

# An Phoblacht

THE REPUBLIC  
Official Organ of the  
Republican Movement

IML. 1. UIMH. 10. SRAITH NUA

SAMHAIN (NOV.), 1970

9d. (U.S. and Canada 25 c.)

## IRA Hold Convention

Provisional Period Over  
says Publicity Bureau

The 1970 General Army Convention of the Irish Republican Army has been held in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of Oglagh na hEireann.

Accordingly the Provisional Executive and Provisional Army Council appointed last December went out of office and delegates representing Army Units in all 32 Counties elected a regular Executive and Army Council to maintain the fundamental Republican position.

The delegates repudiated the claim to the name I.R.A. by those who recognised the British, Six-County and 26-County parliaments at the unrepresentative Army convention nine months ago. By that compromising action they forfeited membership of the I.R.A. and all title to the honoured name of Oglagh na hEireann—Irish Republican Army.

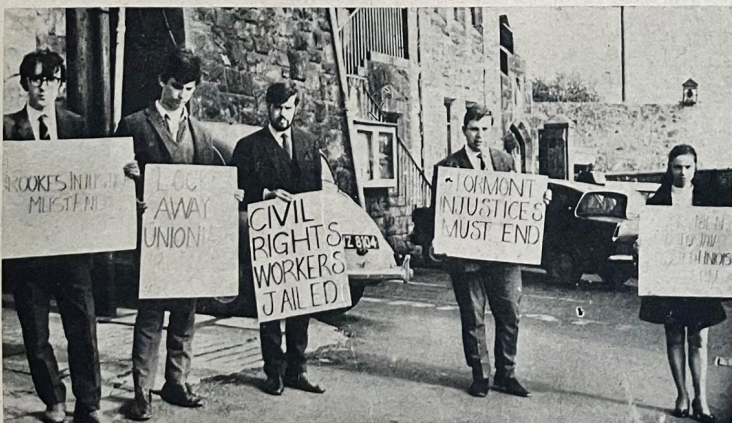
The Convention decided to continue and intensify the provision of defensive measures for the people of the Six Counties. It re-affirmed that British rule is not acceptable in Ireland under any circumstances and that every effort must be made to bring about its downfall. The ultimate objective of a Democratic Socialist Republic based on the Proclamation of 1916 stands and no opportunity will be lost towards achieving that end.

With the regularisation of the leadership position, the assembled delegates reiterated that there is one Irish Republican Army only—that which gives its allegiance to the 32-County Republic of 1916 and 1919 and repudiates Westminster, Stormont and Leinster House.

In conclusion the Convention called with confidence for the support of all Irish people—Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter—at home and in exile towards the realisation of the freedom, prosperity and happiness of our country.

This picture shows a picket put on the R.U.C. Barracks in Dungannon by the Thomas Clarke Cumann of Sinn Féin. They were protesting against the imprisonment of Fermanagh Civil Rights members.

In a statement the Cumann said: "No longer can the majority accept minority rule; no longer will injustice be tolerated by the risen people of Fermanagh."



## ONE ALLEGIANCE ONLY

Ruairi O Brádaigh, the newly-elected President of Sinn Féin is a native of Longford, coming from a prominent Republican family. He was Sinn Féin T.D. for Longford-Westmeath from 1957 to 1961, having been elected while jailed in Mountjoy under the Offences Against the State Act. He was Republican candidate in Fermanagh-South Tyrone in 1966. A graduate of University College Dublin, he is a Vocational Teacher in Roscommon. He is married and has five children.



## Says President of Sinn Féin

"The great re-awakening in British-occupied Ireland, which dates from October 5, 1968 in the city of Derry is still with us. The changes which began that day are being hurried along by a new generation, impatient to see the old order gone for ever," said the newly elected President of Sinn Féin, Ruairi O Brádaigh, when he addressed the 66th Annual Ard-Fheis in Liberty Hall, Dublin on October 25.

"The repercussions of that great struggle and the suffering it involved for so many ordinary Irish people have spread south of the Border and even into high places—the places of the would-be mighty who are disturbed as they have never been for 50 years. Nothing has been quite the same ever since that brutal baton-charge in Duke Street, Derry.

"We in Sinn Féin have reorganised on the basis of 'one allegiance only'—adherence to the Republic of Easter Week and we declare in the words of the Sinn Féin Constitution that 'the sovereignty and unity of the Republic are inalienable and non-judicable'."

The Ard-Fheis was the most enthusiastic for years. Almost 300 delegates from 130 Cumann and Comhairle Ceantair attended. There were many visitors and observers from other organisations. The attendance from the North was most impressive, with 40 delegates from Belfast alone. A special bus brought 33 delegates from Kerry. Several areas in Britain were also represented.

During the two-day convention

Ruairi O Brádaigh, former Sinn Féin T.D. for Longford-Westmeath, was elected Uachtarán, and 12 members elected to the new Ard-Chomhairle.

So the Caretaker Executive appointed by the adjourned Ard-Fheis has gone out of office and the leadership position regularised. It was emphasised during the two-day meeting that there is but one true and official Sinn Féin and that all individuals and groups masquerading under that name will in future be repudiated.

The full text of the inspiring Presidential address is published inside on page 2.

## Death of Belfast Delegate

The sympathy of Republicans is extended to the relatives of Mr. Jack Callaghan, Chairman of Belfast Comhairle Ceantair of Sinn Féin who died suddenly while in Dublin for the Ard-Fheis on October 25.

He took ill at the Ard-Fheis and was moved to Jervis St. Hospital where he died. He was aged 41 and leaves a widow and four children.

## FERMANAGH MAJORITY

Fermanagh Nationalist Registration Association annual meeting, held in Lisnaskea, heard from Mr. Leo Quinn, Nationalist registration agent, that from having a majority on the register of electors in 1926 of around 3,000, discrimination and planned Unionist policy had been such that not only was the majority wiped out, but three years ago Nationalists were in a minority by 64 on the register.

However, since then they had re-established a majority of around 1,200 and if the good work was maintained that could be increased in the current revisions.

A resolution was passed unanimously giving full support to the Fermanagh Civil Rights Association in its efforts to have the undemocratic Fermanagh County Council abolished, and viewing with alarm the jailing of Fermanagh civil rights men who were merely seeking to expose the injustice of Fermanagh County Council while allowing to go completely free several who had been guilty of the heinous crime of murder.

## DUNGANNON PICKET

## INHUMAN CONDITIONS IN PRISON

Mr. Paddy Kennedy, the Republican-Labour member for Belfast Central at Stormont, has seen officials of the Ministry of Home Affairs about what he describes as the "inhuman conditions" prevailing in Belfast prison.

Mr. Kennedy said that the reports reaching him were alarming.

He was told about as many as three prisoners sleeping in cells designed for only one prisoner and in double cells there were as many as six.

The prison, he said, was built to accommodate 400 prisoners, but to-day the number of inmates was over 1,000.

Mr. Kennedy also complained about what he described as the "primitive sanitary facilities" in the prison.

## New Belfast Cumann

The Seán McCartney Sinn Féin Cumann was formed in the Riverdale-Suffolk area of Belfast.

In a statement the Club said: "We intend to campaign vigorously against social injustices which exist in the area. We also appeal for support from the people of this area for the release of the seven men from the Ardoyne district charged with murder."

## THE WEST'S AWAKE

### Gaeltacht Fights Back

Iorras Domhann is the third largest Gaeltacht in Ireland. It contains more Irish speakers than the whole of Munster. Yet it is the least known and most neglected Gaeltacht of all. At one time it was called Ríocht Iorrais Domhann and its area was much more extensive than at present which is about the same as Co. Louth.

It was one of the earliest populated districts in Ireland and must have been a very fertile place until a climate change turned it into one of the largest expanses of bog and mountain in the country. Recent archaeological finds in nearby Ballycastle have disclosed a house 5,000 years old. The people of Erris call themselves Fir Domhann which means men of the Earth. From them came Firdia, Queen Maeve's great champion who fought Cúchulainn at the ford. It was the home of the Gamhanraide, the flower of Maeve's army and the rivals and peers of the Red Branch Knights.

In 1798 resistance continued in Erris long after the defeats of Ballina-

muck and Killala until General Lake's redcoats had carried out a scorched earth policy which left no house, barn or pigsty standing over half of the barony. Today Erris is one of the last bastions of the Irish language. With the exception of the two small English built towns of Belmullet and Bangor, Irish is spoken in most of the villages to a greater or less extent and many districts are vigorous Fíor-Ghaeltachtaí.

The reluctance of many Erris people to speak Irish to strangers may be attributed to the fact that the vast majority both boys and girls have to go to the potato fields of Scotland and the beet fields of England as soon as they leave the primary school, and also to the fact that no encouragement has ever been received by them from church or state or even from our revered national patriots to speak their native language.

No Patrick Pearse ever lived in Erris or as far as I know ever wrote about it and when some 15 years ago



# ADDRESS TO THE ARD-FHEIS

By Ruairi O Bradaigh

**S**IBH-SE, na fíor-Phoblachtánaigh, a d'fhan seasamhach i gcosaint na Poblachta in aghaidh an ionsaithe a rinneadh uirthi roinnt mí ó shin, tá meas agus buíochas mhuintir dhílis na Poblachta anseo in Éirinn agus ar deoraíocht a dhul daoibh. Rinne sibh ath-riaradh oruibh féin sin a heagraíocht fagsúla agus tá Gluaisceacht na Poblachta in a dhún daingean arís. Bulochas mór le Dia.

Ach ní leor an méid sin. Caithfidh muid an neart atá le feiceáil anseo inniu i Halla na Saoirse, a chur ag feidmniú so h-éifeachtach; ní mór brú ar aghaidh chun coimhlinte ar son na Poblachta; is mithid beart a dhéanamh d'éirí ar mbriathar agus treoir agus ceannas a thúirt do mhuintir na h-Éireann sa gceathrú bualite linn.

Mura ndéanann muid an gníomh grod ní fíú Poblachtánaigh a ghairm orainn fhéin—is cuma cé chomh dhílis is atá muid.

On behalf of the Caretaker Executive, I wish to extend a hearty welcome to all delegates and visitors to this—the 66th annual Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin.

In particular we welcome the large and enthusiastic representation from the Six North-Eastern Counties and the delegates from our exiles in England, Scotland and Wales.

## APPEAL TO NEWS MEDIA

When last we met as an Ard-Fheis in Parnell Square, Dublin—following our adjournment from the International Hotel—it was with great enthusiasm, awe, and with exaltation of spirit that we pledged our allegiance to the Constitution of Sinn Féin, which had been violated by those who remained on in that hotel, and appointed a Caretaker Executive to carry on the affairs of the organisation on the basis of that Constitution and to convene a representative Ard-Fheis in due course.

That Ard-Fheis is now in convention assembled and has already voted to elect a new President and Ard-Chomhairle of Sinn Féin in accordance with the Constitution of the organisation. The Caretaker Executive has gone out of office and the leadership position has been regularised. May we, in the face of the impressive 32-County representation gathered here, express the hope that, on the conclusion of this Ard-Fheis, the various news media will at last acknowledge who is the true and official Sinn Féin, upholding the Constitution of the organisation and having the allegiance of the vast majority of Irish Republicans.

Before being finally dismissed, however, the Caretaker Executive wishes to render an account of its stewardship over the past nine months and give its observations on national affairs generally. As is apparent from the attendance here, reorganisation has taken place from Belfast to Kerry and from Donegal and Derry to Wexford and Cork. Flourishing branches of Sinn Féin are active once more across the Irish Sea and other branches of the Republican Movement have set their houses in order also.

We welcome the statement of September 29 last from the Irish Republican Army, stating that the 1970 General Army Convention had been held, that the "Provisional" period was ended and that a duly-elected leadership had been installed, pledged to uphold the 32-County Republic of 1916 and 1919 and to defend the rights of the Irish people North and South.

We in Sinn Féin have re-organised also on the basis of "one allegiance only"—adherence to the Republic of Easter Week and we declare in the words of the Sinn Féin Constitution that "the sovereignty and unity of the Republic are inalienable and non-judicable."

## THE WAGES FREEZE

On January 31 last, three weeks subsequent to our adjournment to Parnell Square, the first issue of a new series of *An Phoblacht* was on sale at Dublin's G.P.O. By September this official organ of the Republican Movement had achieved a monthly circulation of 30,000 copies. In June *Republican News* was launched in Belfast and has since achieved a figure of 15,000 per month. The continued success of these newspapers is and must remain a top priority if the gospel of Irish Republicanism is to reach the Irish people at home and abroad. Easter saw enthusiastic Commemorations under true Republican auspices in every county in Ireland as well as at Trafalgar Square, London, and New York, while Bodenstown on June 14 was the occasion of a very inspiring parade and ceremony with an attendance of over 5,000 people.

With the crisis in the Six Counties at a new pitch in late June and early July, a nation-wide series of public meetings were held, building morale among our members, confidence among supporters and educating and giving leadership to the people generally. Television and radio were availed of at every opportunity that presented itself. Meanwhile new head offices for the organisation and *An Phoblacht* were opened at 2a Lower Kevin St., Dublin. The solid and rapid progress made must be maintained

for the times were never more favourable for many a long year.

*The great re-awakening in British-occupied Ireland, which dates from October 5, 1968, in the city of Derry, is still with us. The changes which began that day are being hurried along by a new generation, impatient to see the old order gone for ever. The repercussions of that great struggle and the suffering it involved for so many ordinary Irish people have spread south of the Border and even into high places—the places of the would-be mighty who are disturbed as they have never been for 50 years. Nothing has been quite the same ever since that brutal baton-charge in Duke Street.*

Politicians of the major 26-County political parties who planned and acquiesced in the foreign take-over of Irish land, industry and distributive trade over the past decade and who implemented the disastrous Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area Agreement of 1965 are now bent on a final sell-out of our nation to the European Common Market. They hope to escape out of the frying pan of economic integration with Britain into the fire of complete immersion in the E.E.C.

Hand in hand with this latest attempted betrayal has come the recent wages freeze which the Caretaker Executive opposed in a press statement and I quote:

"The very idea of interfering with free collective bargaining is bad enough, but the attempt to change by law the terms of agreements already freely entered into—that is, the 12th round—is reprehensible in the extreme and a very dangerous precedent. Workers must, by strong opposition to these measures now, ensure that such a precedent does not in fact come into existence.

"The introduction of the Turnover Tax, the Wholesale Tax and each increase of them have been occasions for 'hidden' price increases. Decimal Day on February 15 next may well prove to be another such occasion despite guarantees to the contrary. The so-called price control has been largely a failure and the further controls announced with the wages freeze promise to be merely just more window-dressing, to take the sting out of what is an outrageous interference with workers' rights."

## REJECT BOTH F.F. GROUPS

We believe that in all these extraordinary circumstances where the established partition system of government foisted on the Irish people in 1922 appears to be breaking down, that the great dynamic for change is contained in the Northern situation. That is why it is of supreme importance that we should extend and consolidate our organisation North of the Border. From the North can come the forces that will transform not just the Six Counties but the entire 32.

In this connection we seek to clarify our position regarding the 26-County set-up. With Westminster and Stormont we reject Leinster House and all Leinster House political parties. During the past week we have had the spectacle of the leader of the main coercionist party speaking at the United Nations and placing his reliance on the word of an alleged "freedom-loving" British Government with regard to the Six Counties. Meanwhile Mr. Lynch and Major Chichester-Clark engage in an exchange of flattering compliments and full collaboration has taken place once more between British troops and 26-County forces as they join in the hunt along the Border.

Irish homes have been raided in good old British style by the same 26-County forces and two groups locked in a power-struggle within Fianna Fáil vie with one another as to which is the more Republican. Our comment is that neither of them is. Both elements have persecuted Republicans—have jailed and coerced them, have even executed them. Mr. Boland and Mr. Haughey do not apologise for their concentration camps, their military tribunals, their harassment of Republicans—all done in collaboration with Britain and in response to British pressure. Both groups support the Free Trade Agreement with Britain and the E.E.C. sell-out. And then within the past week also a claim was advanced by another group claiming in the name of the Republican Movement that a Marxist Socialist Republic was the cure for Ireland's ills.

For our part we rejected a take-over bid by extreme Marxist elements last January. We gave five major reasons for our action:—

- (1) Recognition of Westminster, Stormont and Leinster House.
  - (2) Extreme Socialism leading to dictatorship.
  - (3) Internal methods being used in the Movement.
  - (4) Failure to give maximum possible defence in Belfast and other Northern centres in August 1969, and
  - (5) Committing to retain Stormont instead of seeking its abolition.
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## Booklet on Bloody Sunday

Ennis Peadar Clancy S.F. Cumann Chairman, Kevin J. Browne, has written a booklet entitled "They Died

on Bloody Sunday," which is now on sale.

The booklet was published to coincide with the unveiling of a memorial over the grave of Clare patriot Volunteer Conor Clune in Quin Abbey on September 20, and contains a history of "Bloody Sunday," November 21, 1920, when Clune was murdered with Brigadier Dick McKee and fellow Clareman Vice-Brigadier Peadar Clancy, Dublin Brigade, I.R.A., by British Forces in Dublin Castle.

It also contains photographs and pen-pictures of the three patriots and the historical article written in Irish by Clune's friend and comrade, Dr. Edward McLysaght, and first published in *Misneach* in December, 1920.

Inquiries regarding the sale of this booklet can be made to the Secretary, Club na Sionna, Shannon Airport, Co. Clare, or Labhrás O'Donoghue, Chairman, Sinn Féin Cumann, Shannon Airport.



CONOR CLUNE

## Sinn Féin Leader Joins Order

Seán O Gormaille, Tuam, Co. na Gaillimhe, a member of the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin appointed last January, has resigned from the organisation and entered the Cistercian Order at Mount Mellary.

He was an active member for many years and at a meeting of the Executive he was presented with a gift and the members wished him every blessing. Republicans everywhere will join in wishing him God's blessing in his new mission in life.

Seán himself penned these lines in thanks and appreciation to his countless Republican friends for their prayers and good wishes.

### THE CALL

I am going, I am going from you  
Friends I love so well,  
For I hear the Master calling for what  
reason none can tell,  
As my station is so lowly and my  
talents far from good,  
And alas! I'm not as holy or as  
saintly as I should.  
But the call is plain and simple as it  
echoes in my ear,  
Yes, I hear Him calling, calling with  
His message loud and clear,  
Will you help me with the harvest,  
there are precious souls to save,  
And I love them all so dearly that for  
them My life I gave,  
But to-day they need a shepherd  
and that shepherd must be you,  
Will you come and try to save them  
for My labourers are few,  
So I'm going with the Master and I'll  
follow where He leads,  
And I'll help to have the harvest by  
my puny little deed.  
He'll be ever there to show me as He  
always leads the way,  
And with Him to guard and guide me  
sure I cannot go astray.  
Though my efforts may be puny and  
my talents very small,  
I'll just join them with my Master's  
as I hearken to His call,  
So I ask you all to help me and that  
in your heart you'll find  
A little fond remembrance in your  
prayers so good and kind,  
Just to help me with my studies as I  
slowly plod my way  
Towards the altar of my Saviour and  
my ordination day.

SEAN O GORMAILLE.

Seán sent a telegram of good wishes to the delegates assembled for the Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin.

## GALWAY S.F. BLAMES CORPORATION

The Tony D'Arcy Sinn Féin Cumann, Galway, has blamed Galway Corporation for the recent Shantalla disturbances.

Mrs. Annie Furey has been on the Galway Corporation housing list for the past ten years. There has been no great effort by that body to house this woman until now. All of a sudden the Corporation got very worried about her plight.

Mrs. Furey, along with being on the Corporation list for ten years, has lived in this same condemned house, also for ten years. For those that do not know, the area where this condemned house is situated was acquired by the Corporation some time ago, supposedly for a museum. Now if Mrs. Furey stayed in that house for a further period of time, which would not be too long, the Corporation would have a headache to remove her.

The country at large think the Corporation are doing their best for the people, but now when they read the facts they will know that they are making a scape-goat out of this woman.

Everyone is entitled to a home, no matter what their creed, class or colour, and Mrs. Furey is no exception. The Corporation must have been aware that there would be disturbance if this woman moved to Shantalla. There were previous objections in Claddagh and in Bohernmore. Why didn't the Corporation renovate the house where she had been living in Spanish Parade? They had ten years to do it.

WHEN IN DUBLIN VISIT

## GROGAN'S BAR

98 PARNELL STREET, DUBLIN

Phone 41747

ONLY THE BEST

ALL THE BEST



## UNDER THE INDIAN SUN

# CONNAUGHT RANGERS

By Gerard McKeown

KEVIN BARRY, the boy hero, died at the end of a hangman's rope on November 1, 1920. He had been arrested after an ambush in North King Street, Dublin, taken in arms against the Forces of His Britannic Majesty, King George V. He was only 18 years of age and was a medical student at U.C.D., having left Belvedere College the previous summer. All Ireland bowed in homage before the bravery of this young soldier of the Republican Army. Songs were written about him and his name has passed into the legendary lore of the fight for Irish Independence.

The following morning, November 2, 1920, in a prison yard in the city of Daghai in India, Private James Daly of the Connaught Rangers of the British Army, from Tyrellspass, Co. Westmeath, fell by a British firing squad, because in far-away India he had dared to espouse the same cause and to serve the same flag for which Barry paid the supreme sacrifice in Dublin.

## WILL NO LONGER SERVE THE KING

Barry is remembered. Daly is sometimes forgotten, as are also his comrades in the Connaught Rangers who at Jullundur and Solan, thousands upon thousands of miles from their homeland, upheld the Irish Republic and declared "We will no longer serve the British King because of the atrocities which the British Armed Forces and particularly the 'Black and Tans' are perpetrating on our own people at home."

This month, the bodies of Private Daly and of his comrades, Privates Smith and Seares, are being brought home for burial in the soil of the land which gave them birth. With the exception of the Manchester Martyrs, these are the last bodies of executed patriots to lie in foreign soil and it is appropriate now to tell the story of what the Connaught Rangers really did for Ireland by the action which they took on that June day in 1920 when they declared before the world that before all else they were Irishmen prepared to serve Ireland first, last and all the time, even to giving their very lives if necessary in the cause of Irish freedom.

The story of the Connaught Rangers' mutiny in India is such a great story, such an inspiring epic and of such importance at this time that it would be impossible in the course of one article to do it adequate justice. This will, therefore, be a two-part article, continued in the next issue.

## BORN IN BALLYMOE

Private Jim Daly, whose body is returning to Ireland, was born in Ballymoe, a small village on the Roscommon - Galway border. His mother, whose maiden name was Catherine Crean, was a native of this village and she had gone to her mother to await the birth of her youngest son,

James. He was her tenth child. Her others were Patrick, William, John, Molly, Theresa, Margaret and Bridie. Two other children had died shortly after birth.

When Baby Jim was born, his grandmother asked that he be left with her. So the early years of Jim Daly's life were spent at Ballymoe and he did not return to the family home at Tyrellspass until he was nearly 16. The Daly family was what is known as landless people. So the four brothers went as farm labourers to the big farmers of Westmeath.

## FOUR SONS IN BRITISH ARMY

The father was a British soldier and in due course his four sons followed him into the British Army. They all joined the army at Mullingar, one of the biggest garrison towns in Ireland. The three elder Daly brothers joined up during the First World War and served on the Western Front. Jim also joined the army, but he was under age and his mother succeeded in getting his discharge on compassionate grounds. But that was not the end of his longing to be a soldier.

When the war ended and he had reached the age of 18, he joined the Connaught Rangers and soon found himself a member of the First Battalion stationed in India. His brother, William, who had served with the Rangers in France during World War I, was also a member of that Battalion and was a companion for young Jim.

## JIM DALY'S LAST LETTER

Before going any further with the history of the Connaught Rangers' Mutiny I will now give the text of the last letter which Jim Daly wrote to his mother before his execution:

"My Dearest Mother, 'I take the opportunity to let you know the dreadful news that I am to be shot on Tuesday morning, November 2. But what harm; it is all for Ireland. I am not afraid to die; it is only thinking of you. If you will be happy on earth, I will be happy in heaven. I am ready to meet my doom.'"

"The priest is with me when needed, so you need have no worry about me, as I am going to my dearest home, heaven. Out of sixty-one of us, I am the only one to be put out of this world. I am ready now to meet it. God bless you all. I hope to see you all one day in heaven. I hope, dearest Mother, that you will keep a stout heart. I know it is hard for you, but what can be done? I hope, Mother, you will get a Mass said for the happy repose of your fond son, Jim, taken from you for the sake of his country. God bless Ireland, and also all those at home."

I would also like to quote from an account of the last moments of Jim Daly before his execution, which was written by a Catholic priest, Rev. Fr. Baker, C.C., who was chaplain to the

Rangers and was attached temporarily to the local Mission of the Capuchin Fathers. Fr. Baker writes:

"At 5.30 a.m. I went into the cell and there I spoke and prayed with him for a short while. He was very calm and resigned and well prepared. Nearing six o'clock everything was in readiness and the colonel commanding ordered the prisoner to be brought out. I put on my surplice and stole and had the holy oils ready in my vest pocket. The cell door was opened. There stood Daly, pale, somewhat thin and unwashed, and his clothes so old and dirty. He had on a pair of army boots unpolished, a khaki coat and trousers, a warm jersey below the coat and another thinner jersey below this, all of which had not had a wash since the 2nd of July previous when he was taken. At least this is what I was told,



KEVIN BARRY  
Executed November 1, 1920

and it looked like it. A prison warder with loaded rifle and fixed bayonet supported him on either side. For some moments we stood on the veranda, and then the order was given to proceed.

"I took my place behind Daly, the provost sergeant with several others followed behind, and then came a few officers, and, finally, the colonel. We passed through the prison gate and turned sharply to the left. Having gone a few paces we were told to halt. The provost sergeant produced a long, black serge bag and attempted to put it over Daly's head. But he shook it off, saying 'I don't want this, I will die like an Irishman.'"

"There was a commotion among the attendants. Seeing that a scuffle was likely to ensue, I quietly waved the men aside and coaxed Daly to put on the bag, both for his own sake and for the sake of the firing party. Before doing so he begged permission to see some of his friends.

"I may mention here that the day before, at Daly's request to me, I urgently requested the colonel to grant this favour, guaranteeing that I would be present, and that nothing unlawful would take place. He refused outright, but I persisted and told him that if he had not the power to do so he must wire to Simla to obtain it.

"He did telegraph to the Adjutant-General, but seemed to have got no reply. After the execution I went to the Adjutant-General and, among other things in my report, I asked him why this request was refused. On he did get annoyed because, as he said, when he received the colonel's telegram at about 1 p.m. on 1st November

he telephoned to the ecclesiastical authorities asking them whether my guarantee would be all right and they said that he could depend on me. Accordingly, the Adjutant-General made out a telegram to this effect, directing that it should take precedence of all others. He showed me all this on his files, but that wire was not delivered to me.

## WISHED TO SEE JOSEPH HAWES

"So, when, even then, Daly asked to see his friends, I looked back at the colonel and saw from his face that he did not mean to give permission. It was so distressing to tell Daly this. However, he accepted the refusal in a Christian spirit and the procession moved on again. After a few paces we turned to the right, then to the half-right and made for the chair which was weighted and prepared for Daly. When he touched the chair with his leg he said: 'Is this where they are going to shoot me?' And again he took off the bag and had a look around and up at the cell windows. There was a rush at him, but I motioned the men off and urged Daly to comply with the regulations. He replied: 'It's all right, Father, I only wanted to have a look around.'"

"Letting me put on the bag, he again pleaded to let at least one of his friends, Private Joseph Hawes, see him. I knew that this would never be granted at such a time, so I begged him to accept the disappointment as a great sacrifice and to tell me what he wanted to say to Hawes and I would do so under great secrecy. He said nothing, but his head fell on my shoulder and, for the first time, he gave way. It was all so heart-rending. I then said a few prayers with him, gave him Absolution, and commended his soul to God, upon which he rejoined: 'May the good God receive my soul!'

"He then, without a word, took from his pocket the farewell letter which the other prisoners wrote to him the day before and which the prison officers were kind enough to have delivered to him. He also took out a couple of cigarettes, a few annas in silver and nickel, and his green silk handkerchief—the token of his leadership. I then happily thought of the scapular of the Sacred Heart which the men had given me the evening before to give to him. I pinned this on his coat over the heart and said my prayer, 'Jesus, Mary and Joseph, I give you my heart and my soul.' I then made room for the medical officer who was showing signs of impatience. However, when the provost-sergeant came with a rope to tie him down to the weighted chair, Daly, feeling the rope on his body, said fiercely: 'I will not be tied down.' I said: 'All right,' and sent the man away.

## 'THE ROYAL FUSILIERS DID IT'

"The medical officer then came forward and seeing the rosary beads and scapular on Daly, touching them, looked at me as if to say 'take these off.' I said that they would not interfere and he let them alone. Producing a small white paper target, he pinned it right over the heart and moved aside. The officer in charge of the firing-party then motioned to me, and I stationed myself just outside the firing-party with my eyes fixed on the officer. As he let fall a handkerchief the volley was fired and the bullet

found a mark in Daly's heart and passed out of his body with a great spurt of blood. I immediately dashed forward and snatched the bag from his head and anointed him on the forehead. His body leaned a little to the left, his shoulder-blade caught in a corner of the chair, and thus he remained sitting.

"While I was anointing him, one of the prisoners from his cell roared out: 'The Royal Fusiliers did it,' and shortly after, in a calm though loud voice, another prisoner exclaimed: 'May his soul rest in peace.' The silence was awful and the look of surprise on every face was indescribable.

"I then said the prayers for the dead. When I had finished the medical officer came forward, took Daly's hand, and after feeling the pulse for some time, declared to the colonel that the young man was dead. The coffin was brought from a shed close by and placed in front of the chair. Some warders took the body and placed it in the coffin as it was, boots and all. Again, when the body was in the coffin, the medical officer felt the pulse for a good long time and finally declared that he was quite dead. The lid was screwed down, the coffin placed on a hearse, and wheeled away by eight men to the common graveyard. I followed behind and said the Office of the Dead. At this time, the chaplain, Father Correggi, was saying Mass for Daly's soul while all this was taking place."

## BURIED IN GRAVE No. 340

The body of Private James Daly was buried in the Prison Cemetery in Daghai and the number of the grave was 340. From that grave his remains will be brought home to Ireland where he will be laid in Irish soil.

The Mutiny of the Connaught Rangers in India has a special significance for us here in Ireland. At the time it took place the War of Independence was at its height. Lord Mayor Mac Curtain of Cork and Lord Mayor Clancy of Limerick had been brutally murdered by Crown Forces. Innocent men and women were being shot in their homes; creameries were burnt down and in a final act of arson the Crown Forces burned out the main centre of Cork and the town of Ballibrigan.

This news seeped through to the Irishmen serving with the First Battalion of the Connaught Rangers in India. The news came in letters from home and as the story of the British terror in Ireland unfolded, the anger of the rank and file of the Rangers grew, until eventually they decided that no longer could they serve the British Empire or King.

The British propaganda machine in its first reports of the mutiny endeavoured to cover up the real cause of the revolt by stating that the mutiny took place because the Rangers were objecting to conditions of service, to bad food, to low pay, and to over-strict officers who were inclined to act as dictators.

Both the Irish and English newspapers carried this false story and it was months before the Republican Government at home and the entire Republican Movement realised what had happened. If it had been known in time the political implications would have been enormous. Already the British Government was worried about American reaction to the Black and

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# Cúrsaí Reatha . . . . . Débe

## BOYCOTT BRITISH

AR NA NEITHE is mó chuirfeas isteach ar na himpirlúithe Breatain ná baghat ar a gcuid earraí. Ach tá na 26 Chontae ceangailte go díreach le Sasana ó thaobh eacnamaíochta faoi láthair agus tugann an stát sin tús áite d'earraí Shasana, d'earraí an namhaid!

Is mó de bhuailte ar óigleag agus ar bhaill Sinn Féin agus ar Eireannaigh i gcoitinne a dreastaíonn uathu lámh chunta a thabhairt don chúis baghat a chur ar earraí Shasana.

Caitheas sin a dhéanamh, ar an gcéad dul síos, chun seans a thabhairt ar gcuid earraí féin (agus nuair a déirín sin tá earraí na hEireann uile san éireann) ach freisin chun buille a thabhairt don Sasanach an áit is mó a ghoilleann air, mar atá, sa phóca.

Is doiligh an scéal faoi láthair agus tá earraí áirithe cheana féin, a rinneadh in Eirinn agus a bhí ar fáil go héasca 10 mbliana ó shin ar phraghas réasúnta, nach bhfuil fáil dá laghad orthu inniu, agus earraí Shasana ina n-áit, agus a lucht dhéanta Eireannach ar an imirce, a bhí leis an gconradh damanta trádála idir na 26 Chontae agus an namhaid. Is minic a ghearr fear slat chun é féin a bhuailid.

Níor mhiste an feachtas a thosú láithreach: Ceannaisí gaelearraí; cros ar earraí an namhaid: Boycott British. Scríobhtar sin ar bhallaí na hEireann thuaidh theas agus tugtar ceacht don siopaóir a thugann rús díte d'earraí Shasana. Más mall féin is mithid.

### Marú póilíní

CE NACH raibh lámh againne, fé mar a fógraíodh faoin am, i marú na bpóilíní i bpléascghaiste i gCo. Ardhamacha theas, chuir an meid ólogán a rinneadh déistín orm.

B'fhéidir nach n-oireann sé dá bpócaí go ndéanfaid na nuachtáin a mhalairt de phort (mar gheall ar bhógaí de chuid Shasana) ach is mithid, agus chur a bheith mithid, a chur in iúl dóibh gur namhaid an té a chaitheann éide na bainríona agus a thugann méid díseachta di.

Tá cogadh ar siúl, tairneodh sin nó ná tairneodh leis an dream atá i gcéanna ar na huirslí cumarsáide, agus lena gcuid leacaithe. B'igean dúinn póilíní a lámhadh cheana in Eirinn agus go rímhíne. Níor thaitigh sin ariamh le lucht na bpáipéar agus cháin siad muid go tréan. Le marú póilíní is ea a thosaigh Cogadh na Saoirse.

Cloisfeas caint mhaiothneasach i draobh marú póilíní, gurb iad "ár muintir féin". Seafóid. Ní dár muintir féin aon dream a dhéanann iarracht ar aon chuid d'Eirinn a rialú in ainm na bainríona agus má chuirfeann siad isteach orainn agus má bhíonn sé riachtanach lámhfaidh muid iad. Bíodh sin ina rabhadh agus ná bíodh sé le rá nár thug muid an rabhadh sin.

Ar ndóighe, ní gá gach póilín atá le feiceáil a mharú, fós féin, ar aon chuma. Agus ba chóir, má bhíonn sé ina rogha againn, tús áite a thabhairt don saighdiúir Sasanach. Mór

ár náire nár chuir muid corpán saighdiúra amháin soir go fóill.

Ná bíodh aon chaint mhaiothneasach le cloisteach, ach oiread, faoi "cothrom na Féinne" a thabhairt don namhaid. Bhí freagra cumasach air sin ag Seán O'Casey, Cogadh atá ar siúl agus bainimís féidhm as gach arm agus gach rud a chuirfeas ár gcúis chun tosaigh, mar a chaitheas an trodaire a dhéanamh i gcoimars agus arm gairmiúil ina éadan. Ná bíodh aon tseafóid le clos faoi "taise" nó "trócaire".

Ní sinne a thosaigh an cogadh seo agus is beag trócaire a thug Sasana riamh do mhuintir na hEireann.

### Cara an LFM

AN NUACHTAN amháin, go bhfuil dúinn, sna 26 Chontae, a mhol an bheirt Shasana a bhí i gcéanna ar na saighdiúirí agus ar na péas sna Sé Chontae nuair a tháinig an scéal amach faoi dheireadh gur éirigh le Péaslaí agus lena chairde iad a bhrú ó oifig amach.

"Irish Independent" an páipéar glórmhar sin, an páipéar cáanna a dhaoir an Conghaileadh chun báis i 1916 agus atá ag troid i gcoimars go hoscailte agus faoi choinn in éadan na guspóirí náisiúnta uile.

Is é is nímh in éadan na Gaeilge agus dá bhonn an seandream is measa an fhoireann nua a tháinig díreach ón brocais páipéir úd, an "Evening Herald", an ceann ar mhaigh Morris faoi go raibh sé ina phóca aige, rud a chruthaigh an páipéar féin as a drug sé de phoibhíocht agus de bhréagá ar son an LFM agus in éadan ghluais-eacht na Gaeilge.

Níor mórán níl fhearr a bhí an "Sunday Independent"; agus nuair a d'fhógair a eagarthóir siúd, Hector Legge, go raibh sé chun a shuaimh, níos glacadh, b'amhlaidh a dheirfeadh an LFM chun a chuid buiochais de a chur in iúl, rud a d'fhóilsigh an páipéar.

Go bhfuil dúinn, is iad Independent Newspapers an t-aon dream amháin sna 26 Chontae atá sísta bolscair-eacht de chuid Africe Theas a fhóilsíodh ar (ar phraghas). Ar na fáthanna taobh thiar den ghloinní sin tá na scaranna atá ag muintir Mhurchú i gcomhlachtaí sa tír mhi-dmharach cheana.

Bhí duine de mhuintir Mhurchú ina oifigeach in arm Shasana. I Sasana is ea a fuair siad uile a gcuid oideachais. Is mó de bhá acu don tír sin, agus don uasalaimne sa tír sin, agus don chiníochas is dual a bheith ag an aicme chéanna, ná d'aon rud ina dtír dhúchais.

Bhí gá, tráth, le ceacht a thabhairt do Independent Newspapers, nuair a bhí Cogadh na Saoirse ar siúl. B'fhéidir go bhfuil ceacht nó dhó eile i ndán mura n-athreoidh siad a bport.

Ach, faoi dheireadh thiar, tá leigheas ag lucht léite na nuachtáin. Is toise go gceannann lucht riarta na nuachtáin seo go dtaoinn a pholasáil frith Eireannach le pobal na hEireann is ea a dhéanamh siad amhlaidh.

Mura dtaoinn an polasáil sin leatsa ná ceannaigh na páipéir sin,

"Irish Independent," "Sunday Independent," "Evening Herald." Má leanann tú de bheith dá gceannach níl á thaispeáint agat ach gur cuma leat an chúis náisiúnta in ainneoin do chuid chainte.

### Scoilt sa Chonradh

MAS FIOR do Phroinsias O Cillín ar "Comhar" tá scoilt mhór i ndán do Chonradh na Gaeilge. Is cosúil go bhfuil ruais á cur ar lucht Fianna Fáil san eugras sin agus gurb é lucht leanúna Phlís Ghairdínéir atá tagtha in áit F.F., nó sin a gcuireann an Cillineach in iúl.

Is deacair sin a chreidiúint. Ball de chuid Fianna Fáil atá i bProinsias, ceart go leor. Is fear é a bhunaigh Craobh Uí Bheacháin den Chonradh agus a thug beocht nua don Chonradh i lár na príomhchathrach leis na cruinnithe úd tigh Shláta.

Is duine maith é in ainneoin a chuid polaitíochta. Is fear óg é agus feicfidh sé solas na firinne ar ball.

An rud is mó atá ag goilliúint ar Phroinsias, is dócha, is é gur tháinig an Conradh amach go láidir in éadan an Chomhghairdigh.

Ach tá go leor eugras eile a bhfuil an tuisriach céanna acu uile agus nach bhfuil ceangailte go díreach ná go min le Gluaiseacht na Poblachta.

Mar sin féin, d'fhéadadh lucht riarta an Chonartha bheith beagán ní ba chúramai faoina chuid modhanna. Ba chóir gur leor nod.

### Na tincéir

B'AIT LIOM nach raibh lámh ní ba shoiléire ag an nGluais-eacht ar son na dtincéir go nuige seo mar ní saoirse, dáiríre, go saoirse na dtincéir. Más amhlaidh atá ceacht nó dhó a dhith ar chorrionaid anseo is ansíod atá ag tromaocht ar na tincéir nó ag carnadh vótai ó na hainleaithe atá frithcúicéirach tugtar sin dó, rabhadh ar dtús, léasadh ina dhiaidh. Is minic sa chás sin nach druigeat ach an léasadh.

Is mór ár náire go bhfuil cúrsaí mar atáid agus sinn go forleathan, de réir cosúlachta, gan a bheith dásta na tincéir a thógáil isteach chugainn mar chomharshain.

Céard chuide nach raibh oiread is gíobhál le dos ó Lucht na gCearta Shíbhialta i gConamara, dream a bhfuil meas mór againn orthu?

### Rialtas áitiúil

IN ANNEOIN a chuid cainte faoi dhá náisiún in Eirinn, Caiticeach agus Protastúnach, tuisriam a thagann salach ar ár dtuairimí, tá smointe maithé úra atá fólláin ag Desmond Fennell, a scríobhann go rialta ar an "Sunday Press" agus ar an "Irish Press" agus atá le feiceáil go mion minic ar an teilifís.

Molann muid, thar ní ar bith eile, an scéim atá aige chun Gaeilgeoirí a mhealladh siar go hIarchoinnachta. Ach ba chóir go dtuigfeadh sé, faoin am seo, gur beag taicíocht a fhaighfeadh sé ó na húdaráis i mBaile Atha Cliath chun gníomh a dhéanamh den aistíng.

Tá sé in am go hGluais-eacht na Poblachta a thaispeáint an difríocht idir iad agus gluais-eacht oifigiúil an rachaíais (FF+FG+LibLab et al). Déanfar sin iad a gceint Fhennell faoi rialtas áitiúil agus a gá atá le lámh bheith ag daoine ina mbeatha áitiúil féin.

B'fhéidir, freisin, go dtabharfaidh Oireachtas na nGael cluas dó agus fhéile sin a chur ar siúl in áit éigin den Ghaeltacht i gcóil, áit a mbeadh sé in thairbhe eacnamaíochta don cheantar.



At the spot where Seán Treacy was killed, Tomás O Maolcoilín and Seamus O Cléirigh, both veteran fighters for Ireland. The wreath was laid by Tomás O Maolcoilín who was O.C. of the East Limerick Flying Column and was in command at Kilmallock, Ballylanders and in most of the engagements in East Limerick between 1919 and 1921. He was in jail with Seán Treacy in Mountjoy and was on hunger strike with Thomas Ashe. On one occasion he was sentenced to death, had the sentence commuted to 20 years and later escaped from Spike Island Prison in Cork Harbour.

## Sean Treacy Honoured

"Let us not disdain Seán Treacy's methods as a last resort in bringing about the Ireland he wished to see," said Ruairi O Bradaigh during commemorative ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the death of Seán Treacy on October 14th, 1920, at the age of 25. He was shot following a raid on an outfitters shop by British troops in Talbot Street, Dublin, where the commemorative ceremonies were held on October 11.

Many of the objectives of Seán Treacy were yet to be brought about, said Mr. O Bradaigh, and his means were not to be ruled out if those objectives were to be achieved.

"There are those who would say," he continued, "that if Seán Treacy were alive to-day he would be in Leinster House or Stormont or even in Westminster, but do you think that he would be working in collaboration with the British Army over the Culcaigh mountain hunting the freedom fighters of Fermanagh? Or would he be fighting with them?"

Treacy saw freedom in its fullness and entirety, said Mr. O Bradaigh. He saw an Ireland where the poor and underprivileged would also have a place. He was also a man of action and his name was written in blood on Talbot Street, which should properly be called Seán Treacy Street. "We do not believe," he said, "with those who have occupied business premises in this street that it should not be called after him."

Outside the shop in Talbot Street which bears a commemorative plaque the crowd was addressed by Mr. Joe Clarke, Chairman of the Tipperary and Dublin Seán Treacy Commemoration Committee.

A decade of the Rosary was recited by Dan Gleeson and a wreath was laid at the door of the building by Tomás O Maolcoilín who was known as Sean Forde during the fighting.

In the afternoon of the same day about 50 people, mostly from Tipperary, were taken on a bus tour of the city. The theme of the tour was "Seán Treacy and Black and Tan Dublin."

About 70 people attended a lecture in Liberty Hall where Eamonn Mac Thomais sketched the life of Seán Treacy and the time in which he lived.

## Death of Mrs. N. Keenan

When the funeral took place on October 3 to Derry City cemetery of Mrs. Nancy Keenan, a life-long Republican, she was described in a graveside oration as "the Countess Markievicz of Derry."

Mrs. Keenan was the wife of Mr. Seán Keenan, well-known Derry Republican and Chairman of the Derry Citizens' Defence Committee, which controlled the Bogsides for a nine weeks' period following the disturbances of August of last year. She was active in the Republican movement since her girlhood days and in 1940 was sentenced to a term of nine months' imprisonment. She was re-arrested in 1942 and was interned in Armagh Jail for the duration of the war.

The graveside oration was delivered by Mr. Frank Morris, of Convoys, Co. Donegal, who said that the Irish people, and especially the people of Derry, were facing a grave national crisis. To everyone and especially to the women and young girls, Mrs. Keenan's life work should be an inspiration. Ireland needed more women of her calibre.

The coffin was draped in the Tricolour. Mr. John Hume, M.P., and Mr. Eddie McAteer were among the large attendance at the funeral.

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## PASTIMES AND NATIONALITY

It is very hard to have patience with those Irish-born people who put up stupid arguments in defence of their attitude towards native and imported pastimes; but we should try to be patient and to make them understand that games and pastimes are most important elements of Nationality, and as such should be cherished and fostered and strengthened as zealously by us as they have been assailed by the enemy through long centuries. Some of the active, able-bodied young men who play soccer and rugby, and look down their noses at Gaelic football, handball and hurling are intelligent enough to be convinced by argument and good example; if they could be brought to listen to the history of our games and the part taken by them in the age-old battle for the very soul of Ireland, they would be less inclined to ape the enemy by playing his imported games, and they would have more respect for the games that have tested the swiftness, strength and endurance of Irishmen for thousands of years.

Surely the games and dances, the songs and music, the customs and habits that have grown up with a people, that were practised by that people in the days of its greatness and glory, must be part of the national inheritance and a vital force and influence in the development of national character. On the other hand, games, pastimes, dances, songs, customs, habits alien to Ireland and closely associated with the long and steady campaign for our Anglicisation must without any doubt in the world be detrimental to the national well-being and helpful to the forces that are opposed to it. That should be clear to any person of average intelligence.

To say that one game is as good as another, that this game or that game is international, that a man can be a loyal son of Ireland and a fighter for Irish freedom although an exponent and supporter of alien games, is merely talk without thought. *One game is not as good as another.* The man who says it probably means that as much fresh air and exercise and development of muscle can be had playing one game or the other, but that is not the point. He who believes that one game is as good as another will, by degrees, and if he is consistent, come to the conclusion that one language is as good as another, that one country is as good as another, that, in fact, there are no loyalties at all, and that a drifting log is as good a barrier as a solid rock.

Those who talk stupid rubbish about such games as soccer and rugby football being "international" simply speak without thinking; when they say "international" they mean "cosmopolitan," because they have cosmopolitan minds, and are incapable of understanding what it is to be international. The very word means friendly communications between nations, not between degraded and denationalised provinces of other nations, and it suggests that the countries

having such communication have the right to call themselves nations, that each has its own language generally spoken within its borders, its own games and pastimes and customs and songs and music fully developed and fondly and proudly cherished; that it isn't a miserable place where the very things a free nation prizes most highly are jeered at and treated with contempt by those who talk about the advantages of being international.

To be a worthy, respected participant in real international gatherings, Ireland must first become national in the truest sense; and national she could never be were she to throw away

or because his friends and companions were in the fray, we can understand his attitude. But if he holds that he fought for Irish Independence, for Nationality, for Nationhood, and at the same time decries and abandons Irish games for the games of the enemies of Irish nationhood, he cannot be understood even by himself. He is a drifting log, a victim of confusion, and a danger to the cause he would espouse.

The English invaders who, for five hundred years before they introduced the Penal Laws, strove hard and constantly to keep their own settlers, their own planted colonists, from be-



Le  
Brian Ó hUiginn

This is the first of four articles on Nationality and Nationhood that we are republishing from the 1944 Wolfe Tone Annual, written by the late Brian Ó hUiginn. The 1944 Wolfe Tone Annual was banned by the Fianna Fáil censor for one year and published in 1945.

Spiorad na Gaeilge agus Spiorad na Saoirse, sin é an teagasc atá ins na haistí seo. Tá siad i mBéarla chun comhairle a leasa a scaipeadh i measc na ndaoine atá ar bheagán Gaeilge. An fhaid is a bheith Eireannaigh gan Gaeilge beidh gá le teagasc i mBéarla.

the Irish language, forsake her own games, cease to sing her own songs, to dance her own dances, to practise her own customs—to be in fact, the Irish nation, worthy of admittance as an equal to gatherings of the free nations of the world.

To try to prove that native Irish games are of no more importance than those that have been imported by the enemy by saying that players of the latter took up arms for Ireland in time of stress is further evidence of lack of thought. All honour to the player of foreign games or of no game at all who stood in the gap of danger for Ireland. He had no deep-rooted convictions, no strong national instinct to guide him surely to his post; and he may have fought as courageously as the man beside him who was brought up in an Irish-Ireland home, and who would no more think of playing a foreign game or dancing jazz than he would of singing the British imperial anthem. But if that rugby-playing or soccer-playing Irish Volunteer later attempts to make use of his generous impulse as a soldier of freedom for the furtherance of alien games, his record is more a menace than an asset to Irish nationality.

What he fought for with one hand he is throwing away with the other. If he only fought for love of fighting,

coming Irish in speech and habit, had no illusions about the value to Irish nationality of Irish games. Do the "patriots" who talk loudly of having achieved something which they call "freedom" while they despise Irish games and neglect them for soccer and rugby know that in doing so they take their place with every alien tyrant of the past who tried to strangle the Irish nation and change this entire country into a colony of England? Do the heads of those secondary schools and colleges who prepare their pupils for college by Anglicising them on the playing field and in the recreation hall realise that they are giving loyal obedience to the infamous Statutes of Kilkenny, enacted in 1367 by alien invaders against the Irish language, games, customs and pastimes? These spiritual guardians of the Irish character were so potent that they made Irish speakers and exponents of Irish games of the very English who were sent over to colonise Ireland and Anglicise the barbarous Irish.

The laws we speak of were directed against the English in Ireland, and commanded them to cease to speak the

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# CONNAUGHT RANGERS

(From Page 3)

Tan terror: so, naturally, the British did not want it to be known that Irishmen wearing the King's uniform had revolted in India and had hoisted the flag of the Republic—swearing that it was the only flag they would in future serve.

Jim Daly's sacrifice was lost to a great extent because the full implications of what had happened were not realised in Ireland until several months after his death. It was not known until then that Daly was as great a man and as true an Irish soldier as was Kevin Barry who gave his life for Ireland on the morning before Daly died.

## ATROCITIES AT HOME

The mutiny proper started on June 27, 1920, in the canteen of the First Battalion of the Connaught Rangers at Daghai. The first man to speak up was Private Joseph Hawes, a native of Kilrush, Co. Clare, who, after reading out a letter from home about the atrocities in Ireland, exclaimed: "What are we going to do about it, lads?" A course of action was agreed upon then and there.

Five men would march to the guard room in the morning and would declare that they would no longer serve the King because of the treatment their own small nation was receiving at the hands of England. When morning came, only four men went. One had dropped out. He was William Daly, brother of James Daly, later to be executed. The four were Privates Hawes, Lally, Sweeney and Gogarty. They were the first four mutineers.

They proceeded to the guard room and informed the officer: "We will soldier no more for England. From now on we are soldiers of Ireland only."

The officer in charge tried to persuade them to give up "their folly." They refused and eventually were arrested and locked up. Inside an hour the mutiny had spread. Several companies of the Rangers presented themselves at the guard room and stated that they were in full agreement with the first four protesters. They too demanded to be arrested. The officers in charge were amazed. They did not know what was happening and there were urgent telephone calls to headquarters. This was a situation which had never occurred before.

## THE GREATEST HONOUR OF ALL

The officer in command of the First Battalion of the Rangers that day was the Adjutant, Lieutenant Leonard William Leader. Leader was a humane man, but a man of indecision. His indecision on this occasion built up to a point where British Army Headquarters found it nearly impossible to deal with this peculiar type of mutiny where the mutineers were not actually using guns against their superiors.

Several high-ranking officers were sent from headquarters and in the end the colonel of the regiment arrived and in his book on "The Connaught Rangers," Thomas Kilfeather describes the scene as the colonel addressed his men:

"When Colonel Deacon stood before his men and appealed to them to return to their duties so that they would not besmirch the record of the regiment he showed that lack of understanding of the Irish mentality which has always been the cause of friction and strife between Ireland and England. At this point the Connaught Rangers were demonstrating that they belonged to a people with a separate nationality and their protest was made to have that nationality recognised.

"In silence the mutineers heard

their colonel recount the battle-honours on the colours of the regiment. The names of Badajoz, Toulouse, the Alma were recalled to these men who were thinking of Cork, Fermoy, Thurles and many little villages where other Irishmen were fighting in the hope that a dream would become a reality. Col. Deacon ended his appeal with the promise that if the Rangers returned to their duties the incident would be forgotten. The appeal was eloquent, all the more so because of the emotion which affected the commanding officer, an emotion which caused a tear to appear in his eyes.

"But that emotion-charged atmosphere was shattered when Private Joseph Hawes stepped from the ranks to say: 'All the honours on the colours of the Connaught Rangers are for England. There is none for Ireland, but there is going to be one to-day and it will be the greatest honour of them all.'

"Private Hawes stepped smartly back into the ranks. Private William Coman from Cashel, Co. Tipperary, who was farther down the line, heard the adjutant say to the acting sergeant-major: 'When the men go to their bungalows, put Hawes under arrest.' Private Coman shouted: 'You won't get the chance of arresting Hawes—we are all going back to the guard-room.' He stepped forward a few paces and shouted: 'Left turn, back to the guardroom, lads.' The single line of mutineers marched back behind the bars and the doors were locked.

## AS TRUE AS THE WILD GEESE

"The men of B Company, who had been sitting on the steps of the nearby bungalow or leaning on the veranda rails, were then ordered to return to their quarters. The order was another link in the story of the mutiny, for B Company—now that they had been made aware of the reason for the protest—refused to obey the order. The majority of them walked over to the guardroom cage and talked to their comrades. It was then suggested that little could be achieved by remaining behind bars and that a more active protest could be made if a meeting was held in the regimental theatre—a large barn-like building which had a stage and long forms for seating. The men were told to return to their bungalows and to await the 'fall-in' which would be sounded by a bugler."

From that stage on, Private Hawes took complete charge of the revolting Rangers and thus a new chapter in the history of Ireland was opened. The men under the command of Private Hawes were as brave and as true to Ireland as were any of the Wild Geese who had served in the Continental armies. Indeed they were braver because they had neither support nor backing. They were on their own against the full might and power of an empire. Their deed will be remembered for ever because it brought glory and fame to the land of their birth for which these men were prepared to give all.

(To be Continued)

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# Ireland's Problems in Scottish Eyes

Of all the Celtic countries only the 26 Counties of the Republic of Ireland has been in a position to make language restoration an official policy, says the first of a series of articles in SRUTH on the problem of language revival. "But," it says, "it is Ireland, however, that has been the only country to undertake such a task and failed."

SRUTH is published by An Cumann Gaidhealach, the Scottish language organisation.

The article says there are reasons for Ireland's failure. One is because early language enthusiasts thought that getting "official status" for the language, getting it taught in schools, would be followed by a natural restoration. This erroneous idea still appears to continue to a great extent, it says.

"There is the reason that the majority

of Irish do not identify with the language. This is a common fault with the majority of Celtic peoples who feel that they can retain their distinctive identity by speaking a dialectal variation of English and letting their language die.

It is a very peculiar reasoning: . . . they feel that an Irishman can be 100 per cent. Irish while being a monoglot English speaker. Yet if one propounded the thesis that you can be a Frenchman, an Italian, or an Englishman without being able to speak those languages one would be met with a richly deserved ridicule.

"Here is illustrated the tremendous ecological sickness which clouds Celtic intelligence. Every other nationality is clear what their nationality involves.

"Even the Basques, a long conquered

and divided community, call their country Euzkual Herri and a Basque is Euzkualdun—literally "he who possesses the Basque tongue". You cannot be a Basque without speaking Basque.

"Another reason is attributable to economics. An English-speaking Ireland provides a reservoir of cheap labour for the English-speaking world and provides a safety valve for the Irish Government's ruinous economic policy. In an Irish-speaking Ireland the Government would have to think seriously about providing a stable economy and employment for the mass of people who are currently forced to migrate in their thousands—something they seem unable or unwilling to do, preferring to remain a province of England in all but name.

—Reprinted from *ROSC, Iris Chonradh na Gaeilge*.

## MULTYFARNHAM

The Multifarnham, Co. Westmeath, Cumann Sinn Féin has been reorganised.

Chairman, Peter Rogers; Secretary, Miss Maura Mc Loughlin; other members: W. Kelly, E. O'Donoghue, W. Farrell, J. Kenny, T. Rogers.

The members of this Cumann were very active in the Barnes and McCormack Repatriation Committee. Its members were also active in the Mullingar Branch of the Northern Aid Committee. This Cumann specialises in organising bus loads of supporters to Republican céilíthe and other functions.

Charlie McGlade, Belfast, presided at the reorganising meeting.

## Co. Mayo Sinn Fein

The sale of *An Phoblacht* in Mayo continues to increase with almost 150 dozen copies being sold monthly. North Mayo and West Mayo have been completely covered by sellers with great success, particularly in areas like Westport, Mulranny, Castlebar, Belmullet, Doohama, Gessala, Inver and Pullathomas, where there are outstanding records.

At the annual meeting of Cumann Sheáin Mhic Giolla Bhríde, Westport, a few weeks ago, the following officers were elected.

Chairman: Ml. Dever, Westport; Vice-Chairmen, Liam Tunney, Cushlough, and Peter McDonagh, Aughawater; Secretary, Tadhg Hastings, Drummin. Committee: Margaret Murray, Newport; P. O'Grady, Westport; Dan Hoban, Newport; Peadar Murray, Newport; Austin Moran, Westport; Martin Masterson, Cúlmór; Edward Murray, Roslære; Seamsa O Cuaig, Westport.

The recent lay-off of workers at the Gaeltarra Eireann factory in Iorras has caused much concern to Republicans in that area. At a period when more jobs should be provided for the youth of this historic Barony, we cannot but view this move by Gaeltarra Eireann bosses with suspicion. The latest development is an assurance that should the toy factory close, that some other industries will take its place. The time of action is now, not when the factory door closes. The livelihood of 60 people, mostly women, is in danger.

The people of Iorras should demand

that those 60 young people should remain at their present employment, and that another industry which would employ 120 or 150 people should be built in Belmullet. One industry which would be capable of success is a fish processing factory. The raw material is to be found in the rich fishing ground off the Iorras coast and in the salmon rivers of North Mayo.

Pressure must be brought on the politicians of Leinster House to provide capital for such an industry. The people of Iorras must insist that they be provided with jobs at home, instead of in the polluted cities of Britain and the United States. Yes, a united people can save the Barony of Iorras from extinction.

## Tacaíocht on Ardchomhairle

Ag cruinniú d'Ardchomhairle Sinn Féin, agus Ruairi O Brádaigh sa chathaoir, glacadh d'aonghuth le rún maidir le cáis mhuintir na Gaeltachta i Maigh Eo agus Ciarraí.

Tugann Sinn Féin tacaíocht do mhuintir Iorrasa ina troid ar son a gcuid postána i monrachna Ghaeltarra Eireann. Molaimid freisin seasamh mhuintir Dhón Chaoin i leith na bunscóla ansin. Is ionann an troid seo ar son ceart na ndaoine sa Ghaeltacht agus an troid ar son cearta sibhialta na Sé Chontae. Is i an troid chéanna i. Tabharfaidh Poblachtain gach cabhair is féidir dóibh.

## Pastimes and Nationality

(From Page 5)

Irish language, use Irish laws, play the Irish games of hurling and quints, sing Irish songs, play the Irish pipes, ride a horse in the Irish fashion without a saddle, or become a priest. Although at first designed to prevent the English settlers becoming Irish, the Statutes of Kilkenny were later declared to apply to all persons outside Ulster, which was still independent of England, and the Catholic Bishops, all Englishmen, were called upon by the Duke of Clarence and his Parliament to excommunicate all who disobeyed the laws. The prelates obediently carried out the order, and so as we are told by a historian, anyone "playing hurling or quints, or speaking the Irish language, or playing the Irish bagpipes, or making use of the Breton laws, or becoming a priest, or riding a horse in the Irish fashion was excommunicated by these bishops of the Catholic Church. An Irish family were excommunicated because they said their prayers in Irish—the only language they knew."

ment but as a national bulwark. His name deserves to be remembered and honoured forever among the noblest of the gallant band who saved our country from a fate worse than the slaughter and extermination of Cromwell.

"The game of the British Association" (soccer), wrote William Rooney many years after the G.A.A. had come into being, "was originally introduced here by West British snobs and their military friends and, naturally, when our young men affect the game they must needs imitate the snobbery of their models. It is slavish for any nation to fawn on another people. It is the mongrel spirit of the sycophant that despises its own, and servilely and soullessly imitates the fashions and fads of the foreigner. No nation ever yet rose to power and influence by any way other than the development of its own genius, characteristics and resources."

To the uneducated and ignorant, the unthinking and imitative, in high places or low, it is waste of time to say such things, because they will not be understood; but surely there must be in the country sufficient intelligence and latent patriotism to see that it is not by slavish imitation of the alien invader but by unswerving loyalty and love for everything ennobled by memories of our heroic past that we can restore and raise up and beautify our disfigured and battle-scarred nationhood.

It is no use to prate foolishly or fraudulently of freedom if we deliberately repudiate the true symbols of freedom and voluntarily assume the badges and tokens of slavery. If we had a hundred battleships, five hundred merchantmen, a thousand submarines, a thousand tanks, a million fully-equipped soldiers and sailors, colonies abroad and unlimited wealth at home, and along with them had only English speech and English ways and jazz music and smutty songs and soccer and rugby and all the games and pastimes and customs and mentality of the foreigner, we would still be but a miserable British Dominion, a nondescript conglomerate of mongrels, deserving and receiving only the contempt of nations true to themselves, nations big or small, with their own speech, their own music, their own songs and games and pastimes—treasures of more value than all the wealth of the world.

## DR. CROKE AND

### THE G.A.A.

Consider the effect of the language, customs, games and social life of the Irish people upon those English who had come to live amongst them, even as enemies. They were rapidly becoming Irish and this alarmed the Mother Country who wanted her colonies to remain English, because otherwise she knew that one day they would cast off her authority and merge into one Gaelic nation. Can our little soccerites not see that they are playing the invader's game in more senses than one? A knowledge of Irish history and of England's laws in Ireland would do them a world of good—if they have not already become more English than the English they ape and admire.

The great Archbishop of Cashel, Dr. Croke; Michael Cusack, Maurice Davin, P. W. Nally, William Rooney, Patrick J. Devlin, Thomas Markham and several other writers on the subject have told us of the state to which alien games and pastimes had reduced this country before the Gaelic Athletic Association was founded.

"One of the most frequently recurring reflections," wrote Dr. Croke in 1884, "that I am compelled to make in connection with the present aspect of things in this country is derived from the ugly and irritating fact that we are daily importing from England, not only her manufactured goods, which we cannot help doing, since she has practically strangled our own manufacturing appliances, but, together with her fashions, her accent, her vicious literature, her music, her dances, and her manifold mannerisms, her games also and her pastimes to the utter discredit of our own grand national sports, to the sore humiliation of every genuine son and daughter of our land . . . indeed, if we continue travelling for the next score years in the same direction that we have been going in for some time past, condemning the sports that were practised by our forefathers, effacing our national features as though we were ashamed of them, and putting on, with England's stuffs and broadcloths, her masher habits and such other effeminate follies as she may recommend, we had better at once, and publicly abjure our nationality, clap hands for joy and sight of the Union Jack, and place England's bloody red exultantly above the green."

It is only when we come up against such stark, sincere, truthful words as these that we realise what an immense service Michael Cusack rendered to Irish nationality when he founded the G.A.A. not as a mere athletic move-

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# ABOLITION OF STORMONT

In a letter to the Editor Mr. Anthony Coughlan refers to an article by Deasún Breatnach in our September issue headed WHY STORMONT MUST GO. In the course of this letter he says:

If the alternative to abolishing Stormont were to be the establishment of a united Irish Parliament, then of course every nationally minded person would be in favour. But that is not the alternative proposed. The alternative is Direct Rule from Westminster. In other words, Stormont Must Go can be translated Westminster, Please Take Over, and this is not a republican demand. Would Direct Rule from Westminster bring the ending of Partition nearer? I do not believe so, and neither do the Financial Times, the Economist, the London Times and other organs of British Conservatism which have all suggested Direct Rule recently as the best way out for Britain from her present difficulties in the North. The best way out for Britain is not necessarily the best way out for us. Britain would only abolish Stormont if it suited her, and this is another good reason why republicans should oppose it.

Deasún Breatnach comments:

I am not demanding and Republicans are not demanding the abolition of the Stormont Parliament. We are not asking the English to liquidate it. But I advocate, and I believe a large body of Republicans agree with me, that we should do all in our power to destroy that assembly.

There is an important distinction which is basic to our thinking. We are asking of England nothing except to quit our country and leave the solution of Irish problems to the Irish people, Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter.

It is hardly necessary to go all over again the reasons why we must seek to destroy Stormont (and Leinster House). Surely we have said as much as needs to be said at present in the September issue of this paper?

The Republican position traditionally has been that we do not recognise Britain's right to legislate for any part of Ireland, directly, or indirectly

through puppet assemblies.

If Tony Coughlan's case be true then, certainly, our obligation is to recognise the 1920 Act and all that followed and prepare for a quiet, peaceful evolution over the years. This is what Lloyd George wanted us to do, and Jim Callaghan, and Jack Lynch and Gerry Fitt.

What would be the result? Cultural assimilation within 20 years or even less. Complete economic integration within a very few years. And even politically just now the formula is being worked out in Dublin, Belfast and in London for some sort of Council of Ireland, on which "North" and "South" would be represented, with the British monarch as head: there is no need any longer even for the "dual monarchy" concept. And instead of the mass of the Protestants looking sympathetically at Republican or Socialist ideals the likelihood would be the "conversion" of the mass of Nationalists or even Republicans to the unionist allegiance, the force of economics being what it is.

We could have had that sort of unity long ago by reneging on self-determination and 800 years of history.

I do not believe that economic determinism is the one hundred per cent key to history but I do believe, with Connolly, that it plays a tremendous role. The 26-Counties state is not a viable one, today, if it ever was. We need all Ireland, all the Irish people; and we need them in a socialist state where the exploitation of man by man will be outlawed.

When the Shankill was being bullied by the Crown Forces, Republicans should have been helping them and seen to have been engaged thus.

Neither Anthony Coughlan nor myself, I am sure, want another 50 years of a latterday "patriot parliament", of Tweedledum versus Tweedledee. Far better to challenge now the paper lion of the forces of repression. Efficiently challenged, armed with the correct theory, determination and dedication, we can destroy our oppressors and, in the process, unite our people.

# The Second Cromwell

THE Cartaker Executive of Sinn Féin at its meeting on October 17 discussed press reports that Dr. Sico Mansholt, Vice-President of the European Commission and author of the Common Market's Mansholt Plan, will visit this country at the end of October. He will be in Ireland from October 29 to November 1 and will address Macra na Feirme at Tralee.

Dr. Mansholt's Plan is to reduce the huge food surpluses in the E.E.C. by reducing the number of farmers in these six countries by half between 1970 and 1980. If this country is led into full membership of the Common Market our countryside will be decimated under this plan. All state aid to small farmers will be withdrawn, amalgamations encouraged and the average farm size will be 280 to 370 acres.

The recommendations for the minimum sized farm require:—

200-300 acres for grains and root crops.

150-200 head of cattle for beef and veal production.

40-60 cows for dairy farming.

100,000 chickens for poultry farming.

The number of Irish farms (32 Counties) and therefore farming families will be reduced from 345,000 to 44,000. An average of 1½ men will be employed on each farm, leaving us with a total agricultural employment of 55,000 persons instead of the present figure of 375,000. Large tracts of land will be owned by foreign combines and absentee landlords. As the development of an industrial arm of the economy will be impossible under Free Trade conditions, with unrestricted competition from the huge combines of Britain and the Continent, the redundant farmers will have to emigrate to London, Hamburg and Antwerp.

For centuries our people have resisted foreign aggression and exploitation, Cromwell who sent them "to hell or to Connacht," the clearances and evictions, the famines and pitch caps. But in the immortal words of Terence MacSwiney, whom we honour this very month, "we have not survived the centuries to be conquered now."

The politicians of Leinster House tell us we have no

option but to follow England into the E.E.C. (There are other alternatives in associate status or a trade agreement with the E.E.C., combined with co-operative organisation of industry and farming, as Sinn Féin has pointed out before.) In the E.E.C. our country will be ruled by the nine faceless men of the undemocratic European Commission in Brussels. This would mean a complete betrayal of all our people have fought and suffered for down the centuries.

The Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin considers that the Republican Movement would be failing in its duty if it did not act on this issue. We have inherited from past generations the task of safeguarding the rights of the Irish people. Basic among these rights are "the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland" (Proclamation of 1916) and their right to a living in their own country. The workers and small farmers of Ireland have always been the backbone of this country and of its fight for freedom.

Dr. Mansholt comes as a second Cromwell to drive our people to hell or to Europe and to destroy our nation. He comes to prepare the ground for his extermination policies. The fact that party politicians aid and abet him is nothing new to those who have read Irish history and heard of Dermott McMurrugh, a name that will be for ever despised.

The Caretaker Executive calls for the cancellation of this visit. All units of the organisation throughout the country have been instructed to prepare and mount a MANSHOLT KEEP OUT campaign. We take as serious a view of this proposed visit as we do of the marauding raids of British soldiers on the Falls and Shankill areas of Belfast and the Bogside of Derry. The full resources of our organisation will be mustered to prevent this visit from taking place because Dr. Mansholt and his fellow Commissioners are the enemies of our people.

We call on the trade unions, land leagues, Irish language organisations and all small farmers and workers to resist the stampede of our people and to join in our demand that MANSHOLT KEEP OUT.

## 1971 CALENDAR

Seosamh O Cléirigh of the Irish Book Bureau has published a 1971 calendar with photos of the Four Martyrs, Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, Dick Barrett and Joe McKelvey. These four Republicans were executed by the Free State government on December 8, 1922.

This is a neat, simple but impressive calendar on good quality paper and it should be in every Irish home. It could well be sent to a friend with, or instead of, a Christmas card. Price 1/6. Postage 6d. (See advt.)

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## New York Function

Sabhat-O hAnluain Irish Republican Club will hold a benefit dance in New York. Proceeds will go to the wives of Thomas Coyle, Joseph McCool and Thomas Carlin who lost their lives in the fight for Irish Freedom.

Place: K. of C. Hall, 49-18 Queens Blvd. Woodside, New York. Irish and American music.

Donation: 3 dollars.

Information: Sec. Frank Hanratty, 424-8854, or Harry Quigley, YE2-6171.

Committee: M. Nevin, J. J. Hoey, P. McKeown, W. Boland, O. Farrell, V. Hanratty.

A full night of Irish Songs and Dances is arranged. Set-Ups for tables of ten available. All Irish Republicans in New York are asked to attend.

## Kiltimagh Collection

The collectors who took up the Sinn Féin National Collection in Kiltimagh wish to thank every one who subscribed so generously and helped to make the collection a success. It is not the first time that the people of Kiltimagh opened their hearts and purses to Republicans and it is for this reason the local Cumann thanks them sincerely.

## COMHBHRON

Is cúis bhróin dúinn bás Liam Breatnagh, a cailleadh i dtuaisme pléascáin i mBaile Atha Cliath le déanaí. Thug sé cabhair do mhuintir Dhoire nuair a bhí na trioblóidí ar siúl i mí Lúnasa 1969.

# Presidential Address — from page 2

We also gave at that time a definition of our own Socialism which involved the nationalisation of the monetary system, commercial banks and insurance companies, key industries, mines, building land and fishing rights; the division of large ranches; an upper limit on the amount of land to be owned by any one individual; the setting up of worker-owner co-operatives on a wide scale in industry, agriculture, fishing and distribution, but still leaving ample room for private initiative under state supervision. The extension and development of Credit Unions was also included.

The native Irish tradition of Comhair na gComharsan which is founded on the right of worker-ownership is our keystone. We seek a free Ireland in which every citizen will also be free. In a word, we are democrats and we reject dictatorship.

We challenge those who set up a "National Liberation Front" last January to come out straight and tell the Irish people that their principal partners in that alliance or merger is the Communist Party of Ireland. Let them define their Marxist Socialist Republic and cease mouthing slogans and catch-cries. We know what they are against; let them spell out clearly what they are for.

Sinn Féin is a movement struggling on many fronts, political, social, economic and cultural. The continued erosion of the Gaeltacht is part of this greater problem and therefore Gaeltogair must take an active role in the overall struggle. Similarly, we must continue to involve ourselves in the Land Leagues, Tenants' Associations, National Waters Restoration League, Housing Action Committees, Co-operatives, Credit Unions, community projects and such like. All are working in their own particular way towards an Ireland for the Irish and all take power and influence from the establishment and vest it in ordinary people.

In the Six Counties the Civil Rights demands must be

pressed home, even though the sky fall—or the Tory-Unionists fall—in the process. The completion of that programme, now in danger of being cleverly manipulated, is essential—and we will play our full part. The central housing authority, local government reform, removal of political test oaths, abolition of the Special Powers Act—all have yet to be achieved. The oppression of the new Criminal Justice Act must be exposed and halted. And people must organise and strengthen their own defence.

In the 26 Counties the shadow of the E.E.C. looms nearer in the person of European Commissioner Mansholt. We oppose this visit and call on our members to make good that opposition. Dr. Mansholt comes as a second Cromwell to drive our people to hell or to Europe. He comes to prepare the ground for his extermination policies. Our "Mansholt Keep Out" campaign has got under way and will be pressed home.

After fifty years then, the wheel is coming full circle. The Settlement of 1921 is breaking up and the realisation is growing that the Government of Ireland Act which set up both Stormont and Leinster House must be dismantled. While Stormont totters, the E.E.C. threatens our very existence. For us the issue is knit.

But what will replace these partition parliaments? If we are to influence the course of events, exclude the suggested "Federal solution," and bring Catholic and Protestant and Dissenter together in unity and freedom we must extend our organisation and give leadership to our people. Protestations of loyalty to the Republic will not suffice here. Hard work, for which there is no substitute, is what is required now. Our Republican prisoners serving terms in England and Belfast, our harassed and beleaguered people struggling for their rights whether North or South, our exiles who have sent their representatives here, all of them, our people, look to us in the true Republican Movement. Let us not fail them.

# AN CUMANN CABHRACH

(Republican Aid Committee)

This Committee looks after the dependants of Republican prisoners.

With the increasing number of arrests both in Ireland and England our resources are strained to the utmost and while we endeavour to alleviate some of the hardship and anxiety of those in prison by assuring them that their dependants will be cared for, we cannot continue to do so without your full co-operation.

## SALE OF WORK

Annual Aonach will take place in the Mansion House, Dublin, on December 11 and 12. Persons willing to assist in any way either before or during the sale are asked to contact the Committee, c/o An Phoblacht.



# Erris Gaeltacht Fights for Survival

From Page 1

I wrote about Erris as the "forgotten Gaeltacht", a certain Irish language paper sent reporters to see if such a place actually existed. One of these, a Cork man remarked "The question is not why don't they speak Irish but why do they speak Irish."

If you take the North Coast road through Killala and Ballycastle on to Belmullet the views of cliff and strand and sea defy description. If before you reach Belmullet you turn right at the Experimental Station of Glenamoy the road will bring you to the villages of Carratigue, Killagilligan, Ceathúr na gCloch, Ros Dúmhach and many more in which very little English is spoken. Along the coast is concentrated the greater part of the Mayo fishing fleet, mostly small 26-30 footers for lobster and salmon fishing. This and working their small farms or going to England for seasonal work provides the sole source of income for the men.

## FROM 110 TO 60

There is also in Carratigue a knitwear factory run by Gaeltarra Eireann providing an average wage of £5 to £7 per week for some 25 girls, all skilled machinists with a tradition in this work handed down from their mothers. Across the inlet called Sruth Fada Coinn, where the children of Lir are said to have spent their last 300 years as swans, is the village of Pullathomais where another Gaeltarra Eireann knitting factory is situated. This employs 23 girls. Carratigue and Pullathomais are respectively 20 and 11 miles by road from Belmullet.

Crossing the canal which joins Blackrock Bay to Broadhaven one finds oneself in the Mulllet peninsula the home of Riocard Bairéad who wrote "Preab san Oil" and "Eoghan Cúir". An eight mile journey from Belmullet with Blackrock Bay on your right, in some places with only about 100 yards of land between them — will bring one to Elly Bay and the Fíor-Gaeltacht of Eachléim and Fál Mór.

On Elly Bay is situated the soft toy factory of Gaeltarra Eireann at present employing some 29 Irish speakers, all skilled workers in the soft toy industry, with a tradition handed down for 30 years, as with the knitting industry in the other centres. Twenty years ago this industry employed 110 workers from the Fíor-Gaeltacht area, including about 12 cutters. When Crollly in Donegal was established as a toy manufacturing plant it was Erris men from the parent factory at Elly Bay who instructed them in the art. The result was that the employment in the Erris factory was cut down to sixty.

## KNITWEAR CENTRE

Ten years ago for some strange reason the cutting machines were transferred to Crollly in Donegal and the 12 cutters in Erris laid off. About six years ago, the packing of the toys was transferred to Spiddal throwing three people out of work in Erris. Material for the soft toys was now brought to Donegal for cutting out, transferred to Erris, Mayo for filling and sewing and brought to Spiddal in Galway for packing and despatching—a most brilliant piece of organisation! Meanwhile the Elly Bay factory, which apart from being the parent factory is also the largest, was being phased out. Some weeks ago 12 workers, 9 girls and 3 men were laid off. One man on the redundancy list had 22 years service but fortunately the factory manager had not the gall to carry out in full the liquidation orders of his superiors and he was retained. The girls are not in receipt of redundancy pay but were promised by the company that they

would be re-installed in the knitting factory. So far many have received no notice of re-employment and some have gone to England.

The other Gaeltarra knitwear factories are in Geesala where 20 girls and one supervisor are employed, and Muings which employs 20 girls. These girls as in Carratigue earn an average of £5 to £7 per week. If a machine breaks down or there is a power cut, they are laid off and receive no wages until the machine is repaired, or the power restored. All wages are piece rate and similar skilled operatives working in England would earn £18 to £20.

Geesala serves the Fíor-Gaeltacht of Doolach—birthplace of Seán Ó Rúain, author of Pádraic Mháire Bháin — Doohama and surrounding districts. There is no other industry in these areas with the exception of a small clothing factory recently established by a courageous Erris woman Mrs. Mangan in her own village of Dooyark.

It is proposed by Gaeltarra Eireann to transfer the soft toy industry from Elly Bay to Crollly and close down the knitwear factories in Geesala, Muings and Pollathomais. The empty factory in Elly Bay will then be set up, they say, as a knitwear centre and the girls displaced from employment in the other centres brought there in mini-buses. Also the workers thrown out of employment by the closure of the toy factory would be re-employed as knitters.

The knitwear factory in Carratigue would not be touched as yet, for the reason, we suspect that Gael-Linn was in there with a college and a Gaeltacht Summer School, and this operation was meant to be carried out with the stealth and swiftness of a fox stealing chickens.

## PROTEST COMMITTEE

The girls in Elly Bay were presented with a form to sign—giving them the option of knitwear or nothing—strangely reminiscent of a choice given over 300 years ago to these girls' ancestors—but this time the choice was given by Messrs. Cathal Mac Gabhann, General Manager of Gaeltarra Eireann, and D. Mac Seáin, Knitwear Divisional Manager.

The machinations of Gaeltarra in Erris have always been kept under a veil of secrecy, in fact the girls were almost as one might say kept in a state of Purdah—while the pukka sahibs from Galway and Marino, not to talk of Amsterdam or thereabouts treated these native speakers like—well natives. It was very hard for the local priest or teacher, shopkeeper or doctor to find what was really going on.

But with the announcement of the mini-Mansholt plan of Gaeltarra on September 28 last, the people of Erris really woke up to the fact that some of their local Gaeltacht communities were about to be broken up and virtually liquidated by some efficiency commissar in Galway or Dublin.

An Erris protest committee was formed to support the girls in various centres in standing up for their rights. This committee was representative of all associations in Erris, with the full backing of the clergy and the Catholic Bishop. Mr. Tom Bohan of Belmullet was elected secretary and among the committee members was that redoubtable champion of the Erris Gaeltacht Anraí Ó Corrdúibh. It was quickly found that none of the girls was a member of the Union. This was speedily rectified by Tom Bohan and colleagues, so that the girls were soon organised and able to state their case.

The girls in Elly Bay were able to make £10 to £12 per week on piece work while the girls in the knitting centres could make only £5 to £7 per week on average. If the girls in Elly Bay were put on knitting—a craft in which they had no experience—they would not even make this. All they could hope for was the boat. As for the girls from other centres some of them would have to travel up to 28 miles, which would mean starting out on a winter's morning at 7.15 and not reaching home that night until 7.30 p.m. It is doubtful whether these girls would last long at this caper, and after a few bleak mornings waiting for the mini-bus in a howling Atlantic gale the majority would find themselves one morning on the bus to Dublin town en route for points further east.

This is exactly what the people fear, as for a long time past, it was mostly the girls in the knitwear and toy factories who settled down at home as the rest had flown as soon as they had finished school.

## HIGH HANDED ACTION

With the vanishing of these factories it is feared that the whole community life in Erris will break down. It is also suspected that Gaeltarra Eireann's real intention is to reduce the employment on knitwear to about 40 or even to close down altogether. And there is plenty of justification for this suspicion, not only in the history of the Elly Bay factory but also in the fate of the Belmullet knitting centre which was phased out by the simple expedient of not filling vacancies caused by girls leaving to get married. In Bangor also a flourishing knitwear factory was changed over to toy making. Skilled machine knitters found they were simply unable to make a week's wages on their new tasks in which they had no skill and the factory collapsed.

The contention of Messrs. Mac Gabhann, Mac Seáin and de Háil that these moves are for the good of Erris and the Gaeltacht as a whole, does not bear scrutiny. According to the financial report of Gaeltarra Eireann for the year 1968-9 issued over the signature of Mr. Ivor Kenny, part-time chairman of the Governing Board and also member of the Irish Management Institute, sales for toys amounted to £174,434, an increase of £53,877 on the previous year. Of this, according to figures quoted by Dr. Kelly, Chairman of the Belmullet Development Association £110,000 was produced by the Elly Bay factory.

The raw materials for these toys cost £55,000, wages were £20,000 and travelling expenses, electricity and rates came to £2,300. Net profit was estimated at £20,000. The Crollly factory during the same period produced only £30,000 worth of toys. It

is well to point out here that Gaeltarra Eireann was set up by an Act of the 26-County Oireachtas to provide employment in the Gaeltacht, not to make a profit, so that even if the Elly Bay factory were making a loss they would not be justified in closing it down. For this they received a government grant, i ndáil le caiteachas reatha 1970-71, £100,000 agus i ndáil le caiteachas capítail £500,000.

It is clear therefore that they have no possible justification either social or economic for the proposed centralisation especially when the workers of Crollly are also dissatisfied with the changes. The governing board and management have also by their actions discredited themselves in the eyes of the people of the Gaeltacht.

The high handed action of a trainee manager who locked in four girls engaged in a sit-in strike in the Pollathomais factory; the gate crashing by Gaeltarra Eireann officials of a workers' protest meeting in Eachléim Hall, and their refusal to attend a meeting of the workers and public in Belmullet to which they were invited; the broken promises of Gaeltarra Eireann and the Minister for the Gaeltacht that there would be no redundancy; all these have filled the people of Erris with distrust. They can no longer rely on vague promises of industries from a group which stated that the workers' union the I.T.G.W.U. had agreed to the transfer to Crollly, which it had not and which it emphatically and publicly denied.

## QUESTION OF E.E.C.

It is hard to imagine that a semi-public body, even such a strangely constituted body as Gaeltarra Eireann, with two foreigners, one a Dutchman on its governing board could indulge in such high handed actions without the consent or encouragement of Roinn na Gaeltachta.

Which prompts one to ask—is the abandonment of the Gaeltacht part of the price which the 26 Government must pay to enter the E.E.C.? In any event the Erris people are determined to keep their factories and machinery where they are. And they are not alone in their fight; Cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta in Connemara, the Gaelic League, the Erris G.A.A., the workers in Crollly have all promised their support.

But the Gaeltarra Gauleiters have one trump up their sleeve. They can stop supplies of raw-materials. So the fight could well be long and hard. It is the duty of all republicans who believe in the free Gaelic Ireland to rally to their support and aid them by organising protest meetings, funds and even if necessary a supply route whereby these people can be kept in employment.

SEAMAS O MONGAIN.

## British Customs, Helicopter hit

The British Customs Post at Mullan, Co. Fermanagh was destroyed by explosives in broad daylight on October 9. Armed men ordered the staff out, set the explosives and then withdrew.

Shortly afterwards, a British Army helicopter was attacked from the ground with automatic fire, in what was obviously an attempt to bring it down. It was damaged, but otherwise survived the attack.

British and 26-County forces joined in a search for the attackers along the Border in Counties Fermanagh and Cavan.

Some days later the homes of J. J. McGirl and John Mulvihill, Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim, which is nearly 20 miles from Mullan, were raided by uniformed and plain clothes gardai from Ballyconnell. Both houses were searched.

## Belfast Lecture

Belfast Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin held on Saturday October 17 a combined lecture and social evening in the Ard Scoil, Belfast.

Dáithí Ó Connail was to be the speaker, but due to an illness he was unable to attend and at short notice Eamonn Mac Thomáis took his place and gave a very interesting lecture.

Approximately 300 people attended. It is proposed that the social cum educational evenings be held once a month. Caimhinn Campbell of Mayo is due to speak at the November social.

## New Ard-Chomhairle

The Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis elected the following Ard-Chomhairle:

Uachtarán: Ruairí Ó Brádaigh.

Executive members: Seosamh Ó Cléirigh, Dublin; Eamonn Mac Thomáis, Dublin; Seán Mac Stiofáin, An Uaimh; Tony Ruane, Dublin; Seán Ó Brádaigh, Dublin; John J. McGirl, Leitrim; Ualtar Ó Loinsigh, Dublin; Laurence Grogan, Drogheda; Fídraig Ó Maoilchatha, Limerick; Charles McGlade, Belfast; Mrs. Máire Drumm, Belfast; Seán Keenan, Derry.

Additional members will be elected at Regional meetings throughout the country.

Part of the attendance at the Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin in Liberty Hall, Dublin. In the centre of the front row is Seosamh Ó Cléirigh, Veteran of the Battle of Mount Street Bridge, 1916.

