

Eireannac Aontuiste

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FALSE FOUNDATIONS

Because of the attempts made by Free State politicians over the past twenty-seven years to confuse the minds of the people as to the nature of the "freedom" they were said to enjoy in the part of Ireland under the jurisdiction of the Merrion Street Government; and to assist the generation born since 1916 in making a clear judgment of the actual constitutional condition of Ireland to-day, we consider it necessary to re-state some historical facts which we are quite certain cannot be controverted and which lead to quite different conclusions to those the politicians of the 26-Counties would wish Irishmen to draw from their

propaganda efforts to distort and deny history.

Our survey deals with the questions of Sovereignty and Partition and we hope to show that Partition in the eyes of the British was necessary if the Irish people were to be denied sovereignty in their own land; and also to show that Partition was put into force by the coming into operation of the Twenty-Six County State, was accepted, ratified and maintained by those who accepted that State, and is at present being bolstered up by the Southern Parliament by virtue of agreements made at its inception with the junta in the Six Counties, known as the Northern Parliament.

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THE CHOICE FOR ULSTER

While the ruins of Dublin's City centre still smouldered after the fires of Easter Week, 1916; when the bodies of the executed leaders were but a few weeks beneath the clay of Arbour Hill Prison, the following note was included in a letter from Mr. Lloyd George—the Minister of Munitions in the British War Cabinet—to Sir Edward Carson, principal spokesman of the Unionists:

"I ENCLOSE GREEN'S DRAFT PROPOSITION. WE MUST MAKE IT CLEAR THAT AT THE END OF THE PROVISIONAL PERIOD, ULSTER DOES NOT, WHETHER SHE LIKES IT OR NOT, MERGE IN THE REST OF IRELAND. SHOW THIS TO CRAIG."

(Lloyd George to Sir Edward Carson, May 29, 1916.)

So wrote the future Prime Minister of Great Britain in 1916, four years before the actual Act to Partition

Ireland was passed in the British House of Commons.

On hearing rumours to the effect that Ulster or part of it was to be excluded from the provisions of the Home Rule Act the Bishop of Derry, Most Rev. Dr. McHugh, published a note of protest in which he said:

"... In all the trying vicissitudes through which our country has passed, she has remained undivided. her liberty and independence were bartered and betrayed in the sordid transactions of the Union, but still she was sold, not piecemeal, but as one. Neither betrayal nor persecution nor the penal code was able to divide the soil of the sons of Erin.

"Are the Irishmen of to-day going to prove themselves degenerate sons of their great and noble forefathers? Are we going to surrender even without a national protest the inheritance of a United Ireland handed down to us intact through ages of persecution and bloodshed? Is the spirit of Ire-

land dead, or has her manhood departed, that she can stand listlessly by and see all the endurance, all the organised effort of centuries brought to nought and her birthright bartered for less than a mess of pottage by those who had entrusted to them the sacred duty of guarding and defending her? ... Is Ireland not greater and more dear to us than any little conclave of individuals, however important and indispensable they may seem to themselves?

"With all her glorious past has Ireland fallen so low in the scale of intellect and political acumen, has she become so bankrupt in ability that she must trust her all to the intelligence and uncontrolled will of a few? Surely Ireland is not dead yet! ... Why should not her sons meet as they did in the days of yore when any great crisis threatened?

ONE AND UNDIVIDED

Why should they not make the nation ring with the echo of the cry 'We must have Ireland one and undivided, should the very heavens fall'?"

In the course of the same month, July, 1916, the British Prime Minister, Asquith, speaking on the proposed exclusion of Six Ulster Counties from the Home Rule Act, said in the House of Commons, July, 1916:

"The Home Rulers in the Cabinet agreed that the Six Ulster Counties should not be brought in except by their consent and with the express authority of a new Act of Parliament... The Government do not propose to introduce any bill in regard to which there is not, beforehand, substantial agreement between all the principal parties concerned."

So the cry of the Bishop of Derry might not have sounded for all it could effect, when the "difficulties of introducing" another Act into the British Parliament stood in the way of Irish unity.

Followed the release of the Irish Republican prisoners, the resurrection of the national organisations throughout Ireland, the elections of 1918 in which, of a total of 105 seats, Sinn Féin candidates won 73, Nationalists won 6 (four returned on agreement with Sinn Féin) and the Unionists won 26, twenty-three of which were in the North Eastern Counties.

Following the great victory of the 1918 Elections—the last elections in which the people of the thirty-two counties voted as one unit and which was the only valid indication of their true desires—the Irish Parliamentary Party, which had accepted Home Rule, including Partition, was eliminated from Irish National life. On January 21st, 1919, the Republican Parliament was inaugurated, the Proclamation of the Republic of 1916 was ratified, and the independence of Ireland declared by Ireland's elected representatives, meeting in the Mansion House, Dublin.

In the following year the British Government brought in another Act called the Government of Ireland Act (or the "Partition" Act) during the debate on which Mr. Lloyd George now Prime Minister said:

"If you asked the People of Ireland what plan they would accept, by an emphatic majority they would say 'We want independence and an Irish Republic.' There is absolutely no doubt about that. The elected representatives of Ireland now by a clear definite majority have declared in favour of Independence, of secession."

(Lloyd George, Prime Minister, March 31st, 1920.)

D. McArdle, I.R., page 353.

Was it to implement the verdict of the Irish people as recorded at the polls, or to give heed to the declaration of the representatives of that people that this Act was introduced and passed in the British Parliament? Hardly that. Here is what Dorothy McArdle says the Act in its final draft amounted to:

GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND ACT

"In the form in which it was presented, two Irish Parliaments were to be set up. These parliaments were enabled to send representatives to an all-Ireland Council, the Chairman of which would be nominated by the Lord Lieutenant.

"The number of representatives on this Council from the Twenty-Six Counties was to be twenty and the number from the Six North-Eastern Counties was to be the same. The two parliaments might by agreement transfer functions to this council. The Imperial Parliament in which Forty-Two Irish members were to sit was to remain supreme over this Council and over the two Irish Parliaments. To the Imperial Parliament were reserved all matters concerning the Crown, Navy and Army, Customs and Excise, navigation, travel outside Ireland, air force and merchant shipping. The oath was that in use in Dominion Parliaments. Members of each Irish Parliament were required to swear or affirm: 'That I — will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George, his heirs and successors according to law so help me God.'

"It was provided that it was days of the day fixed for the of either Parliament the majority either Parliament had not taken oath the Parliament in would be dissolved and the Ireland represented by it administered as a Crown namely, by the Lord Lieutenant a Committee of the Irish Privy Council appointed for the purpose King."

"Irish Republic," page

"The Imperial Parliament was over TWO Irish Parliaments" much for Lloyd George's consideration of the wishes of the Irish people.

This Act became law in 1920. In June, 1921, the King of England came to Belfast to officially open Houses of Parliament for Northern Ireland. This he did with a display of force and the assistance of the Unionist Representatives of the Constituencies of Six Counties of the North. Attempts were made to bring together the Parliament of Southern Ireland, as contemplated in the Act, with farcical results. The nature of the fiasco and the contempt in which the whole affair was held at the time is shown in the report of the proceedings as published in "Freeman's Journal" on June 1920:

"Of a possible 64 only 15 appeared. Senators and of a possible 128 only 44 popularly elected Commoners attended the great farce in 'the Throne Rooms' in Merrion St. yesterday. The whole ceremony lasted only twenty minutes and aroused no public interest. The 19 'Legislators' took the oath and then adjourned until July 13."

The Assembly duly met again on July 13th and the "Irish Independent" made this report on the event:

"The Southern Parliament, opened on June 28, re-assembled in Dublin yesterday for six minutes. Only 10 of the 64 Senators attended at the Department's Council Chamber where the Lord Chancellor presided. Of Trinity's four members only one, the Commons which also adjourned sine die. A communication subsequently made to the press by

ANGLO-IRISH "TREATY"

Acting Clerk stated that the Acting Chairman declared the House adjourned, without date named, until His Majesty shall be pleased to declare his gracious will and pleasure."

"Irish Independent," July 14, 1920.

"Adjourned until His Majesty shall be pleased to declare his gracious will and pleasure." In reading that line remember that His Majesty acts on the advice of H.M. Government.

The British were by no means outdone by these two reverses. They tried again. In 1921 they thought it best to seek a truce in the War they had been waging against the Army of the Irish Republic and the people of Ireland. The elections held in May, 1921, prior to the setting up of the "Parliament of Northern Ireland in Belfast, gave a return of 124 of the 128 seats in the the Twenty-Six Counties to Sinn Fein, the other four seats going to Unionists. In the elections held in the Six Counties at the same time the returns were: of a total of 56 seats the Unionists won 40, the Nationalists 6, and Sinn Fein 6. It will be seen that in the elections held under the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act there were now 170 representatives where previously there had been but 105 in all Ireland.

Then followed the negotiations for the Anglo-Irish "Treaty." This, when signed contained the following article numbered 17.

"17. By way of provisional arrangement for the administration of Southern Ireland during the interval which must elapse between the date hereof and the constitution of a Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State in accordance herewith, steps shall be taken forthwith for summoning a meeting of members of Parliament elected for constituencies in Southern Ireland since the passing of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and for constituting a Provisional Government, and the British Government shall take the steps necessary to transfer to such Provisional Government the powers and machinery requisite for the discharge of its duties provided that every member of such Provisional Government shall have signified in writing

his or her acceptance of this instrument. But this arrangement shall not continue in force beyond the expiration of twelve months from the date hereof."

"A meeting of members of Parliament elected for Constituencies in Southern Ireland since the passing of The Government of Ireland Act, 1920." "His Majesty's gracious will and pleasure!"

Following the signing of the Articles of agreement for a Treaty on Dec. 6, 1921, and their approval by a vote of 64 to 57 (64 being just one half of the elected representatives of "Southern Ireland"), Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins invited 60 of those who had voted for the Treaty, with the four representatives of Trinity College, to meet in the Mansion House as the "Parliament of Southern Ireland"—the body which had not met since its adjournment on July 13, 1920. This group, which numbered little more than one-third the total representatives of Ireland, elected a provisional Government for Southern Ireland and then dissolved.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS

And so the Government of Ireland Act was applied to two parts of Ireland, the Parliament of each part being subordinate to the Imperial Parliament, to the cunning of which they owed their existence.

And now let us examine this Treaty through which Mr. Lloyd George implemented his divide and conquer principle. We need only touch those parts which still obtain and have the force of law, governing the actions of the Free State Administrators till such time as it be "His Majesty's gracious will and pleasure" to repeal them.

"Article 8. With a view to securing the observance of the Principle of limitation of armaments if the Government of the Irish Free State establishes and maintains a military defence force the establishment thereof shall not exceed in size such proportion of the military establishments maintained in Great Britain, as that which the population of Ireland bears to the population of Great Britain."

"Article 11. Until the expiration of one month from the passing of the Act of Parliament for the ratification of this instrument the powers of the Parliament and the Government of the Irish Free State shall not be exercisable as respects Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act 1920 shall so far as they relate to Northern Ireland remain of full force and effect, and no election shall be held for the return of members to serve in the Parliament of the Irish Free State for constituencies in Northern Ireland unless a Resolution is passed by both Houses of Parliament of Northern Ireland in favour of the holding of such election before the end of the said month."

And in the Annex to this Treaty we find the following:

Para. 2. A convention shall be made between the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State to give effect to the following conditions:

(a) That submarine cables shall not be landed or wireless stations for communication with places outside Ireland be established except by agreement with the British Government, that the existing cable landing rights and wireless concessions shall not be withdrawn except by agreement with the British Government and that the British Government shall be entitled to land additional submarine cables or establish wireless stations for communication with places outside Ireland.

(b) That lighthouses, buoys, beacons and any navigational aids shall be maintained by the Government of the Irish Free State as at the date hereof and shall not be removed or added to except by agreement with the British Government.

Para. 3. A Convention shall be made between the same Governments for the regulation of Civil Communication by air.

Truly an amazing kind of Treaty—as drawn up between equals—or so Professor Hogan professed to believe). The "Irish" Army to be permanently less than one-tenth the size of Britain's. Britain to have cable and wireless rights in Ireland that the "Irish Government" did not have, partition effected and accepted in Article 11, joint control of air communication. But then the kind British did not ask the "Free" State to pay the pensions of the Black-and-Tans. (Article 10.)

THE FATEFUL DAY

How was it that any Irishman could accept and put his name to such an instrument? Let Mr. Churchill explain:

HOW THE ANGLO-IRISH TREATY WAS SIGNED

"When we met on the afternoon of December 5, the Prime Minister stated bluntly that WE could concede no more and debate no further. THEY must settle NOW. They MUST sign the agreement for the Treaty in the form of which, after all these weeks, it had attained, or else quit; and further, both sides would be free to resume whatever warfare they could wage against each other. This was an ultimatum delivered, not through diplomatic channels, but face to face; and all present knew and understood that nothing else was possible."

Winston Churchill.

We have seen how the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act for the setting up of the Parliament of Southern Ireland had been carried forward into the Treaty and implemented. Having elected the "Provisional Government" this "Parliament" dissolved leaving to this "Government" the control of affairs in the Twenty-Six County State—for the period of 12 months as defined in the Treaty.

The Republican Army, which did not accept the Treaty, had its headquarters in the Four Courts, Dublin. The Army which accepted the Treaty headquartered in Beggars Bush Barracks, Dublin. "Sir Henry Wilson was shot dead in London on June 22nd, 1922. On the same day Lloyd George wrote to M. Collins saying that documents" showed that Wilson was killed by the I.R.A. and that "attacks were to be made upon the lives and property of British subjects in England and in Ulster" and insisting that Rory O'Connor and his followers be ejected from the Four Courts, and promising "whatever Military assistance might be necessary to do so."

Following this "an ultimatum was sent to those in occupation of the Four Courts and Fowler Hall, and on 28th June, cannon fire was opened on the Four Courts. This was only two days before the date on which the Second Dail was due to meet for for-

mal dissolution and three days before the Third Dail was to assemble. The Third Cabinet and the Provisional Government . . . refused to convene the Second Dail and postponed the meeting of the Third Dail—a postponement repeated subsequently no less than four times. The Third Dail did not . . . meet at all—the "Provisional Parliament" met instead on September 9th, 1922. They dissolved the Republican Courts and acted as if the people had formally accepted the Treaty and Free State Constitution and had voted for the disestablishment of the Republic." By "an Executive coup d'état they proceeded to change the established state and substitute another. Thus it was that the civil war began."

The fruits of the tree of compromise and surrender ripen rapidly.

Here is a further comment made at the time on the activities of the "Provisional Government of Southern Ireland."

LABOUR'S VOICE

Report of the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress for 1921-22

"We condemn the Provisional Government for this; that having allowed certain acts, e.g., seizures, arrests and the like by the (Republican) Army Executive to go on for several months, and after negotiations, on the instructions of the Dail, with the Army Executive, to bring about unity—they suddenly reversed engines. Without warning the public, without the sanction of the Dail, and without giving any satisfactory explanation of their change of policy, they precipitated an attack upon the headquarters of the forces with whose leaders they had been in negotiation . . . In every country which pretended to rely upon constitutional sanctions, when a National crisis arose, the practice has been to call the people's Deputies together immediately. In Ireland it appears that we are to follow the opposite course, namely, in times of crisis to prevent a meeting of the National Assembly, even though it has been newly elected, and the Government has not yet received any authority from the Parliament."

Having shown how "friendly" "provisional Government" towards their former comrades, political and military, we now go to see how they treated Ireland's enemies. we find a document called "THE CRAIG - COLLINS AGREEMENT" signed by four members of the Provisional Government by three members of the Northern Government and by two members of the British Government, which declared "Peace" between the two Governments set up in Ireland under the Government of Ireland Act.

THE CRAIG-COLLINS AGREEMENT MARCH, 1922

Signed by M. Collins, K. O'Higgins, A. Griffith, E. S. Duggan, James Craig, Lord Londonderry, E. M. Archdale, W. Churchill and Worthington-Evans.

1. Peace is to-day declared.

(Between the Provisional Government and the Government of Northern Ireland.)

2. From to-day the two Governments undertake to co-operate in every way in their power with a view to the restoration of peaceful conditions in the unsettled areas.

4. A Court to be constituted for the trial without jury of persons charged with serious crime, the Court to consist of the Lord Chief Justice and one of the Lord Justices of Appeal of Northern Ireland.

Any person committed for trial for a serious crime to be tried by that court.

(a) If he so requests.

(b) If the Attorney General for Northern Ireland so directs. Serious crime shall be taken to mean any offence punishable with death, penal servitude, or imprisonment for a term exceeding six months . . .

6. I.R.A. activity to cease in the Six Counties and thereupon the method of organising the Special Police in the Six Counties, outside Belfast, shall proceed as speedily as possible upon lines similar to those agreed to for Belfast.

Just in case we might still be in doubt as to where sovereignty actually lay in the matter of the new state of Southern Ireland let us hear what Ramsey MacDonald had to say in the British House of Commons in Sept., 1924, on the subject:

"At some inconvenience to himself and his Government . . . Mr. Bonar Law dissolved Parliament, and fixed the date of the elections at the show-

This Statement was issued and published on the Six-County Election
by the Army Council of the Irish Republican Army :

Oglaigh na h-Eireann

(Irish Republican Army)

General Headquarters
Dublin

In determining their attitude towards the pending elections in the Six Counties, Republicans must take cognisance of a number of factors. Of these, two may be taken as main issues which compel the ultimate decision to refrain from taking any part in the ensuing contest. Firstly, there is the question of supporting candidates prepared to enter a partition institution of government and secondly, the representation of what is alleged to be the issue at stake.

On the question of participation in the Stormont Government, Republicans have consistently held the view that this is a futile and unwise policy. Futile, because of the engineered majority which exists in favour of maintaining the Six Counties as an outpost of the British Empire and of rendering full support to England's occupation of the area. Unwise, because the presence at Stormont of opponents of Partition serves only to weld the majority into a more compact unit and if possible helps to increase their determination to hold and govern the area in their own interests and those of England. But surmounting any consideration as to the futility of a minority representation at Stormont, or the wisdom of employing it in such circumstances as a tactical move to end Partition, there is, for Republicans, the fundamental question of according recognition in such, or any form, to a parliament set up by Britain in defiance of the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Irish race and in pursuance of a policy which denies the inherent right of the Irish nation to sovereign independence.

Quite obviously, the elections are going to be turned into a machine to record the relative voting strength of those who favour Partition and of those who are opposed to it. On the main question of ending Partition the results can and will have no bearing. It is the merest reiteration to state that England through force and chicanery established Partition and that by the same means she helps to maintain it. If the election machine records a few thousand additional votes against Partition it will not make the slightest impression on the ruling classes in England nor cause them to deflect from pursuing a course

calculated to serve their own best interests.

As an effective step towards ending Partition what useful purpose is served by further demonstrating what is known to be a fact for the past 28 years, viz., that within the Six Counties there is a substantial number of people who favour and desire the reintegration of the national territory. Can it be that anti-Partitionists who enter the election contests prepared to take part in a Partition parliament and those who in any way support their election campaign take the view that Ireland's right to freedom hinges on the number of persons who on a given date register a protest, through the medium of the ballot box, against English domination of Irish soil?

As a means of establishing what is already known the contest of these elections is quite unnecessary. In the absence of the will and the determination to take all necessary means to force England to evacuate the Six Counties and compel her satellites to abide by the majority will of the Irish people the contest of the elections is quite futile, except for the purpose of maintaining a wordy agitation against Partition. On the question of determining, or effecting in the smallest degree, the right of the Irish people to full and absolute control of their own affairs, the elections or their results, cannot have the slightest bearing. That right is inalienable and must never be made an issue for a plebiscite of a section of, or even the entire people of Ireland. Even though it were necessary to vindicate the just demands of the Irish nation for the unity of Ireland it is difficult to see how such a purpose can be served by returning a number of candidates pledged beforehand to take part in the proceedings of one of the partition Governments set up by England to keep Ireland divided.

It is almost certain to follow from this call to ignore these elections that Republicans will be charged with trying to sabotage what is being represented as a national effort to end Partition. Far from endeavouring to obstruct any attempt to end it, Republicans are fully prepared to co-operate in a genuine and determined effort to smash Partition, regardless of what sufferings or sacrifices may be called for. They are not prepared, however, to take any part in a campaign, such as the present one, having for its sole purpose the

election of a number of representatives to a Partition Parliament. They shall in the future, as in the past, continue their efforts to build up a strong and unified National Movement resolved to smash the British connection and fully determined to avail of all necessary means to achieve that end.

"SPIONAD NA SAOIRSE"

NUAIR A BÍ MÉ AG IS CUMNEAC LIOM fear meán aosta ag seoladh súdacán nuice roimhe an bóca, agus camall 'na díaró táinig bean isteach agam. Meastú cá bfuil "móiac" ag dul leis an sean bann "a vfiaruit mo máistir dí. "Cé nár cuala tú, "ar sise, "cá sí vfiolta aise lé péine brós a ceannact óa mac lé dul ag cioró in émpact tes na "Republicans."

Is minic a ciumingim ar an bfean sin ó bóm fear boct a bí ann san fort san garra. Ní raib sgoil ná fóglaum air. Ní raib ann act sglaburde oibre agus cuile tóime ag baint leas as, agus 'na díaró sin, an bann a tóis sé ar cáirde go n-ocpaó a lá páis é, bí sé óa díol anois lé péine brós a cur ar cosa a mic lé dul a congnam do na "Republicans."

Ní raib focal déarla na pluic. Ní raib dallamullóg curta air ag teanga na ngall. Bí an sean spiorad vécas. Saedead san truaillú ann. Tuig sé ó nádúr gur saoirse é saoirse agus nac féoir a beir saor faoi leas amm ar bit eile. Agus cé go n-abrócaó luct an nuad-eolais gur bodrán agus leat-amadán é, crutais sé go raib bris agus tuisim na saoirse go doimhin daingean do-scaolte 'na chiorde agus fuil na saoirse go slan fimmeshail na cuisteadai. Agus fuair sé an tuisim agus an t-eolais seo ón a sinnsear, an dream nár géill ariam 'na n-icinn do sglaburde na doair-seacta, mar an té act saor na icinn agus a bfuil fonn agus rún aise a beir saor tá sé do-claóide go n-éas.

"Árainnead."

The Organisation for Irish-Americans:—

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC

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

Write for literature.

Capt. S. O'Deorain, National Secretary, 2534 University Place, Washington 9, D.C.

Eireannac Aontuiste

38 SOUTH KING STREET, DUBLIN
JANUARY, 1949

PAPER and PARCHMENT

In this issue we publish an article by S. O'D. on the legal status of the two States set up in Ireland by the Treaty, the Southern State, now mis-called "The Republic of Ireland" and the Northern State known as Northern Ireland. Our readers may find this article heavy reading, but we advise them to study it carefully, as it sets out in great detail the basis on which both States were founded, and indicates clearly that any status which the Southern State has developed since the Treaty was signed in London in 1921 has been developed in accordance with British law, having as its keystone the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, the British Act of Parliament which brought both States into being, and which was later incorporated in the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty, signed by Griffith and

Collins in London on the 6th December, 1921.

We advise our readers to study this article for two reasons. No. 1.—We wish them to clearly understand that the Coalition Government led by Mr. John Costello is attempting to bluff them in the same way as the Government led by Mr. de Valera succeeded in bluffing them, for a period of sixteen years. No 2.—We wish them to realise that the Republic of Ireland cannot be achieved by the method of passing Bills or Acts through the Twenty-Six County Parliamentary Assembly. It can only be achieved when the two Treaty States are abolished and every law passed by England for the subjugation of this nation, is repealed, and a new code of Irish laws worked out for the better government of Ireland.

FOR FÓGRA

Seo tús an leagan faoi seo den fógra a cuir Oglais na h-Eireann a rít na míosa seo caite.

Mar fheargas ar an saotar atá ar siubhal cun bris breise do cur le stát na h-Eireann i láthair na h-uaine toisc gur cuireadh an Reacht um Cúrsaib ar fíor, is mian le Comhairle Ceannais Oglais Éireann fógra do craoch-scaitheas v'fonn fírinne an scéil do minúgáil go beaite.

Do réir Reacht v'ar cuireadh i bfeirm i bfeis Sacsan bliain 1920 agus san oimeas is vume le Teacht Éireann i láthair, agus de bris gur glascóir le sma h-ainteagalaib a Ceapad um Réirreacht, cuireadh cosc le n-a raib ar siubhal as an bPobláct a fógraíod um Cúisc a 1916 is a bunúgáil le Teacht Éireann uile bliain 1919, agus cuireadh i n-a h-ionas v'da fo-feis veigilte v'fonn Éire do comeas fá buna-smaect.

Ar an gcuma san veimeas Éire do veigilte ó céile ré fírinnean

Sacsan, agus veigilte atá sí ó som.

Ní déanfar an fírinne sin do sárúgáil is cuma cad veimeas cun scáir nuas do tabairt do sma Sé Contae Fícheas as uet "Pobláct na h-Eireann" do baisteas mar ainn ota.

Tá smaect as Riagaltas Sacsan fós ar Sé Contae de Tír na h-Eireann agus ainn fábala aca san dúcais sin cun an smaect do comeas i bfeirm.

An fáir is leantair de'n smaect som ní tiocsaíod le luét cosanta na Poblácta a aomáil go bfuil veimeas leis an achrann atá ar siubhal eadramn le sma ciantaib.

Iad do gur dual dóib beir v'illis do'n Pobláct, ní féidir dóib v'illse do tabairt v'don ceann de'n v'da fo-feis veigilte v'ar ceap Riagaltas Sacsan san cuireadh san iarrad; ní féidir leo a aomáil go bfuil don bris le v'fírinnean an Reacht um Cúrsaib Cúrsaib aet mar beas le h-iarrad poblaitreacht cun a cur

A hundred years ago, James Lalor pointed out that the task of men was "not to repeal the Union to undo the Conquest." That task remains. When Britain first came to us she attempted to subdue us by methods. First she imposed her language upon us, secondly she imposed her law system, and thirdly she imposed a garrison in the country to hold the country in her interest. That garrison to-day owns the wealth of this nation and through the operation of this system of that wealth, controls the economic life of the nation.

Again, let us refer to Pádraic Lalor "Constitutions, Declarations and Acts of Parliament," he writes, "are only paper and parchment. Those who own the land control your liberties and your lives."

When Britain's two States are abolished, when the ground landlord can no longer live in England and draw their rents from Irish land by virtue of a title conferred on them by some long dead British sovereign, when the people of Ireland really have achieved, "the ownership of Ireland and the unfettered control of Irish destinies," then and not till then, will the Republic of Ireland be a living reality.

For that day we must work. For that day we must struggle. For that day we must give our lives if necessary.

I n-a lúge ar muintir na h-Eireann bfuil saoirse a dtíre bainteach le ceana.

An fáir is tá aon fóir de Tír na h-Eireann fá fábaltas ainn le ti-iasaeta, ní féidir a ráil le fírinne go aetbunúgáil Pobláct Éireann. réir sin, is ead is dual don uile v'da de luét na Pobláct leantair v'da v'illse v'da n'iceall croide go scaitheas Éire, glan, ó fad rian de'n riagaltas aet v'ar miltas le fáir.

Comhairle an Airm,

Oglais na h-Eireann,

Eanáir, 1949.

A "Barnes-McCormick and Cosgrove Committee" has been formed in London to secure the repatriation of the bodies of the two Irishmen executed in Birmingham in 1940 and of the great Irish Ambassador executed in 1916.

BARNES AND McCORMICK

On the 31st of August, 1939, one day before World War No. 2 broke out, a bomb exploded in the city of Coventry, killing one person and injuring others. The bomb had gone off prematurely and the death which resulted from the explosion was purely accidental. The man who had the bomb in his possession was conveying it by carrier bicycle to a military object when the explosion took place. He escaped uninjured.

Nevertheless, on Ash Wednesday, 7th February, 1940, two Irishmen were hanged in Birmingham Prison. They were James McCormick of Mullingar, Co. Westmeath, and Peter Barnes of Offaly. The charge against them was that they did wilfully murder the person killed in the explosion. James McCormick was a member of the I.R.A. Expeditionary Force which had been operating in England since the previous January twelve months. From the dock he proudly proclaimed his membership of the Irish Republican Army, but emphatically denied that he had either hand, act or part in the Coventry explosion. Peter Barnes, was also an I.R.A. man and was associated with Irish societies in England, and took a prominent part in endeavouring to make known to the world the wrong which England had done to his country by partitioning her, and attempting through the two States set up under the Treaty to hold her in subjection.

"BRITISH JUSTICE"

It did not matter in the least to the English judge and jury whether these two men were guilty of placing the Coventry bomb or not. All that mattered was that James McCormick and Peter Barnes had been brave enough and honourable enough to espouse their country's cause and to expose to the utmost of their ability their oppressor. It was a case of the Manchester Martyrs all over again. English blood lust was determined to take victims from amongst the Irishmen who had carried the fight for Irish freedom on to English territory, and who exposed to the world the hypocritical role which the British Empire was playing in international affairs. It did not matter in the least who the victims were so long as they were Irish, and members of the hated I.R.A.

It is not my intention here to give any biographical sketch of the lives of the two men who mounted an English scaffold on February 7th, 1940, and gave their young lives willingly for the freedom of the Irish nation. Rather is it my intention to explain, after a lapse of ten years, why the I.R.A. Bomb Campaign was started in England in January, 1939, and why it was necessary for Barnes and McCormick to die in a foreign country for the Republic of Ireland.

TREATY OF SURRENDER

When England succeeded in getting Irishmen to accept the Treaty of Surrender in 1921, she succeeded in creating two puppet States in Ireland, one in the North, and one in the South. These two States were illegitimate at birth. They had no sanction in Irish law, and were born of the unholy alliance of British deceit and cunning and of Irish cowardice and treachery.

Before the Southern State could be established and made function, it was necessary for those who had accepted England's alternative to Irish independence, to make civil war upon their brothers. In the process of that civil war, seventy-seven soldiers of the Irish Republican Army were executed. The firing squads which executed them were not firing squads composed of Englishmen, but were composed of Irishmen clad in a green uniform, shooting down their brothers so as to maintain England's "Free State." Also in the process of that Civil War, numbers of brilliant Irish soldiers fell in battle, to name only two, Cathal Brugha in O'Connell Street, Dublin, and Liam Lynch on the Knockmealdown Mountains in Tipperary. Hundreds were done to death on the roadside by the murder gangs organised by the first Treaty Government.

Through terror, civil war, treachery and corruption, the "Free State" was established, and the Republican Army defeated in the field. Time passed, and some of those who had fought bravely for the Republic in 1922 and 1923 changed their minds and went over to England's "Free State." The tragedy of it all is that those who joined the "Free State" at a later date (I refer to the Flanna

Fall Party) became as bitter and as treacherous towards Republicans as their predecessors, the first Free Staters.

In the years between 1932 and 1939, the Flanna Fall Government carried on the civil war atmosphere by using terroristic and coercionist methods against their former comrades of the Irish Republican Army. In those years, many young men who had been babies in their cradles when "The Legion of the Rear Guard" defended the Republic in 1922, grew into manhood. They saw that the civil war atmosphere was being maintained and they know that a civil war atmosphere in Ireland suited nobody only England. They realised that those who were maintaining the Southern Treaty State were just the instruments of British Imperialism in exactly the same way as were the Northern Junta in Belfast.

I.R.A. CONVENTION

So, at the I.R.A. Convention of 1938, it was decided to attack England on her own territory in order to show the world that England was still the aggressor and that the British Empire still maintained its grip on Ireland by open naked force. In January, 1939, the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax, received a communication from the headquarters of the Irish Republican Army, informing him that unless the British Government removed its troops from Northern Ireland within six days, action would be taken—action of a military nature—to force them to do so. The Army Council of the Republican Army, when it sent this ultimatum to the British Government, was acting on behalf of the Government of the Irish Republic from which it had received its authority the previous 8th December. Many people have spoken of the I.R.A. campaign in England as a cowardly campaign. They have talked about the killing of innocent women and children, and attacks on the civilian population. These people seem to forget that the I.R.A. was the Army of Ireland—that it had a moral right to make war upon England as long as England held any portion of our territory by force.

(Continued on page 8, col. 1)

(Continued from preceding page)

The I.R.A. had not the resources of the German or British Army. It had no planes, atom bombs or flying bombs. Its members were brave men who were prepared to go into enemy territory on the ground floor. If it was not a cowardly act for a German pilot to bomb London from the air or a British pilot to bomb Berlin from the air, how can anyone logically say that it was a cowardly act for the I.R.A. to bomb London from the ground? The Irish people will have to realise that of all the Irish soldiers who fought for Ireland down through the generations of her slavery, none were braver than the Irish Expeditionary Force of 1939, who carried the war of Irish independence right into the enemy's backyard, and who showed to the world that Ireland was still undefeated and still determined to be free.

POLITICAL DISTORTIONS

And the campaign in England in the early months of 1939 had the desired effect. Politicians may try as they will to distort the effects of that campaign, but let the people of Ireland remember that in those days, England was on the brink of war with Germany, and the world at that time did not know what side the "Free State" would take in that war. The campaign let the world know that the Irish people were still hostile to the British Empire, and the German government of that day realised that no "Free State" Government, no matter what its composition might be, could dare to bring the Twenty-Six County State into the war on the side of Britain, as long as the I.R.A. stood in the background, ready to strike at Britain at the first given opportunity. History will prove that Irish neutrality, in so far as it could be called neutrality, was secured for this country by the soldiers of the I.R.A., who threw down the gauntlet to England in 1939.

When writing on the sacrifice of James McCormick and Peter Barnes, let us remember that their sacrifice was made for one thing, and for one thing only—"the living indestructible Republic of Ireland." It was not made to call the Twenty-Six County "Free State" a republic. It was not made so that "Free State" ministers could go to London to discuss common citizenship and factual association with British Commonwealth statesmen. It was not made

so that Basil Brooke and his gang of Orange hooligans should dominate the Nationally-minded people of the Six Counties, or that the so-called Nationalist Party in the North would be given an opportunity of swearing an Oath of Allegiance to George VI in His Majesty's Parliament at Stormont. It was not made to secure the maintenance of either of the two States set up under the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and consolidated by the Treaty of Surrender, 1921. It was made so as to destroy those States, to lay them in ruins, and to erect on a solid national foundation the Republic of Ireland. Barnes and McCormick have handed on that task and despite Coercion Acts, Military Tribunals, Censorship or Camouflage, will be restored the republic for which they died. Only the restoration of that republic will be a fitting monument to their memory. What Brian O'Higgins wrote years ago in connection with the Manchester Martyrs is true also of Barnes and McCormick, and is applicable to-day.

"And comrades all, in Ireland's cause
The task is yours and mine.
To break one day the hand that smote
Allen, Larkin and O'Brien."

Let us keep that in our minds rather than the idea of friendly overtures to the Power that is still, and always has been the one and only enemy of our nation.

beth in England, we had here, the Queen's O'Neill, the Queen's O'Donnell, the Queen's McCarthy, etc. In the near future we may again have the King's McGilligan, the King's Blake-Dillon, the King's Lemass, etc., etc., and Leinster House may yet rival in history the "Old House in College Green."

Evolution! Evolution! Ah! but, my Country, in the past you also had Tone, and the United Irishmen, the Fenian Brotherhood, the Irish Republican Brotherhood. To-day you have the Irish Republican Army.

"Thou art not conquered, beauty's
ensign yet

Is crimson on thy lips, and on thy
cheek.

And death's pale flag is not abroad
there."

Alice French

Republicans learn with regret
of the death of Maire Gleeson
"An Stad." Dublin. Ar dheis
De go raibh sí.

EVOLUTION

I have been watching the new
in the vain hope of a process
from which I might understand
the advantage is to the "Republic"
Ireland from the common
business, with the
peoples and England.

There certainly is an advantage
individuals. Persons who cannot
employment in this country can
in England and the Commonwealth
countries, without discrimination,
is an advantage to them, but I
see that it is to the "Republic"
Ireland, except the thinning of
population, and leaving more
the citizens who remain, is an
advantage. Or perhaps the exchange
poverised Irish worker, for a
English or Commonwealth settler
our grandfather's day people
couldn't get a living in this land
to America, and other countries
and did not fare so badly without
our or privilege. There is one
whom I believe the advantage is
very great indeed, I refer to "Peers
the Realm." As I understand it
be wrong), a Peer who is a citizen
this "Republic" can still remain
seat in the English House of
Now if that Peer, as a citizen of
"Republic," were to become a candidate
for election to the Dail, and get elected—
stranger things have happened—
a position he would be in! Prior
to vote in England's upper House
in the "Republic" of Ireland
Parliament! To which—England
Ireland—would be the greater
In the last "Republic"—the
any one—a Lord actually had to
which was the better for him, to
over here to vote in the general
elections, or stay in England to
vote on an important issue in the
of Lords. He came over, and
vote in the Eire elections! The
may be part of a circle.
the ground is being prepared
seeds of Evolution!

In Meath, on the banks of the
a school will be opened in May
in which the sons of successful
men, and professionals, can
citizens of this "Republic," can
their plebeian status and
"Gentlemen" of the English
school—complete with the "Old
Tie," and worthy candidates for
King's Birthday and New Year
List!

Poor Ireland! In the reign of
(Continued in preceding col.)

MONTHLY NEWS REVIEW

The first month of 1949 brought a crop of scare headlines into the Irish newspapers. The politicians were developing their new "Republican status." Early in the month, Sean T. O'Kelly signed the Bill repealing the External Relations Act, giving that measure the force of Free State Law. There was a lot of talk about a public holiday on the 21st January to celebrate the coming into being of Mr. Costello's factual association Republic, but the 21st came and went and no public holiday was proclaimed, because the operation of the new "Republic" was suspended for the time being.

It was suspended because the necessary legislation had not been passed by the British Parliament in time. Officials of the Free State Department of External Affairs visited London to work out with British officials details regarding future Commonwealth Relationship, Reciprocal Citizenship, etc., etc. Sir Basil Brooke also visited London where he got an assurance from Mr. Attlee that irrespective of what Mr. Costello or Mr. de Valera said England would maintain the puppet State of Northern Ireland. Of course, Mr. Attlee did not put it so bluntly as that. He was much too naive, but he assured Brooke that "The Constitutional position of Northern Ireland would not be changed except by the wishes of the inhabitants." Everyone knows now that the Constituencies in Northern Ireland are jerrymandered to such an extent that it is utterly impossible for anyone to secure a majority in the area except the Unionist Party led by Brooke. Any election held in this area must go in favour of a small clique of Unionists, because things are so arranged that one Unionist vote is equal to two Nationalist votes. In the Counties of Tyrone, Fermanagh, Derry City and South Armagh there is a majority against Partition; as there is also in the Ball's Road area of Belfast city. But when the election returns are announced the Unionists will have secured more seats in these areas than anybody else, because the areas are cut up so as to give the Unionists a majority of seats. Take Fermanagh for example. It has an Anti-Partitionist majority of 10,000 to 14,000. It is a three member constituency and the Unionists will secure two seats out of the three because the County has been cut into three areas, two small areas and one large. The two small areas are Enniskillen District and Lissanakea district in which the Unionists have a slight

majority and the large area is South Fermanagh, where the Anti-Partitionists have a huge majority. By this cutting up of the Constituency of Fermanagh, the Unionists secure two seats for the Anti-Partitionists one. The same tactics have been used in County Tyrone, South Armagh and Derry City, and in this situation, Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, has the audacity to talk about the "wishes of the inhabitants." Of course, Mr. Attlee's statement cuts no ice in Ireland, it was merely made for International consumption. People abroad cannot be expected to understand the electoral system in the puppet State of Northern Ireland. When foreign countries see the "election results," Mr. Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary may make a statement that "the Democratic will of the people of Northern Ireland must be maintained." The same Mr. Bevin gets very annoyed when the Communists in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary hold bogus elections, where no party only the Communist Party can possibly secure a majority. But when Brooke does the same thing in Northern Ireland he does it with the blessing of the British Labour Government, and the result is hailed as a "victory" for Democracy.

When Attlee gave the word to go, Brooke rushed home and declared a General Election, then Costello and the boys down South decided that it was a good opportunity to get some political prestige out of the situation. So Costello called a conference in the Mansion House, and he invited the leaders of all parties in the Free State to attend. They met and they issued a statement, and they initiated an "Anti-Border" Fund to help the Anti-Partitionist candidates, knowing full well that it was impossible for these candidates to win the election, and also knowing that every candidate going into Stormont, whether he calls himself a Unionist, a Communist, a Socialist-Republican or a Nationalist, must first of all swear an oath of allegiance to His Majesty King George VI, his heirs and successors by law. Costello and Co. know well that it does not matter two hoots who is elected to Stormont. What does matter is that Mr. Brooke can rely on Mr. Attlee to keep his army in Northern Ireland so as to maintain Brooke and the other quislings in power. Has Mr. Costello any intention of using his army to expel the British? I think not, because Mr. Dillon, in Washington, re-

cently asked for America's support for Britain, and Mr. Costello and McBride want factual association with the Commonwealth. As for Mr. de Valera and Mr. Boland we had sixteen years of their rule, so enough said.

Let us get down to facts. The facts are, Ireland is occupied by British troops. Ireland was cut in two by Act of the British Parliament. Two Parliaments function in Ireland by virtue of British law. Two representatives of two Governments, seemingly hostile to each other, run over to Whitehall to consult British officials before "any Constitutional changes can be made." Can you imagine the Burmese Government or the Government of Israel or the Egyptian Government or the Government of any State which has recently cut the painter with Britain, sending their officials scurrying to Whitehall before they could decide the status of their own country? You could not imagine any such thing happening, because it is too ridiculous.

Ridiculous and all that it is also a tragedy, because even though the Anti-Partition Collection was arranged so as to give political prestige to the Free State political parties, at the same time it has done a lot of good. There is no doubt that it has aroused the interest of the Irish people in the question of Partition, and of the occupation of our North-Eastern territory by British troops. That interest must not be allowed to die down again once this bogus election is over. Republicans must continue to point out to the people that Partition is the instrument by which Britain holds this nation in subjection. That the Northern State and the Southern State are the creations of the Imperial Parliament, and that the only solution of this problem is the expulsion of the British Army from Northern Ireland, the dissolution of the Northern Parliament and the Southern Parliament, and the international recognition of the Thirty-Two Counties of Ireland as an independent Irish Republic. This is the only possible solution, and the Irish people had better realise that there is no short cut to freedom—that if the British refuse to withdraw from Ireland and the British Government refuses to cease interfering in our internal affairs, they must be made to do so. They can only be made to do so in one way. Young men and women of Ireland it is up to you. Draw your own conclusions.

GEAROID MAC DIARMADA

British Legalize "Treaty"

(Continued from page 4)

test possible notice so as to enable legislation to be passed in time to establish the Free State Government by December 6th and to save the Treaty. Matters so fell out . . . that there was scarcely an hour to spare, and . . . the Free State Constitution Act was only passed in time to receive the Royal Assent on December 5, 1922. The Free State Government was only constituted a few days before the Provisional Government would have lapsed . . . The Free State Constitution which embodies the Treaty once and for all in our Imperial Constitution was passed through all its stages in both houses without a single division."

(See Article 17 of Treaty.)

There is hardly any need to stress the fact that sovereignty in respect to the Parliament of Northern Ireland rested in London. Our Northern Unionists are never done boasting of the fact. They make no pretence to being sovereign or independent. To that extent, at least, they are more honest than their southern counterparts.

It becomes necessary now to adjust ourselves to the fact that at the present moment the Twenty-Six County State is being termed by the Government administering it, "The Republic of Ireland" having for a period of eleven years been termed "Eire." Yet it still remains an area of Twenty-Six Counties with an administration "as by law established"—bound by the Treaty of 1921 and the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, to both of which it owes its existence.

Paragraph 2 of the introduction to the Constitution of the Irish Free State has this to say:

2. The said Constitution shall be construed with reference to the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty, between Great Britain and Ireland set forth in the Second Schedule hereto annexed (hereinafter referred to as "the Scheduled Treaty") which are hereby given the force of law, and if any provision of the said Constitution or of any amendment thereof or of ANY LAW MADE THEREUNDER IS IN ANY RESPECT REPUGNANT TO ANY OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE SCHEDULED TREATY, IT SHALL, to the extent only of such repug-

nancy, BE ABSOLUTELY VOID AND INOPERATIVE and the Parliament and the Executive Council of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) shall respectively pass such further legislation and do all such other things as may be necessary to implement the Scheduled Treaty.

That makes quite clear the nature of the law known as the "Constitution of Ireland" enacted by the Parliament and Senate of the Irish Free State on 1st July, 1937. It is hardly necessary for us to add that a spokesman of the British Government when questioned on the subject of this Act said it made "no fundamental change" in Anglo-Irish Relations. This can be more clearly understood when one reads Article 50 of this "Eire" Constitution which says:

"EIRE" CONSTITUTION

1. Subject to this Constitution and to the extent to which they are not inconsistent therewith, THE LAWS IN FORCE IN SAORSTAT ÉIREANN IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO THE DATE OF THE COMING INTO OPERATION OF THIS CONSTITUTION SHALL CONTINUE TO BE OF FULL FORCE AND EFFECT, until the same or any of them shall have been repealed or amended by enactment of the Oireachtas.

That is a pretty comprehensive article. It includes, besides the laws of the 26 County Parliament between 1922 and 1937, the articles of Agreement for a Treaty, 1921—to which, as we have seen, the first Free State Constitution was subject; the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, from which the Treaty sprung and which the Treaty implemented, and also all laws and decrees of the successive British Governments, with all grants, leases and concessions made over the centuries by Kings of England unlawfully ruling in Ireland. (This article is also an article of the first Free State Constitution, identical in words and numbered 73.)

And lest any readers may think that we exaggerate in the last paragraph let us quote again from these Constitutions on the matter.

The Free State Constitution says in Article 11:

"All the lands and waters, and minerals, within the territory of the Irish Free State . . . and the natural resources of the territory (including the air and forms of potential energy and royalties and franchises within the territory, shall, from and after the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution, belong to the Free State SUBJECT TO TRUSTS, GRANTS, LEASES OR CONCESSIONS THEN EXISTING IN RESPECT THEREOF . . ."

And this is how the "Eire" Constitution of 1937 says the same thing:

(Article 10). All Natural resources including the air and all forms of potential energy within the jurisdiction of the Parliament and Government established by this Constitution and all royalties and franchises within that jurisdiction belong to the State SUBJECT TO ALL ESTATES INTERESTS THEREIN FOR THE TIME BEING LAWFULLY VESTED IN ANY PERSON OR BODY.

2. ALL land and all mines, minerals and waters which belonged to the State of Éireann immediately before coming into operation of this Constitution belong to the State TO THE SAME EXTENT AS THEY THEN BELONGED TO SAORSTAT ÉIREANN.

Maintain the Conquest. That is the rule applied when framing the articles of the Constitutions of "Independent" state. As for the latest move on the part of our political face-lifters—the calling of the Twenty-Six County State "The Republic of Ireland"—let us again quote from British Parliamentary Debates. Lord Grey in the House of Lords, Oct., 1924, speaking on the question of the "Boundary" between the States set up in Ireland under the Government of Ireland Act said:

"I would rather face the demand for the Free State to be a Republic than see the UNDERSTANDING with Ulster broken."

Let us conclude with another quotation from a British statesman at the same time, on the same subject, in the British House of Commons by Mr. Asquith, ex-Premier of England:

"This (the Boundary) is purely an Irish question. It is a question of domestic concern, and not one we have given, and, I think, will not give, to the world."
(Contd. at foot of col. 1, p. 11)

THE FOUR MARTYRS

WHAT memories the anniversary of the murder of the four martyrs recall.

Memories of the last few months of the Anglo-Irish "Truce" when these men stood four-square in defence of the living Republic and refused to be bullied or swayed by press or pulpit into accepting anything short of complete freedom for Ireland: the shelling of the Four Courts by British guns—in the hands of native traitors—at the instigation of Churchill; the surrender of the garrison after a glorious fight against hopeless odds. Memories of Mountjoy—packed with Republican prisoners as it was then—two prisoners or more to each cell—memories of long chats through the dividing gate, between B and C yards, with comrades we knew. And there almost every day, one could see Rory or Liam, Dick or Joe, who since the surrender of the Four Courts had been interned in C wing with the rest of the garrison. Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, Dick Barrett and Joe McKelvey! During the intervening months from their capture in July, 1922, until their death in December of the same year life in Mountjoy went on uneventfully. Classes, classes and yet more classes. Irish, French, German, Physical Culture and many classes of another kind helped to pass away the time. Every day came news of successful ambushes, and early in December the news was flashed around the prison that "Buckshot". Hales and Padraig O'Malley had been shot in Parnell

Square whilst on their way to a meeting of the "Free State" assembly of which both of them were members. Hales was shot dead and O'Malley wounded. The following day was the eight of December, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. The morning was grey and dreary with a slight drizzle falling. It seemed as if Heaven itself was protesting against the crime about to be committed.

Then as now, Mass was at 7.30 a.m., and as usual we paraded in sections for the ceremony. When crossing the landing from B wing to the Church door we heard a loud bang but took no notice of it. When we entered the Church however we knew something serious had happened because the altar was in complete disarray. After some time a young priest came in looking very pale and distressed. It was not however until he turned around and asked us to pray for the repose of the souls of our comrades—Rory, Liam, Dick and Joe—that we knew the cause of it all. Pray at the moment we couldn't—we were numbed at the news and couldn't rightly grasp what we had heard. It was not until breakfast time did we realise the magnitude of the Staters' crime. The noise we had heard when crossing the landing was the volley which ended the lives of four of Ireland's bravest and best. Later we heard the facts. At four o'clock on the morning of December 8th, Rory, Liam, Dick and Joe were awakened in their cells, told to dress and pack their belongings. They were then brought to the office and informed that as a Reprisal for the shooting of Hales and O'Malley they were to be executed. So ended the lives of four of Ireland's best soldiers, murdered by their former comrades in arms, and for what? To maintain the British connection. No wonder indeed that Dr. McCartan, in his book dealing with the fight for the recognition of the Irish Republic in America, describes the 8th day of December, 1922, as "Ireland's black day of shame." Ireland's days of shame are not over yet however as the deaths of Sean Glynn, Jack McNeela, Tony D'Arcy, J. J. Kavanagh, P. McGrath, Tom Harte, Barney Casey and Ritchie Goss can testify.

REPUBLICANS IN JAIL CRUMLIN ROAD, BELFAST

	Yrs.
FRANK MORRIS (Tyrone)	10
BOB McMILLAN (Belfast)	8
LIAM BURKE (Belfast)	12
ALFIE WHITE (Belfast)	12
JIMMY STEELE (Belfast)	12
HUGH McATEER (Derry)	15
JACK McCaffrey (Antrim)	15
JOHN GRAHAM (Belfast)	12
JOE CAHILL (Belfast)	Life
HARRY GORDNER (Belfast)	Life
JIMMY PERRY (Belfast)	Life
JOHN OLIVER (Belfast)	Life
PADDY SIMPSON (Belfast)	15

REPUBLICANS

IT IS NOW TIME TO PREPARE FOR EASTER COMMEMORATIONS. MAKE THIS YEAR'S DEMONSTRATIONS THE BEST EVER.

EASTER LILIES TO BE HAD FROM THE NATIONAL COMMEMORATION COMMITTEE, 9 NTH. FREDERICK ST., DUBLIN.

The deaths of the Four Martyrs will always be an inspiration to the young men who form the backbone of the IRA., and their names will live forever in the hearts of the Irish people. I can conclude this bare outline of their lives and death in no better way than by quoting a line of the Rev. Dr. Paddy Browne's lovely poem:

"Mary Immaculate guide them home."

LARRY GROGAN.

Mountjoy Jail, December, 1941.

TO OUR READERS:
ARTICLES, CARTOONS,
PHOTOGRAPHS AND
NEWS OF IMPORTANCE
WILL BE WELCOMED

given to Ireland the Status of a Dominion IT IS A QUESTION THAT HAD MUCH BETTER BE SETTLED IN IRELAND AND BY IRISHMEN."

That last sentence coupled with the fact that the British Army occupies Ireland still, points clearly the lesson we must learn from all the foregoing. To clarify the situation once and for all, Britain's sovereignty in Ireland and her right to maintain her armed forces here, must be challenged, not because of the unlawfulness of the six County State alone, but to restore Irish Sovereignty in each of the 32 Counties and to undo the conquest in all its aspects.

AN GATH GRÉINE

Cúinne Do'n Aos-Ós

a páistí ósa.

Seo mí Naomh Bríge, ban-patrún na hÉireann. San amhras is mó seanéas a cloisfear 'na caob um an dtaca so.

O'reir na ngnáic-scealta, bean áluinn dátaimhí adl innti. Níl áit ar bit i nÉirinn ná hairéadar an tuairisc sin uirtí. Ac cogar i leit, a leandai. Deir na scoláirí móra eolasaca ná raid si com dátaimhí sin i n-aon cor!

Cao 'na caob go bfuil amh na n-áineacta uirtí mar sm? Toisc an spiorad agus an meon uasal geal ábi aici. Díot an fírinne as na scoláirí móra nó ná díot, tá so cinnte—go raid a gnúis as tairneam le glóire an gráda ábi aici so 'Día agus dá tair. Domne a féacfao ar an nglóire sin, ní féacfao sé san géillead do'n áineact rúnda diamaid a cuir sé ar aghaidh an Naomh.

Cumhánais air sin. Tá ceact maic le foglum as. Bfuil a fíos aghaidh cao tuidairt Pádraic Mac Piarais—
"Cailín ar bit acá go maic, tá si dátaimhí."

"Sáe re lá go maic
Ó lá 'le Bríge amac."

Sean-focal.

Sgéal beag díb.

"An Cat agus na Pingne."

Di leat-réal as an gcath trác. Ceannuis sé crúneas cos ar pingin amhám. Tug sé pingin eile ar na darc san oróce, agus tug sé an triomhadh pingin ar dearmhad bean a' tige.

Táto na buada san aige ó bain i leit!

bábóga.

Buel, a cailíní ósa, is dóca go bfuil bábóga aghaidh go léir. Ac cao iao na n-amneaca acá aghaidh orca, amneaca Gallua, an cao? Amneaca na mbamruigan Sasanaic agus a leictéirí? Mo máire sib! Anois, as so amac bíot amneaca Éireannaca orca—Deiríre, nó Macóir, nó Fionn-guala nó Gáinne nó amh dá sórt. Nac veise aghaidh iao san ná na hamneaca caola fuara, san uasoréact san uasoréact as bairt leo, a tagann

ó cloráid iadaicta. Sáe mí as so amac tabarparáid cúnntas beag díb ar na mnáib sin ó Éirinn go bfuil a n-amneaca le faáil go leatán ma na lámhscribinní. An céto mí eile tabarpar scéal Fionnguala díb. Is brónac an scéal é, ac is fíleaca, agus ba cóir go mbéat sáe cailín ós as faire amac do ar an gcéto eagrán eile.

A LEANBHAI DILSE

This edition of our paper deals with what we may call foundations. We all know what a foundation is, the solid, unyielding rock or understructure on which a building is raised. There can be no flaws, no defects in it. Otherwise, the building will collapse and cause ruin when least expected.

We, children, must realise that, some day, we shall be called upon to support the national structure, and therefore, we must lay our solid, unyielding foundation now. We must love our country even to the point of being prepared to die for her. But we cannot really love what we do not know. And so we must acquire a deep, wide knowledge of Ireland.

Is that difficult? Sometimes it can be not alone difficult, but impossible, if we lead what may be described as an ostrich-life. What is an ostrich-life? It is a kind of existence in which we refuse to become aware of the life around us, of the life that is gone, of the life likely to come. People who have glorified the Nation's soul, patriots whom we should honour with gratitude and reverence, did not lead an ostrich-life. They were aware of Ireland, past and present. They acquired a deep knowledge of her. And from that awareness and knowledge was generated the abiding love which sought to raise the scaffolding of the future. If we seek to do something for the future but at the same time are content, with flabby minds, to remain blind and ignorant we shall raise, as one famous writer puts it, "not a scaffolding but a scaffold." Our profession of love will only be an empty formula. Men are strangled to death on a scaffold. So can this land of ours be strangled to death if we,

blindly and ignorantly, without love or knowledge, take the running of affairs into our own hands. It would be a hideous crime to lay strangling hands on a nation.

Therefore, let us get a knowledge of Ireland. We can begin near at hand. Let us listen to the inspiring stories of places and memorials and ruins and women and children of our own country who worked and suffered in many cases, died so that we might be free; let us know of the poets, writers, artists and artisans, musicians and singers, priests and monks, nuns and lay-people who shaped beautiful things and gave that beauty to our nation. Let us try to fashion our lives on their lives. Let us draw into ourselves all the fine sustenance of our Culture. If we do not know where to look for this, ask our grown-ups, keep asking them. Above all, let us speak and develop in ourselves our Language, not because we shall get jobs—which, indeed, are extremely necessary—but because we cannot be a truly Irish soul unless our thoughts are formed in a truly Irish mind (incidentally those who learn a language narrowly, and merely to get jobs are, many of them, soullessponents of everything an Irishman holds dear).

We must be spiritual. "Splendid holy causes are served by men who themselves splendid and holy." That was what Padraic Mac Piarais said, surely he was qualified to preach the gospel of nationhood. We, too, must be splendid and holy. We must be pure in our bodies, pure in our minds, pure in our souls. We must not always be thinking of the material things of this world that is the curse of the modern age. We cannot and should not neglect our body, but we must, much more, be concerned with the higher things of the soul. If we do we shall, amazingly enough, be strong and hard and quite capable of carrying this nation on our shoulders. We must indeed be a solid, substantial foundation.