

# RES PUBLICA

## Economic Democracy in the Gaelic State

THE words "republic" and "freedom" admit of several interpretations. There are many different kinds of republic, as instance the Patrician republics of Venice and Ancient Rome, the republic of the United States and the republics of Soviet Russia. All these are republics only in so far as they are not monarchies; in them the basic meaning of the words *res publica*—the welfare of the people—or by the people for the people is not embodied. They are in every case the government of the people by a class, in the interests of that class—chief of which interests is, the concentration of all political and economic power into its own hands.

They are far removed from the traditional Irish idea of a republic in which the historic Gaelic nation, should be free politically, economically and culturally to rule itself for its own good. Politically free inasmuch as it should owe no allegiance expressed or implied to any foreign power or native sectional interest. Economically free insofar as all the land, resources and means of production should rest in the hands of the people, on the basis of distributive ownership. Culturally free to develop its own way of life; untrammelled by the foisting on it of foreign fads, fashions and fancies, which is the inevitable result of political and economic subjection.

### ECONOMIC FREEDOM

There are many calling themselves Republicans who would be perfectly satisfied with the name of a Republic and a semblance of political freedom, while leaving the present economic and legal system unchanged. They are deluding themselves and deluding others. Even the most rabid Orangeman would accept a republic in which he would be allowed to retain control of the country's economic resources. Political power is at once the symbol and instrument of economic power.

Similarly "freedom" has many meanings; but only one true one. The man who imagines he is free, because the letter boxes are painted green, while his country remains in economic subjection to the foreigner; or who thinks that freedom consists of occasional permission to mark a ballot paper, while he himself treads daily in fear of poverty; that man is a fool. And he who thinks that freedom is the right to exploit others is a rogue.

To get at the real meaning of freedom, we must ask ourselves to what purpose man was put upon this earth. The answer is supplied in the "Penny Catechism"—"To know, love and serve God in this life, and to be happy with Him forever in the next."

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### PRIVATE PROPERTY

In general, a man fulfils these duties by working for a living, practising his religion and rearing a family. In order that he may do so he is entitled to certain rights, of which one of the most important is, the right to absolute ownership of a certain amount of private property.

This absolute right may not be confined to the possession of non-productive property—it is essentially the right to ownership of an economic unit of production—an economic unit being defined as that amount of property necessary to enable a man to maintain and educate a family in moderate comfort.

Ownership of this amount of property is true freedom, whether the economic unit be a farm, a workshop, a share in a co-operative, a factory or other industrial enterprise. It is the duty of a Christian State to



see that every citizen possesses this freedom which comes of ownership, and to guarantee him in its possession, by protecting him from the encroachments of those who would divest him of it.

The right to take advantage of a neighbour's misfortune is no part of true freedom.

Although the State has no right to deprive an individual of this economic unit of the means of production, it may, if the common good requires it, deprive him of any property in excess, for his possession of the latter is merely a stewardship which he holds on behalf of the public. Such confiscation is already carried out by the State in the form of income tax, death duties, etc. Under the moral law the State need not compensate the owner for confiscation of his excess property, though it might consider it wiser to do so.

In Ireland there are many landowners holding property under the robber right of conquest, whose right to any share therein may be questioned, as that conquest was disputed by every generation of Irishmen.

The path of a Republican government in a free Ireland is clear—to divide the estates and ranches of the country into economic farms among the agricultural population; and to establish the wage-earners of the towns and cities, as owner workers of the shops, factories and industries in which they toil.

Efficiency in agriculture demands that the farmers be encouraged and financed to form co-operatives for the purchase of modern farm machinery, the building of silos and creameries and the marketing of produce.

### THE FUNCTION OF THE STATE

The function of the State is to ensure that this economy of distributive and co-operative ownership works; to this end it must organise markets, control prices and take over such enterprises as public welfare demands. It would be necessary therefore to nationalise social services, banks, insurance, water, gas, electricity, mines and transport.

Equality of economic and social opportunity, and equal educational facilities for all, are the natural corollaries of an owner-workers' state. Education—free secondary, vocational and university education is the greatest bulwark such a state

(Continued on next column)

# BOOK REVIEW

BY S. O'K

## LAND WITHOUT STARS

by Benedict Kealy

FOR a first novel, Mr. Kealy has certainly made a hit. His characters are finely drawn and have an authentic ring about them right through. They are live people, people you will remember long after you have finished reading the book. They are people you meet with every day in the week, ordinary people from a work-a-day world who live and laugh and pray and sin and die, who are lofty minded and petty minded, who make up the world we know and give it all its good points and its bad points.

The Clerical Student, Peter, who left college because of his lack of vocation and of his love for Rita is the strongest character in the book, Peter knew what he wanted from life and he got it. He had no ideals. He lived on the ground and one can sympathise with him at times when we see how far idealism has got men in a materialistic world.

On the other hand, it is people like Peter who have made the world materialistic and such a rotten place to live in at the moment. His brother Davy, the I.R.A. man, is a type. I have met him in the flesh, a young enthusiastic patriot prepared to give his life for Ireland, seeing nothing good outside Ireland, and at the same time not knowing the real philosophy of Irish Nationality. Davy also loved Rita, who was a materialist like Peter. She proved this when she accepted his proposal of marriage at a time when she thought Peter was going to be a priest, but coolly threw him over when Peter returned and Davy is on the run, an outlaw with a price on his

could have, when directed towards the fostering of National and individual pride, imbued with Christian charity.

Such a system is the lineal descendant of the ancient Gaelic State, being founded on the principles of freedom propounded by Irish patriots in every generation. In it the Gaelic tongue could flourish because the conquest would have been undone, and we would have once more a free government of free men leading a Gaelic way of life.

head. Not indeed that you could blame her, for the woman that loved an I.R.A. man between the years 1940 and '45 certainly had her hands full. There was no future for her or for him.

The other character in the book, Slevin, is also a type. He is one of the Old I.R.A., who carries on his activities in comradeship with a new generation. But Slevin has become sour. He is an outlaw and a rebel against the Northern Government, but he would also be a rebel against any form of authority whatsoever. Even in an Irish Republic, Slevin would have been an outlaw. He had authority, and his activities were based so much upon love of Ireland as love of himself, and a desire to do as he pleased. He was boastful and contemptuous, both of his companions and of the police.

I have met Slevin's type just as I have met Davy's. Each exists, and did exist in the Republican Army of the period with which the book deals. But there was a third type of I.R.A. man (and he was in the majority) which Mr. Kealy does not introduce. The type that knew where he was going, what he wanted, and who would have succeeded in achieving the dream of the generations only for traitors committed by other Irishmen in his places. Of this type I need only mention a few who have now taken their places in history, side by side with Tone and Emmet, Paddy McGraw, Dublin; Richard Goss, Dundalk; Charlie Kearns, Tralee; and Seamus McCaughey, Belfast.

It is pretty evident from the book that Mr. Kealy is not a Political Propagandist. He tries to be fair to everyone, and to present life as he sees it, but he suffers from the handicap that he is a man who has accepted the present state of affairs in Ireland as being natural (with the exception of Partition). I am not blaming him for this. Most of our own generation have grown up since the Midnight Treaty and cannot be blamed for looking upon the County State as an Irish State. It might have been my own case. My schoolmaster was a Fenian.

Mr. Kealy spoils his book by putting his views on this matter into

(Continued on page 6)



# PARTITION

## Its Cause And Consequences

(CONCLUDED)

By P. MacLOGAN

England created the problem of Partition. She plays a leading part in maintaining it. That being so, it is sheer hypocrisy for her statesmen to argue that it is an internal problem to be solved by the Irish people themselves. Her evacuation of the territory she holds by force is a very necessary preliminary step towards a solution of the problem. Let her take the step and clear out. Then, and not till then, will the problem become entirely an internal one.

Another thing standing right in the way of any tangible result coming through the present campaign against Partition, in so far as there is any effort to organise cohesive action among anti-Partitionists, is the evident reluctance to press the issue to a final and conclusive show-down with England and the Stormont régime. This reluctance is fully recognised and appreciated by both Governments and while the position remains thus, both will maintain their present attitude towards Partition and forge quietly and calmly ahead in the direction that serves their own purpose and interests.

Since the tempo of the campaign cannot be maintained at a high level over a protracted or indefinite period, it seems inevitable that a climax will be reached sometime in the future. When such a situation is reached, either the campaign, under a strong and determined leadership, must be pressed home to its logical conclusion or, under guidance from a weak and retreating control, be allowed to peter out and die. The impact of these drawbacks in Partition must be apparent. The diversity of aims within the ranks of the anti-partitionists, the tendency to make the case against it along religious rather than along National lines and the reluctance to force the issue, robs the effort of the driving force necessary to carry the campaign forward to a conclusive solution of the problem.

Is history again to repeat itself? Are we merely to have something similar to the "repeal" agitation with an ignominious ending similar to that at Clontarf?

### A STEPPING STONE

It has already been stated that the British Government designed the machinery by which Ireland has been governed since 1922. Part of that machinery is the 26 Counties Legislature. Notwithstanding alterations in its Constitutional drappings, it still remains a Partition Institution and in relation to Partition it has served and continues to serve, the purpose its designers had in view. By that section of the Irish people who helped to establish and maintain it, in the early years of its existence, it was represented as providing "the freedom to win freedom." It may be argued that used in the sense of a "Stepping Stone" policy, it would provide the facilities and resources necessary to a further drive to oust the British forces from Irish territory, still in their occupation.

Be that as it may the fact remains that the political parties, who, in turn, have been elected as the Government of the 26 Counties, have not attempted to use the resources thus provided in a further effort to undo Partition. Neither does it appear likely that any other political party who may succeed them will be any improvement in this respect. To what is their failure in this regard, attributable? In the first place, it may be attributed to the fact that, lurking in the background is the spectre of England and her native garrison in the North, prepared and determined to use all their resources to maintain Partition. Having due regard to its future, no political party in power is going to risk joining the issue in a conclusive way. In the second place, political parties while in opposition,

are far too concerned with political wrangling to obtain control of the Government, and if and when they do achieve control, far too occupied with political manoeuvring to retain it, to devote time and energy to an effort to find a solution to the problem of Partition. As a plank in their platforms at election meetings the problem has its uses, or as a subject for sentimental talks to the Irish race at home and abroad. Apart from such occasions it is relegated to a back seat and lost sight of in the maze and welter of bickerings and contentions as to the relative parts of their respective programmes for the better government of what is euphemistically described as "free Ireland." In the third place, the rival programmes, advocated by the political parties that are in existence, serve to create confusion and bitterness amongst the people and thus hamper any approach to achieving the unity and determination that is necessary to bring about the end of Partition. Through the creation of these parties the united Government that carried the cause of freedom forward to July, 1921, has been broken, and through their activities we now appear to have reached the stage when the interests of the "Party" transcend those of the Nation. Certainly, from the present set-up of political parties, there is not the faintest hope that any of them can provide a leadership behind which the people would unite for a Nation-wide effort to free the Six Counties.

### PARTY PROGRAMMES

The merits of their rival programmes, as applied or applicable to the better Government of the 26 Counties, is not relevant to the purpose of this article. What is relevant, however, is the bearing that such programmes, when and if given effect to, have on the Partition issue. In the economic sphere they appear to be aimed at striking some kind of balance between industry and agriculture. This implies creating and developing industrial concerns. For trying to achieve self-sufficiency and to provide employment in the 26 Counties, none of the political parties can be blamed. But they should



realise that the longer they concern themselves only with endeavouring to achieve better economic conditions in a part of partitioned Ireland, the more permanent Partition becomes; the further they pursue a course directed towards industrial development the greater become the vested interests opposed to a united and free country.

In so far as any proposals that come from the political parties relative to Partition, or any suggestions they make for dealing with the problem are concerned, it is only possible within the scope of this article to consider a few.

### PLEBISCITE IN NORTH

One proposal has been that a plebiscite be taken of the people, in specified areas North of the Border, in order to ascertain if they would prefer to live under the jurisdiction of the "Dail" rather than under that of the Stormont Government. No plebiscite of the people in the "Nationalist" areas specified is required to ascertain their wishes in this regard. As these areas have a Nationalist majority it is most unlikely they would co-opt to remain under the Stormont regime.

Bearing this in mind, the reason why a plebiscite is sought in one quarter and refused in another becomes apparent. However, let us assume the people of these areas, through a plebiscite, put the matter beyond any doubt and declared in favour of unity with the Free State. What then? Would we be any nearer to a solution? Will England and the Stormont Government acquiesce in a transfer of the areas to the Dublin Parliament? Even assuming they did agree to the transfer, an area of Ireland approximating to two counties would still be partitioned off. From this point we know how the theory is developed. The area remaining under Stormont rule would no longer be an economic unit and must perforce unite with the rest of the country. Can it be claimed that the Rock of Gibraltar is either an economic or self-supporting unit and yet it has been maintained for years as an outpost of Britain's scheme to defend her Imperial interests. Let no one be so foolish as to suppose that an even smaller area, controlled by a native garrison, would collapse under economic pressure so long as England considered such a foothold in Ireland essential to her own security.

Apart from all this, why should any question relating to the Partition of our country be put to the test of a plebiscite of the people of specified areas? The right of the Irish people to control every inch of Irish soil is inalienable. This right should not be put in issue, even in a remote way, through a plebiscite of the people of a part of Ireland.

### ATTRACTIVE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The creation of attractive conditions in the 26 Counties, in order to entice the people of the North to enter an all-Ireland Parliament, has been talked about for years. As a proposal or suggestion to end Partition, it seems to be the standby of all parties. Since somewhere between one-third and one-half of the people of the Six Counties are already assumed to be willing and anxious to abandon Partition, no inducement of this kind is required so far as they are concerned. Therefore, this line of approach to a solution of the problem, boils itself down to a scheme to attract that part of the Partitionist bloc who would benefit through the social services and general standard of living that they now enjoy.

Taking into account what is known of the attitude of these people, and the influences and mentality behind it, towards an all-Ireland Government, it is surprising how anyone can seriously suggest that, even were they free to choose, their opposition to a united Ireland would be overcome, or even lessened, in the event of social services in the Free State rising to the same level as those obtaining in the Six Counties.

But suppose their opposition to a united Ireland be grounded on, or even influenced by, the standard of living level, this scheme would still hold little practical content to commend it to those in search of a solution. To frustrate the aim of this scheme all the British and Stormont Governments need do is to keep the social services at the same, or slightly higher level than those obtaining in the Free State. In other words, it would resolve itself into a contest as to which of the partitioned areas could maintain the most attractive conditions. Prompted by the motives the British have to maintain Partition and with the resources at their disposal, it becomes an easy matter to pick the winner of the contest.

### NORTHERN REPRESENTATIVES IN TWENTY-SIX COUNTY PARLIAMENT

The suggestion to open the "Dail" elected representatives from the 26 Counties need not be taken as a step as in any way providing a solution for the problem of Partition. In Stormont Government, consisting of 52 members, the opposition generally comprises 15 members. If these 15 it is very doubtful if they would be prepared to occupy seats in the "Dail," were the facilities made available, particularly if the Stormont Government took steps to counter such a move. But since it makes little difference to the Government party what the opposition does in this regard, it is most likely it would ignore the manoeuvre completely. If the suggestion is introduced as anything more than a mere gesture, then its advocates should seriously consider what sort of situation might be created in the "Dail" in the event of the Stormont Government bloc of 37 members deciding to enter it when occasion suited.

### RESERVED SERVICES

There remains one other suggestion worthy of note. That the administration of these services reserved to the British Government be transferred to the "Dail," leaving the Stormont Government autonomous powers. If the writer remembers aright this suggestion was represented as being the maximum concession that could be offered to the Six County opponents of an all-Ireland Parliament. (Continued on page 5)

### THE TRIUMPHANT FAILURE

A picture showing the last dramatic stand of the G.P.O. garrison in Easter Week is now available and can be had from the Irish Book Bureau, 63 Upper O'Connell St. (over Purcell's) Dublin. The scene depicts the last stages before the evacuation and shows the wounded James Connolly lying on a stretcher. In the foreground are Padraig Pearse, Tom Clarke, Joseph Plunkett and other leaders. Members of the garrison are manning the windows while others are fighting the flames which are already thrusting their way into the doomed building. This historic picture can be ordered, post free, for 2/3; while coloured representations are 5/-.



(Continued from page 4)

Government. No matter how it be qualified, such a suggestion is clearly in the nature of a compromise and as such should be repudiated and strenuously opposed by all who seek the integration of the partitioned areas within the framework of the established Republic.

Beyond granting them full civil and religious rights as citizens no concession should be offered to any section of the Irish people who set themselves up in opposition to Ireland's inalienable right, to full and complete Nationhood.

Some may take the view that this article serves merely to emphasise the difficulties that appear to make the problem almost insoluble. To some extent, this view would be correct. However, it is not intended, through placing emphasis on the difficulties by which the problem is surrounded, to discourage those who are prepared to make an effort to end the degradation of our National status and the humiliation most Irish people must feel while Partition endures. Rather, the intention is to draw attention to what the writer believes are the main obstacles to be overcome before a solution of the problem can be reached, and the weaknesses that it is felt exist in some of the suggestions made to bring about the ending of Partition.

In the view of the writer a first essential in formulating any plan to solve the problem is an understanding and appreciation of all the issues involved. A second essential is a National Movement imbued with the idea of Ireland a Nation, free from all outside interference. A Movement that will be not merely anti-partitionist permitting of ambiguity as to the ultimate purpose in view, but one with the definite object of freeing Ireland from the last vestige of British rule and enthroning the Irish Republic as established in 1919. A Movement not enclosed within the narrow confines of party politics, but, one whose aim shall be to unite Irishmen and women in a solid phalanx to work for the welfare of Ireland, unhampered by thoughts of personal or party gain. And last, but not least, it must be a movement determined to overcome all obstacles and prepared to use whatever means may be deemed necessary to secure the full freedom of Ireland and the prosperity and happiness of her people.

## TEAC NA SCUSTUIM

Ar teacht an Earráig 1921 bhí Troir na Sasainne féiltead. Bhí na Sasainne ar a n-éireadh ag iarraidh faoi dhó cur fé chois—mar ba dual dóibh riach! —le neart an uachtáis. Bhí fórsaí na nGall, roir phléim agus Dubhánaigh, saighiúirí agus "auxiliaries" dóibh ag déanamh creide ar fuair na tíre: na mílte dá gcuid i ngéibheann lá mhoiréar lae; tighéad dá ndóighead, siopáil dá bpleasgadh, fiú bailtí iomlána dá screadadh; gnáth-pobal na tíre roir ós agus sean dóibh, roir uasal agus íseal dóibh, roir tuat agus cléir dóibh dá ndóimhneacht go fealltach ar na sráideanna i rith an lae; ar tsoibh an bóthair nó na tighéibh féimig—na leabhtaí dóibh fiú—i n-éireadh na h-oirde. Ach do seas an pobal go misneamhail neamh-eagla i gcomhábair an uachtáis dá déime é, agus bhí gluaiseacht ceolréimeach féilte na Pobláca; faoi 's a bhí na h-Óglais óga so ag briseadh catá ar an naimhars ins gach stiú a bhféidir ins na bailte agus ins na cathracha bhí luic na "GColuamhan" ag déanamh scrios iomlán ar fórsaí Rígh Sasainne féilte uachtáir.

Ach, i mí na Márta an bliain sin, cinnig Árd-Chómhairle an Airm ar spionspear do déanamh de'n sgeal—trombuille do dualadh ar cúrsaí gnáth-riagaltais na Sasainne sa tír seo. An trácht san o'É Teac an Custuim príomh-árus Riagaltais na nGall: annsú a riarruigí gach rud a bain le cúrsaí cánach, le cúrsaí custuim is mál, maille le gnáth-gnóthaí Riagaltais áiteamhail. Cinneadh ar an o'É Teac san do dóighead!

Cáiríoe na Pobláca a bhí ag obair annsú eugadair caoi o'Óifigis an Airm seo. Bainne cuairt mhoiréar a déile do tabairt ar an áit ionus eolas cruinn do cur ar gach cuido de. An méir sin curca i gcríic socairuigeadh dul cun éinn leis an mbeartas. Mar sin, um meadhon ar lae an 25ú Bealtaine deim ceitire scór o'Óglais na h-Éireann foisa féilte áit. Bainneadair na gunnaí de'n gáiríoe

lasmuig; beoladh na stát-beirbhíog u le go h-áit slán agus scealladh carraighe ar fuair an áruis. Le na linn sin o'Éiread cinnig fórsaí móra de cúro Rígh Sasainne ar an láthair; págadh cúrsaí tighéad ar lae agus briseadh cat o'Éa sú. An o'Óifigeadh a bhí i b'péigil gnótha, o'Óruigis áit uos na leatús dul ar ágáir le "cúrsaí tème"—rud a bainneadh le fonn. Annasann nuair a bhí an áit go móir trá tème tug na h-Óglais féilte amach; bhí an áit ciorclúigeadh ag saighiúirí agus ag dubhánaigh de cúro Rígh Sasainne, iad fá réir catá, turchaill armtha, inneall-gunnaí agus cuile acu. Tug na h-Óglais go calma fáta, agus i n-ádhéom gairt roiréad cat flocmair, cinnig fuanmóir acu slán as. Do mairbhigeadh seisear, áh, agus foinneadh tuaraim is o'Éiread. Ach bhí obair mairt curca i gcríic acu. leanadh dá long san ar fuair na tíre (mar don leis an gcat míleata), agus ba gairíoe gairt amuig Lloyd George i b'párliméirí Rígh Sasainne: "The King's writ no longer runs in Ireland." —"Do b'ádhéom deit beo san-am fáto."!

"Ceirínead."

### FROM MY SCRAPBOOK

#### "GENERAL AIKEN AT ARDEE"

'Even if I go wrong, if President de Valera and every other Irish Republican leader goes wrong, you will still have men in Ireland who will always affirm that the British Government—or anybody in this country acting on behalf of the British Government—has no right to say who will carry arms in Ireland, and there will be men who will maintain, as the Irish Republican Army does to-day, that the only people who can say who is to carry arms in Ireland are the Irish people and not the British Government or anybody owing allegiance to the British Government.' (Cheers.)

"An Phoblacht," June 20th, 1925.

Extract from speech made at Ardee, June 7th, 1925, by Frank Aiken, T.D., C/S. I.R.A.

**TO OUR READERS:**  
ARTICLES AND NEWS OF  
IMPORTANCE WILL BE  
WELCOMED



An t-Eipeannac Aontuighe  
38 SOUTH KING STREET, DUBLIN.  
June, 1948.

## THE TASK BEFORE US

IRISH Republicanism is peculiar to Ireland. It is a political philosophy that has developed out of our own traditions. One hundred and fifty years ago, Wolfe Tone gave expression to all the political and economic desires of the Irish people in his writings, and stated a policy for their attainment.

We accept Tone's political faith. Our object in the columns of this magazine is to expound Tone's faith in terms that are applicable to present day needs. Our policy, therefore, shall be:

1. To expound Republicanism, Separatism, Self-reliance and Unity among all Irishmen.
2. To revive the traditional love and enthusiasm of the Irish people for freedom and justice.
3. To report truthfully and comment honestly on all important events at home and overseas.
4. To foster the Gaelic language and all branches of Gaelic Culture.

Ireland, all Ireland, is the home of the Irish Nation; Acts of Parliament or differences of political opinion cannot alter that fact. It has been so for thousands of years, it is so to-day and will continue to be so, while the Irish Nation continues to exist.

Ireland is still unfree.

Partition sunders our country.

Emigration continues to drain away the flower of our youth.

Appalling poverty and fabulous wealth jostle shoulder to shoulder in town and country.

Young people leave school with little knowledge of recent Irish history. They have no idea of the sacrifices Irishmen have made for freedom—how materialistic this generation has become, or have they any conception of Irish Nationality.

The mass of the people are apathetic and engrossed in the struggle to live, which becomes harder daily, with the rising cost of all essential commodities.

A fraction of Ireland still believes that this nation can be made free, prosperous and happy. We have the natural resources, the organising ability and the manpower. We lack

the political Unity necessary to inspire and co-ordinate our efforts. While the majority of the Irish people disagree on the means necessary to achieve freedom, political unity of the Irish nation is well-nigh impossible.

To create that unified opinion is the task before us. We earnestly hope that our efforts will be crowned with success. Without your help and co-operation success is impossible.

### Inscription on above Memorial

i nDíl-úiríne  
séáin mic eócaid  
Ánd-óganadóir ós laig na héireann  
a fuair bás ar son saoirse na  
héireann  
i bpríosún porleaoigise  
iiaó de mí na bealtaine, 1946  
i nDíl coitne bliadain de príosún-  
eact  
faoi ainéant agus annd, d'éas sé  
ar seail-óchais agus eaire, as  
iarraid bail-poilitiúeacta a páisil  
dó féin agus a chúid comradaiúe.  
i bflaiteas d'ó so na b a nam  
cógta as cumann uaiúeanna na  
laóeant saeéal



## BOOK REVIEW—contd.

mouth of Slevin, who talks about "the Irish State, an Irish Army and an Irish Government" south of the Border. This is my only quarrel with Mr. Kealy, because the I.R.A. of 1916 was the same I.R.A. that fought 1916. The personnel may have been different, that was all. It was just a question of a new generation picking up the torch that Cathal Brugha had dropped flaming in O'Connell Street.

His descriptions of scenery, both the Mourne Mountain districts and Donegal are wonderful. It gave quite a thrill, his description of a cycle ride of Rita and Peter, from Rosses into Ballyshannon. Perhaps was because that road is so familiar to me. The road through the Galtees the North up to my own country, Enniskillen. This book is one I recommend. It is the first which has tried to be fair to the men who gave their all for freedom in their own day. It has not quite succeeded in doing that, but at least it has attempted to do it. It is well produced at 8/6. (Published by Christopher Johnson, Russell St., London.)



# SEAN McCAUGHEY COMMEMORATION IN DUBLIN

## SEAMUS SMYTH RECALLS SEAN McCAUGHEY'S SACRIFICE

IN starting I must apologise to the Meeting for having failed to prepare anything that could properly be called a speech. Knowing that there are men who are much more fit to do justice to Sean's memory than I am, I tried to stand aside in favour of those men but under pressure I decided an hour ago to speak very briefly on Sean's death. He was sentenced to be shot on a charge for which two years would be the maximum sentence in any other court. In the face of a storm of private and public protest Sean's sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life and he was sent to that torture-jail of de Valera's, Portlaoighise. When he arrived there the jailers, acting on orders, tried to have him wear the convict uniform, do penal labour and accept the name of a criminal. Sean, a political prisoner, refused to do any of these things, was stripped naked and thrown into a cell and left there the 24 hours of every day to rot away in whatever way he chose. He endured the physical strain and prolonged mental stress of complete solitary confinement from the time of his entering in the Autumn of 1941 till the Summer of 1943. No one, except one who has endured solitary confinement can understand what this means. Under further pressure, de Valera in 1943 decided to permit Sean and his comrades to associate for from two to three hours on week days in what was a half dozen cells made into one.

The only clothing permitted was a blanket of the cell bed. He was also permitted to write one letter per month to his friends and to receive a reply and to receive one paper per week. These were the conditions under which he had to live up to the time of his going on strike. In the Spring of 1946, Sean, in the face of mounting physical and mental strain decided to go on hunger strike for release. Anyone who knew Sean knew that he meant freedom or death.

I remember well the last time he left to be brought back to his cell. He was to start the strike the next morning. The jailer called his name, "McCaughey." Sean picked up his spare blanket, tossed it across his shoulder, half turned to go, started back to us, murmured a "Slán agaibh" and plodded up to the door out of the room. I tried to murmur a half choked "Slán leat," but it stuck in my throat for I knew he was walking out of my life and to his death. I knew that de Valera would secretly greet his death with delight as he would be now succeeding where he had failed four years previously. He would be sealing Sean's mouth forever. As soon as Sean went on Hunger Strike he was locked in his cell and would not be allowed contact with his comrades, though he called out to us several times from his cell window. About four days after going on Hunger Strike he also went on thirst strike, a thing which must have intensified the agony very much. The jailers resorted to several petty little tricks to try to induce him

to break his strike but they were wasting time. Sean persevered and at the end of three weeks he died. But though he died and thus apparently lost, I say that by his death he succeeded in striking a blow at the "Eire dominion parliament" in Dublin and at the Unionist Parliament in Belfast that would never have been a fraction so effective had he won the hunger strike and been released. After his death came the usual inquest and of course the usual attempts were made to hoodwink the general public as to the cause of his death, attempts in which the jail governor and the coroner played their parts. But it was wasted effort. A verdict reflecting on de Valera and his hacks was returned.

We came here to-day so that we might help to keep Sean's memory alive in the mind of the people. But we can best do service to his memory by accepting and living according to the political principle for which he lived and died, by refusing to give allegiance to or to recognise either the "Eire" dominion Parliament in Dublin or the Unionist Parliament in Belfast, and by persevering in this until we can make available to the country a 32-County Parliament completely separate from England; the Parliament of the Irish Republic.

### 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 will be held for funds for this paper. We appeal to our readers to do all in their power to make it a success.



# BASIS FOR AN IRISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

SEARÓID Ó MONGÁIN

I DO not attempt here to formulate a definite and detailed scheme of Education, but rather to put before you, in a general way, some observations on the principles on which Education should be based, and the ends which it should attempt to realise both with regard to the individual and with regard to the community of which he is a part. Education is a matter of such vital importance for the proper functioning of a just social and economic order that it has been truly said that if you wish to obtain a clear idea of the extent to which any social order is founded on just principles, it is only necessary to examine the educational system in force under that order.

A social system founded on inequality will not give equality in Education; on the contrary, its educational aims will endeavour to justify its basic inequality by an inequality in intellectual development and culture. It will set a price on the higher forms of Education which will make these a monopoly of one section of the community, erecting rigid barriers of class and privilege to the detriment of social and national solidarity.

It is equally true that a free and just social order must regard its educational system both as its most perfect form of expression and as its greatest defence against decay or degeneration. In the schools of the Nation, the future citizens of the Nation are being trained and on that training depends the life and well-being of the community. "All the charters and constitutions, all the paper and parchment" that you can frame or muster will not suffice to ensure the continuance of your social order if the citizens of your State have not been fully trained in the principles on which it is founded. Freedom will not survive unless each is independent enough to know and assert his own rights even against the State; justice will be no more than a name unless each knows and respects the rights of

his fellow-men and is prepared to defend them even when he himself is not in immediate danger. The natural conditions under which men live demand that Education should enable the individual to take his place in society and to use his full powers for his own and the community's benefit. In this sense, Education is an instrument for achieving the perfection of society through the perfection of the individual.

## OPEN THE GATES

A drastic raising of the school-leaving age is immediately necessary. In many countries the age is sixteen or seventeen years while in New Zealand it is nineteen years. The years between (sixteen and eighteen) are the most important from the point of view of achieving proper Education—as regards individual culture, social consciousness and economic usefulness. These are the years in which the edifice of Education is raised in its full design and strength on the foundations which have been laid in the previous years and it is a gross injustice both to the individual and the community to allow these years to be wasted.

Real Education must be made available for every citizen in the country by providing a scheme which would make it free to all and in accordance with the needs of the individual and the community. At present only one child in five receives any kind of post-primary Education while only one in fifteen attends a secondary school.

National Education, as at present organised, ends where real Education should begin. Just when the child is ready to receive something more solid in the way of culture and knowledge, he is told that his "education" is finished; and for the few who have the strength of mind to continue the study of one subject or another, there

are the countless thousands who only mental stimulus thenceforward drawn from Sunday newspapers and the popular films. If there is even Government in power in Ireland which seriously aims at realising the ideals of Pearse and Connolly, its first act should be to throw open the gates of Education to the children of the nation.

## BULWARKS AGAINST OPPRESSION

A strong national spirit is the best safeguard against conquest and oppression; thus the educational system of a free Ireland will have to start from bedrock and build up a full consciousness of our individuality in all its aspects. We must remember that nationality means more than political or economic freedom; it means also the possession of a distinct national personality and culture based on the traditions of the nation and informed by the individual genius of the nation. To those who believe in the doctrine of Pearse, that Ireland must be "not free merely but Gaelic as well" it is obvious that the Irish Nation without the Irish language will be a mere shadow. I do not wish to do anything more than refer to the language here; this aspect of Education has been, and will again be dealt with in other articles in this paper; but I would like to point out that those few schools which have made Irish the ordinary language of school life, both as a medium of instruction and as the language of pastimes and recreation have not only succeeded in turning out fluent Irish speakers but have more than held their own in examinations. The moral is obvious.

Together with Gaelicisation must go the proper teaching of Irish history in the building up of Nationality. The first act of any conqueror is to falsify the history of the conquered in an attempt to justify the conquest. This has been done with us both by commission and omission; it is proceeding apace to-day after twenty-six years of so-called native Government. In what school syllabus would you find the writings of Pearse mentioned? In what history class Mitchell's "Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps)" studied?—or his History



of Ireland from the Treaty of Limerick to his own times?

Not only are these works not studied but they have been out of print for years. The ignorance of and apathy towards our national status which are prevalent to-day among the younger generation are the fruits of their mis-education. The evil tide of Redmondism and seoninism has prevailed; the whole work of 1916 has been undone, not only in Education, but in every phase of national life.

### VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

The next principle with which I shall deal is that of adapting the educational system to meet the economic needs of the community. Our primary need is for an intelligent and progressive agricultural population which will be able to utilise the resources of the land to their fullest extent. A farmer who takes up his work with a background of scientific training will be much more efficient than one who progresses from traditional practices by a process of trial and error; or who does not progress at all. The foundations of scientific farming must be laid in the schools.

Agricultural education must also be suited to local needs. In an area in which wheat cannot be grown to advantage, for example, it would be futile to provide intensive courses in wheat growing, and so on. The schools should follow the trend of the areas in which they are operating so that the specialities of these areas may be brought to perfection.

This policy of vocational education will also have to be followed with regard to manufacturing industry. Industrial efficiency and productive potential can be greatly increased by technical training during the formative years; only on such a basis can we ever hope to achieve adequate development of our industrial resources. An example of the results of such a policy was to be seen in Germany where, in the generations immediately preceding the 1914 War, Education was given a scientific and technical bias which, in a comparatively short time, placed German industry on a level with that of any European country. Our industrial resources cannot be ranked with those of Germany, but what we have will only be fully utilised when we are turning out trained personnel from our schools.

### THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE WORLD

These national and economic aims must not be so rigidly adhered to as to produce merely narrow-minded jingoists or automata for the production line. Education for life must provide scope for the development of the cultural requirements of the individual. Ancient and modern languages and literatures, world history, art, music and dancing—these are elements which, on the one hand, enlarge and mature the national outlook, and on the other, enrich the individual personality through a love for beauty of sight, sound and movement. Facilities for their study should be available to each according to his inclinations and talents. The realisation of the extent to which Ireland contributed to western European culture in the past should inspire our creative artists of the future to make an even greater contribution based on our national cultural heritage. It should be the aim of our educational system to direct special attention to the great European literatures in order to correct the narrow-minded outlook of those people in Ireland who suffer from the delusion that no worth while literature but English literature exists. Our own modern Gaelic literature will be enriched and enlarged by European contacts.

The final unity or binding of the elements of the educational system is provided by the Christian

philosophy which is the heritage of the mass of the Irish people, both Catholics and Protestants. It is not necessary to develop this point further in this short essay since the defects of our present educational system lie not in this direction but in others that I have already mentioned. It may be appropriate at this stage, however, to make a plea for some arrangement whereby parents, the natural educators of their children, could participate more fully in the direction of the local schools. There seems to be no reason why school committees should not be set up to bring parents into closer relation with the schools and the schools with the community. Such a step will bring us nearer to the day when the local school will be a centre from which expert advice will be obtainable, not only by the pupils attending the school, but by the people generally in regard to up-to-date technical and economic matters. Teachers in a school with a local bias would be able to undertake experimental work with a view to serving local industrial needs. We must not await the results of reform in other countries, whether they concern the raising of the school-leaving age or vocational education or anything else. A full life and economic progress for the Irish people demand that we take the initiative and follow our own path in Education. The work is there to do; who will do it?

### ANNUAL

## Pilgrimage to Bodenstown

*SUNDAY, 20th JUNE, 1948*

Republican Ireland Assembles Sallins, 2.30 p.m.

Oration at Graveside by Tomas Mac Curtain

Special Train Leaves Kingsbridge at 12.30 p.m.

Returns from Sallins at 6.30 p.m.

**FARE 3/-**

**CHILDREN 1/6**

**BUSES FROM PROVINCIAL CENTRES**

**HONOUR WOLFE TONE**



# THE NATIONAL DEMAND

SEAMUS G. O'KELLY

**T**HE last Government elected to rule the Irish Nation was the Government of the Republic of Ireland, elected by the whole people of Ireland in the General Election of 1921. That was the last General Election held for the whole of Ireland.

The 26 County State was, and is the offspring of British cunning and Irish compromise. It was set up as a result of the Treaty of Surrender, and in the 26 years of its existence has attempted to destroy the historic Irish Nation and the institutions of Government which that Nation gave to itself, when it erected Dail Eireann, and issued its Declaration of Independence to the free nations of the world.

Republicans are not against the 26 County State for mere sentimental reasons. We are against it, because we know that it cannot give to the Irish people that place in the community of nations to which they are entitled, nor can it give to them that peace, happiness and economic security which the people of any nation must possess if they are to develop spiritually and culturally. It cannot give them these things because it denies National Sovereignty, and by denying this fundamental right of nationhood, it imposes upon the Irish people the Conquest which a foreign power brought to our shore.

The British Conquest is three-fold in its operation. It is a National, or Political Conquest, in so far as it denies the complete Sovereign rights of the Irish people to choose their own form of Government, their own Economic System, and their own Political System. This political aspect of the Conquest operates mainly through the two Parliaments in Dublin and in Belfast, backed by their Military and Police Forces.

## DOMINIONISM

The Parliament in Dublin claims Sovereign Rights but in actual fact it does not exercise Sovereign Rights, because it cannot legislate for 32 Counties, nor can it send representatives abroad without the sanction of

the English King. This, in effect, makes it a Dominion assembly.

The Parliament of the Six Counties has only local powers, and the Military Establishment in that area is composed of English troops, who are there to make sure that England has a Bridgehead in Ireland in times of International crisis, and that if necessary she can re-occupy all of our territory if she finds it expedient to do so.

The Military Establishment in the 26 County Area has never been used in any way as a threat to the British occupying forces in the North-East. From the very beginning, the 26 County Military Machine was used to suppress the Republican Movement. We are in no way hostile to the Irishmen who comprise the rank and file of this force because they are ignorant of the role they play. All we are pointing out is how the force has been used in the past by successive Free State Administrations, against the best interests of the Nation as a whole. Thus, by Military might, and by the threat of "Immediate and terrible war" (If we go outside the Treaty) does England maintain the political aspect of the Conquest.

## ECONOMIC POSITION

Now, we come to the economic aspect of British domination in Ireland. This aspect of the Conquest has had very serious consequences for the Irish Race. It has resulted in Unemployment, Mass Emigration, Festering Slums, a falling birth-rate and the lowering of the Industrial Potentialities of our manufacturing output. From the very beginning, Great Britain was determined to cripple Ireland, industrially. She could not afford to allow our overseas trade to develop, or to allow an Irish Mercantile Marine to become a serious rival on the shipping routes of the world. She could not allow Irish Industries to develop on this island, unless she had complete control over these industries, and was able to make sure that whatever wealth resulted from them would go into the coffers of the

British Empire, and not into the Treasury of the Irish Nation. Like all empires, who establish a minion over small nations, Britain had to ensure that she would dominate us economically.

She carried out this economic domination by imposing upon us the Capitalist System, and by keeping control of our currency in her hands, i.e., the Bank of England. British Labour Government nationalised the Bank of England, but whether that Bank is in the hands of private capitalists or the British State concern does not matter to us. Our currency should not be tied to it, because the net result of this is that money is not forthcoming to finance schemes of national portance, and the consequence of that is, emigration.

## BRITISH EXPLOITATION OF IRISH INDUSTRY

James Connolly has stated that "Capitalism is the most foreign thing in Ireland." Irish capitalism is linked to British capitalism, and British money is invested in Irish concerns. The profit motive in capitalism makes it certain that Industry is carried out for the benefit of a few individuals and not for the benefit of the whole community. If English capitalists are allowed to exploit Irish industry, this makes for further link with the Empire and further limitations on National Sovereignty. Our fathers fought to get rid of the lords. Are their children to be driven out on the Emigrant Ship by capitalist Bond-Lords?

The two States set up by the Treaty have maintained and defended, during the last quarter of a century, the economic system imposed upon our country by the British Conquest. The offspring of the British Conquest, these two States were intended to maintain the British Conquest in all its forms, and that is why neither of them can ever solve the economic difficulties of the Irish Nation. More than they can solve the political question of complete National Independence.

## THE LANGUAGE

Lastly, we have the third phase of the Conquest, the Cultural Conquest. Britain, like all conquering empires, had made it her business to force her language upon us. Her reason was obvious. She wanted us to act like Englishmen—like English colonists. She had first to make us think



Englishmen. We would then of course accept her domination over us—we would look to her as the mother country, just as the other English speaking peoples of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

Thomas Davis, Willie Rooney, Padraig Pearse and Cathal Brugha have pointed out to us that if the Irish Nation is to survive, the Irish language must again become the spoken language of the Irish people. As Davis said, "We have two frontiers, the Language and the sea. The Language," he went on, "is a surer fortress than mountain or river, because it comes to us from God."

The first Parliament of the Republic acting on the advice and teaching of Pearse and the others decreed it to be the policy of the Republic, that the Irish language was to become the every day speech of the Irish people. What has happened since the Republic was overthrown by force of arms? Successive Free State Governments have made a pretence of attempting to revive the language. As far as practical results go, that pretence has been a colossal failure.

Why has the language policy of these Governments failed? The answer is obvious. Only the Irish Nation can revive the language. No partitioned Dominion of the Commonwealth can do it. No matter how much compulsion is used in the schools, the language will only be spoken when the people of Ireland come to love it as their own.

They will never do this until they realise why they should love it what it means to the Nation—how all our traditions are enshrined in the tongue that God gave to the Irish, and how an Irishman should be proud to speak the language of Columcille, Red Hugh O'Donnell and Owen Roe O'Neill rather than the language of Oliver Cromwell, Winston Churchill, and the Black and Tans.

To-day children are taught Irish, and when they come out of the schools they come into an English speaking world. In the Civil Service, in the Banks, in the Free State Parliament and Army, in every walk of life they hear nothing but the tongue of the foreigner. How are they to be expected to retain the knowledge of Irish which they acquired at school? Even the people of the Gaedhealtacht who have the language, are being forced through an alien economic system to emigrate, and to acquire

# REPUBLICANS IN JAIL

## CRUMLIN JAIL, BELFAST

Patrick McCotter	12 yrs.
John McMahon	" "
J. E. Tennyson	12 yrs.
James Greenaway	" "
Frank Morris	10 "
(The above five also received 12 strokes of the Cat).	

Patrick McCallin	12 yrs.
James Kirk	" "
James Brogan	" "
James Grimes	8 "
Jack McCaffrey	12 "
Hugh McAteer	14 "
John Doyle	12 "
Alfred White	" "
Dan Diffin	8 "
Liam Burke	12 "
James Steele	14 "
John Graham	12 "
Roddy Hassan	8 "
T. Byrne	12 "
James Bannon	8 "
Robert McMillan	" "
Patrick Simpson	15 "
John Olliver	21 "

James Perry, Harry Cordner, Joseph Cahill, sentenced to death with Tom Williams. Reprieved on 20th August, 1942.

## MOUNTJOY PRISON

Pat Shannon	5 yrs.
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(Continued from column one)

## OPERATION OF FREE STATE MACHINE

English so that they may earn their bread and butter across the Channel.

Thus we see that the State which is based upon the midnight Treaty of Surrender, is the instrument by which the three phases of the British Conquest are maintained. No matter how sincere or how patriotic any group of men may be, they cannot achieve salvation for the Irish Nation, if they accept an Institution which was set up and framed by the enemies of the Irish Nation, for the sole purpose of destroying that Nation.

If the Nation is to be saved at all, it will be necessary to build a complete new structure. We must build from the very bottom, or rather should I say rebuild the structure of the Irish Republic. Only the youth banded together in determination, can rebuild the Nation, which at

## IN ENGLAND (Parkhurst Prison)

Jack McCabe, Cavan	20 yrs.
Vincent Crompton, Liverpool	" "
Jack Glynn, Mayo	" "
John Gavahan, Mayo	" "
Joseph Collins, Cork	" "
Dan Regan, Cork	" "
Laurence Dunlea, Cork	20 "
James O'Regan, Cork	20 "
Patrick Donahy, Dundalk	" "
John Duggan, Tipperary	" "
Denis Duggan, Tipperary	" "
Jerry Dunlop, Belfast	" "
Rory Campbell, Belfast	" "
Martin Clarke, Belfast	" "
Eric O'Neill, Belfast	" "
Gerard Kerr, Belfast	" "
Patrick Dower, Waterford	" "
Nick Clery, Wexford	17 "
Leo Duignan, Leitrim	10 "
Edward O'Connell, Dublin	20 "
James O'Brien, Dublin	" "
Timothy Murray, Waterford	" "
Patrick McAleer, Belfast	" "
Patrick O'Connell, Tipperary	" "

## FREED PRISONERS

"The following resolution was passed unanimously by a meeting of the Roger Casement Branch of the Gaelic League, Glasgow: 'That this Branch heartily congratulates Tomas MacCurtain, Harry White and their comrades on their unconditional release. All true Irish-will salute the survivors of the bravest and most prolonged jail fight in Irish History—a fight unequalled in the long struggle to attain a free, united and Gaelic Ireland.'"

the moment is dying from the application of Quack Remedies by Quack Doctors.

## THE WAY FORWARD

The Republican State can only be rebuilt on the basis of The Proclamation of Easter Week, which meant and still means the complete undoing of the British Conquest. We can succeed if we follow the road straight to the point where we can make the Republic function again, but if we branch off on to any of the by-ways of compromise or expediency, we shall end up in the Imperial Cul-de-Sac, where so many one-time Republicans now find themselves.



# AN GATH GRÉINE

## Cuinne Do'n Aos-Ós

**CHILDREN** under fourteen are invited to enter for our "How much to you know?" Competition. Entries should be sent to "Niamh Cinn Oir," An t-Eireannach Aontuighthe, 38 Sth. King Street, Dublin, and should be accompanied by a 2d. stamp. A prize of 3/7 will be awarded to the competitors whose solutions are among the first three correct ones to be opened. Closing date 22 nd June, 1948. Please fill in your name and address on the Entry Form.

A Páisti Oga.

Where are all the letters that should have been drifting in to me for the last month? Are you just being lazy? Or is it that old Primary Cert.? Or is it that you never heard of the hero who led thirteen of his sons to die for Ireland at the Battle of Kinsale? Well, never mind Domhnall O'Sullivan Béara's brother, Diarmuid, for the moment. (That was meant to be a sticker and I know you knew that No. 1 was Pádraig Pearse; No. 2—Red Hugh O'Donnell; No. 3—Terence MacSweeney; No. 5(a)—Kelly the Boy from Killann; No. 5(b) Father Murphy and No. 5(c) Allen, Larkin and O'Brien).

Perhaps you could answer this one!

Daddy Worm and Mammy Worm and Baby Worm were crossing O'Connell Bridge one day. When they got to the other side Baby Worm looked up at his Daddy and said he, "Weren't the five of us lucky to get across!"

Why did Baby Worm say "five"?

Now while we are on this most absorbing subject of worms—did you ever hear the story that I read a few weeks ago of Tommy at the party? When it came his turn to amuse the company he offered to imitate a bird. "How nice!" said his hostess, "Tommy's going to whistle like a little bird."

"Nope," said Tommy scornfully, "Is going to eat a worm."

(Don't you try it though, and I may add that Tommy's slang and grammar were simply dreadful).

### "HOW MUCH DO YOU KNOW" COMPETITION

(1) Every little Irish boy and girl has heard of me though I was but eighteen years of age when I gave my life for Ireland in Mountjoy Prison. I, with other soldiers of the Irish Republican Army ambushed the Black and Tans at North King Street in Dublin. My comrades escaped but I was taken prisoner. No words of mine could describe to you the torture I endured at the hands of the Black and Tans in their efforts to make me inform on my companions. But despite their beating and torturing, to all their questions I gave the same proud answer "No, I will not tell." When all failed, they hanged me one November morning in 1920. If you ever sang the ballad "In Mountjoy one Monday morning high upon the gallows tree . . ." you sang of me. Who am I?

(2) I was "a dark sad man, comeliest of the men of Erin." If you ever heard the story of the Brown Bull of Cullighe you heard of me, for I, of all the warriors of Uladh was there to engage in single combat the heroes of Connaught and one by one they fell by my hand. My own dearest friend, Ferdia, I slew because it was my duty to fight as best I could, and when Ferdia was dead it mattered little to me whether I lived or died. I was never known to turn my back upon an enemy so I died, propped to a pillar, facing him. "Happy are they who will not hear the cuckoo again," said my wife Emer, in grief at my death. Then, says the old saga, "the life went out from her." We were laid in one grave and the one stone was raised above us and our names were written in Ogham and all the men of Ulster coined us. Who am I?

(3) You have heard of Michael Dwyer and his brave fighting men. He was my uncle. My father and all my family spent many years in solitary confinement in Kilmainham Prison. I, myself, kept house for

Robert Emmet and when the yeoman came to search for him I was there. "You may murder me," I said to them, "but not one word about me will you ever get from me." They goaded me with bayonets till I was covered with blood. They suspended me in the air till I was half dead and spared me then only for my horrors. Major Sirr offered me freedom and £500 if I answered his questions but that would have been the price of Robert Emmet's blood. I spurned it. On the morning of my execution I was driven through Thomas Street and forced to look at that blood sprinkled on the cobblestones. I was kept in solitary confinement in Kilmainham Prison for many years and tortured till my mind was shattered. When Pitt died the prisons were opened and I was released, crippled in limb—more dead than alive. Who am I?

### ENTRY FORM

#### HOW MUCH DO YOU KNOW COMPETITION

(1) .....

(2) .....

(3) .....

AINM .....

SEOLADH .....

Winners of last month's Competition were:

- (1) Sheila McAleese, Derrynah Lurgan.
- (2) Dine Gleeson, Elmhill, Nenagh.
- (3) Maire Ni Siothchain, Bothar Portlaoighise.

How clever were you? Baby couldn't count, of course!