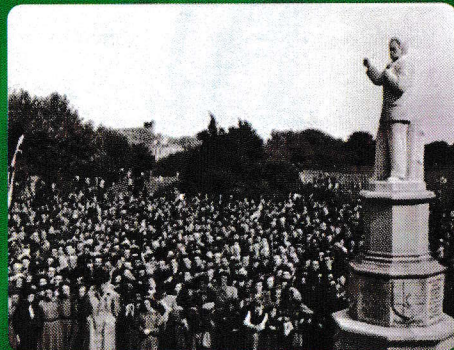


THE LAST REPUBLICANS

Because their fathers had been drilled
 Formed fours among the Dublin hills,
 They marched together, countermarched,
 Along the Liffey Valley, by Larchwood,
 Spruce, Pine road. Now, what a living shout,
 Can halt them? Nothing of their faces
 Is left, the breath has blown out
 Of them into far lonely places.
 Sean Glynn pined sadly in prison.
 Jack Mc Neela, Tony D'Arcy,
 Sean McCaughey died on hunger strike.
 Wasting in ribbed light of dawn.
 They'd been on the run but every dyke
 Was spy. We shame them all. George Plant,
 Quick fighter and a Protestant,
 Patrick McGrath and Richard Goss,
 Maurice O'Neill with Tom Harte
 Were executed when Dev's party
 Had won the county pitch and toss.
 Pat Dermody, John Kavanagh
 Jackie Griffith, Barney Casey, black and tanned.
 At Mountjoy Gaol, young Charlie Kerins
 Was roped: we paid five pounds to Pierrepont.
 The Special Branch castled their plans.
 Quicklimed the last Republicans.

Austin Clarke



The old Sean Russell Stat
 Fairview Park,
 1951

The associations webs... a.ie
 Email address is matt@nga.ie
 To make a donation email donations@nga.ie
 The postal address is:
 National Graves Association,
 Box 7105, 74 Dame Street, Dublin 2.
 Contact number 087-228 2033.

60
 62.50

Cumann Uaigheann na Laochra Gael The National Graves Association.

Cuimhneacháin ar
 ócáid nochú
 leacht in onóir
 an t-Óglach Seán Rúiséal
 i bPáirc an Fionnradharc
 ar an Dómhach 28ú lá
 Meitheimh 2009.

Commemoration on the
 occasion of the unveiling of
 the memorial in honour of
 Volunteer Seán Russell
 in Fairview Park on
 Sunday 28th
 June 2009..



"The spirit of Irish Freedom has lived during the generations. It has been passed to us through Tone, Emmet, Mitchel, Clarke and Pearse. In our generation we are its trustees and it is our duty at least to enkindle it in the coming generations as Pearse would have it."

Sean Russell



Roll of Honour 1936-1946

Volunteer: Sean Glynn, Limerick. Died in Arbour Hill Prison, Dublin, 13th September 1936
 Volunteer: Peter McCarthy, Dublin. Shot by Police, Clanbrassil Street, Dublin, 15th June 1937
 Volunteer: James J Reynolds, Dromard, Co. Leitrim. Killed in accidental explosion, 28th November 1938
 Volunteer: John James Kelly, Claddy, Co Tyrone. Killed in accidental explosion, 28th Nov 1938
 Volunteer: Charles McCafferty, Co Tyrone. Killed accidental explosion, 28th November 1938
 Volunteer: Christy Bird, Dublin. Accidentally shot while training, 13th May 1939
 Volunteer: Peter Barnes, Banagher, Hanged in Winson Green Prison, England, 7th February 1940
 Volunteer: James McCormack, Mullingar, Hanged in Winson Green Prison, England, 7th February 1940
 Volunteer: Tony Darcy, Galway. Died on hunger-strike in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, 16th April 1940.
 Volunteer: Sean McNeela, Co. Mayo. Died on hunger-strike in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, 19th April 1940.
 Volunteer: Sean Martin, Belfast. Killed in accidental explosion, 25th April 1940.
 Volunteer: John Joe Kavanagh, Cork. Shot by Special Branch near Cork Jail, 3rd August 1940.
 Volunteer: Sean Russell, Dublin. Died at sea while on active service, 14th August 1940.
 Volunteer: Paddy McGrath, Dublin. Executed in Mountjoy, 6th September 1940.
 Volunteer: Thomas Harte, Co. Armagh. Executed, 6th September 1940.
 Volunteer: Jack Gaffney, Belfast. Died while interned on "Al Rawdah Prison Ship, 18th November 1940.
 Volunteer: Barney Casey, Longford. Shot by Military Police in the Curragh camp, 16th December 1940.
 Volunteer: Richard Goss, Co. Louth. Executed in Portlaoise Prison, 9th August 1941.
 Volunteer: Robert Clancy, Waterford. Died in Curragh Military Hospital, 12th June 1941.
 Volunteer: Sean Dolan, Derry. Died of T.B. contracted on Prison Ship "Al Rawdah", 1941.
 Volunteer: Joseph Malone, Belfast. Died after long illness in Parkhurst Prison, 21st January 1942.
 Volunteer: George Plant, Tipperary. Executed in Portlaoise Prison, 5th March 1942.
 Volunteer: Terence Perry, Belfast. Died after long illness in Parkhurst Prison, 7th July 1942.
 Volunteer: Gerard O'Callaghan, Belfast. Killed in action, 31st August, 1932.
 Volunteer: Thomas Williams, Belfast. Hanged in Crumlin Road Jail, 2nd September 1942.
 Volunteer: Patrick Dermody, Cavan. Killed on active service, 30th September 1942.
 Volunteer: Maurice O'Neill, Kerry. Executed in Mountjoy Jail, 12th November 1942.
 Volunteer: John Hinchy, Co. Louth. Died in Mountjoy Jail, 28th December 1942.
 Volunteer: Jackie Griffith, Dublin. Shot by Special Branch, 4th July 1943.
 Volunteer: Joseph McGinley, Derry. Died of ill-treatment on Prison Ship, 13th August 1943.
 Volunteer: Seamus "Rocky" Burns, Belfast. Died of wounds received in action 12th February 1944.
 Volunteer: Charles O'Hare, Co. Armagh. Died in Isle of Man internment camp 2nd June 1944.
 Volunteer: Charlie Kerins, Kerry. Hanged by English hangman in Mountjoy Jail, 1st December 1944.
 Volunteer: Sean Doyle, Belfast. Accidentally shot while training, 10th April 1944.
 Volunteer: Sean McCaughey, Co. Tyrone. Died of hunger and thirst-strike in Portlaoise Prison, 11th May 1946.

Charlie Kerin's last letter to his friend Liam Burke. It was written on a page of a calendar. The month was December. Charlie would never see the month.

"What, said Cathal Brugha, if our last man's on the ground.
 When he hears the ringing challenge if his enemies ring him round.
 If he'd reached his final cartridge-if he fired his final shot.
 Will you come into the empire? He would answer, I will not"

The **National Graves Association** was formed in 1926. The association has never deviated from its guiding principle "Only a 32 County Irish Republic represents the true aspiration of those who gave their lives for Irish Freedom".

Throughout the years the N.G.A. has had to launch many appeals for funds to enable us to repair, replace and erect new memorials to our patriot dead. We in the National Graves Association are proud to unveil a new Bronze Statue of Sean Russell. Over the years an orchestrated campaign by certain sections of the media has misinformed people of the role of Sean Russell. Newspaper headlines "IRA Nazi's head gets the chop" "Anti-Nazi group desecrate Statue" are insulting to the intelligence of the Irish Nation. The members of the unnamed "anti-fascist group" who claimed responsibility for damaging the monument back in 2004 were ignorant, naïve and misled. Sean Russell is remembered in the 1930's for his highly effective role in opposing the spread of Fascism in Ireland. The Sean Russell monument was erected in 1951 with many prominent people present for the unveiling. A huge crowd attended the unveiling comprising of various arms of the Republican Movement and the broad Irish left. This included units of the IRA, along with Sinn Féin, Cumann na MBán, Na Fianna and Clan na nGael. From the left came the Transport Workers Union band, along with members of Clan na Poblachta, The Labour Party and the Trade Union Movement. Public bodies represented included Dublin Corporation and the G.A.A. Many well known individuals also attended. These included the writer Brendan Behan, and TD's of Clan na Poblachta and the Labour Party.

The original Clenched-fist statue was damaged by anti-Semitic/Clerical group who denounced Sean Russell as a communist. The statue never had a Nazi-Style salute as was stated by some journalists. Eoin Ryan former MEP showed a complete lack of understanding of the history of the 1930s 1940s period when in June 2004 he called for the removal of the Sean Russell monument. Any incitement against tolerance leads to the path of fascism. In Ireland the rise of the Blueshirts during the thirties was met head-on by the Republican movement. This year saw the passing of Bob Doyle who fought on the Republican side along with Frank Ryan and hundreds more against Franco's Fascism. Bob Doyle joined the Irish Republican Movement after been beaten up in Street fights with the Blue Shirts. The injuries he received left him with permanent damage to one eye. It is interesting to note what the German Intelligence thought of Sean Russell and what British File's revealed and to what his views were on the Nazi-philosophy.

"The Irish man was a hyper-sensitive Celt who however willing he might be to use the Germans for his own political ends, regarded the Nazi philosophy as anathema". Lohausen said the "Russell was the only one of the I.R.A. with whom I dealt who was a real Irish Republican of the old school". *Erwin Lahousen, Head of second bureau of German Intelligence.*

"Russell throughout his stay Germany had shown considerable reticence towards the Germans and plainly did not regard himself as a German agent." *National Archives of England and Wales File KV 2/1292. The British secret service was most interested in Ryan's and Russell's activities and interviewed German officials after World War II.*

"I am not a Nazi. I'm not even pro-German. I am an Irishman fighting for the independence of Ireland. The British have been our enemies for hundreds of years. They are the enemies of Germany today. If it suits Germany to give us help to achieve independence I am willing to accept it, but no more, and there must be no strings to the help" *Sean Russell*

The following quotes demonstrate the attitude held by some in Ireland:

"There is one thing that Germany did and that was to rout the Jews out of their country. Until we rout the Jews out of this country, it does not matter a hair's breadth what orders you make. Where the bees are there is honey, and where the Jews are there is money." *Oliver J. Flanagan Dail Eireann maiden Speech 1943 Fine Gael TD 1954-1987, Minister of Defence 1976-1977, 'Father of the Dail' 1981-1987.*

'The Blackshirts have been victorious in Italy and Hitler's Brownshirts have been victorious in Germany, as assuredly the Blueshirts will be victorious in Ireland.'

John A. Costello; Declared in Dail Eireann 1934. Leader of Fine Gael/Taoiseach 1948-1951 & 1954-1957

Sean Russell like his comrade James Connolly served neither King nor Kaiser But Ireland.

On behalf of the committee we would like to thank a number of people, Willie Malone of Kilmainham Foundry for this outstanding work of art and for his work with the association over the years. Willie a renowned sculptor was commissioned by the O.P.W. to cast the second Death of Cuchulainn Statue in 2002. Robbie McGowan of Glasnevin Monumental Works, for his expertise and fine work in preparing the stone base on the monument. The many people who fund raised for this project, in particular Paddy Lennon and the late Vincent Scanlan for their efforts in the Wicklow Way walk, Paddy Ryan, associate members, representatives at home and abroad and all who donated to this project.

believed that their options were narrowing towards a major escalation in two jurisdictions.

In April 1938 the General Army Convention assembled in Dublin advanced Russell to the position of Chief of Staff. Outstanding disciplinary issues dictated that he had to be appointed in absentia, a remarkable achievement given the problems of the previous two years. Opponents claimed the meeting was 'packed' with Russell's supporters but the essential fact remained that he had a substantial following who knew he would deliver the campaign for which the Irish-Americans had clamoured and now pledged to assist. An inspection tour of the units in England in mid-1938 confirmed that much work was required to underwrite an offensive across the Irish Sea. Against this negative trend, Russell secured the expert assistance of Jim 'Seamus' O'Donovan, ex-Director of Chemicals and Munitions. The Roscommon man provided a degree of technical and strategic rigour to what became known as the 'S-Plan'.

The 'S-Plan Campaign' commenced on 16 January 1939 after a dramatic ultimatum to the British Government failed to elicit acceptance of IRA demands. If deemed somewhat Quixotic in retrospect, the fact remained that the overture to London had come from an Army Council in possession of the mandate of the Second Dail. Russell had secured the transfer of the Dail authority in December 1938 in a timely development that imbued the armed strategy with great moral force in republican circles. This may well have been a critical factor in stabilizing an IRA that had been struggling to maintain its organizational integrity.

The offensive closely resembled Rory O'Connor's sabotage of British economic targets during the War of Independence. Russell had extolled this precedent to McGarrity in Lucan. Power, finance, postal and telecommunication services were targeted with incendiaries and bombs. In this respect Russell, an alleged extremist, was more reserved than either Michael Collins or Cathal Brugha who approved assassination operations in Britain in the 1920s. However, the IRA of 1939 lacked the manpower to run the campaign from within England and the transfer of logistic assistance and reinforcements exposed weaknesses. Safe houses, trained activists and high grade explosives were in short supply. Co-ordination was exceptionally difficult and the British authorities both vigilant and well resourced. This militated against striking the prestige targets that would have garnered the level of international publicity necessary to pressurize the British Establishment on its unresolved Irish Question.

On 3 February 1939 Russell was one of several GHQ members who met German agent Oskar Pfau in Clontarf, Dublin. If politically risky and arguably naive, the prospect of securing modern weapons and munitions from Germany was too appealing to the ex-QMG to discount. O'Donovan traveled to Germany to explore

this overture and established links with Kurt Haller of the Abwehr II and other figures. Yet the most urgent requirement for the IRA in early 1939 was cash to sustain the bombing campaign in England. This suggested an Easter mission by Russell to Clan na Gael in America and this was evidently decided at very short notice given that even McGarrity was unaware of this trip. One of the most far-reaching consequences of Russell's final American sojourn was the disastrous tenure of Stephen Hayes as acting Chief of Staff.

Hayes had accompanied Russell to England on the 1938 inspection tour and sources available to him in Wexford supplied much of the explosives and shipping utilized in the subsequent campaign. It is inconceivable that Russell would have taken a chance on promoting a man with a drink problem had not the very capable Moss Toumey insisted on resigning the position of Adjutant General. Hayes became AG and this succession ensured that he was the logical choice to assume the mantle of the CS when Russell suddenly departed for America. By June 1941 Hayes was accused of gross incompetence and suspected by some of outright collusion with the Free State authorities. His dismissal from the IRA in July of that year marked a low ebb of the organization's fortunes and, in hindsight, was one of the most notable reverberations of Russell's absence.

From an operational point of view the S Plan was partially successful. Substantial disruption and damage was inflicted on the British state. There were, however, serious reverses, not least the unintended infliction of civilian casualties in Coventry in August 1939. However, the campaign ran itself into the ground long before any tangible republican objectives could be secured. A major problem was posed by the deterioration of European politics from a series of crises to international war in September 1939. Britain's declaration of war on Germany virtually obliged the de Valera government to take exceptionally harsh measures against the IRA in order to maintain the benevolent neutrality of the Free State. Internment, conflict with the Special Branch and capital sentences ensued. War also jeopardized Clan na Gael as it was politically untenable to openly support an illegal grouping at war with Britain at a time when American foreign policy was geared to keep Washington out of the conflict. From December 1941 American engagement in the war obliged Clan na Gael to go dormant.

Russell left for America on 8 April 1939 and was closely observed by the FBI as he toured Clan na Gael strongholds. He was not otherwise inconvenienced until June 1939 when he was arrested in Detroit, Michigan. This was apparently an effort to pre-empt political embarrassment threatened by the concurrent visit of the British King and Queen to Windsor on the other side of the Canadian border. Philadelphia's James McGranery complained about the treatment of Russell in Congress and helped secure his release on a \$5,000 bail bond which confined him to the US. Clan na Gael members and supporters staged a rally for Russell in New York on 15 June. If the bail terms were a hindrance, the prospect of travel to Ireland was rendered problematic by the eruption of war in Europe in September 1939.

Several allies came to Russell's aid in New York, not least McGarrity, who sounded out the viability of securing German assistance for repatriating a man in whom so much had been invested. Amongst those who provided practical help in sending Russell back were Mick Quill and Gerard O'Reilly, two of the most effective left wing Irish republicans in New York. It was arranged in April 1940 for Russell to leave America for Genoa, Italy, on the liner SS Washington. He masqueraded as a fireman and was met on arrival by Professor Franz Fromme who brought him to Berlin on 3 May 1940. Little is known of Russell's activities in Germany but it seems he was deliberately kept apart from the small Irish community in the capital. He studied advanced sabotage techniques in the city suburbs and was assessed on his political outlook. One of the most important contacts in Berlin was Dr. Edmund Veessenmayer, Special Commissioner of the Foreign Office for Ireland.

The thrust of the German intelligence strategy in the early 1940s was to encourage the IRA to increase armed activity in the Six Counties and to reduce its profile in the Twenty Six. The Germans did not want to push de Valera any closer to the Allies and, as matters transpired, did not move beyond intriguing to significant intervention in Ireland. If Russell actually favoured a German feint in Ireland, it is highly doubtful that IRA GHQ and significant former leaders would have endorsed such a strategy. When meeting Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop Russell stressed the necessity of the IRA acting on its own terms vis a vis any putative military arrangements. Assistance with weaponry and finance was quite different and the IRA was certainly prepared to unilaterally intensify its operations in the Six Counties in the 1940s.

In his dealings with the Germans Russell sought their help to secure the release of Frank Ryan from Burgos Prison, Spain. Ryan was then the most prominent ex-IRA man still in captivity following his leading role in the International Brigades of the Spanish Civil War. Others, including ex-Blueshirt leader General Eoin O'Duffy and Irish diplomats, had privately attempted to assist Ryan but the timing of his discharge from Burgos indicates Russell's agency. Ryan was emancipated on 14 July 1940, a mere four days after Russell's request. He arrived in Berlin from Paris on 4 August and was quickly reunited with Russell. Their friendship had survived prior adherence to different IRA factions and the Limerickman's considerably more pronounced leftist politics. Russell confided that he was making final preparations to return to Ireland by U-Boat.

Admiral Wilhelm Canaris of the Abwehr had made no specific demands of Russell, although it was envisaged that the IRA might be encouraged to launch attacks in England. Such operations were already taking place, although the S-Plan was in the process of being wound down in favour of more intense actions in the North of Ireland. Ryan accepted an offer of transport to Ireland and departed on 8 August. Russell was unwell from the outset and Ryan had the distressing experience of

witnessing the death of his friend on 14 August 1940 when the submarine was 100 miles west of Galway. Russell had complained of severe stomach pains and was later assumed to have died of a perforated duodenal ulcer. He was buried at sea. Ryan died in Dresden on 10 June 1944.

The National Graves Association honoured Sean Russell with a substantial memorial in Fairview Park on 9 September 1951. Cathal Goulding and Tony Magan were among the leading republicans who helped organize the crowd under Chief Marshal Gerry McCarthy. Veteran figures such as Tomas MacCurtain, Con Lehane and J.J. Sheehy were present alongside emerging figures such as Ruairi O'Bradaigh, Charlie Murphy and Andy Nathan. A firing party performed a salute in a crowd estimated by the Special Branch to have exceeded 1,000 persons. The monument also paid tribute to the IRA men who lost their lives in the 'Forties' campaign. At times damaged by persons who believed Russell was a Communist and then by others who viewed him as a Fascist the memorial was restored by the NGA in June 2009.

For further details see J. Bowyer Bell, The Secret Army, The IRA, 3rd edition (Dublin, 1997); Sean Cronin, Irish Nationalism, A history of its roots and ideology (New York, 1980); Sean Cronin, The McGarrity papers, Revelations of the Irish revolutionary movement in Ireland and America, 1900-1940 (Kerry, 1972); Sean Cronin, Frank Ryan, The search for the Republic (Dublin, 1980); Brian Hanley, The IRA, 1926-1936 (Dublin, 2002); John Maguire, IRA internments and the Irish Government, subversives and the state, 1939-1962 (Dublin, 2008); Tom Mahon and James Gillogly, Decoding the IRA (Cork, 2008); Uinseann MacEoin, The IRA in the Twilight Years, 1923-1948 (Dublin, 1997); Saoirse, September and October 1991.



Paddy Ryan and Sean Dougan at the new Sean Russell Monument, Fairview Park, 2009.

Sean Russell 1893 – 1940

When I first looked at the work to be done to restore the Sean Russell Monument, with Paddy Ryan and Matt Doyle, the idea of a torch of freedom was proposed. However, as there was already a figurative sculpture there, 2/3 lifesize, the decision to go for a lifesize sculpture was agreed.



First I modelled the work in clay. Then, from a rubber fibre glass mould, a wax positive was made in 2007. After final modelling of the wax sculpture, it's a shell at this stage, the work is cut up into various pieces weighing 8lb – 10lb. In bronze each segment will be 10 times heavier so a 10lb wax becomes a 100lb pour of phosphor bronze, which is as heavy as a man can deal with comfortably.

Mould making is what bronze casting is all about. Each segment of wax is fixed with a pouring cup, air vents, various sprues and blind risers, using sticky wax. Hooray for sticky wax! These segments are dipped in ceramic slurry coated with dry silica sand and then, when completely dry, the process is repeated until the ceramic shell mould is up to a thickness of about 12mm, say approximately 5 or 6 dips. The shells are burned out in a kiln and poured with molten bronze. The castings are cleaned, unwanted materials are removed and the whole thing welded together revealing the sculpture.

I tried to capture the Sean Russell we imagine. A man on the run accustomed to good times and bad times. Trained at Frongoch he continued the fight for freedom. Fought in 1916, War of Independence and the Civil War. A 30's man really, one of our own, a Fairview man and, now, back on his familiar plinth, fully restored, where he belongs.

With the work complete and all promises kept, I can sign off on this project.

Willie Malone. Sculptor. Kilmainham Art Foundry Ltd. Summer 2009.

The Dead March Past

Behind the files of Easter Week
And rank, battalioned tread of twenty-one
Close behind the lime-stained dead of twenty-two
Sean Russell at their head they come.

The two that swung in Birmingham, with ordered step
from off the gallows floor,
Now march beside McGrath and Harte, and the boys blown up at
Castlefin,
Its fiery roar lights the wasted flesh of D'Arcy and McNeela,
Kelly, Reynolds, McCafferty made whole again to join in strict array
this dead march past on Easter Day.

Come now the lonely ones, all solitary they pass,
Maurice O'Neill, Dick Goss, George Plant, young Williams, Casey,
Glynn, O'Callaghan,
On Jackey Griffith's right, comes Paddy Dermody,
So quick avenged by one as dear to us - tho' not as yet departed
to the Columns of the Night.
'Rocky' Burns rises up from Chapel Lane, Charlie Kerins lives, and
laughs again.
Perry and Malone from Parkhurst come to march beside McCaughey
and greet the Easter dawn.

Behind the files of Easter Week,
And all the gallant dead of yesteryear they come,
Their step a hope, a dread salute
To you who march their way,
And pledge your word this Easter Day.

Brendan Behan (1923-1964)