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A NEW BETRAYAL

The keynote in Irish politics to-day is "uneasiness." Men who for years loyally supported political groups North and South in the honest belief that patience, statesmanship, wise leadership and all those other things that temporarily superseded the traditional policy of physical force might some day find the shadowy short cut to freedom have been sadly disillusioned: nothing at all has been done about Partition, even when it was in the power of Southern parties to do so. They might even in a passive way have shown one redeeming feature—sincerity in refusing to have anything to do with the abdication of one king or the coronation of another. They might have refused to co-operate with Scotland Yard, the B-Specials or the R.U.C. in the coercion of Republicans. They might have refused to recognise the lawfulness of the Stormont regime and admit all representatives to Leinster House, but they did none of those things. Instead they have been most anxious to maintain the status quo, to prosecute with utmost rigour of the law those who could not conscientiously betray the lawful Republic, and to deceive honest people by the clever process of changing names—of substituting the shadow for the substance.

This deception is being continued in the interests of political parties who have no other motive but the selfish desire for power. Partition is now the red-herring and people who remember the immediate past are apprehensive lest some new sell out is being prepared, lest some settlement reminiscent of other d—

good bargains should so confuse the issue to-day as to retard the straightforward approach to the problem.

Rumours are abroad that a bargain is being contemplated which will apparently abolish the Border by transferring the powers at present reserved to Westminster to Leinster House and leave Stormont with absolute local autonomy. The price for this very questionable bargain will be Irish participation in the Atlantic Pact. This means that Irishmen will henceforth be conscripted by a native administration to fight all England's wars. It is also rumoured that as an added incentive to the Orangemen the whole of Ireland would be prepared willingly to accept membership of the Empire and recognise the King of England as the Head of that Empire. In other words Partition would be abolished by the simple expedient of "surrender." Instead of regaining the much talked of "Lost Province" the Twenty-Six Counties will have been acquired by the Six Counties. Proclamations, rejoicings, and insincere oratory will be used to make this surrender appear as a national victory.

The much talked of Federal System is no solution: it would establish a permanent border between North and South, it would admit the necessity of Partition in 1921, it would admit that the Orangemen have a right to a privileged position, and it would have alienated portion of our sovereignty. In short it would be a downright betrayal.

That those rumours have some foundation in fact is evident from the

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speeches of Mr. MacBride who is the foremost protagonist of the Federal solution and from a significant speech of one of his colleagues, Mr. Dillon. On October 7th Mr. Dillon is reported to have spoken at a meeting in Monaghan as follows:

"When I first asked you to vote for me I told you that my politics were nationalist, that I believed a united Ireland in the Commonwealth of Nations was our best guarantee of freedom and independence. I have never ceased to believe in the Commonwealth concept, and I believe in it to-day more firmly than I ever did."

The general tone of his speech was in perfect keeping with his past professions of loyalty to the Empire. He, who advocated official Irish partici-

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LINCOLN GAOL ESCAPE

Fianna Fail Administration supported coercion in the North

Pseudo-intellectuals of the pro-British variety have often sneered at what they call the "agin the government" attitude of many Irish people, suggesting that the plain "man in the street" is opposed to authority merely for the sake of fighting, or just to satisfy his arrogant pugnacious outlook. This anti-government outlook had, however, a sound commonsense background in the fact that changing governments either at Westminster, Leinster House or Stormont wrought no fundamental change, political or social, in the status of the "mere Irishman," and his immediate reaction on hearing of some discomfiture of the government is invariably one of satisfaction: when Stephens escaped from prison his escape was hailed with joy. When De Valera escaped from Lincoln Gaol Ireland rejoiced. When in more recent times men escaped from Derry Gaol or from Crumlin Road Gaol we were all silently pleased that the "forces of law and order"—God bless the mark—had been outwitted. I say **silently** because most of us were in gaols North and South of the Border, and the "government" did not think it wise to give too much publicity to these latter escapes.

Now I had nearly forgotten all about this until two coincidences lately brought the whole business back to my mind: firstly, Mr. de Valera paid a visit to England to arouse there some enthusiasm for the Anti-Partition League, and to see that certain elements who might be suspected of "going extreme" would be quietly dismissed—he need not be worried on that score as the League is rapidly disintegrating for want of a policy. During his tour he visited the scene of his old gaol-break, and with much sentimentality pondered over his early exploit thereby ensuring that the press would recall the incident and remind the people that



Capture of prisoners by Free State forces after escape from Derry Gaol.

even if De Valera did nothing of any good for many many long years, at least he did something good once. The second coincidence was the finding of two photographs which are published for the first time in this issue. These photographs relate to prisons in the Six Counties during the late war and reminded me of the time when Republicans who were imprisoned in Derry Gaol escaped and crossed the Border into the Twenty-Six Counties; De Valera ordered the Free State Army to round up the escaped men and have them interned at the Curragh under far more rigorous conditions. Their escape got little publicity and their re-internment in the Free State less.

De Valera hopes that this incident will be forgotten. Free Staters do not like to be reminded of their co-operation with the Stormont administration, but of course he must linger over the Lincoln escape to remind the people that he too was once "agin the government."

A NEW BETRAYAL

(Continued from page 1)

pation in the last war, is anxious that we should accept Redmond's policy in preference to that of Pearse.

A few weeks later, Mr. Chuter Ede, the British Home Secretary, speaking at Cardiff said that it was a matter of great regret to him that while the Republic of India was inside the Commonwealth of Nations, Ireland should be outside. He could not see any reason why some means could not be found that would enable Ireland to participate in "this great movement." Very significant words when taken in conjunction with those of Mr. Dillon. They do not tend to confound the rumours—quite the opposite; nor do they tend to allay the widespread feeling of uneasiness at contemplated treachery.

ONLY ONE IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY

By SEAN KENNEDY

Time and again the youth of our country have heard people speaking about the old I.R.A. and the new I.R.A., and it is quite possible that they have been deceived by the mean party propaganda of the different Free State Governments that two such forces really existed. The truth is of course that there is only one Irish Republican Army and at no time has there been more.

In order to clear away the clouds of falsehood which have kept the truth from the younger generation of Irish boys and girls I give here in brief the story of how a "New" I.R.A. was inaugurated.

In 1932 a party known as Fianna Fail which represented a breakaway from the uncompromising Republican movement that opposed the treaty of surrender came into power in the "Free State" with the foolish help of the I.R.A. It pretended to be very advanced in its views and intentions

and released at once all Republican prisoners held in jails by the treatyites who had just been defeated in the 1932 election. Their first step was to remove the oath of allegiance to the British king, which parliamentary deputies were obliged to take, but to retain the king himself and fool the people by keeping him in the background as far as British law would permit.

In 1932, when angling for I.R.A. support, the leaders of this party let it be known that if and when they were returned to power they would deal drastically with the pensions given to able-bodied armed upholders of the treaty of surrender by their predecessors; but when urged to act they made every sort of excuse such as: they feared a revolt in the Free State Army.

The disgruntled among the I.R.A. supporters retorted by insisting on pensions for themselves, and so was

inaugurated a selfish move that indeed caused more national demoralisation than a hundred years of British rule. The less said about the Fianna Fail pension scheme for able-bodied ex-Republican men and women the better, because its evil influence will be felt for generations.

This of course brought about a split in the ranks of the I.R.A. (many of whom went over to the Fianna Fail Party) and indeed the professional politicians made all the capital they could out of it. They called the pensioners the Old I.R.A. and affixed the nickname "NEW" I.R.A. to those who fought in 1916, all through the war of independence, all through the renewed war of aggression in 1922 and 1923, and never wavered in their devotion to the Republic of Ireland—the new were the old and old were the new under the mean propaganda of England's caretakers in the partitioned parliament of the Free State in Dublin. The sincere and unselfish Republicans who had been disillusioned but not deceived went on with their work—the breaking of the British connection, the driving out of the British Army, the repudiation of the British Crown to speak for Ireland—and in three short years the jail gates were opened again and the seven hundred years old persecution of faithful lovers of Ireland was renewed.

There should be no need for me to tell you all about the drastic coercion acts introduced by the Fianna Fail party during their term of office, to crush those gallant soldiers who remained loyal to the Irish Republic, because most of them took place only a few years back and by recalling them would only renew the hatred and bitterness of those years of persecution. It will hardly be believed by those who were not in touch with the events of the coercion period that the partitionists of the Six Counties "Government," the partitionists of the Twenty-Six Counties "Government" and the authors and architects of partition in London all worked hand in hand to suppress this

(Continued on page 5)



Prison
ship
"Al Rawdah,"
where
Republican
prisoners
were interned
during the
war

GOSS-GAUGHNAN MEMORIAL

THE ENGLISH CAMPAIGN 1939

On Sunday, 22nd October, a beautiful Celtic cross was unveiled by Ruaidhri O Drisceoil in the Cemetery, Dundalk, in honour of Liam Gaughran, who died after being released from Parkhurst Prison, England, in the last stages of T.B., contracted as a result of forcible feeding, and Ritchie Goss, who was executed by a Free State Army firing squad in Portlaoighise Prison in 1942. A great throng attended the ceremony, parties coming from Belfast, Dublin, Armagh, Down, Meath, Longford, Cork and even from as far away as Kerry. Men who had served with the two dead soldiers in the I.R.A. and who had suffered with them in English and Irish jails travelled long distances to pay their last respects. Prominent among the gathering were Mr. and Mrs. Casey of Longford, at whose house Ritchie Goss had been arrested and whose son, Barney, was shot dead by his jailers while a prisoner in the Curragh Internment Camp in 1940.

Listening to the speaker, R. O Drisceoil, when he referred in his oration to the English campaign, it occurred to one at least of his audience, how little really is known of the fundamental idea that inspired that campaign and the heroic courage of the handful of men who took part in it. To understand it properly, it is necessary to go back to those days of confusion which followed the signing of the Treaty on the 6th December, 1921. From that date until the attack on the Four Courts in June, 1922, repeated efforts were made to recapture the old spirit of unity and when nothing else seemed to avail, Rory O'Connor and some of his comrades on the then Army Staff decided that the one way left was to re-open the war on the British troops still occupying barracks in Dublin and by raising again the issue of Ireland versus England, to lift men's minds above the welter of confusion and conflicting personalities which the disunity had brought. An attack was actually made on the British troops in Ship Street barracks, but the idea was destroyed by the efforts of Irishmen who put their desire to keep their word with the English enemy above the oath of allegiance which they had sworn to

the Republic.

Then followed what is called the Civil War and the collapse of Republican military resistance, followed by the period of futility resulting from repeated breakaways and new departures. In 1938 came the proposals for the English campaign. Resurrecting the idea which had inspired Rory O'Connor and his comrades, it was proposed that the only way in which our people could be again united was by lifting their minds above the party political struggles and directing them again to the fact that the British Army still occupied our territory. But now an even more courageous idea was put forward; in order to prevent hardship and bloodshed in our own country, it was decided to carry the war into the enemy's own homeland. If ever courage was needed, it was needed to carry out this campaign and the more one thinks of the English campaign the more one wonders and gives honour to the heroic courage of the men who volunteered for it. We do not need to go into details of the campaign—suffice it to say that once again brother Irishmen, eager to show their loyalty to their British masters, excelled themselves in their anxiety to defend the British connection and to defame, persecute, imprison and even execute those men whose only wish was to unite their people once more in the struggle for complete national freedom.

Though the campaign was not the military success it was hoped for, and though anti-Republican propaganda prevented the people from viewing the campaign in its proper light, it kept alive the spirit of resistance and while that spirit lives, ultimate success is assured.

As soon as the war ended, the very people who had taken a leading part in the frustrating of the English campaign, now come out in what they call a great Anti-Partition Drive. We know all their arguments, we have heard them repeated *ad nauseam* for the last thirty years, and we know that these same arguments have been the cause of, and help to prolong, the futility which has marked our national efforts since 1922. But more and more the falseness of their case is becoming ap-

parent; more and more people are becoming convinced that ultimately there is only one way by which our nation can be re-united and the Republic restored and that way is by concentrating all our strength on the task of clearing the last British soldier out of Ireland. We are coming more and more up against the grim fact that we will have to fight and it is only by fighting that we can hope to succeed. And the more we realise this the more cause we will have to curse those Irishmen who co-operated with the British to defeat them. The men of the English campaign were prepared to sacrifice themselves to protect their people at home, to make themselves a shield to defend them, but they were defeated and their defeat ensures that we must face the ordeal of war in Ireland. All honour to James Barnes and Richard McCormack, to Perry, Healy, Gaughran, Goss and all the others who gave their all in the most recent phase of Ireland's struggle. Let their courage and sacrifice be a model for us and an inspiration to guide us to complete the task.



WHY THEY LAUGH

The following news item appeared in a Dublin daily newspaper: The seasonal recruitment of workers for the 1950 English sugar manufacturing campaign is now taking place in Co. Kerry. A few days later it was announced that the Leinster House had appointed a new ambassador—Mr. Boland—to London. Small wonder if the world laughs when our politicians talk about Partition and British occupation of Six Counties.



HAVING IT BOTH WAYS

At a meeting of the Dublin Corporation to elect a Lord Mayor, Mr. E. Cooney, a Fianna Fail member, is reported as having said that he "believed in rotation of the office, but he also believed that Fianna Fail was entitled to another year of office."

A statement worthy of Mr. de Valera himself.

Sinn Fein Notes

RECEPTION CEILIDHE

On Monday, 16th October, a reception Ceilidhe in honour of the Republican prisoners Jimmy Steele, Hugh McAteer and Liam Burke, recently released from Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast, was held in the Foresters' Hall, Parnell Sq., Dublin, under the auspices of the John Mitchel Cumann of Sinn Fein. The hall was thronged and the Ceilidhe was very enjoyable. Mrs. Buckley, President of Sinn Fein, welcomed the prisoners on behalf of the committee and said that their presence there that night demonstrated clearly that the Republican Movement recognised no Border in the country—it claimed Ireland North as well as South, the whole 32 Counties, and as long as it had young men prepared to make the sacrifices which these prisoners and their comrades had made, the national cause could never be lost.

Each of the prisoners spoke for a few minutes in reply. Liam Burke thanked all those old friends in Dublin who had been so helpful to him and his comrades in their work before their arrest and who had continued to assist them all during their long imprisonment. Hugh McAteer spoke of the need for rallying all Republican elements into one great movement to complete the task of freeing Ireland and said that the prisoners aid committees and release committees had received great help from unexpected sources and that this help could be availed of now to rebuild the movement. Jimmy Steele emphasised that Republicans could accept neither Stormont or Leinster House. Both these assemblies had been instituted to suppress the Republican Government elected by free vote of the whole Irish nation in 1918. The British army which occupies the six northern counties and dominates the Twenty-Six, is the first obstacle in our path and we should rally all forces to make one great united effort to clear every British soldier out of Ireland, North and South.

On behalf of the Republican Prisoners Release Association, Tomas O Dubghall presented each of the prisoners with a rolled gold watch. Prior to the Ceilidhe they were entertained to tea in the Castle Hotel.

PUBLIC MEETING

A public meeting was held at Armagh Road, Crumlin, on Sunday, 15th October, under the auspices of the George Plant Cumann. The chairman, Mr. T. Dunne, who opened the meeting, outlined the policy of Sinn Fein, and stressed the need for a virile Republican organisation to keep alive the National Ideal and to offset the spirit of apathy and disillusionment engendered by the make-believe and duplicity of party politicians.

Proinsias O Tiomanaide dwelt on the part played by Sinn Fein in the past in making an all-Ireland Republican Government a living reality in 1919. The policy of Sinn Fein he said is the same to-day as it was then, and by adopting that policy now the Irish people could achieve again what was achieved then. Any other means which had been advocated had only led to dismal failure and to continue deliberately along the road of failure was National suicide.

Sean O'Mahoney said that Irish Republicans would not be content with mere abolition of the "Border" and that a thirty-two county state under the British crown would be no more acceptable than the two puppet states which existed at present. He warned the people to beware of any further compromise in this direction which it would appear was being contemplated in certain places. The goal of Sinn Fein was the enthrone-ment of the Republic and we were not to be deflected from that goal in the interests of any outside power.

Gearoid Mac Cartaigh said there was a place in the Republican movement for everyone who had the cause of Irish freedom at heart. For the young men and women there was the Irish Republican Army and Cumann na mBan. For those who were not fitted to take such an active part, there was Sinn Fein. For the boys and girls there was the Flanna and Cumann na gCailini. Freedom, he said, could never be achieved unless we were prepared to back our words with deeds. The organisations he referred to were prepared to do this and would welcome recruits to their ranks.

NEW SINN FEIN CUMANN IN CLONMEL

The initial meeting of the Liam Lynch Cumann of Sinn Fein was held in Clonmel on Saturday, 21st October. The attendance was very good—well above expectations, and was composed of old veterans with long years of experience, as well as many young men anxious and enthusiastic to help the national movement. Enrolment forms were filled in and officers appointed. Geroid O Broin of Dublin, representing the Standing Committee, spoke in Irish and English. Sean O'Mahoney of Dublin and Enda O'Riordan, of Clonmel also spoke.

ONLY ONE I.R.A.

(Continued from page 3)

"NEW" I.R.A. Here is only one of the many examples that occurred frequently. When Republicans escaped from jails in the North and crossed the border they found themselves facing "FREE STATE" guns and told they were prisoners. When men who had served long terms of imprisonment in British prisons were released and deported home they were arrested and interned in Irish jails. Then came the executions of some of Ireland's greatest and noblest soldiers—veterans like Paddy McGrath and younger men like Sean McCaughey and Charlie Kerins were called on to make the supreme sacrifice so that the cause they cherished and loved so much would never die. Here I quote the last words of Charlie Kerins for the younger generation so that they may know the calibre of this soldier and one day tread in his footsteps in defence of the same cause. "All I ask is that the ideals and principles for which I am about to die will be kept alive until the Republic is finally enthroned."

I hope that the younger generation of Irish boys and girls will now realise that there has never been more than one I.R.A. and that the "NEW" I.R.A. which you probably heard so much talk about was only invented by the Flanna Fail FREE STATE "Government" to further their own political ends, to fool the people and to dishonour gallant soldiers who had remained loyal to the Irish Republic.



SEAN TREACY HOUSE,

94, SRÁID SEÁIN UÍ TREASAÍ

(94 TALBOT ST.), DUBLIN

NOVEMBER, 1950

THE CAT OUT OF THE BAG

**AMERICAN GENERAL SAYS BOMBING OF MONTE CASSINO
WAS UNNECESSARY AND WRONG**

A third world war at this stage seems inevitable. Russia on one side and America and England on the other, having tasted blood in Korea, will scarcely desist until all nations foolish enough to take sides are involved in the conflict. Fear of some newer secret weapon, a desire to learn more about the potential enemy strength and diplomatic angling for the creation of a situation which will make it appear that one side has been provoked beyond endurance are the only restraining influences, and they cannot last long.

Occasionally an indication of how the "wind is blowing" is unwittingly provided by somebody in a position to be aware of their warlike intentions: General Bradley, addressing the military leaders of twelve Atlantic Pact powers in Washington, is reported to have said that it would be much better to attack now when they were in a position to do so advantageously than wait for the enemy to choose the time and venue.

In a situation like this it must be very embarrassing for America who is now in conjunction with England posing as the foremost defender of Christianity to have a top-ranking general like General Clark announce that there were no German troops in the Abbey of Monte Cassino when it was bombed to ruins in the late war. Of course his statement was disputed by the diplomats, but it is doubtful if anyone could be in a better position

to know the facts than General Clark. If the Germans had bombed the monastery the fact would have been used as propaganda to discredit them before the world as worse than the Huns and Vandals. If the Germans had bombed Rome we would be reminded for a decade at least that their action was solely directed against civilians or against the Church. If the Russians used the atom bomb to kill and injure thousands of innocent civilians she would have provided our Christian protectors, England, America and France with very valuable propaganda material.

The facts of course are that neither Russia, France, England nor America is fighting for Christianity. Not a single one of the governments in these countries has done anything to advance Christianity. Most of the laws dealing with moral problems passed by them are wholly at variance with Christian teaching; and with our experience of two "wars to end wars" it would be very foolish for anybody to risk his life on either side. Christianity is definitely not an issue. China will not be admitted to UNO because she is Communist; Spain will not be admitted because she is anti-Communist. Both countries would be well advised to avoid the U.N.O. altogether. Like its predecessor, the League of Nations, it is already doomed.

THE LONDON ATTACKS ON CONNOLLY CLUBS

Reports have been reaching us of late about violent attacks on meetings of the Connolly Clubs in London. Such violent attacks serve no useful purpose and should be avoided. We hold no brief for the Connolly Clubs, and until their standing can be further clarified it is not within our province to condemn or defend them. If they are a menace to law and order in England, that is a matter for the English Government and Irishmen should not allow themselves to be used as tools by the police. On inquiries being made in London we have been assured that no Republican organisation has been involved in those attacks, and that those responsible are misguided but perhaps well-meaning individuals. Indeed no responsible organisation could possibly sponsor such foolish tactics.



CLAN NA GAEL AND IRELAND

Elsewhere in this issue we publish an advertisement for Clan na Gael in America asking all Irishmen and Irishwomen who want to help in the re-enthronement of the lawful Republic to place their services at the disposal of the Clan and to subscribe generously to the VICTORY FUND. The Clan has a long record of years of loyal service to the Republican cause, and if of late years it is small in comparison with other years all the more credit is due to it for carrying on the good work with depleted membership.

We can assure all those who subscribe to its funds that every cent collected will find its way into the coffers of the I.R.A. We can assure them that rumours to the contrary are absolutely without foundation and are the product of jealousy and bitterness when they do not actually emanate from sources inspired by England or the Free State administration.

We are aware that there has been, in several cities in the United States, scandalous collection of money by individuals who have for many years past given their allegiance to the Free State, but those who wish to support the I.R.A. and the lawful Republic can do so by subscribing to the CLAN NA GAEL VICTORY FUND. Please note the address of the Headquarters of the organisation: 1428 North Broad St., Philadelphia 21, P.A.

colm cille

breic agus baiste

I.

Colm Cille de shiocht Néill
Dalta Dé ó breic go bás ;
Is cian ó cuireadh a corp sa chré
Ac maireann da éis a cáil.

Ó Eithe áluinn mion mic nae
Dean férlimrú mic feargusa móir
I nGartán do rugadh an mac séim
Mar doir luét léinn san gó.

Toirbín an máthair do'n mac ós
Frása pós go díochra díl,
Mar doib aithní dí roim ré
Tré deonú Dé d'an a mic.

Taibhsíod d'Eithe Amgeal Dé
Adúirt léi go mbéaradh mac
A tuillfeadh clú i ngar is i gcéim
Mar fáir Dé, mar Naomh, mar ab.

Soireadh Colm do'n leanb ós
Mar deonais Dia mór na bpeart,
Ós éan cheasta an Colm caomh
Ciallaíos an Spioradó Naomh ó Céart.

Cian d'aimsir roim breic an mic
Tré foilsíú an Spioradó go fíor
Do soireadh de an t-ainm áin
Ag curadh cáir de chroí Críost.

Áthair baiste an leanbáin
Cruicheadán an sagart liat,
Do mhúin a ceasta do Colm ós
Is do chug do eolas ar Dia.

I gCill Mac Nénam de gnat
Bíod triall an páiste ar an gceill,
Surab uime do baist an comaltas cáir
Colm Cille ar an dalta díl.

an leanb.

II.

Álamn an leanb Colm ós
Mar ór dearg folc a éinn,
A grios-grua ar dhá an róis
Rug buaird gac óis lena linn.

A dhreac is a dealb ba deas
A cheas geal mar sneadta mín
Da taitneamhac, tra, a gealghúis
Ag noctadh naomhrúin a éil.

Súil glas gleimeac lán de trua
Eadán uasal leatán ard
Fuaim a friotail ar a beoil
Mar binneas ceoil an éruit na mbard

Ionmáin naí, ón, ionmáin naí,
A éaoime doib eol do cáic ;
Tagadh na h-Amgíle cuige anuas
Is é na suan go sám.

Lá dá dtáinig Cruicheadán
Sa mhó—chrát d'ionsaí a tí,
Do comaic an lasair dearg
Mar a raib an leanb ina luige.

Da cosamhail le grém i lár an lae
Dealraim a éadán uasail áin—
Tairngiread agus tuar
Ar an suad-naomh, ar an bpáir.

Do líon an sagart d'eagla tréim
Is do teilg é péim ar lár
Ar bpeiscint an míorúilt do
Is an t-átrú cló ar mac na nGrás.

Míle moladh le rí na nGrás
D'foilsig cáil a dalta díl,
Do nocht a neart ós árd
Do tuar crámad an linn bíg.

COLM O DUIBHIR.

AN AMERICAN PROTAGONIST

CAPTAIN O DEORAIN DEFENDS THE I.R.A.

The following letter is reprinted from the "Irish Echo" of New York:

The Editor,
"Irish Echo."

Dear Sir,—In the Sept. 16 issue of the "Echo" there appears an article headed "When Will Ireland Be a Nation Once Again?" by Mr. P. D. Curtin. Whilst all Irish Republicans will be in agreement with the sentiments therein expressed, it is important to point out statements which are without factual foundation, and which might lead to widespread misinformation amongst your readers.

In one place there appears the sentence, "When Ireland disbanded the I.R.A., she helped England perpetuate that boundary," and further on we read, "Now in our own time we see the I.R.A. disbanded, and what did Ireland get?" Unless the author of the article is in possession of very late and top secret information, not yet known by members of I.R.A. veterans' organisations in the U.S.A., concerning the decisions of the Irish Republican Army Council, it is pertinent to say that he is mistaken.

The I.R.A. has never been disbanded, any more than has the Republic of Ireland, proclaimed in 1916 and formally established in 1919, ever been disestablished. Nor is the I.R.A. ever likely to be disbanded. When, with its help, please God, the genuine Government of the said Republic of Ireland is restored to power over every square foot of Irish soil, it will come into its own again as a very important constituent part of the defence forces of the Republic.

When the traitorous junta of political opportunists made war on the Republic at England's bidding in

1922, they outlawed the I.R.A. and executed prisoners of war, as might be expected of them, but though hunted and persecuted and driven underground for a time, its officers and men carried on. Again, when another political apostate came into power in 1932, he tried even harder to destroy the I.R.A., and he shows his hate of it on every occasion. He might as well try to destroy God's own sunshine, for, to quote Ireland's Austin Stack—"We cannot fail, for in our cause is enshrined the Soul of Ireland."

To-day the I.R.A. is as much alive as ever, particularly in the six counties of Occupied Ireland. It openly proclaims its objective, the restoration of the real Republic of Ireland, and it is attracting to its ranks the best and noblest of Ireland's youth. Needless to say, it is the only body in Ireland from which the Irish people may hope to see some action to abolish the Border, in contrast to a lot of hot air from political platforms.

Yours sincerely,

S. O. DEORAIN.

Capt. Sean O Deorain, U.S.C.G.S.,
General Secretary, American
Friends of the Irish Republic.

SUBSCRIBERS

Subscribers are asked to clear their accounts at their earliest possible convenience.

ATTENTION ALL READERS

Readers are invited to submit short articles on subjects of interest to Republicans. Copies only should be submitted as return of originals cannot be guaranteed.

OUR CHRISTIAN GOVERNMENT

The Rev. Feilm O Briain, O.F.M., speaking on "The Christian Ethic" in the Mansion House, is reported as having said that:

"Unfortunately a great many Christians were ignorant on many points of the Christian ethic. It must be confessed that our own Government is not sufficiently educated in Christian social principles; does not fully understand the need for remedying the social evils that trouble us.

"Our statesmen are actuated more by the problem of catching votes than by a desire to mend social evils."

This statement from so distinguished a churchman is worth noting because there had been a tendency to refer to anyone who suggested the urgent need for social reform as a Communist, at the best his opinions were gravely suspect. Events are now proving to the unbiased thinker who is the good Christian and a good Irishman that those who will most assuredly help the spread of Communism in Ireland are not the national revolutionary organisations but the political leaders, North and South, who by their lack of practical interest in the common people provide a fertile breeding ground for the propagation of ideas subversive to our best traditions of the past and aspirations for the future.

SINN FEIN ARD FHEIS

The Annual Ard Fheis will be held at No. 9 Parnell Square, Dublin, on Sunday, November 19th.

NEW CUMAINN

New Cumainn have been formed in Colt, Co. Laoighis, and in Newry and Glenn, Co. Down. Glassdrummond, Crosmaglen and Whitecross, Co. Armagh, are about to form new Cumainn.

The result of Draw for Suit Length: Winning ticket was No. 006893.

NOBODY FROM THE NORTH NEED APPLY

LEINSTER HOUSE BANS NORTHERN REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. Costello, in reply to a question in Leinster House on October 26th, stated that his Government had decided not to sponsor any proposals for the admission either to the "Dail" or Seanad of the elected representatives of the people of the Six Counties.

This statement clarifies the position of all parties in Leinster House for Mr. Costello spoke for those parties supporting his administration and previous statements by Mr. de Valera made it clear that the Fianna Fail party are in complete agreement with this policy.

Whether the elected representatives of the Six Counties sit in Leinster House or in Stormont makes no great difference; the mere abolition of the Border would not solve the Irish question, but the refusal to admit them shows the insincerity of all this anti-Partition propaganda. A reason

for this refusal was not given, but it may be safely assumed that an administration which continues diplomatic relations with a country which maintains a hostile army of occupation in territory claimed by that administration as an integral part of its territory cannot do anything that would prejudice the friendly relations existing between both countries. Mr. Costello is tied up with a lot of red tape of his own manufacture and with a lot of agreements, military, political, secret and otherwise which, in his position as Taoiseach, he has sworn to maintain. When Partition is abolished and the lawful Republic restored it will not have been done by any act of Leinster House politicians. It will be done by men, North and South, who give their allegiance not to any administration set up by an enemy parliament but to the Republic established by the will of the people of All Ireland.

ENEMY PROPAGANDA

It is not very often I go to a cinema and when I do the performance is usually so poor that I resolve never to be caught again. This evening, however, it was worse than poor—it was definitely bad. The picture "I See A Dark Stranger," which was deemed worthy of a re-issue, was of such an anti-Irish character that in no other country in the world would such propaganda by the enemy be tolerated let alone enjoyed. It was an effort to show that any Irish man or woman in the recent war who did not take England's side and see things from the English point of view was a 'tool of the Germans,' and that anyone who understood the true position should naturally be on England's side. It should have been banned along with a lot of other insidious propaganda of the enemy. If the powers that be do not ban this anti-national rubbish then the people should register their disapproval.

When it was all over the "Soldiers' Song" was played in a hasty unbecoming manner, and I was not surprised to see thousands of patriotic Free Staters walk out and ignore the National Anthem.

With this happening in our capital city it is scarcely surprising, though very sad, that a daily newspaper claiming to be called "Ireland's National Newspaper" would devote many columns to publishing the war memoirs of Churchill, the arch-enemy of Ireland. This same newspaper in conjunction with the other big dailies seems to have decided that Republican news, functions, meetings, etc., shall get no space but that their columns are always available for the dissemination of enemy propaganda.

If You are Irish and live in America,

If You want to Do Something practical towards winning
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THE NATIONAL SECRETARY,

1428 NORTH BROAD ST.,

PHILADELPHIA 21, PA.

or from your local District Officer.

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Out of Evil

In letters to the press, Fr. Maguire, P.P., Newtownbutler, complains bitterly that the whole anti-Partition organisation is in danger of being discredited because of the action of Leinster House politicians in refusing admission to the Northern M.P.s. He fears another national disaster when some of our National rights may be bartered away "in a Federal solution of Partition."

We in no way wish to make a personal attack on Fr. Maguire, but we would like to point out to him and to those Nationalists like him who are now completely disillusioned that a little sane reasoning and strict 'avoidance of compromise on National issues' since 1918 would have shown that out of evil cannot come good. Fr. Maguire will remember that in 1918 Sinn Féin refused to send representatives to London; Sinn Féin refused to co-operate in any way with the British Government—refused to have anything to do with institutions set up by England. He will also remember that quite recently he himself was very interested in sending representatives to Westminster. Was he not one of those who denounced the old Sinn Féin abstentionist policy as foolish and insane? How does he explain his change of attitude save as a compromise on a National issue?

He is perturbed because those so-called Nationalist friends of his who have time and again sworn allegiance to the King of England will not be allowed sit in Leinster House. Could he imagine any of the uncompromising Republicans in 1918 swearing allegiance to the English King and calling themselves Nationalist? And anyhow what is the difference between Leinster House and Stormont except that the area under their control differs in size? Could not Partition—if that were the only issue—be

solved by all the representatives in Leinster House taking their seats in Stormont? They have all shown how little value they place on an oath of allegiance to the Republic or to the King.

Fr. Maguire admits that the Southern politicians have gravely compromised, yet he would retain them as National leaders if only they would admit Northern M.P.s to Leinster House. He knows the Treaty of 1921 was a compromise, he knows the 1925 agreement was a betrayal, he proclaims the proposed federal solution as a new sell out yet he is prepared to accept the institution that made possible all these and forced them on an unwilling populace, an institution that, supported by England superseded the lawful Government of the people of all Ireland. Is it not reasonable to expect that an institution founded on treachery and perjury will continue to be productive of "compromise on National issues"?

Is it too much to expect that the Sinn Féin policy which Fr. Maguire admits was so effective in 1918 would be equally effective to-day in dealing with the same enemy?

The Voice of Eire

I am Eire, whom men call beautiful,
Dark as a Raven, Whiter than Snow;
I am She who has called through the
Ages,
Out of the Mists of Long Ago.

I am Eire, many have woo'd Me,
Whispered My Name with their
last, dying breath;
On Gallows of Shame, and Red Field
of Battle,
To those who Love Me—My Kiss is
Death!

I am Eire, Proud and Disdainful,
Truest of Friends, most Deadly of
Foes;
Weighed in the Balance and never
found wanting,
Proudly I stand beneath Insults
and Blows.

I am Eire, for Ever and Ever,
My Sons will be Brave for sweet
Love of Me;
Many shall Fall, but I'll never be
Conquered—
I WILL BE EIRE—Triumphant and
Free.

DESMOND P. FITZGERALD.

CUMANN UAIGEANN NA LAOCRA GAEDHAL
(NATIONAL GRAVES ASSOCIATION)

MANCHESTER MARTYRS

COMMEMORATION CONCERT

IN

THE MANSION HOUSE

ON

THURSDAY, 23rd NOVEMBER, 1950

COMMENCING AT 8 P.M.

GOD SAVE IRELAND

DEATH VIGIL

It is difficult to write of anything that affected the Republican girl prisoners in Mountjoy so much as the executions of the Republican soldiers. Though every detail of the vigil and morning of the death of Maurice O'Neill is outlined with the greatest clarity in my mind, it is with difficulty that I can put my thoughts on paper.

We had a pious practice in Mountjoy of keeping an unbroken vigil day and night for about a week before an execution. We each in turn did a Holy Hour—in the chapel by day, in our cells by night—so that our prayers went unceasingly to God for the man who was to face his doom. Hour by hour through the night, the little clock was silently borne from cell to cell and sleepy girls hopped willingly from bed to beg of God in His goodness to soften the hearts of men, to make them show ordinary Christian charity in their administration of power so that the life of a brave soldier might be spared to Ireland. That was the foremost purpose of our prayer and who knows but God's grace was offered and rejected in their lust for Republican blood. That is between Him and them. But always, if God in his wisdom had ordained that there should be another sacrifice, we begged of Him that the pathway to the gallows should be of roses and not of thorns. That request He never failed to grant for each soldier walked bravely to his death, an edification to his gaolers, his executioners and the priest who attended him.

The passing of a death sentence on Maurice O'Neill shocked the sense of justice of everyone, enemy and friend, who took an interest in his trial. On the of October, a house in which he had been was surrounded by detectives. Bullets came from all directions in their attempt to take Maurice alive or dead. In the course of this indiscriminate shooting, an unfortunate policeman was shot dead, presumably by one of his own companions. It was established on police evidence at the trial that Maurice O'Neill's gun was the only one on the scene from which the shot that sent the detec-



MAURICE O'NEILL.

tive to his death could not have come. Yet despite this, he was to die. The "court" that tried him had power to pass but one sentence—Death!

In Mountjoy as usual, the vigil for him continued day and night. From before daybreak on the morning of his execution everyone was afoot. They thronged in little groups to the cell windows facing the male prison, their rosaries in their hands, to listen and wait in the terrible silence. They didn't pray all the time. They whispered to each other. They wondered aloud if he would be reprieved. But deep down in her heart each one knew that at that late hour that was too much to expect. A flutter of pigeons' wings made them startle and shudder. (Mountjoy was surely a joyful rest for pigeons). It wasn't the volley that sent Maurice O'Neill to his eternal resting place but to the over-strained anxious ears of the girls at the windows, it sounded like it.

The morning wore on. Eight o'clock and still no death signal. Perhaps there had been a reprieve. I left the little group for it was my turn to pray. Twenty past eight and the breakfast came into the wing. And then the silence was unmistakably broken. The pigeons fluttered madly this time. Maurice O'Neill had gone to his reward. A fellow prisoner slipped into my cell to whisper that all was over. She had no need. That

volley had rung upon my ears with thundering clarity. She knelt beside me in prayer for a while and I continued my Holy Hour to the end. Our vigil was past. Another name was indelibly written on the pages of Ireland's story.

Here are a few lines I wrote then on that same morning:

I.

A vigil through the night. Deep silence reigns.

A whispered word at dawn—"The hour is nigh."

Day steals from the east as at window panes

We listen. And still we hope he will not die.

II.

That sound! My God! 'Tis but a bird on wing,

And yet we startle, every ear astrain
To hear that volley through the silence ring,

Breathless we listen for that rain.

III.

Reprieved perhaps? Ah no! that hope is vain.

Their quenchless lust for blood all justice scorns;

But he will feel the glory, not the pain

Of death. His path is roses and not thorns.

IV.

At length the rifles peal. Some pigeons fly.

Silence once more! O'Neill is dead,
Noble bearer of a noble name you lie

In hallowed soil. Your sacrifice is made.

CIME.

AN GATH GRÉINE

Cúinne Do'n Aos-Óg

A páistí beaga,

Seo sgeílín beag oib 1 ucaib páistí a casaí orm is mé ar mo laete saoire um samraí. Ó'n t-úaiscirt a bfuirmór ac éan annsin a buailead liom-sa iad ac ar crocaib agus imeas gleannca tír Conaill. Bí curu acu beag agus curu acu mór, curu acu ar beagan faeiltge agus curu acu ar neart faeiltge ac b'ionann sa eas. Focal níor cuala mé asta ar féad na míosa sin a cáit siad ar a' faeiltge ac a' t-éanra fém, agus muna raib siad in ann an rud a bí le rá acu a rá as faeiltge o'fan siad in a' t-ost. Cáit siad seal ar na ranganna, seal ar na céilidhe, seal as t-reaspaóir-eact ar na sléibte, ceól agus damhsa agus spórt acu agus an faeiltge dá cotú go tréan.

Cuir sé as smaointiú mé, as smaointiú ar na páistí eile ar fuo na tíre go bfuil seans acu an faeiltge a fógam nac béas ariam as na páistí áo agus nac bfuil focal in a bpluic. Caróe tá oraiú, a páistí. An mian lib beit bur Seomíni beaga? Páistí na héireann as steallú Déarla asta. Sílteá nár cuala siad focal staire ariam. Sílteá nac raib fios acu com h-olc is a bí na Sasanaig uáinn. Iad-san as curu leis na Sasanaig an rud a teip ortá-san a déanam—an faeiltge a mílead agus an Déarla a cuir na h-áit.

Muslaigí a páistí. Tá obair mór le déanam asaiú. Cuirigí cuici in amh Dé.

* * *

I was pleased to find so many replies to my competition despite the fact that the printer made things a little bit more difficult by inserting a 4 in the second part of No. 3, making it appear that the first and second parts referred to two different people. Printers are that kind, and since so many of you refused to be misguided, I will not be too hard on him this time. The answers, of course, were :

- (1) Rody McCorley.
- (2) Terence McSweeney.
- (3) William Orr.

I missed my little friends from Portlaoighise and Tipperary and Antrim, but Donegal, I am glad to see, is waking up. And now for this month's competition.

COMPETITION

Entries should be sent to Niamh Cinn Oir, .. An t-Eireannach Aontuighthe, Teach Seain Ui Threasaigh, 94 Talbot St., Dublin. A prize of 3s. will be awarded to the competitors whose names are among the first three correct ones opened on Nov. 28th. Please send your name, address and age with the entry form and there is no fee.

1. If you ever sang the ballad :
.. High upon the gallows tree
Swung the noble-hearted three"

you sang of us. We were Fenians who were sentenced to be hanged by the English. We were charged with having killed a policeman while rescuing two of our leaders who had been taken prisoners. We were sentenced by a packed jury and the evidence against us was supplied by informers and witnesses who were so bad that they even perjured themselves to condemn us. Our words from the dock on hearing the unjust death sentence were : "God save Ireland," for we were proud and pleased to die for our country. On the 23rd Nov., 1867, we were hanged at Manchester.

Who were we ?

2. I was only a boy of eighteen when I was captured by the Black and Tans in an ambush in North King Street, Dublin. They beat me and tortured me and twisted my bones in an effort to make me tell on my companions, but to all their beating and torturing God gave me courage to give only the one brave answer : "No, I will not tell." When all failed they hanged me one November

morning. If you ever sang the ballad :

" In Mountjoy one Monday morning
High upon the gallows tree
— — — gave his young life
For the cause of liberty."
You sang of me. Who am I ?

3. "When I was a young girl, the
sound of their drilling
Awoke in the glenside, so awe-
some and thrilling
They loved dear old Ireland, to
die they were willing"
Who were they ?

KEVIN BARRY

Only a lad of eighteen joyous
summers,
Too proud to live a traitor—young to
die!
Only a lad, but he faced the shame-
ful gallows
With steady step, and calm, un-
flinching eye.
He longed to stay, yet dreaded not
to go,
And, at the end, he passed without a
sigh;
For men may teach the Irish how to
live
But Christ Himself has taught us how
to die.

With Mary's help, the day will dawn
in Ireland,
May it come soon, and we will strike
again;
Then, dearest God, help us to do our
duty
Although our path must lead through
toil and pain.
And of my comrades, Lord, let me be
chosen,
And should I fall, let no one for me
sigh;
I'll play my part to win the Crown
of Freedom,
And, at the end—Christ, teach me
how to die!

DESMOND P. FITZGERALD.