

JACKIE GRIFFITH

He Paid the Inevitable Penalty for his Fidelity

IT was Sunday, 4th July, 1943. I had travelled from Dublin overnight and was chatting in the kitchen of a friend's house. The wireless was turned on for the news. The news titles were being read, when came the announcement that caused us all to stiffen—"young man fatally shot in Dublin street." At that time there was only a certain type of Irishman that would be shot down in the street and of that type only a few! Names leaped to one's mind. Couldn't be —, or —! God forbid!

The main heads concluded, the announcer went on—"Jackie Griffith"—Jackie who had taken leave of me so gaily and with such carefree air on the Friday previous! And now he lay dead. One could hardly realise it—the boyish face that was always wreathed in smiles, the eyes that flashed enthusiasm and eagerness, the merry chuckle now still forever!

"And who was this Jackie Griffith?" some will ask! He was a young Volunteer, unknown, unheard of as far as the people of Ireland were concerned—not a famous leader like Cathal Brugha or Liam Lynch or Rory O'Connor—just a volunteer that combined the youth of Kevin Barry, the idealism of Padraig Pearse, the daring of Cathal Brugha. Since his escape from Mountjoy Gaol the November previous he had, as a member of Charlie Kerins' staff striven, might and main, day and night with a small handful to put the army of the Republic on a sound footing once more.



He had been hounded by the Special Branch and only the previous week-end had had a remarkable escape and now he had paid the inevitable penalty for his fidelity to Irish freedom. Cycling in Mount Street, he was overtaken by two squad cars, the occupants of which opened up a regular fusillade at the young Volunteer. A fatal bullet cracked through the back of his head and Jackie fell mortally wounded on the roadside. A passing sagart administered the Last Rites, bearing out Jackie's oft-repeated admonition—"Ye are safe with me lads; I'll never die without the priest." Surely, Saint Martha to whom he had a lively devotion looked after her faithful one well, for strangely enough, Jackie had been to Confession by appointment that

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morning at half eleven.

Mr. Boland exercised his coercion laws to closure the inquest and thus the Irish people never learned the true manner of this young Volunteer's death.

On this his fifth anniversary, we renew our allegiance to the cause for which he died, and when the time comes for each of us to "cross the bar" we trust that we shall have "as little to fear from the justice of God or from the judgement of posterity."

"CEIRINEACH"

COLLECTORS ARE REMINDED
TO RETURN BLOCKS FOR OUR
FREE DRAWING OF PRIZES
BEFORE 17th JULY.

SEAN McCAUGHEY MEMORIAL

The Memorial to Sean McCaughey, erected by the National Graves' Association in Milltown Cemetery, Belfast, was unveiled on May 16. The following oration was delivered by P. McLogan.

MAR is eol d'í, a Cáirde, táimro annseo moirú cun omós agus onóir a cádhairt do'n laó is déanairde a v'fulaig bás. ar son pobláct na héireann—Sean Mac Eógar, fear go raib spiorad na saoirse agus spiorad an saolais in a éiríde ó tús a saolais.

Fear misneamh i ngníomh do beaó é, fear ciailmar i gcomairle, fear seasmac tuéarctac, fear nac raib don muintir aise as na cleasurde aró-glóra a bíos as amliugad gac 're sead, ar leat-cois Saedailis agus ar leat-cois galla.

Ní raib an teanga aise ó d'úctas, ac bí an meon Saedailis aise i gcomairle. Tósnug sé as foilum na Saedilge agus é in a buacail óis, agus lean sé de'n foilum, ní amám go raib sé in ann an Saedil a labairt go liomta, ac go raib sé in a muinteoir Saedilge. Níorú fear-an-rit-searraig ariam é.

As an am céanna, bí sé in a ball de cumann luait-cleas Saedail, 'na ball de gac cumann siamsa agus de gac Cumann Saoirse, Oibrithe tuéallac i ngsac gne náisiuntais.

Bí meas mór as a luic aiteantais air, agus as a cómráirí i ngsac don cumann agus as na daoine coitceamnta, ac ní bréas a ráo nac meas nó molaó a fuair sé ó daoine áirite eile. Is am-lar a cúicigead le gear leanamaint é, cuiread pé glas é, amannta bí air d'ul ar a teicead, cuiread i bpriosún arís é, mar a bpuaire sé (san aitebél dá laigeas) troc-íve na muc is na matorái, go t'í, mteire na scribe go beirgean do bás v'fulmigt ar son a cretoim náisiunta .i. Éire iomlán saor agus Saedailac, mar a rinne Dia í, náisiun saor imeasc náisiun an domáin.

Dá brígh sin cá brón agus brón oraim moirú—brón go bpuaire sé bás i mblac a óise, bás brónac padalac ar leabard priosúnac; brón gur bron-naó air calmaic an-pir-Saedil go t'í an spúeró deireannac; brón gur dain sé an buaró.

Déimro as noctú an cuimneacáin ar ball, ac crutugeann an sluag mór seo, a táimig as gac áirde, go bpuaire cuimneacáin dá noctú fá láctain i nÉirinn, cuimneacáin spioradmaí i gcúis na héireann, cúis do hait beoúad de barr saolais agus bás Seán uasal míc Eógar.

JUST over two years ago, on May 11, 1946, another soldier of the Irish Republic passed to his eternal reward. In his life, and particularly in the manner of his death, Sean McCaughey, to whose memory we pay tribute to-day, exemplified all that is great, all that is heroic in the history of Ireland's long struggle for freedom.

EARLY EFFORTS IN FREEDOM'S CAUSE

In the historic County of Tyrone in the year 1916, that year which opened up one of the greatest epochs in the history of our country, Sean first saw the light of day. From his ancestors he inherited the urge to serve Ireland and in early youth he revealed his desire and determination to work for a free and Gaelic Ireland. Very early in life he must have come to a realisation that Ireland can not be really free unless she be Gaelic as well; never really Gaelic unless free as well, because at the age of 17 he joined those organisations whose avowed object it is to achieve the Ireland of Padraig Páirse's dream.

Once having set himself the task of conquest, Sean never veered, never turned aside from the true course which leads to that end. Into the work of those organisations he entered with all the earnestness and sincerity at his command. Having first acquired a fluent knowledge of the Irish language he then devoted himself to the work of teaching it to others. In the Ceilidhe Hall and on the grounds of the G.A.A. no one was more energetic or enthusiastic than he in striving to restore our National pastimes to their rightful place in the lives of our people. But to him it was the Physical Force Movement which made the greatest appeal. To it as the surest means of securing complete separation from England, he pinned all his National faith. His rapid promotion from one rank to another, within that Movement, at once bear testimony to his courage, sincerity and integrity, and the confidence reposed in him by his comrades.

ARREST IN DUBLIN

Not for long, however, could Sean hope to continue, as an active worker in the cause of Freedom, without attracting the attention of the Partition Govern-

ments by which Ireland is ruled, and very soon his capture was sought on both sides of the British-imposed border. Having evaded arrest for a period, having served a sentence of six months imprisonment in the Free State, he was finally arrested in Dublin and charged with common assault and unlawful detention. Found guilty on this charge by a Special Court of Military Officers, he received from the Court the only sentence it could impose—the sentence of death. In face of the fierce public resentment aroused by this savage sentence the Free State Government caused it to be commuted to one of penal servitude for life. Thus from the condemned cell in Mountjoy to Portlaoighise Prison began the last journey which Sean McCaughey was destined to make in this world.

CONDITIONS IN PORTLAOIGHISE

I need not dwell on the conditions in Portlaoighise Prison, conditions for which the members of the Free State Government alone were responsible, and from which resulted Sean's decision to strike for his freedom. Nor need I here enter into details of the horrible ordeal through which he lived for the 23 days his hunger and thirst strike lasted. In the first hour of May 11th, 1946, through God's Mercy, his ordeal ended when his soul passed to the Judgment Seat of his Eternal Father. In that hour Sean McCaughey emerged victorious and triumphant over his and Ireland's enemies, and over those who had predetermined his end and callously turned a deaf ear to all pleadings and all protests made on his behalf.

FINAL TRIBUTES

From the prison his dead body was borne. All along the funeral route to Milltown Cemetery Irish men and women turned out to render homage and respect to his mortal remains, and to breathe to God a prayer for his Eternal happiness.

How mixed were the feelings of the comrades on whose shoulders his coffin was borne, of those who marched in his funeral procession, and moreover of all those who lined the route through which it passed. A feeling of sorrow that yet another true comrade and sincere friend of Ireland had passed away.

that after well nigh 800 years of struggle for Ireland's emancipation it is still necessary for young Irishmen to sacrifice their lives in vindication of Ireland's God given right to freedom. A feeling of pride that Sean McCaughey had withstood the test, that right to its bitter end he had travelled the hard path indicated by the National heroes who had gone before him and thus for his own generation had confirmed the belief, had renewed the hope of all sincere Republicans that the struggle will be continued until every inch of our native land is freed from the grasp of the invader. And running through and transcending all others, a feeling of bitter resentment against those responsible for his death; against those who maintain in our country the British-imposed conditions of Government which make such sacrifices necessary, which necessitated the removal of the flag from his coffin, as it passed from one county to another, the flag of the Irish Republic for which Sean McCaughey had given his life.

PLACE OF PILGRIMAGE

And so to his native Ulster and to their last resting place on earth Sean's mortal remains were brought home to rest. Over his grave a monument has been erected and on behalf of all true separatists we have assembled here to-day to perform the ceremony of its unveiling; in the name of all, who in spirit are associated with us, to pay our tribute to Ireland's latest martyr. This monument will stand in the future, to mark for the generations yet unborn, another place of pilgrimage; another spot in which the ashes of one who died for Ireland mingles with the soil of the motherland he loved so well. To this spot the men and women of these generations will come, there to seek the inspiration and the courage to maintain the struggle until the Irish Republic has been enthroned, as enthroned it yet will be. And in the days of her freedom, Ireland's sons and daughters will still make pilgrimage to this spot so that someone may, in the name of all, voice their gratitude, as I express ours to-day, for the example of Sean McCaughey's life; for the inspiration his heroic death has given.

OUR NATIONAL IDEAL

In erecting this monument to his memory, in assembling here to unveil it we, acting on behalf of Republican Ireland, discharge but a small part of Ireland's debt to this man and all those who like him, had to face death for the

We need your help urgently—moral and financial. Republican Ireland will find expression for her teeming brain in the columns of a national press if you will only give the necessary co-operation.

Here are just a few suggestions as to how you may co-operate and enjoy it. Surely the Oganagh of the country with any traditional virility or Gaodhachas will enjoy a rollicking Ceilidhe. Groups could organise concerts and short sketches—even on a small scale—that would act as an antidote to the film-fired minds of the people and in the meantime set flowing tributaries of funds into the stream that is well-nigh dried up at the moment. Where is the old Spiorad that would organise local aerigheachtaí and give hundreds of people entertainment in the fresh air and sunshine—with the simple features of a Pipers' Band, a display of dancing or local school choirs, a platform Ceilidhe, a "Tug-o'-War" and sports— not forgetting the light refreshments.

You Can Help — And Enjoy It

Whist Drives or Jumble Sales would gather a little revenue. What is more enjoyable than a "Coisir cois Teine"—and even though summer time would eliminate the fire, pleasant gatherings could be held in houses. A few energetic persons could direct this. It would only entail catering for as many persons as would comfortably fit in a house in the way of supper and entertainment by a few local artists. Usually latent talents come to the fore at such gatherings and there is no problem for the Directors of the proceedings. Everyone—of course—gives a subscription—there is no charge for the house and when supper has been allowed for there is a very welcome sum left for the Fund.

Many aspects of cultural revival would gain impetus by all this activity and the Paper Fund would benefit. There would be a greater national confidence born of this common effort, a united interest and a not too dim hope in the realisation of Mac Piarais' dream come true.

Will your name be in the drum for our free drawing of Prizes?

By subscribing threepence to one of our collectors for our receipt you can be sure it will.

DO IT NOW

Prizes are £10, £5 and £2-10. Draw takes place on 24th July.

crime of being loyal to the Irish Republic. This is a point I want to emphasise. No tribute however eloquently spoken, no monument however magnificent can repay in full the debt due by Irishmen and women to this martyr in freedom's cause. How then may we fulfil our duty to him and to all those who have died in the service of our country. By labouring as he did to secure complete separation from England; by spurning as he did all efforts to compromise on the fundamental rights to which Ireland is entitled. By striving as he did to create within the framework of an Irish Republic the only conditions of Government in which peace, happiness and prosperity can come to all our people. In the final analysis our debt to Sean McCaughey will only be discharged in full when the

National Ideal for which he died has been achieved.

To this task then let all, who desire to pay fitting tribute to his memory, devote themselves. Taking his unselfish devotion, his heroic endurance as our model let us strive to end the political bitterness, the sectarian hatreds created artificially by the rulers of Ireland to serve their own selfish interests and to keep our people divided. Let us aim at a National Movement about whose purpose and object there can be no ambiguity, wherein the interest of the nation will transcend those of creeds and parties, and within which all Irishmen, irrespective of creed or class, can work for the complete liberation of Ireland, the cause for which Sean McCaughey died.

ROBERT HOLMES

United Irishman and Young Irelander

by ΣΕΛΛΩΙΟ Δ ΜΟΝΣΑΙΝ

THIS year 1948 is both the 150th anniversary of the Rising of the United Irishmen in 1798 and the centenary of the Young Ireland Rising of 1848. The half century between 1798 and 1848 does not, at first glance, show much of interest to Irish Separatists from the final break-up of the United Irishmen after Emmet's attempt in Dublin until the formation of the Young Ireland Movement in the eighteenth-forties. It would not have been surprising if, during that space of time, no one had remained of the United Irishmen to take part in the renewal of the struggle for the Irish Republic with the men of the new generation—the Young Irelanders. But Pearse has pointed out that: "The chain of the Separatist tradition has never once snapped during the centuries. Veterans of Kinsale were in the '41; veterans of Benburb followed Sarsfield. The poets kept the fires of the nation burning from Limerick to Dungannon. Napper Tandy of the Volunteers was Napper Tandy of the United Irishmen. The Russell of 1803 was the Russell of 1798. Robert Holmes of '98 and 1803 lived to be a Young Irelander. The Young Irelanders were the founders of Fenianism . . ." and so on.

UNBROKEN FAITH

Robert Holmes, then, was the personal link between the Separatists of 1793 and those of 1848; for half a century this man remained firm in his belief in Ireland's right and destiny; and having seen in his youth the failure of two attempts to achieve freedom, still had the hope and the faith in his extreme old age to ally himself with other men in other times to renew the struggle. This fidelity to principle is even more remarkable when we recall that Holmes was a lawyer, and a successful one at that, with every inducement to renounce his principles for the flesh-pots of the Empire. From the day in 1798 when at a parade of the Lawyers Corps of Yeomanry, he

threw down his arms and refused to fight for the English Crown against the Irish people until the day in 1848 when he defended John Mitchel in Green Street Courthouse, Holmes refused any official legal position under the British Government; and after his speech in defence of Mitchel, he made it plain that the opinions he had expressed were not those of a lawyer earning his fee, but were his own considered and unalterable views.

"BY THESE ALONE"

"The Republic stands for truth and honour, for all that is best and noblest in our race. By truth and honour, by principle and sacrifice alone will Ireland be free. That this is so, that this is immutable, I am prepared to stake all my hopes of the hereafter . . . Ireland must tread the path Our Redeemer trod. She may shrink . . . but her faltering feet will find the road again . . . For that road is plain and broad and straight; its signposts are unmistakable." (Liam Mellows on the morning of Dec. 8th, 1922, a few hours before his death.)

TWO PAMPHLETS

Holmes was born in Dublin in 1765 and in 1795 he married Mary Emmet, sister of Robert and Thomas Addis Emmet. His support of the United Irishmen in 1793 has already been mentioned; in 1803 after Robert Emmet's Rising, Holmes was arrested and imprisoned for several months; but no proceedings appear to have been taken against him. In 1799 he had written a satirical pamphlet entitled, "Demonstration of the necessity of the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland," a title which meant the reverse of what it said. The nature of his "Demonstration" may be judged from passages such as the following:

"It is strange what very different conclusions the vulgar and philo-

sophic minds will draw from the same proposition; the wild Irishman from the acknowledged truth that Ireland possesses more natural advantages than England, with all the rashness of uncultivated reason concludes that Ireland must be independent; whereas the philosopher perceives that, from this very circumstance of the exuberant bounty of nature towards her has unavoidably arisen the dependence of the country." More pungent still is a remark that "The annihilation of the Irish Legislature by an incorporate union with that of Great Britain is as inevitable as death and may be just as unpalatable."

Holmes' second pamphlet, "The Case of Ireland Stated," was published in 1847 and ran into five editions in that year. It is a straightforward review, in about thirty thousand words, of Irish History from the invasion of Henry II and an examination of English "right" in Ireland. Of attempts to base the lawfulness of English rule on ancient charters and so-called Parliaments he says: "Charters and Parliaments may be only the trappings of the slave. The evidence written in the tears and blood of the natives exhibits Ireland from the invasion of Henry II as the pure acquisition of conquest, begun, completed and retained by the sword." And he rejects any right founded on such a conquest by saying: "The will of the people is the only rightful foundation of Government."

A PROTESTANT PATRIOT

Like so many of the leaders of the United Irishmen and of the Young Irelanders, Holmes was a Protestant and like his leaders, also, he stood for the religious freedom of his Catholic fellow-countrymen. He condemned the Volunteers of 1782 for their exclusion of Catholics from their proposals for legislative reform, seeing in that exclusion the root cause of the decay of the Volunteers. He condemned equally the sectarian aspect of Irish support for James and declared his belief in "the Union of a people whose only chance of independence rested on a combination of common feeling for a common purpose." One final passage from

this pamphlet by a Protestant patriot is worth quoting not only for its own sake but also because it may be very aptly applied to events nearer our own time. It is: "But has Ireland now a right to have that Act of Union repealed? An undoubted right. It was passed by a body of men delegated to make laws for the internal government and for the administration of the internal affairs of Ireland and the conducting of her external trade and relations with other countries, but without any right or authority whatsoever to destroy, change or alter the fundamental principles of the constitution and of its own existence."

DEFENCE OF MITCHEL

In his speech in defence of John Mitchel, Holmes attacked once more the whole basis of English power in Ireland. This speech, too, has echoes for an Irishman of to-day, as for example: "Pass the Act of Union by terror, by deceit, by fraud, by breach of faith by bribery, by corruption. Pass the Act of Union and declare that any attempt to repeal that Act of Union shall be deemed rebellion and then kill, kill, kill the rebels. This is British justice in Ireland, this is British morality in Ireland, this is British Christianity in Ireland." When he spoke these words, Robert Holmes was eighty-three years old and, as I have already said, he publicly declared that the opinions he had expressed were his own personal views. No action was taken against him, however, and eleven years later, in 1859, he died in London.

The Organisation for Irish-Americans:—

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC

Stands for the Christian, Democratic, Republic of Ireland proclaimed in 1916. No "association" with the British Crown.

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Capt. S. O'Deorain, National Secretary, 2554 University Place, Washington 9, D.C.

Buaileas le Toirdeallac mac Suibne

Ní raib ac cúpla blian slán agam ac is cuimhin liom eacraí an lae sin go cruinn soiléir. Fuair mé an-sciomaraí agus éiread umam mo shua deas bán go raib an plúnsaí air agus mar barr iar sin—mo bróga bíodaca "champagne," go raib péarla beag gleóite de énaipe ar gac ceann aca. Bíos go péacac agus mo éoríde ag léimriú ag tnuít leis an bpéasta. Ní bíod mo bróga "champagne" riam orm ac nuair a bíod áro-taibairt amac ann—tá's agat. Cuir mo mátair a cóta agus a hata uirte—rug ar lámh orm—agus as go bráit linn.

Ní raib fíos agamsa cá raib ar tóiriall—ag siúbal com taparó san fan na sráiteanna—ac ba cuma liom mar do cáiteas an t-am ag déanamh ion-gantaís des na cnaipí péarlaíaca ar mo bróga.

O'péacac suas go h-obann mar bí mo mátair na stao ag doras tíge. Buaile sí chas agus o'scait bean áro maorúa an doras. "Sile atá ann," ars' ise de cosar, ag beanuagá dom' mátair, agus istead leis an mbeirt agaimh.

Do b'iongnáit liom tíg mór dá leitíro a beir com dorca i lár an lae gréimíil. Bíos ag tnuít le gile agus mór-solus ac ní raib rian fíleíde ar an áit. Bí na dallóga tarramíge agus ciúmeas ar fuair an bail. Níorb ciúmeas an tsuam é ac an ciúmeas trom duairc úo go mbíonn anál an bróim léi. Gab sceón mé agus rugas greim níos daingne ar lámh mo mátair. O'péac an bean maorúa orm go truaímhéilead agus leag lámh éadrom ar mo ceann. Maoluiagad ar an sceón. "Sabaigro suas staighe," ars' ise, "tá Toirdeallac tuas." Cuair saigeat átais trém' éliab—mar ní raib ac an t-aon Toirdeallac anáin ann—Toirdeallac Mac Suibne—an fear uasal go mbíod m' átair ag tráct air go minic.

An ártán an staighe staomamh mar a raib álcóir áluinn de'n máig-tom mhuire. O'péac bean a' tíge orm. "Seo víreac an áit i nar lamhacáó Tomás," ars' ise, "níl ac tamailín ó som ann." Bí gac eolas ag mo mátair céana féin de réin cosamhacáta, mar éreac sí a ceann go mall tuisgionac. Céasbáin sí, an áit dom mar ar uirteat fuil Tomás mhe-curcáin na slaothaib.

"Sasanaig—dubcrónaig—Píleasí—go maíró Dia úóib é," ars' ise. "Tá uaisneas tréan ar an tóig seo anois, agus ar an tóir ar fáo."

Leanamair istead i seómra mór i. Ní raib na dallóga ac leat tarramíge annsan agus bí gaete gréme ag slúcuígeac istead ar a nóiceall. I lár an búiro bí pleasc mór agus é lár de blátanna áilne an earrasig—bainne-bó-bleacátaí caome. I gcaóair mór uilinn cois ceme bí Toirdeallac. "Fear uasal m' átair," ars' mise-liom féin—agus cosnuig mo éoríde ar dian-fricbualad airis. Rug sé ar dá lámh orm agus o'fíapruig sé díom cé'n amm a bí orm. O'innseas dó. "Tá a bpeacáis riam," ars' eisean—"tá cailín bíodac agamsa leis, agus Máire a h-ainm." "Cá bfuil an pleac?" ars' mise leis. "O' gáir sé go ciúim agus do bneacnuig ar mo shua bán agus ar na bróga "champagne." "Dár go deimhín," ars' eisean, "ac caicfímio na blátanna san ar an mbóro o'ite." Ní radas puinn sásta. Cuála bean a' tíge an éamnt agus amac léi ar fear neóimicín. O'fíll sí go luat agus pláta mór sogluistí aici a bí níos mílse ná aon rud a blaiseas riam' mo saogal. Bíos ag ite liom go ciócraac nuair a táimis páiste eile an doras istead. "Péac an ornáto áluinn atá ag Sile beag duit," ars' Toirdeallac, agus do leagas mo súil ar an biorán Teamraige ba maísighe seommar dá bpeacatas riam. Sreamuig Toirdeallac de m' shua é agus bí mo éoríde ar tí pleascad le neart átais agus móróála.

Lá tar laeteannca abead an lá san uomsa, ac b'aisíodac ar fáo liom na uedra abeirt i súilíob mo mátair agus sinn ag dul abáile.

"fáoó."

TO OUR READERS:
ARTICLES AND NEWS OF
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WELCOMED

Eireannac Aontuiste

38 SOUTH KING STREET, DUBLIN
JULY-AUGUST 1948

An Appeal For Youth

IN those countries of the world that have had to struggle against oppressors, foreign or domestic, it will be found that the youth has always played an active—if not the most active—part in the realisation of their ideals. This applies to Ireland, perhaps, more than to any other country, for at all times, in every generation, Irish boys and girls have been found ready and willing to pay any price, no matter how high, for the chance of striking a blow for the freedom of Ireland. Padraig Pearse and Liam Mellows placed all their hopes for Ireland's future in the youth—the gallant youth of Ireland that had always shown itself on the side of Irish Freedom. Mellows said that "The Fianna Ideal can save the Future"—I wonder was he granted a glimpse of the future, and did he see how high the Fianna Ideal would have to hold itself in order to keep above the present-day trend of materialism and commercialism?

Where stands the Youth of Ireland to-day? Is it fulfilling the trust laid in it by two of our greatest leaders? Does it believe in the ultimate destiny of the Irish Republic, or has it become pseudoglamourised by the present-day craving for excitement and for the synthetic world of the screen which seems to have infiltrated the minds of young people all over the world? One is almost inclined to think that the freedom-loving youth of the country has forgotten the sacrifices that have been made for it, but when one is reminded of Charlie Kerins and Maurice O'Neill, of Sean McCaughey and Thomas Williams, it is not hard to realise that Irish youth can never really be enslaved, that as long as there is one young man or woman ready to die that Ireland might live, then so long will the Irish youth be in the forefront of the fight for Irish Freedom.

It behoves us in the Republican Movement, then, to ask ourselves in what way are we following the ideals of these men—in what way are we endeavouring to attract more and more

young people to take their stand under our banner? Youth is unconsciously striving towards the heights—can we help them to rise above the shoddiness of the present trend? The first and most important item is that each and every one of us be well-informed of the history of the Republican Movement from the time of Wolfe Tone down to the present day, because it is only logic that one cannot teach what one does not know! The ignorance of 'teen-agers of the names of our national leaders is appalling—even those who come from Republican homes are apt to place Robert Emmet in the Fenian Brotherhood and Patrick Sarsfield in the Young Irelanders. Our best method, then, is to carry out Davis' instruction—"Educate that you may be free!"

Every Republican, young or old, should make himself or herself a disciple of the Republican creed and each of us should endeavour to instil that creed into the young people of our acquaintance. And we must remember that it is by example more than by precept that this work can be done!

We should encourage the younger ones amongst us to join the Republican Youth Organisations—Fianna Eireann, Cumann na nGallin and Clan na nGaedhail. We should see if there is any other way in which we can assist these organisations which are doing the most important work of the Movement. We must have a strong, virile, educated Youth ready to take their stand as citizens of a free Republic. When we gain our Freedom, it will be as naught to us if we have not worthy successors to Tone and Pearse, Barry and Mellows, McCaughey and O'Neill. And where are these to be found but in the ranks of the Youth Movements of to-day?

Let us resolve, then, that in so far as we are able, we will assist, encourage and recruit for the organisations men-

(Continued at foot of column 3)

BY TONE'S GRAVE

Here by this lonely grave they lay
again,
The martyred ones who follow
where he led;
Here, where the robin sings, they lay
again,
McGrath and Harte and all our race
dead.

"Grieve not for us who died with dawn
morn
On Ireland's hills and bird-song in
air.
Our dream was old; our Aisling
was born
In poet's soul and nurtured
with soldier's care.

Grieve not for us who dreamed the
dream
Of Ireland weeping at the water
side
For her mounted chief and the salmon
gleam,
And the ship sailing in with the
tide.

Grieve not, but ever breath our name
with pride
For we have died to make the Aisling
new;
Our names are linked with you
with us tried,
And still live on to make the dream
come true."

BRIGHTID NI CHUINNEAGAN

PILGRIMAGE TO BODENSTOWN

The largest assembly seen at Bodenstown for many years gathered to pay homage to Wolfe Tone on Sunday, 20th June.

An oration was delivered by Tomas Mac Curtain, Cork.

All Republican organisations were represented.

Mr. J. Slyne brought greetings from Clann na nGaedhail America.

tioned above. Every member potential leader of the rising generation; therefore it is essential that young people know their importance in their place in the national movement and what is expected of them, so when the time comes, they will be ready to take their place as leaders of the Irish Nation—a Nation proud of the knowledge of her own history, sovereignty and culture—and worthy to accept the heritage which has been handed down to them.

The Land For The People

FEAR DOMHAINN

THE first step in the establishment of a Gaelic Republican distributive economy would necessarily be the redistribution of land. This could most quickly be effected by the division of the whole country into approximately 300 tuatha or administrative districts, each about the size of a modern barony.

The land in each tuath (administrative district) could then be divided up into economic units among the people of that district. In any tuath where the number of applicants exceeded the available land, the holdings could be made available elsewhere. As far as possible farms would be stocked with the surplus expropriated from the ranchers and large owners either by direct confiscation or by forcing them to sell to the peasant farmers, for which purpose a grant would be made available to the latter by the Government. In any case finance would have to be provided, in the form of grant or loan or both, for the purchase of stock, implements, and machinery, and the building of houses and farm buildings.

NECESSARY STEPS

It is essential to the very success of the plan, that the Republican Government carry out this distribution immediately on coming into power. Delay would be dangerous, giving the Garrison, or West British Colony who presently control our wealth, or the major portion of it, time to organise resistance and perhaps defeat the progress by their time honoured weapons of corruption, misrepresentation and force. By the end of five years, therefore, from the restoration of the Republic, there should not be one agricultural family in the country without an economic farm of land.

According to a census and ordnance survey taken by the British in 1871 there were 20,192,186 statute acres of land in Ireland. Of this, 15,713,342 acres were arable land, 224,990 were plantations, and 4,153,854 were taken up by towns, wasteland, bogs and mountains. Accepting with reserve the figure given by the Free

State Minister for Lands of 380,000 agricultural homesteads in the Twenty-Six Counties, and estimating half this number for the remaining Six we have an average of $27\frac{1}{2}$ acres of arable land, and a goodly share of bog and commons per agricultural family.

AN ECONOMIC HOLDING

In actual fact the size of an economic holding would vary greatly

from place to place and even from time to time, according to the quality productive capacity, method by cultivation and situation of the land. Consequently a small farm of good land in the vicinity of Cork, Belfast, or Dublin, under intensive cultivation as a market garden, would constitute an economic unit of equal value of 50 or more acres of cutaway bog in some of the Western counties.

As time goes on and methods of cultivation improve, and it will be the Government's duty to see that they do so, the amount of land com-

(Continued on page 8)

Tomas Mac Curtain addresses thousands of Republicans at Bodenstown.



—by courtesy of Independent Newspapers

Drising an economic unit will naturally diminish, thus providing extra holdings for an increased agricultural population.

VITAL STATISTICS

Assuming on an average two persons in every family capable of working we would have at the first go off, approximately 1,140,000 engaged in agriculture and, on the modest assumption of 4 persons to a family, 2,280,000 persons settled on the land.

According to calculations in a work entitled "Full Employment in Ireland" based on estimates given by Dr. Henry Kennedy in the "Journal of the Statistical and Social Enquiry Society of Ireland, 1943-44," agriculturalists, farming 9,500,000 acres of good land (the amount estimated to be in the 26 Counties) according to modern methods, should be able to produce enough food for 10,447,000 people.

A further 4,250,000 acres, including allowances for seed, horses, etc., would according to Dr. Kennedy, produce the following quantities of food for export (valued at 1938 prices):

500,000 fat cattle ...	£10,000,000
500,000 store cattle ...	£ 6,250,000
3,200,000 cwt. butter	£21,450,000
4,000,000 pigs, bacon	£18,610,000
15,000,000 great huns- -dreds eggs ...	£ 8,004,000

Total £64,314,000

Calculating on the above basis 5,000,000 acres would produce £75,663,594.4 worth of exportable food at 1938 prices. By doubling this figure we would obtain an approximation of its current value in terms of pounds sterling — namely £151,327,058.8.

This would be available against imports of machinery, fertilisers and raw materials for the further development of agriculture and industry. Compare the above figures with those of 1938-9 which give our total agricultural output at £53.5 million, of which £20.2 million worth was exported, leaving after deductions, other uses £19.4 million worth for human consumption at home. To this must be added £5.2 worth of imported foodstuffs capable of being produced.

PRODUCTION TARGET

The year 1938-9 was taken as a normal year in agriculture, being the last pre-war year. Figures of possible production quoted above, are of course the target at which we must aim, though not necessarily in the specific items or quantities mentioned. Flax, fruit, or vegetables for instance could be grown on some of the land here devoted to cattle. To achieve these objects also would necessarily take some time, perhaps one or two generations, but the most essential step towards their accomplishment must be taken as soon as possible—viz., the breaking up of large estates and chain ranches, and the division of their idle pastures in economic holdings among the people.

The most immediate effect of this redistribution of land would be an increased demand for farm implements, etc., and a consequent revival of industrial activity, whereas the achievement of full employment in industry, on an owner-worker basis, would have a similar effect on agriculture.

USE OF MACHINERY

By far the most efficient method for increasing agricultural output, and raising the income per head, is the extensive use of machinery. To this end the government should encourage furnishing special grants or loans for the purchase by such groups of tractors, and other heavy farm machinery, and the erection of silos, creameries, and buildings for co-operative buying and selling.

Various types of co-operative effort are envisaged, from the simple form in which a number of separate farmers engage in the share ownership of certain types of machinery, to the more complicated one in which a group of farms is combined in one large undertaking with its own dairies, creameries, stores, transport, and shops. In the latter case each farmer participating in the enterprise would become a shareholder, as would also any other employee, of right entitled to the ownership of an economic unit of production, but each would have the right, subject to certain safeguards, to withdraw his farm, or realise his

share in cash as the case may be.

PROFIT SHARING

It must be stressed that owner-worker would be entitled to voice in the general management of his business by virtue of his position as shareholder. Each owner-worker would receive, not a wage or a salary but a share in the net profits of the undertaking, arranged on the basis of weekly payments, plus periodical dividends. Scales of compensation for extra responsibilities, strain of marriage, family and production bonuses would have to be laid down and provided by the appropriate authorities from the returns.

In the case of marriage and family allowances the government may limit certain taxes on the industries which these are paid, or alternatively impose a tax to pay them itself. The above conditions would apply to operative enterprises in both agriculture and industry. The individual farmer, master craftsman, or shopkeeper however would be equally catered and encouraged for his benefit to become a member of appropriate vocational organisation or guild.

ADJUNCTS OF PROGRESS

The building of good roads to every village and market centre; the extension of electrical power to every farmhouse; organisation of marketing, transport and distribution; control of prices; reforestation, drainage and general rural development are necessary adjuncts of agricultural progress, and a paramount charge on governmental resources.

The vocational organisation of schools; the establishment of cultural colleges in every district; the provision of expert advice to farmers; are also of primary importance; but we shall have to deal fully with these at a later date.

One point however is worthy of mention. Statistics show that the Irishman consumes as much produce as 24 Britons, or 1,200 Europeans or Americans. The extension of the home market therefore must be our first consideration; surplus food being exported. Furthermore, it is a mistake to turn ourselves to the British market where there are potential markets elsewhere.

Democracy In Action

By MICHAEL TRAYNOR

THE English speaking peoples of the world (including the Irish) have accepted the English Parliamentary Party system as the name of democratic expression and the only model worthy of imitation.

It may be admirably suited to the temperament and needs of the English people, but it will never be suitable to the Free Irish Nation . . .

"Undo the Conquest, break the connection with England." That is our object as we hope it is yours. To fulfil that task we must examine every institution that exists in Ireland; those that have their roots in English law and usage must be cast aside; not because they are intrinsically bad, but because they have been forced upon us at some period in the process of our subjugation.

Even if, to-morrow we had a thirty-two county Government and calling itself Republican (and honestly believing itself to be republican) the continuance of the party system would endanger the fulfilment of Republican Ideals.

It must be realised—our experience of the past century should be sufficient proof, that party politics lead even the best intentioned men into corruption.

There is, therefore sound reason for the Irish peoples' apathy towards politics. They say, with absolute truth that one party will be the same as another.

There is an alternative to the party system. It is the duty of Irish Republicans to study it thoroughly and understand it so that they can teach their fellow-countrymen the road to freedom and the instrument by which they would have a continuing control of their freedom instead of allowing it to pass into the control of politicians.

Party Government has led to bureaucratic control of Government Departments and the lives of the people. It is necessary to devise a system of Government that will keep bureaucrats at a minimum and if possible eliminate them altogether.

Industrial Unionism is the alternative. One union embracing all the workers in the nation and all industries owned and controlled by the workers is the only basis on which National Unity can be achieved and maintained. Every person who works, whether with brain or brawn, is a worker. Farmers and factory workers, dockers and doctors, artists and artisans, skilled and unskilled—we are all brothers with a common heritage.

Freedom and security can only be maintained by a nice balance of central and de-centralised government. An informed people with the necessary powers at their immediate disposal, is essential to prevent power passing from them into the hands of opportunist politicians.

To devise such a system is not a task for an individual or a group of individuals in Dublin or anywhere else. It is the duty of every Irishman to think over and discuss this matter. I therefore advise readers to organise themselves into study groups through-

out the country and to send for publication, in as concise a form as possible, such discussions as they have.

In brief the programme is :

Organise a group.

Elect officers, Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary.

Don't generalise in your discussions—get facts.

The important facts are:—the numbers of unemployed in your area; the average rate of emigration per year; housing conditions; drainage; population; the best means of utilising every acre of land—whether by dairy farming, general farming or afforestation; the acreage of unused desmense land; the maximum population your area, having regard to acreage and fertility, could maintain; how it could be organised in common harmony for efficiency etc.

If the Irish people are ever to be free they will have to have a thorough knowledge of these matters and many more besides.

There is much work to be done—off with the coats, clear the decks.

The alternative to the Party system will be developed in future articles.

TO YOU

We regret once more to appeal to Republicans for funds. Yet, to publish a paper such as this a large sum is required.

Do you believe that a paper such as this is necessary?

Do you think it is worthwhile rebuilding the Republican movement to give a lead to the rising generation?

Read this Paper carefully.

Weigh these questions carefully.

If you think it is worthy of support, support it wholeheartedly.

To ensure publication of next issue please send your subscriptions immediately to:

MICHAEL TRAYNOR

Treasurer

38 SOUTH KING STREET, DUBLIN.

A nation-wide draw is being held for funds for this paper. We appeal to our readers to do all in their power to make it a success.

THE UNITED IRISHMEN WERE REPUBLICANS

SEAMUS G. O'KELLY

THE Free Staters of all parties and of none, have been busy last month "celebrating" the 150th anniversary of the Rising of 1798. At these "celebrations" the aims and objective for which the United Irishmen fought, suffered and died have been grossly misrepresented, and history deliberately twisted, for the purpose of concealing from the Irish people the true policy of Tone and his comrades.

It is appropriate then in a Republican paper called "The United Irishman," the policy of which is the same as that enunciated by the patriots of '98, that we should clarify this position, so that the youth of our country may know and understand the one true doctrine of Irish Nationalism.

At Arklow, on Sunday, 13th June, Mr. Costello, Prime Minister of the Twenty-Six County Dominion State, is reported as having said:

CO-OPERATION WITH IMPERIALISM

"The relations between Ireland and England at present are the reverse of the situation which existed in 1798. We have to-day an Independent State which is a haven of peace and rest in a troubled Europe, while the Empire which oppressed us for so long, and which resisted so many of our just and reasonable demands, is now fighting and suffering for survival, looking to Ireland for sympathy and help. We are proud and grateful that this part of our country is independent, and at peace, and in Christian charity we refrain from vindictive rejoicings. While we remember with gratitude all those who in their several ways contributed to the achievement of freedom, we are glad that to-day, Ireland and Britain have forgotten, or are in the process of forgetting past contentions and disputes, and we hope that both countries will soon solve their last remaining cause of difference—the Partition of our country—and so enable one another to co-operate in providing a bastion of peace for Western Europe."

At the same meeting, the gentle-

man in the Phoenix Park, who calls himself President of Ireland (although he is not internationally recognised as such), told his audience that we were a Sovereign Independent State, and that everything in the garden was rosy, except that the Six Counties were cut off. This line of talk from two representatives of two of the biggest Free State political parties must be challenged here and now.

STONE'S POLICY

What were the aims and objects of the United Irishmen? Let the leader of the United Irishmen himself answer that question. Theobald Wolfe Tone wrote: "To break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils and to assert the independence of my country—these were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of past dissensions, and to substitute the common name of Irishmen in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter, these are my means."

Have the people who are to-day, celebrating the 150th anniversary of '98 anything in common with this, the declared aim of Wolfe Tone? It is obvious they have not, because, to quote Pearse: "If Tone said, 'break the connection with England,' and if I say 'maintain the connection with England,' I may be preaching a saner as I am certainly preaching a safer gospel than his, but I am obviously not preaching the same gospel."

PARTITION PLATITUDES

All party political leaders in this country to-day, are striving to "maintain the connection with England." They have all accepted, they have all endeavoured to operate, and to consolidate the political apparatus erected in this country by a British Act of Parliament, better known to Republicans as the Treaty of Surrender. They have accepted membership of the British Empire, and have written into their Constitutions the over-Lordship of the British King in Ireland. For political reasons, and

for party gain they are now pouring platitudes about Partition, the fact remains that Partition is the result of British domination. In a previous article in this paper I pointed out how Partition was imposed by England, is subsidised by England and how the British Army of Occupation is quartered on Irish territory for the sole purpose of maintaining the partition, and of using North East Ireland as a military base in time of war. Then this is the position, how can it be claimed that the connection between England is broken, or that the connection between Ireland and England is any different to the position which existed in 1798. Ireland is still part of the British Empire, held together by that Empire by force, and anyone dares to commemorate the Republicans of 1798 and at the same time advocates co-operation with the old enemy is certainly not a Republican.

THIRTY-TWO COUNTY DOMINION

It is quite on the cards that Party Politicians, with their eyes on the international situation, are offering a solution of the Partition problem along the lines of compromise that is along the lines of full acceptance by the people of Ireland of the British Empire, by the setting up of a Thirty-Two County British Dominion. This idea must be immediately exposed and opposed.

The demand of Ireland is for complete National Sovereignty, for Territorial Unity, and for separation from the Empire. This has been the definition of Irish Nationality which the fathers of Irish Nationality have handed on to each generation of Irish men and women. Again in the words of Pearse: "no man blaspheme the cause of the dead generations of Ireland by giving it any other name and definition than their name and their definition."

PURPOSE OF UNITED IRISHMEN —AND OURS

When Fr. Michael Murphy led the pike men at the battle of Arklow when Fr. John Murphy led the Vinegar Hill and Gorey, other pike men were fighting for the same cause on the battlefields of the day and down. When Henry

We extend a hearty welcome to Jimmy O'Brien, Dublin, Patrick Dower, Waterford, Nick Cleary, Wexford, James McAleer, Belfast, who were recently released from Parkhurst Prison. And to James Brogan who has been released from Crumlin Jail, Belfast.

AN GATH GRÉINE

Cúinne Do'n Aos-Óis

CHILDREN under fourteen are invited to enter for our "How much do you know?" Competition. Entries should be sent to "Niamh Cinn Oir," An tEireannach Aontuichte, 38 South King Street, Dublin and should be accompanied by a 2d. stamp. A prize of 3/- will be awarded to the competitors whose solutions are among the first three correct ones to be opened. Closing date 30th July. Please fill in your name and address on the Entry Form.

A Phaisdi Oga,

While sitting here waiting for your letters I got a brainwave. I am going to buy myself a scrap-book—not even a real scrap-book but just an ordinary big exercise book with a hard cover and into it I am going to paste all the stories I can find of heroes who suffered to make Ireland free.

Children: why not get scrap-books too and start along with me to fill them. That will not be a difficult task because we have had so many heroes who suffered and died for Ireland. Last month in our "How much do you know?" Competition we learned about Kevin Barry (No. 1), Cuchullain (No. 2) and Anne Devlin (No. 3). This month you will hear the story of Willie Neilson.

Begin then by cutting out all these little stories and pasting them into your scrap-book with the hero's name in big letters above each. Read about them in your spare time and when you know about these you will wish to learn about others. Tell your little brothers and sisters and friends about them and coax them to keep scrap-books too, because some day you must all grow up and help to make Ireland free. Ireland is not free now. It will be our task to end all this.

THIS MONTH'S PUZZLER

A shoe and a wellington were going up the stairs.

"How are you?" said the shoe to the wellington but the wellington never answered.

Why?

THE STORY OF WILLIE NEILSON

Willie Neilson was born in the village of Ballycarry near Carrickfergus. His

father was dead but he had two big brothers—John and Sam and one little fellow. John and Samuel were in the United Irishmen and were later banished from Ireland because of their part in the rising.

Willie was a handsome little boy with fair hair and he looked even younger than he really was. He was only fifteen years when the Irish soldiers assembled at Donegore Hill to march on Antrim, but he begged to be permitted to do his part.

When all was over Willie returned home but the Yeomen came for him. He was sent to prison where he shared a cell with his brother John and was later transferred to another prison where his other brother Sam was confined. For those who visited him in prison he always had a gay word and never a thought for his own sad plight.

He was offered pardon if he informed on the leaders of Antrim but this he refused to do, so he was brought to his native village to be hanged. That did not frighten Willie. He merely remarked that he would gladly give his own life, but he begged that his brothers should be spared. When told to cover his face before his execution he replied fearlessly to the Yeomen—"I have done nothing to be ashamed of."

And so he died in the month of June, 1798 in his own little village. His body was given to his mother but the Yeomen surrounded the house to ensure that the neighbours would not attend the wake or funeral or comfort her in her sorrow. She was sad then but later on she always spoke of him with pride because she knew that his name will never be forgotten while history is written in Ireland.

Wouldn't you be proud if you had a brother like Willie Neilson.

"HOW MUCH DO YOU KNOW" COMPETITION

(1) I was President of the first Dail Eireann and later its Minister for Defence.

Earlier, during the 1916 Rising, Commandant Eamonn Ceannt and I with a small band of Volunteers defended the South Dublin Union. The English attacked and in the deadly fight that

followed I was wounded but I pressed my back to the wall and with my arms to my shoulder I still continued to fight. Twenty-five wounds in all I received but when my brave Commandant came to dress them I whispered—"Fight on! Don't bother about me, I'm done."

I was not done yet though the Yeomen thought I was and released me to their prison hospital to die. I lived instead to organise and inspire and train another army to make Ireland free the day they ever trod on Irish soil. They even sent bloodhounds to my house to track me down, but I lived all together and to preside over the first Dail Eireann. How proud I was that day, and how I wish you could have been there when Ireland's independence was declared to the nations of the world. I lived too, to see the Irish Republic sold by Irishmen for a few pence to the State and to oppose that I gave my life. When the building which I was defending was in flames, I refused to surrender and dashed out gun in hand, still fighting, and so I was killed, not by English but by Irish Free State soldiers who had helped to train. But do not be sad for me, children, mine was a proud death, and if you wish to honour my memory just grow up to be good Irish boys and girls with one firm purpose to do all in your power to make Ireland free.

Whose name will you put above your story in your scrap-book?

(2) "In Bodinstown Churchyard there is a green grave"—Whose grave is it?

(3) We are Rory, Liam, Dick and John. What are our other names?

Winners of last month's Competition were:—

- (1) Eilhne Glennon, Ballough, Co. Dublin.
- (2) Maire Ni Droighneain, Raithe, Uisce, Sraid Baile, Laoighis.
- (3) Seamus Fitzpatrick, 37 Donagh Avenue, Mount Brown.

Entry Form for Competition—Col. Page 11.

Sleepyhead! Surely you didn't have to look down here for the answer. The wellington couldn't reply because it had no tongue.