when he said: "(Mr. Macmillan) . . . could not have done better if he were Mr. de Valera's publicity agent." ("Sunday Press," March 8). It was a glorious opportunity for Mr. de Valera who will soon be going to the country with two issues.

As Mr. J. McQuillan, T.D., said at a meeting of Roscommon County Council: "The general public should not be misled by the calculated indirection of him. Do we not know very well that the British Tory Government's best friends in this country are Mr. de Valera and his present Government."

At the same meeting a Fine Gael T.D., Mr. J. Burke, said: "It looked like a prearranged thing between Mr. Macmillan and the Taoiseach."

No amount of talk and platitudes about "British injustice in the Six Counties" can obscure the real position: the wish of the people of all Ireland to be reunited and the continued thwarting of that wish by the negative indecision—nay, positive and deliberate indecision—of the politicians. Mr. de Valera's pious pleadings about the "rights of majorities" in areas along the British-imposed boundary sound hollow when placed beside his utterly negative attitude towards the problem of uniting the Irish people in all his years in power. Has Mr. de Valera, for instance, ever issued an official protest about the presence of British troops on Irish soil? Has he protested when Nationalists are, even to this day, arrested and interned without charge or trial? It might be invidious for him to raise such a matter when he had a concentration camp of his own here, but he would have been entitled to protest against similar injustices in Occupied Ireland.

On the contrary, Mr. de Valera has collaborated with the forces of Britain in maintaining the border, has done Britain's bidding

(Contd. bottom Col. 3)

## Cumann na gCailini

A new branch of Cumann na gCailini has been opened in Bray and all girls from the age of six years who would like to join should write to:

The Secretary,  
Bray Cumann na mBan,  
c/o United Irishman,  
One Gardiner Row, Dublin.

## Unconditionally Released

The following prisoners have been released from the Curragh Concentration Camp. All releases were unconditional.

Patrick O'Sullivan, Dublin; Sean F. Cronin, Terenure, Dublin; Michael Ryan, Dublin; Frank MacGlade, Belfast; Aindrias Mac Domhnaill, Aonach Urmhun, Toibraid Arann; Tom Nixon, Clondalkin, Dublin; Seamus Mac Killican, 28 Sraid Wolfe Tone, Luimneach; Liam Nolan, 67 Bangor Road, Crumlin, Dublin; Ruairi Mac Daibheid, Griffith Ave., Dublin; Tomas Mac Curtain, Corcaigh; Pat Connolly, Fermanagh; Liam MacGarry, Wexford; Brian Boylan, Cavan; Frank MacDonnell, Antrim; Sean O Dubhda, Ciarrai; Labhras O Murchu, Tiobraid Arann.

Sean Hennessy, Galmoy, Co. Kilkenny; James Graham, Dublin; Brian O Hagan, Mullaghawan, Co. Armagh; Seamus Mac Aoidh, Machaire Cluana, Co. Mhuineachain; Dermot Blake, An Uaimh; Seamus Costello, Bray; Joseph Maguire, Ballinagh, Co. Cavan; Jim Columb, Gonna, Co. Cavan; Sean Garland, 7 Belvedere Place, Dublin; Micheal Mac Giobuin, Ath Cliath; Noel Kavanagh, 141 Tritonville Rd., Sandymount, Dublin; Edward Gargan, Broadstone, Dublin; Seoirse Dearle, Dublin; Frank Morrissey, Dolphin's Barn, Dublin.

Charles Murphy, Dublin; Tomas O Dubhghaill, Dublin; Eamon Thomas, Dublin; Harry Goff, Ennisclorthy; Gearoid O Broin, Aonach Urmhun; Seamus McCallum, Liverpool; Frank MacCarry, Antrim; Micheal MacCarthaigh, Corcaigh; Kevin McCooey, Monaghan; Tomas MacGiolla, Aonach Urmhun.

Joseph Conway, Newry; Joseph B. O Hagan, Lurgan, Co. Armagh; Hugh Heaney, Lurgan, Co. Armagh; Frank Skuse, Cork; Andrew Nathan, Dublin; Anthony Magan, Dublin; Robert Russell, Dublin; Brendan Sealy, Dublin; Frank Driver, Ballymoreeustace, Co. Kildare; Sean Cronin, Dublin; Don Merrins, Dublin; Billy Stewart, Dundalk.

In spite of all the insinuations, we wish to emphasise that all released prisoners whose names have appeared in the "United Irishman" have been released unconditionally.

(Contd. from Col. 2)

when Notes were delivered in Dublin (and may do so again), and, in short, has been Britain's best friend in Ireland. His gesture in releasing the internees from the Curragh Concentration Camp must not be taken as indicating a change of heart on Mr. de Valera's part. Rather should it be regarded as merely a change in tactics.

NORMAN.

# Countess Bridge Commemoration

A LARGE procession formed up outside the Fair Green, Kilarney, on Saturday night, March 7, to commemorate the 36th anniversary of the Countess Bridge Martyrs in which Stephen Buckley, Daniel Donoghue, Jeremiah Donoghue and Tim Murphy gave their lives for the Cause of Irish Freedom.

The procession was led by the Cook Volunteer Pipe Band followed by the Fianna Eireann, Cumann na mBan and the general parade through the town to the Countess Bridge, where wreaths were laid on behalf of the Republican organisations of South Kerry.

A decade of the Rosary was recited in Irish by Redmond O'Sullivan. The Last Post and Reveille was sounded by Fianna buglers from Cork. Jack Shea presided.

Derick McKenna, in his oration, said: "A Chairde, 36 years ago tonight, five local men, members of the I.R.A., were brought here to this spot, handcuffed and tied together. In the mine that exploded, one of them escaped and these four names that appear on this memorial were done to death by renegade Irishmen. Their only crime was that they were Republicans and believed in a 32-County Republic.

"People say that we should forget the past, but we make no apology for coming here to this holy and sacred spot to honour and pay tribute to these brave soldiers and to renew our allegiance to the cause for which they died.

Republican Ireland will always honour the men who gave their lives for Irish Freedom, Tone, Emmett, the men of '16, of '20, of '22 and '23. The men of '39-46 and those in the present-day fight for freedom.

"It is sad to think that 36 years after this Calvary of these men that Ireland still remains unfree, that British forces still occupy our country, and that young Irish Freedom fighters must take up arms in the hills and glens of Ulster to-day in the same fight for Freedom.

"I appeal to the Irish people to unite and join the Republican Movement so that in our time we will establish the 32-County Republic which is the only real memorial to erect to these, and all other Irish patriots who gave their lives for Ireland."

The chairman, thanked the general public, Cumann na mBan, Fianna Eireann, Cork Volunteer Pipe Band and the speaker, Mr. Derick McKenna.

## Sydney Function

On Sunday, February 1, the Sheares-Connolly Cumann, Sinn Fein, Sydney, held its annual picnic. The location was Stanwell Park, which is on the N.S.W. south coast, about forty miles from Sydney.

In attendance again this year was Liam Good. Liam, now in his seventies has been a member of the Cumann since its formation. Formerly of Cork, he has never lost sight of Ireland's struggle for freedom, a true Gael and an inspiration to the Sheares-Connolly Cumann.

## I.R.P.B. Statement

We have been asked to state that the Resistance Movement in British-Occupied Ireland takes full responsibility for the series of operations in the Crossmaglen area of Co. Armagh on March 13. It had no connection with the attack on an R.U.C. patrol on the same day reported to have taken place on the Tyrone-Monaghan Border.

Signed:

J. McGarrity,  
Secretary.

Irish Republican Publicity Bureau

## God will be the Irish Host

God be with the Irish host,  
Never be their battle lost,  
For in battle, never yet  
Have they basely earned defeat.

Have them in Thy holy keeping,  
God, be with them lying sleeping,  
God, be with them standing fighting,  
Erin's foes in battle smiting.

Translation from the Irish of O'Byrne's bard to the Clans of Wicklow

—From Samuel Ferguson.

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# GAOL WITHOUT TRIAL

DINGLE FOOT, M.P. (London Observer, March 22, 1959)

## An Englishman looks at Imperial "Justice" in Ireland, Rhodesia, Kenya and Nyasaland

LAST Wednesday the Preventive Detention Bill was introduced in the Parliament of Southern Rhodesia. Persons detained for known or suspected subversive activities may be detained indefinitely at the Governor's pleasure. They may appeal to a special committee of five Members of Parliament. There is, however, no recourse to the courts. The Bill specifically prohibits applications to any court for an order or any similar relief.

Three weeks ago Emergency Regulations were promulgated in Nyasaland. They are in similar form to those which have been in force in Kenya for the last six and a half years. In particular they provide that:—

Whenever the Governor is satisfied that, for the purpose of maintaining public order, it is necessary to exercise control over any person, the Governor may make an order (hereinafter called "a detention order") against such person directing that he be detained.

A correspondent in last Sunday's *Observer* reminded us that "some 180 legally innocent men are now rotting in Belfast's Crumlin Road goal without charge or trial, and they are imprisoned indefinitely."

These are merely three examples: it would be easy to cite others. Cabinet Ministers, especially on their voyages abroad, are never tired of proclaiming British adherence to the rule of law. Britain is a signatory of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the European Convention on Human Rights. Yet the fact remains that several millions of Her Majesty's subjects are now liable to imprisonment for an indefinite term, although they are not charged with any offence known to the law and have never been convicted by any court.

It may be said that, in colonial territories, such powers are exercisable only after a Declaration of Emergency. But the Governor is the sole judge as to whether an emergency exists. The judicial Committee of the Privy Council have twice held that his decision on this matter cannot be challenged in any court of law. Thereafter, he is free to make any regulations that he pleases, no matter how Draconian. He can suppress newspapers, prohibit public meetings, create new offences and confer upon himself or his subordinates the power to imprison without trial.

Usually, though not always, there is an Advisory Committee which informs the detainee of the grounds for his detention and gives him an opportunity of making his defence. In this country and in the colonies it is generally presided over by a judge or an eminent lawyer unconnected with the Government. The two chairmen under 18(b) during the last war were Mr. Norman Birkett (now Lord Birkett) and Mr. (now Sir) John Morris, who is now a Lord Justice of Appeal. They took immense pains to unravel the facts of each case before making their recommendations (which were some-

SINCE this article was first published the Government of Southern Rhodesia has withdrawn the Preventive Detention Bill, which followed the pattern of the Special Powers Acts in the Six Co's., and the Offences Against the State Act in the 26-Counties.

Church leaders in Africa had already condemned "as characteristic of Hitlerism" some of the measures in the Bill.

Said Most Rev. Dr. Hughes, Anglican Archbishop of Central Africa. "This is so grave a departure from the traditions of British Justice that it can only be termed scandalous. I am in conscience bound to register a public protest."

The Coercion Acts which govern Ireland are still in operation.

times not accepted) to the Home Secretary.

Undoubtedly, this is a valuable safeguard. There is, however, a danger that it may come to be regarded as a substitute for a trial. Of course it is nothing of the kind. The detainee is not confronted with his accusers. He has no opportunity of cross-examination. He is not allowed legal representation before the committee. Most important of all, there is no specific standard of guilt or innocence which the committee can apply. The question for it in each case is not whether the detainee has broken the law, but whether on any grounds he should continue to be detained.

We know from experience in Kenya how vague and flimsy are some of the grounds on which persons are detained. Here, for example, is what was alleged against an internee who was detained at the beginning of the emergency:—

You had been editor of a near-seditious newspaper [here follows the name] which has now been proscribed.

It is interesting to see how the process works. First the newspaper is suppressed under emergency powers. Thereafter, the fact of its suppression is used as a ground for locking up the editor for a period of years. And what, it may be asked, is "a near-seditious newspaper"?

The second example is that of Mr. Richard Achieng Omondi, whose interment was debated in the House of Commons last April. The allegation against him was:—

You made inflammatory speeches against the Government of Kenya and Europeans, calculated to stir up sedition and interracial enmity.

That was all. No particulars were given of any single speech. Yet Mr. Omondi has been detained on Manda Island for over five years. Here is the allegation against another detainee:—

You acted as your father's clerk and to that extent had knowledge of Mau Mau plans, and to the extent that you did not reveal them became a participant.

The fantastic feature of this particular case is that when the father, who was also detained, was supplied with the grounds for his detention, it was not even suggested that he had been a member of a Mau Mau organisation.

When questions are asked in the Commons, the Government almost invariably refuse to accept responsibility. Everything must, they say, be left to the discretion of the authorities on the spot and they are not prepared to interfere. This answer ought not to be accepted by the House of Commons.

During his war-time tenure of the Home Office, Mr. Herbert Morrison was kept under constant bombardment about his decisions under Regulation 18(b). Even though its necessity was admitted, he was left in no doubt that imprisonment without trial was intensely repugnant to the great majority of Members. It should now be the business of the House to exercise similar vigilance in relation to imprisonment without trial in colonial territories.

## NATIONAL PROTEST CAMPAIGN

LEST it may be thought that there will be any change in the promotion of the National Protest, as a result of all the prisoners being released from the Curragh Concentration Camp, the National Committee now issue the following statement.

The National Protest is organised with the main purpose of providing the Irish people at home and in exile with an opportunity of signifying their opposition to Irishmen being imprisoned because they seek the full freedom of Ireland. The necessity to register that opposition is not affected in the slightest by the location at which the imprisonment exists. Neither is it effected by a particular partition Government responsible for it making a temporary change of front because of the pressure of public opinion outside and within the political party to which the Government belongs.

The task of compelling evacuation of British Forces occupying Irish territory is the responsibility of all Irishmen from Cork to Antrim and from Dublin to Galway. It is also the responsibility of all to forge ahead with the job of ensuring that the National Protest is a major success. So long as a single member of a foreign occupying force remains on Irish soil so long will Irishmen continue to apply themselves to the task of ending foreign aggression against the Irish Nation and its people. So long as a single Irishman is imprisoned for assisting in the fulfilment of that task for so long will exist the necessity for the Irish people to register their protest against such imprisonment.

In view of this there must be no relaxation of the campaign to secure the greatest possible number of signatures. There must be no lessening of the effort to provide ample opportunity for all who qualify and are anxious to demonstrate their opposition to coercion of Irishmen, to append their signatures to the National Protest. Every Committee and every worker in the campaign is urged to redouble their efforts to secure the release of all Irishmen imprisoned because they serve in the Cause of Ireland's full freedom.

## Court Case in Dublin

With references to the appearances in the Dublin District Court on the 3rd and 6th March of a man with a Dublin address charged with threatening State witnesses in a previous case of armed robbery, we have been asked to state that neither the man in question nor any of the individuals involved in the original case is a member of the Irish Republican Movement.

The Republican Movement, therefore, disclaims all responsibility for their actions.

## REINSTATED

A Chara:

Please publish in the "United Irishman" that I have been unconditionally reinstated in my employment with Coras Iompar Eireann since February 16th ult.

After my release from Mountjoy in March 1957, following a two month's sentence, I sought reinstatement with C.I.E., I was then asked to sign a document giving a guarantee as to my future activities as a condition of reinstatement. I refused to give any undertaking.

Micheal Ó Briain.

NOTE: All the prisoners who have been released from the Curragh, who were employed by C.I.E. prior to their arrest, have been reinstated in their employment unconditionally.

## NATIONAL PROTEST

National Protest Committee, c/o. "United Irishman," 1, Gardiner's Row, Dublin. Box 187.  
Phone 41045.

### APPROXIMATELY 400 IRISHMEN IN JAIL

I DECLARE THAT I AM OPPOSED TO THE IMPRISONMENT OF IRISHMEN BECAUSE THEY STAND FOR THE UNITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF IRELAND.

I affirm that I am over 21 years of age and that I have not signed this National Protest previously.

NAME

ADDRESS

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M.P.W.—E8423



# Irish Republican Appeal

We gratefully acknowledge the following contribution to the cause of Irish Freedom. Due to many factors there may be delay or errors in acknowledgement. If this should happen, please contact us and we will correct in coming issues of the "United Irishman."

## IRISH FREEDOM COMMITTEE OF NEW YORK FEBRUARY 1959 APPEAL

|                                                     |        |
|-----------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Jack Lynch                                          | 12.00  |
| M. McLoughlin                                       | 2.00   |
| Walter and John Dawson                              | 5.00   |
| Joe Carr                                            | 15.00  |
| John Curran                                         | 3.00   |
| Peter Dalton                                        | 3.00   |
| A. L. Kinahan                                       | 10.00  |
| Thomas Sullivan (James Connolly I.R.A. Club)        | 15.00  |
| Dan Meehan                                          | 5.00   |
| Robert McGrath, New York                            | 12.00  |
| Denis McNamara                                      | 5.00   |
| James Hannigan, 2386 Grand Avenue, N.Y.             | 2.00   |
| Mrs. Burns, Taps Cafe, 2805-3rd Avenue, Bronx, N.Y. | 5.00   |
| Charles O'Neill                                     | 6.00   |
| John Kelly                                          | 2.00   |
| James Kenny, 78 W. 92nd Street, New York            | 5.00   |
| P. Clifford                                         | 5.00   |
| Shamrock Bar, Melrose Avenue, Bronx, N.Y.           | 25.00  |
| Tony Gallagher, Bay Shore, N.Y.                     | 10.00  |
| George Harrison                                     | 10.00  |
| Matthew P. Higgins                                  | 10.00  |
| Irish Freedom Committee (February 6th Dance)        | 350.00 |
| Peg Hannon                                          | 5.00   |
| Liam Kearney                                        | 10.00  |
| Irish Freedom Committee of Cleveland                | 20.00  |
| John Reilly, Ronk On Koma, Long Island, N.Y.        | 2.00   |
| Subscription to the "United Irishman"               |        |
| Martin Grogan, Philadelphia                         | 5.00   |

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Any person who wishes to join An Cumann Cabhrach in this area may do so by contacting Mr. John Dunne, 921 Dufferin Avenue, London, Ontario.

Donations aym also be sent to him; all monies will be receipted both by him and by the Central Committee of An Cumann Cabhrach (Prisoners' Aid), 1 Gardiners Row, Dublin, Ireland.

## BALLYSEEDY MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

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NOTE: In connection with the unveiling of the Memorial on August 30, 1959, a delegation will represent the Official Committee in New York. Those desirous of participating should contact the Secretaries at the above address.

IRISH REPUBLICAN PRISONERS DEPENDENTS' COMMITTEE

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Picket-line staged by the Irish Republican Prisoners Aid Committee of New York outside the U.N. Building

To contact the  
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in Chicago write to the  
**Secretary :—**

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### PRISONERS DEPENDENTS' FUND

A very successful Dance was recently held by members of the Irish Republican Prisoners' Dependents Fund.

Five hundred dollars were raised for the Cause.

A fine program of entertainment was arranged, it included songs by Billy Scannell, Martin Quinn, and Tom Carey, also a very fine Irish step dancing exhibition by Sheilah O'Connell, whose folks hail from Ballyvourney and Tralee.

Plans are now being made for a bigger party, to be held during the month of April.

Best wishes to the men in Crumlin, and the jails in England.

An Cumann Cabhrach wishes to thank the following for their individual donations: Tom McGraw, Mrs. Norton, J. McCallion, E. O'Hare, J. Scallan, D. McEvoy, P. Sheehan, D. O'Connell, G. Carey, J. Bradley, J. Huddleston, T. Ryan.

—Detroit Correspondent.

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