

AN t-ÉIREANNAC AONTUISTE

The UNITED IRISHMAN

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EASTER LILY DEFENDED

Protest Meetings Well Supported

THE attempt by the 26-County authorities to stop the sale of Easter Lilies this year was followed up by well-attended public protest meetings and poster parades in many areas.

Conservative estimates put the attendance at a meeting in Waterford city at 5,000. Meetings and poster parades were also held in Cork, Galway, Dundalk, Drogheda, Portlaoise, Wexford and in villages and towns in Counties Kildare, Waterford, Louth, Roscommon, Kilkenny, Monaghan and Kerry.

In Dublin, 10,000 leaflets were distributed protesting against the seizures.

SACRIFICE OF PRINCIPLE

Speaking in Drogheda, Tomás Mac Giolla, President of Sinn Féin said:

"The effort to crush the sale of Easter Lilies is a direct result of all the years of abatement of the national demand, all the years of sacrifice of principle. Opposing this abatement of the national demand is the Republican Movement, the only body which has stood in the way and hence this latest effort to crush them and every emblem of Republicanism. The 26-County government is afraid to ban the Easter Lily but, in fact, the police force was instructed to ensure that the Lily was not sold, distributed or displayed. If

this was successful the next step would be to ban all Easter commemorations".

Since these meetings were held the 26-County Government has carried its action a step further.

Matt Murray, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary, a life-long member of the Republican Movement was arrested and is serving imprisonment in Limerick Jail. Men and women have been sentenced, in their absence, to periods of imprisonment of from seven days to two months. These sentences have been given in Tipperary, Cork, Waterford, Kerry, Louth, Leitrim, Mayo, Galway and other centres.

Armagh man Released

A Republican Prisoner, Gerald Haughian, Silverwood Drive, Lurgan, Co. Armagh, was unconditionally released from Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast on May 7. He was sentenced to 9 years penal servitude in 1959. There are now 11 Republican Prisoners in Belfast Jail.

Drogheda Pre-Truce I.R.A. Protests to Haughey

DROGHEDA branch of the Pre-Truce I.R.A. has written to the 26-County Minister for Justice, Mr. Haughey, protesting against the attempt by Drogheda Gardaí to stop the sale of Easter Lilies.

The letter states:

"At a recent general meeting of the Drogheda branch of the Pre-Truce I.R.A. it was decided to register a vigorous protest against the manner in which the local Gardaí handled the matter of the sale of Easter Lilies in Drogheda, on Saturday, April 13 last, and also the obvious selection of some half a dozen areas in which to stage commando tactics against the young men

engaged in the distribution of the Easter Lilies.

It was also noted that the fund to help in the matter of improvements to the Memorial to our patriot dead, situated on the Mornington road, Drogheda, has suffered as a result of the confiscation, by the Gardaí, of subscriptions collected on that date.

The meeting also decided to request the Minister for Justice to arrange for the refund of the moneys confiscated, and to take the necessary steps to ensure that in future there shall be no interference by the authorities in the distribution of Easter Lilies."

Irish Emigrants Rally for Prisoners' Release



A section of the vast crowd which attended a meeting in Trafalgar Square, London, on April 28 to demand the immediate and unconditional release of all Irish Republican Prisoners.

Sinn Féin Pickets Commonwealth Secretary

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, British Commonwealth Relations Secretary, visited Dublin on Thursday, May 16.

The Commonwealth Relations Secretary is the British Government Minister responsible for 26-County affairs while Mr. Brooke, the Home Secretary, is responsible for Six-County affairs. These are the men directly responsible for ensuring that British dominion over Ireland is upheld and strengthened.

A statement issued by the Publicity Committee of Sinn Féin on May 13 said that since British troops were withdrawn to the Six County bridgehead it was considered politic by British Government Ministers not to pay official visits to the 26-County area.

The statement continued:

"It is now felt both by the British Government and the Leinster House Government that they have succeeded in reducing National morale to such a low ebb that no objection will be made by the Irish people to a visit from a British Government Minister.

"They think that we no longer desire unity, freedom and sovereignty for the Irish nation. They think we have now become content with Dominion status for part of the nation and subjection for the remainder. They think that we now willingly accept our role as supplier of cheap food and cheap labour to British industry. They think we have become so degraded in the eyes of free nations that we

will obediently bow our heads to our master and shelter under Britain's stifling wing.

"What is the aim and purpose of the British Minister's visit? What secret agreements are being made? Has Mr. Sandys come to prepare for the final and abject surrender of the 26-County state?

"A plan is being discussed with Mr. Lemass for total integration of the Irish economy with Britain's. The economic domination of Britain has already produced disastrous results for the Irish people both in the Six and 26 County areas.

"Let Mr. Sandys remember that the politicians are not the Irish people. The neo-ascendancy class in both parts of Ireland may have been purchased and may give Mr. Sandys a welcome but the mass of the Irish people will tell him to go home. Let us ensure that he hears the voice of the Irish people."

While Mr. Sandys was attending a state banquet in Iveagh House, Dublin, on May 16, a

picket of almost 30 Sinn Féin members paraded outside.

They were led by Tomás Mac Giolla, Uachtarán Sinn Féin, and the posters read "Sandys go home", "British Troops Must Go", "Release the Prisoners" etc.

On the day before, Mrs. Kathleen Clarke, widow of Tom Clarke, the executed 1916 leader and President of the Republican Prisoners Release Association, handed in a letter to the British Embassy for Mr. Sandys bringing the widespread demand for the release of the prisoners to his attention.

Wolfe Tone Anniversary

We celebrate this month the 200th anniversary of the birth of Theobald Wolfe Tone who was born in Dublin on June 20, 1763. Arrangements have been made to ensure that this occasion is fittingly honoured and many commemorative functions are being held throughout the country, and abroad.

The UNITED IRISHMAN is privileged to be able to publish a special article on the Father of Irish Republicanism, written by Brian O hUiginn just before his death last March. It appears on pages 6, 7 and 8. See also page 12.

Letters to the Editor

Background to our financial servitude

A Chara,

Mr. James C. Heaney's lively letter in the March issue of the "United Irishman" particularly interested me on one issue—an issue I have been whacking at for some 30 years. He writes: "You tell your readers Britain controls Irish finances. You fail to tell them how. Show them the mechanics of the thing."

The mechanics of that control reside in the machinery for carrying out the decrees of the Currency Act of 1927 (number 32 of 1927) passed by the 26-County Dail, on August 20, 1927.

Part V, Sections 45 to 47 provide for the issue of notes "in this Act referred to as legal tender notes for . . . ten shillings, one pound, five pounds, ten pounds, twenty pounds, fifty pounds, and one hundred pounds, and such legal tender notes shall be current in Saorstát Éireann . . . and shall be legal tender in Saorstát Éireann for the payment of any amount."

There is no provision in the Act for the direct issue of these notes by the Government itself using them. Instead, Section 47, paragraph 2 lays down that "any person" who delivers to "the Commission for legal tender notes" (usually called the Currency Commission) British money "in any form which is for the time being legal tender in Great Britain for unlimited amounts, the Commission shall issue to such person legal tender notes equal to . . . the nominal amount of the British money so delivered."

Paragraph 5 of Section 47 provides for the issue of legal tender notes to "any Shareholding Bank" against "a bank draft payable at sight in London"; and against "such amount of British Government securities . . . equal in value to the amount of the legal tender notes so issued."

Part V, Section 48, provides for "the redemption of legal tender", on presentation to the Currency Commission, "in money in any form which is for the time being legal tender in Great Britain . . . or if the person presenting such notes so agrees,

by a draft on London. Section 49 provides that "every legal tender note shall be payable by the Commission on presentation at the London Agency . . . in money in any form which is for the time being legal tender in Great Britain. . . ."

This latter provision used to be printed at the foot of the legal tender notes up to a year ago. The notes recently issued omit this legend; possibly because it was likely to catch the eye of too many of the more intelligent Irish and cause them to wonder!

In the 1930s pressure for the setting up of a State Bank and a really national currency was of such strength, inside and outside the ranks of Fianna Fáil, that a Commission of Enquiry into Currency, Banking and Credit was set up in 1938. It was staffed by a majority of bankers and bankers' economists, and produced a Majority Report deciding that the current system was the best!

It recommended re-naming the Currency Commission as the "Central Bank of Ireland," its functions to be exactly the same. The Central Bank Act, 1942 (No. 22 of 1942) Part II, Section 11, provided that the issue of legal tender notes as regulated by the Currency Act of 1927, should continue to have effect.

It will be clear, therefore, that the issue of money in the 26 Counties is governed by (1) the supply of British money and British Government securities; and (2) is, in practice, done through the Irish banks, whenever they ask for it. In no circumstances does the Government itself put the money into circulation by directly using it.

Since it is the Bank of England that governs the amount of British money issued into circulation, and the British Treasury that governs the volume of British Government securities, it follows that these bodies have an indirect control over 26 County money. Moreover, the Irish banks (all of them survivors or relics of the Conquest) continue their habit of pre-Treaty times of keeping their "Bank Cash" in the Bank of England; and also continue their invariable custom of raising or lowering their Bank Rate strictly in accord with the British Bank Rate.

It should be noted that there is no direct or unavoidable legal control exercised by the British on the 26 County money. The control is voluntarily accepted by the Dublin Government and by the Irish banks. This voluntary financial slavery is unknown in any other part of the sterling area or of the British Empire.

Mr. Heaney could get copies of the Currency Act, No. 32 of 1927 and the Central Bank Act, No. 22 of 1942, from Government Publications Sales Office, Dublin.

Misc. le meas,

E. Ua Cúrnáin.

Ballybunion,
Co. Kerry.

Tan War Veteran On Land Sales

A Chara,

I am an old officer of the Irish Republican Army and since I handed in my gun in 1921 I have taken no part in politics. Now I think it is time for every man who fought for Ireland to come out in the open and demand that the sale of Ireland be stopped.

When we were fighting the British every man who fought with me, and they included the late Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, was as much concerned about the economic freedom of Ireland as the military freedom. Now we have a strong continental power buying up all the sea-side land possible.

This is no flash-in-the-pan purchase, but a military operation, carefully planned and cleverly executed for the sole purpose of forming a bridgehead here for operations during another world war which may be a lot nearer than many of us think. The Irish people should wake up and see to it that they are not used as bomb fodder by any continental power.

And we have the millionaires, who were making their millions while this country was writhing in agony and who had no sympathy for the Cause for which we fought, coming in here and buying all the property they can lay hands on. They are driving the Irish, who had to stand up to everything the Tans were handing out and in many cases had their homes and business premises burned, to Hell or Connaught or the emigrant ship.

I appeal to all I.R.A. men, for the sake of their comrades who made the supreme sacrifice, to come together and work in every election to throw out the people who are letting the foreigners in and see to it that Ireland is kept for the Irish.

An Ex-I.R.A. Officer.

Cork.

Tribute to Brian O hUiginn

A Chara,

The members of the Irish Republican Clubs of San Francisco learned with deepest sorrow of the passing away of Brian O'Higgins.

We are quite familiar with his ardent devotion to his Motherland and his willingness to sacrifice his life for her freedom as demonstrated by his participation in the Uprising of 1916.

Here in San Francisco (The City of Saint Francis), we looked forward eagerly to his publications, especially The Wolfe Tone Annual which terminated last year.

Ireland can ill afford to lose a son of the calibre of Brian O'Higgins at this time when, unfortunately, compromise and self interest seem to be so prevalent, even to the extent of trying to convince us that "Ireland is Free." It is difficult to visualize Ireland without this great scholar. He was the personification of everything that was truly Irish—its language, literature, poetry, customs and games. He devoted his entire life to the cause of Ireland's freedom.

The Irish Republican Movement has lost an inspiring

The Great Famine

A Chara,

I was interested to read the excellent condensed story of the Great Famine by Thomas Maloney. I agree with his view that history records this period as one of the most disastrous in all of Ireland's past.

But as far as my limited knowledge of Irish history is concerned I have always been aware and fully conscious of the fact that most, if not all our historians have never written in an impartial and really authentic manner as far as the famine was concerned. Beyond a doubt it must be admitted that the potato was the staple food of the plain Irish people referred to as the Irish peasantry. The ordinary yearly value of the potato crop was approximately £20,000,000 and it is an extraordinary and pathetic fact, that in the year 1848, in the worst period of the famine, the value of agricultural produce in Ireland was £44,958,120.

Beyond fear of contradiction these figures prove that there was sufficient food in Ireland to provide for the entire population and, if necessary, for twice that number. Unfortunately, only a minority of the Young Ireland leaders, notably John Mitchel, James Fintan Lalor and Thomas Devin Reilly, advocated that the first and most essential duty of the Irish people was the refusal to pay rents to the landlords, the retention of all their crops to feed their own families, the destruction of bridges and the removal of railway lines in order to prevent the removal of the food from the country.

If that revolutionary and commonsense attitude had been adopted by all the Young Ireland leaders, or at least the majority of them, not one solitary Irish citizen would have died from starvation. There is even a possibility that British rule in Ireland would have been ended for all time.

While the people died in thousands the Young Ireland leaders made brilliant speeches, mostly in English, to people the majority of whom were Irish speakers. For example, William Smith O'Brien travelled through the country areas where the situation was most serious and urged the people to prepare for action. But when the real test came, he refused to allow the starving people to seize the cart-loads of grain that would have saved their lives.

At Mullinahone, Co. Tipperary, he refused permission to a large body of peasants to fell trees to prevent the loads of grain leaving the area unless they first asked permission of the landlords who were the owners of the trees.

Historical facts have seldom been faced up to in this country in their true and logical perspective, the famine has always been referred to as the "Great Famine" but it was also the "Great Betrayal" of the Irish people by the British Government and their own timid and apathetic leaders.

John Kiernan,

Castleblayney,
Co. Monaghan.

President Kennedy's Visit

A Chara,

In your March issue I was glad to see an attorney at law in the United States take such interest in Ireland and the Republican Movement.

However, I do not agree with him that there are too many commemorations reported in your paper, that something else more important should appear to enlighten the 25,000,000 of Irish descent in America. Are not the Irish at home and abroad enlightened on this position to-day? Don't they know that Ireland is partitioned by the British Government—that in 1956 a band of young armed men made a desperate attempt to win the complete freedom of this country and that for 5½ years they carried out activities against terrible odds?

Your correspondent must agree that the Irish at home and abroad heard all this news, they also heard of the deaths of Sabhat, O hAnnuain, Crossan and all the others who gave their lives during that glorious period. They have also heard about the hundreds of young men who have served penal servitude in Crumlin Road Jail and in other British and 26-County dungeons. And to what purpose all this effort and suffering but to break the connection with England, the never failing source of all our political evils.

Don't the great Kennedy family know her history? John F. and his brother Robert are coming to Ireland in June. Will Ireland's case as it is to-day be presented to them? Will they be shown the border as they were shown in Germany, will they be shown Crumlin Road Jail, the spiked roads, etc? We will see, we will see!

Pádraig Mac Aindriú,

Iorris,
Co. Mhaighgeo.

CASTLE HOTEL

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(Props.)

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Drogheda Corporation Condemns Seizure of Lilies

"THAT this Council views with concern the latest attempt to prohibit the sale of Easter Lilies, and places on record its opposition to any further moves in this direction," was the proposal by Councillor T. Leslie, adopted at the May meeting of Drogheda Corporation.

Councillor Leslie said that the Easter Lily was a symbol of our nationality, and of the epic struggle by a handful of brave men against the might of an empire. One could not classify the sale of the Lily as one would an ordinary flag-day, and "it is humiliating, in the extreme to ask men to go crawling to the Garda Barracks for permission to sell their national emblem. You might as well ask the English people to seek permission to hoist their own Union Jack."

Ald. P. Moore, seconding Cllr. Leslie's motion, said that attempts had been made to classify the sale of the Easter Lily as another flag-day, but nobody with a sense of reality would put the Lily on the same level. He said that the successors of the men whom the Lily commemorated were those who had not changed their policy since 1916, and "we of the younger generation pay our respects to these people."

He did not see why they should stand around in Drogheda—with such a storied history behind it—and see the men who sold the Lily being prevented from doing so, on instructions given at a higher level. Such men would not sacrifice principle

by asking the 26-County authorities for permission to sell the Easter Lily. The attempt by the police to prevent their sale was provocative.

Also supporting the motion were Councillors C. Kierans and C. O'Brien.

Recorded as dissenting was Councillor P. Martin.

Trades Council Protests

At the April meeting of Drogheda Trades Council, the attempt by the local Gardai to prevent the sale of Easter Lilies was condemned by Mr. D. Mac Raghnaill, who said that by their Gestapo methods when they assaulted the sellers, the Gardai had proved themselves to be agents and instruments of a political party, and not a police force.

"I would appeal," he continued, "to all honourable men in that force, to refrain from engaging in political activities."

The Chairman, Councillor E. Hughes: "I think the Gardai have done the same in other towns."

Mr. Mac Raghnaill: "The same policy was pursued all over the country. It has been the practice and custom to sell Easter Lilies which are regarded as a national emblem."

Ald. P. Moore: "The Easter Lily has been worn since 1917 to commemorate all those who died for a 32-County Republic, and surely the authorities should allow them to be sold. The action by the Gardai was provocative, and was not at all justified."

Mr. J. Mooney: "The Easter Lily signifies everything that Irishmen have died for."

Mr. Mac Raghnaill: "If the men who died in 1916 knew that today the sellers of the Lily had to apply to a 26-County parliament to obtain permission to sell the Lily, they would stand up in their graves."

Mr. Murphy: "If they applied for a licence would they get it?" Cllr. Hughes: "I don't think they would."

Mr. Murphy: "There is something wrong with our national spirit."

Ald. Moore: "If the attempt to prevent the sale of the Easter Lily was a political move, it has boomeranged."

Annual Wolfe Tone Concert ST. ANTHONY'S THEATRE, Merchants' Quay, Dublin. SATURDAY, JUNE 22

At 8.0 p.m.
ARTISTS:
Eamon Keane, Dolly McMahon,
Barney McKenna, Ronnie Drew,
Rory O'Connor Dancers,
Seán McLaughlin, Violinist,
Maevie Mulvany, Ballad Singer,
Patrick Griffin,
Veronica Blanchfield.
Fear a Ti: Seán Og O Tuama
ADMISSION: £ 4/- & 3/-

Cork Remembers Kent Brothers

A well-attended commemoration ceremony in memory of the Kent brothers of Bawnard, Castlelyons, Co. Cork was held there on May 12. A decade of the rosary was recited at their grave by Eibhlín Bean Uí Chonraí, the Last Post and Reveille sounded by Fianna buglers and an oration delivered by Gearóid Mac Cárthaigh, Corcaigh, in the course of which he said:

"It is with mixed feelings of sorrow and shame but also with feelings of pride and joy that we are here once more to commemorate the memory of the soldiers of the Irish Republican Army, who gave their all in freedom's cause. One fell mortally wounded in the fight and the other walked proudly to face a British Army firing squad, in Cork Barracks a few weeks later.

With feelings of sorrow, we assemble because of the fact that to-day, 47 years after the Kent brothers gave their lives for a free Ireland, the object for which they died has not been achieved.

FIGHT HAS GONE ON

We assemble with feelings of shame because so many Irishmen have turned their backs to the cause of Irish Freedom and not only turned their backs to it but, blinded by political power, have sabotaged every effort that has been made by true Republicans throughout the years to complete the task and to drive the last member of British occupation forces out of Ireland.

Surpassing all our feelings, however, are those of pride and joy, because all through the years, despite Coercion Acts and Public Safety Bills, despite the condemnation of those who claim to be Irishmen and Republicans, the fight has gone on and men and women have never been found wanting to fill the ranks of the various branches of the Republican Movement and to continue unceasingly the centuries old struggle for Irish Freedom.

In commemorating the memory of the Kent Brothers we are also paying a tribute to all others who, throughout the years, gave their lives for the Republican cause.

FREEDOM CAN BE WON

Politicians in Ireland today would have you to believe that the fight for freedom changes from year to year like the fashions in clothes we wear and what was right to do in 1916 is all wrong and in fact is criminal in 1963. But we of the Republican Movement do not believe so.

Freedom is a God given right, and if the Irish Republican Army of 1916 were right in asserting Ireland's right in arms in their day, the Republican Movement of 1956 and 1963 was equally right in re-asserting that right.

In conclusion I have this to say. You have come here to commemorate the Kent brothers and at the moment across the Atlantic in America a committee is collecting funds to erect a memorial to them. I am informed that it will be in the form of a set of Stations of the Cross in the church in which they used to worship so often.

A very worthy memorial

An Cumann Cabhrach

For the Relief of the Dependents of Republican Prisoners.

ATH CLIATH					
Cumann Harry Mac					
Entee, Fionnglas...	1	10	0		
Cumann an					
Ruiseálaigh	5	2	9		
Cumann an					
Mhisteálaigh	5	6	7		
E. Craven, Maryland	14	10			
Duine gan Ainm	1	0	0		
M. Rodgers, Cluain					
Tarbh	1	10	0		
Nora Bartley, Dún					
Laoire	5	0	0		
T. F.	2	5	0		
Cumann S. Plant	10	10	0		
Micheál Mac Giobáin	1	0	0		
Cumann Cabhrach,					
Coiste Atha Cliath					
—Crannchur	40	0	0		
Mrs. Patrick Daly,					
Upr. Erne St.	2	0	0		
Cumann an					
Mhisteálaigh,					
9/3/63	3	15	1		
Cumann an					
Ruiseálaigh,					
9/3/63	1	4	2		
Cumann S. Plant,					
9/3/63	7	2			
Cumann an					
Mhisteálaigh,					
28/3/63	11	13	2		
Cumann an					
Ruiseálaigh,					
28/3/63	12	5			
Ighnéitheach	10	2	6		
AN CABHAN					
Bailithe ag S. Donlon,					
J. Tiernan, and P.					
Corr, Ballinagh	9	10	0		
CIARRAI					
Cumann na mBan					
Tráigh LI	1	0	0		
CILL CHAINNIGH					
Bailiúchán Seipéil,					
Mooncoin	10	0	0		
Faighite arais 6 na					
Póilíní	1	4	6		
Bailithe ag Liam O					
Murchú, Baile					
Thomás	2	14	0		

North Galway Sinn Féin

The annual general meeting of North Galway Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceantair was held recently and the following officers were elected:

Cathaoirleach: Frank Glynn; Leas-Chathaoirleach: P. Ruane, Co.C.; Rúnaí: Sean O Gormáil; Rúnaí Cunta: Peadar de Burca; Cisteoirí: Sean O Gormáil and Robert Delaney. Teachtaí don Dail Ceantair: F. Glynn, Sean O Gormáil, Peadar de Burca, P. O Sionnachain, Liam O Cualáin.

HOME INDUSTRY

We have received the following letter from a voter in the Dublin North-East constituency:

I have received from the Fianna Fáil candidate in the Dublin forthcoming by-election, a circular letter which has been sent to all voters soliciting support. The letterpaper of this letter bears the watermark "Abermill Bond, Made in Gt. Britain"—an interesting comment on his and his party's interest in supporting Irish manufacture and lessening emigration.

indeed, but you too can erect a memorial and it would be a grand memorial. You can erect the memorial of a free Ireland in our day. By joining the ranks of the Republican Movement, and by sparing no effort, freedom can be won in our day". Michael Hennessy presided and Joseph Sherlock was chief marshal.

Geata Bán	5	10	0
Achadh Ur			
(Freshford)	1	10	0
Baile Sheáin agus			
Urrlingford	2	0	0
CEATHARLOCH			
Bill and Johnnie,			
Killeshin	2	0	0
CORCAIGH			
Cumann Riobard			
Emmet	1	10	0
AN CLAR			
Sean Ua Gearnagh,			
Lios Dun Bhearnaigh	5	0	
GAILLIMH			
An Cumann Cabhrach,			
Gaillimh	8	10	0
IARMMH			
Corm Cheoil in			
Ballynacargy	4	4	0
LUBHADH			
Dun Dealgan			
(Bailiúchán,			
23/3/63)	10	0	0
Dan O'Hare, Dun			
Dealgan	10	0	
LONGFORT			
Baile Longfort	17	19	0
Baile Mac Firsigh	3	0	0
Dunbeagán, Aghna-			
cliffe	11	1	3
LUMNEACH			
Sintíús Phróbháideacha	5	12	6
Geary's Sweet Factory	3	16	0
Limerick Clothing			
Factory	6	11	6
Condensed Milk Co.	16	0	0
Bailiúchán na Nollag	50	0	0
MAIGH EO			
Michael Walsh, Clár			
Chloinne Mhuiris	10	0	
MUNEACHAN			
Carraig Machaire Rois			
(Bailiúchán ag			
Cluiche Peile)	7	10	0
LIATROIM			
Druim Sean Bhoth	27	0	0
Gortleatragh and Cor-			
nageeha	3	9	0
PORTLAIRGE			
Bailiúchán ag C.I.E.			
Goods Depot	4	0	0
ROSCOMAIN			
Ballinagare	2	0	0
Arigna	6	0	0
Michael Fleming,			
Caisleán Riabhach	2	5	0
TIOBRAID ARANN			
Baile Thioibraid Arann			
agus Bansa	6	6	0
John Maloney, Ros			
Cré	5	0	0
TIR CHONAILL			
Bun Dobhráin	2	0	0
Tullaghan	3	0	0
Na Cealla Beaga	10	10	0
S. Mac Ruaidhrí,			
Anagarry	1	5	0
Sinn Féin — Conrdh			
na Gaeilge, Cill			
Chartha and Gleann			
Cholmeille	10	0	0
TIR EOGHAIR			
Cumann Cabhrach,			
Arboe	53	10	0
AUSTRALIA			
Fianna Éireann, Slua			
Liam Mellowes,			
Melbourne	10	0	
ENGLAND			
Cumann Uí Annuilain-			
Sabbat, Hudders-			
field	5	0	0
Pádraig O Ceallaigh,			
Garston, Léarphól	5	0	
AMERICA			
Irish Republican Clubs,			
San Francisco	\$300		
J. P. Galligan, Phila-			
delphia	\$3		

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DUBLIN

The sympathy of Republicans in Kerry goes to Seosamh O Súil-leabháin, Tahla, Co. Kerry, on the recent death of his wife.

MILITARISM

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

TO defend or recover freedom, men must be always ready for the appeal to arms. Here is a principle that has been vindicated through all history and needs vindication now.

But in our time the question of rightful war has been crossed by the evil of militarism, and in our assertion of the principle, that in the last resort freemen must have recourse to the sword, we find ourselves crossed by the anti-militarist campaign. We must dispose of this confusing element before we can come to the ethics of war.

Of the evil of militarism there can be no question, but a careful study of some anti-militaristic literature discloses very different motives for the campaign. I propose to lay some of the motives bare and let the reader judge whether there may not be an insidious plot on foot to make a deal between the big nations and to crush the little ones.

FINANCIERS AND STATESMEN

For this purpose I will consider two books on the question, one by Mr. Norman Angell, "The Great Illusion," and one by M. Jacques Novikow, "War and Its Alleged Benefits." In the work of Mr. Angell the reader will find the suggestion of the deal, while in the work of M. Novikow is given a clear and honest statement of the anti-militarist position, with which we can all heartily agree.

Those of us who would assert our freedom should understand the right anti-militarist position, because in its exponents we shall find allies at many points. But with Mr. Angell's book it is otherwise.

These points emerge: the basis of morality is self-interest; the Great Powers have nothing to gain by destroying one another, they should agree to police and exploit the territory of the "backward races"; if the statesmen take a different view from the financiers, the financiers can bring pressure to bear on the statesmen by their international organisation; the capitalist has no country.

Well, our comment is, the patriot has a country, and when he wakens to the new danger, he may spoil the capitalist dream, and this book of Mr. Angell's may in a sense other than that the author intended be appropriately named "The Great Illusion."

Annual
WOLFE TONE
COMMEMORATION
LONDON
SUNDAY, JUNE 30

Parade assemblies at
Marble Arch at 3.15 p.m.

Public meeting at
Trafalgar Square.
Speakers will include
Seán O Brádaigh, Longford.

Chairman: P. Mac Cathmhaoil

The limits of this essay do not admit of detailed examination of the book named. What I propose to do is make characteristic extracts sufficiently full to let the reader form judgment.

As we are only concerned for the present with the danger I mention, I take particular notice of Mr. Angell's book, and I refer the reader for further study

Principles of Freedom

by
Terence MacSwiney

to the original. But the charge of taking an accidental line from its context cannot be made here, as the extracts are numerous, and the tendency of all alike, and more of the same nature can be found. I divide the extracts into three groups, which I name:

1. The Ethics of the Case.
2. The Power of Money.
3. The Deal.

Where italics are used they are mine.

1. **THE ETHICS OF THE CASE.**—"The real basis of Social Morality is self-interest." ("The Great Illusion," 3rd Ed., p. 66.) Have we not abundant evidence, indeed, that the passion of patriotism, as divorced from material interest, is being modified by the pressure of material interest?" (p. 167.) "Piracy was magnificent, doubtless, but it was not business." (Speaking of the old Vikings, p. 245.) "The pacifist propaganda has failed largely because it has not put (and proven) the plea of interest as distinct from the moral plea." (p. 321.)

CONQUEST AND 'POLICING'

2. **THE POWER OF MONEY.**—"The complexity of modern finance makes New York dependent on London, London upon Paris, Paris upon Berlin, to a greater degree than has ever yet been the case in history." (p. 47.)

"It would be a miracle if already at this point the whole influence of British Finance were not thrown against the action of the British Government." (On the assumed British capture of Hamburg, p. 53.)

"The most absolute despots cannot command money." (P. 226.)

"With reference to capital, it may almost be said that it is organised so naturally internationally that formal organisation is not necessary." (p. 269.)

3. **THE DEAL.**—"France has benefited by the conquest of Algeria, England by that of India, because in each case the arms were employed not, properly speaking, for conquest at all, but for police purposes." (p. 115.)

"While even the wildest Pan- in the direction of Canada, he 1890 soap was 1890 say German has never cast his eyes minor, in the direction of Asia Minor. . . . Germany may need to police Asia Minor." (pp. 117, 118.)

"It is much more to our interest to have an orderly and organised Asia

Minor under German tutelage than to have an unorganised and disorderly one which should be independent." (p. 120.)

"Sir Harry Johnson, in the 'Nineteenth Century' for December, 1910, comes a great deal nearer to touching the real kernel of the problem. . . . He adds that the best informed Germans used this language to him:

You know that we ought to make common sense in our dealings with backward races of the world!"

The quotations speak for themselves. Note the policing of the "backward races." The Colonies are not in favour. Mr. Angell writes: "What in the name of common sense is the advantage of conquering them if the only policy is to let them do as they like?" (p. 92.) South Africa occasions bitter reflections: "The present Government of the Transvaal is in the Boer Party." (p. 95.)

EXTERNAL FORCE IN IRELAND

And he warns Germany, that, supposing she wishes to conquer South Africa, "she would learn that the policy that Great Britain has adopted was not adopted by philanthropy, but in the hard school of bitter experience." (p. 104.)

We believe him and we may have to teach a lesson or two in the same school. It may be noted in passing Mr. Angell gives Ireland the honour of a reference.

In reply to a critic of the *Morning Post*, who wrote thus: "It is the sublime quality of human nature that every great nation has produced citizens ready to sacrifice themselves rather than submit to external force attempting to dictate to them a conception other than their own of what is right." (p. 254.) Mr. Angell replied: "One is, of course, surprised to see the foregoing in the *Morning Post*; the concluding phrase would justify the present agitation in India, or in Egypt, or in Ireland against British rule." (p. 254.) Comment is needless.

The reading and re-reading of this book forces the conclusion as to its sinister design. Once that design is exposed its danger recedes. There is one at least of the "backward races" that may not be sufficiently alive to self-interest, but may for all that upset the capitalist table and scatter the deal by what Ruskin described in another context as "the inconvenience of the re-appearance of a soul."

POLITICAL SERVITUDE

We must not fail to distinguish the worth of the best type of anti-militarist and to value the truth of his statement. It is curious to find Mr. Angell writing an introduction to M. Novikow's book for M. Novikow's position is, in our point of view, quite different.

Easter Reports

THE following reports of Easter commemoration ceremonies were received too late for inclusion in our May issue:

South Derry: A céil was held in Newbridge on Easter Sunday night, an oration delivered by Kevin Murphy, Desertmartin and two minutes silence observed in memory of all who died for Ireland. A commemoration céil was held in Maghera on Easter Monday night and an oration delivered by Kevin Murphy. On Easter Sunday morning a wreath was laid on the grave of Volunteer Dominick Wilson in St. Mary's Cemetery, Desertmartin by Frank McArdle, Newry. Easter Lilies were sold and worn publicly in Newbridge, Maghera, Bellaghy and Desertmartin.

Mallo, Co. Cork: A well attended commemoration was held in the town on Easter Sunday night. Seán Stephenson, Cork gave the oration and Michael Hennessy presided.

England: A commemoration was held in Moston Cemetery, Manchester and an oration given by Seosamh O Nualláin, Dublin. A well attended commemoration was held in Birmingham. The Proclamation was read by Tony Powderly and an oration given by Séamus Coffey.

Donegal: A commemoration céil was held in Annagry and an oration delivered by Séamus Rodgers.

South Tipperary: A commemoration was held at the grave of General George Plant at Fethard and an oration was given by Aindrias Mac Domhnaill, Anonoh urmhúin.

North Tipperary: A commemoration

I gGuimhne

The 10.00 Mass in Adam and Eve's Quaysan Church, Merchant's Quay, Dublin, on Sunday, June 9, will be offered for the repose of the souls of:

Peter McCarthy, Dublin, shot by police, June 15, 1937.

Bob Clancy, Waterford, died in Curragh Concentration Camp, June 12, 1941.

Charles O'Hare, Armagh, died in Isle of Man internment camp, June 2, 1944.

know's position is, in our point of view, quite different.

He does not draw the fine distinction of policing the "backward races." Rather, he defends the Bengalis. Suppose their rights had never been violated, he says: "They would have held their heads higher; they would have been proud and dignified, and perhaps might have taken for their motto, *Dieu et mon droit*." ("War and Its Alleged Benefits," p. 12.)

He can be ironical and he can be warm. Later, he writes: "The French (and all other people) should vindicate their blood; so what I write does not refer to those who defend their rights, but those who violate the rights of others." (Note p. 70.)

He does not put by the moral plea, but says: "Political servitude develops the greatest defects in the subjugated peoples." (p. 79.) And he pays his tribute to those who die for a noble

oration was held in Toomevara at the grave of the Devany brothers and an oration delivered by Seán O hEidlin, Luimneach. In Nenagh, County Tipperary, Jack Meagher, a comrade of the late Seán Treacy who was killed in action in Dublin in 1921, was arrested and held in the local barracks for an hour. Easter Lilies in his possession were seized by the police.

San Francisco: An hour long radio programme commemorating Easter Week was broadcast on Easter Saturday and Mass was celebrated in St. Finbar's Church on Easter Sunday morning.

Melbourne: Mass was offered in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, on Easter Monday for the repose of all who gave their lives for Irish freedom and a commemoration ceremony was held in Melbourne general cemetery on Easter Monday at the graveside of Seán MacSwiney father of Terence MacSwiney.

Toronto: The annual Easter commemoration concert was held in the U.N.F. hall on Sunday, April 21.

MEMORIAL TO KILDARE PATRIOT

MA RTIN O'BRIEN, Salinas Road, Naas, Co. Kildare, died on June 25, 1961. He had seen a lifetime of service in the Republican Movement and had been very active during the Black and Tan war. He remained with the Republican Forces after 1921 and was active during the following struggle.

During the 1940's he cycled long distances carrying despatches for Republicans on the run. He wrote many inspiring poems and essays under the pen name "Conleith Martin." Many of them were published in the *UNITED IRISHMAN*. He was also a noted athlete in his youth. A Republican committee has been formed in Naas to erect a memorial in the form of a Celtic cross over his grave in St. Corban's Cemetery, Naas.

Anyone wishing to contribute to the fund should send his subscription to Thomas O'Connor, Alasty, Kill, Co. Kildare.

cause: "My warmest sympathy goes out to those noble victims who preferred death to disgrace." (p. 82.)

This is the true attitude and one to admire; and any writer worthy of esteem who writes for peace never fails to take the same stand.

Emerson, in his essay on "War," makes a fine appeal for peace, but he writes: "If peace is sought to be defended or preserved for the safety of the luxurious or the timid, it is a sham and the peace will be broken."

And elsewhere on "Politics," he writes: "A nation of men unanimously bent on freedom or conquest can easily confound the arithmetic of the statist and achieve extravagant actions out of all proportions to their means." Yes, and by our unity for freedom we mean to prove it true.

Continued

DÚNFAR 56 STÁISIÚN TRAENACH AN MHÍ SEO

Is ionann fadhb na n-iaránróid agus fadhb na hÉireann

Deir ar dTuairisceoir Speisialta

DE réir ráitis oifigiúil ó Chóras Iompair Éireann, dúnfar 56 stáisiún traenach i lár na tíre agus san iarthar ar an 15ú lá den mhí seo. Deir na daoine a bhfuil an t-eolas acu nach fada go ndúnfaidh lucht an UTA an príomhlíne ó Phort an Dúnaín go Doire.

Agus na h-iaránróid, cuid tábhachtach de chóras iompair na tíre á ndúnadh, cúpla ceann gach ráithe beagmá, nior mhiste an cheist seo a scrúdú. Cabhróidh sé leis an léitheoir an chuid eile den alt seo a thuiscint má bhreathnaíonn sé ar an léarscáil atá ag gabháil leis seo, agus ar an tábla daonra.

Is sa mbliain 1834 a tógadh an chéad iaránróid sa tír seo, idir Bhaile Átha Cliath agus Dún Laoghaire. Tógadh an líne go Droichead Átha i 1845 agus leathnadh na h-iaránróid ar fuaid na tíre diach ar ndiaidh go dtí go raibh an tír iomlán clúdaithe le mogalra dlúth de línte a shín siar go dtí áiteacha mar na Cealla Beaga, Daingean Uí Cháis, agus an Clochán in Iar-Chonnacht.

CEANTAR NA TEORANN

So mbliain 1922 bhí 46 chomhlacht iaránróid sa tír. Ba sa bhliain sin freisin a roinneadh an tír i ndhá stát. Sa mbliain seo 1963 tá na h-iaránróid faoi stiúradh dhá chomhlacht stáit, CIE sna 26 Chontae agus an UTA sna 5 Chontae. Is lú go mór míleáiste iomlán na n-iaránróid in Éirinn inniu ná sa mbliain 1922. Ba dhána an mhaise don té a dhéanfa h tuar faoin míleáiste a bheas ann i gcionn daichead bliain eile, sé sin má leanann cúrsaí mar atá.

Trí ní is cúis le meath na n-iaránróid in Éirinn:

- Deighilt na tíre.
- An laghdú scanraitheach atá tagaithe ar an daonra ó tosaiodh ar na h-iaránróid a thógáil. Bhí 8,175,124 duine sa tír seo i 1841. Níl ach 4,243,803 duine inti anois.
- An fás mór a tháinig ar an iompair príobháideach le daichead blian anuas, chomh maith le mí-éifeacht lucht stiúrtha an iompair phoiblí, idir lucht rialtais agus an lucht iompair iad féin.

Ní gá ach súilféachaint amháin ar an léarscáil chun an chéad chúis a thuiscint. O roinneadh an tír i ndhá leath, tugadh faoin dá stát a fhorbairt neamhspleách ar a chéile. De réir mar a shleamhaíonn an aimsir tharainn tá na teorainn á daingniú agus dochar á dhéanamh dor tír i ngach slí.

Bhí 15 líne iaránróid ag trasnú na teorann sa mbliain 1945 agus

bhí seacht bpost custam in úsáid orthu. Níl ach an t-aon líne amháin ag trasnú na teorann anois, an príomhlíne ó Bhaile Átha Cliath go Béal Feirste.

Tabhair faoi deara an bhearna mhór sa mhogalra, an ní is suntasaí faoin léarscáil. Níl oiread agus troigh de iaránróid i gCo. Dhún na nGall anois, ná i bhFear Manach, ná i Muineachán ach an oiread. Tá cúpla míle slí de líne a úsáidtear le h-aghaidh seirbhíse carraí amháin fágtha go fóill i gCo. an Chabháin. Má dhúntar an líne ó Phort an Dúnaín go Doire, ní bheidh aon bhóthar iarainn i gCo. Thír Eoghain — beidh bearna níos mó fós sa mhogalra.

Ag labhairt dó i mBaile Átha Cliath anuraidh faoi choimirce an Fhoras Riaracháin, dúirt G. B. Howden gur "gruama dáiríre" é an saol atá i ndán dá chomhlacht féin, an UTA. O bunáidh an tUdaráis i 1948, dúnadh 56% de na línte a bhí ann an tráth sin, agus cheap sé nach bhféadfadh stát chomh beag le stát na Sé Chontae córas iaránróid a chothú mórán níos faide.

1,000 MILE DE LINTE DUNTA

Maidir le córas iaránróid na 26 Chontae is féidir údaráis eile a lua, Tuarascáil an Choiste Fiosrúcháin ar Iompair Intíre, 1957. De réir alt 386 den Tuarascáil tharla deacrachtaí na n-iaránróid de bharr "toscaí geografacha, daonra agus eacnamaíochta." Níl ráite ansin ach cúis uimhir a dó thuas, ach ar bhealach eile.

O 1922 i leith dúnadh beagnach 1,000 míle de línte sna 26 Chontae, agus dúnadh na canálacha ar fad do thrácht iompair. Bhí 1,537 míle de línte in úsáid ag CIE de réir Tuarascáil Bhliantúil an Chomhlachta don bhliain dar chroch Márta 31, 1962, gan taobhlailgh agus ráilí dúbailte a chur san áireamh. Dúnadh roinnt línte ó shin arís.

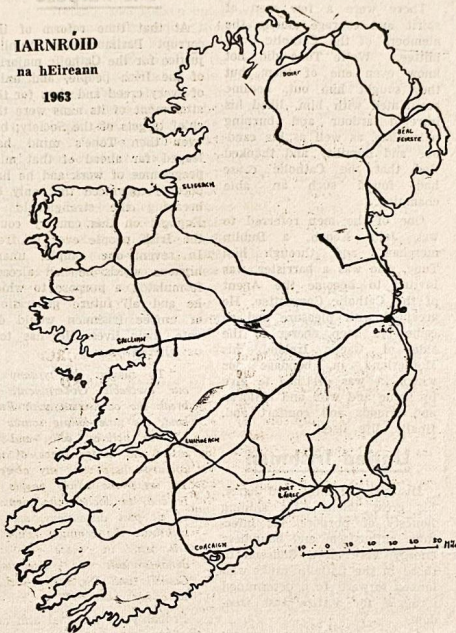
IARNRÓID NO BOITHRE

Sé stáisiún agus caoga atá le dúnadh an mhí seo san iarthar agus i lár na tíre. Tá Comhairlí Contae, Cumainn Lucht Tráchtála agus daoine mórléir á bhfuil Ardeaspag Thuama ina a measc ag déanamh agóide. Tá an ceart ar fad acu, ach ní i

geist sa chás seo ach léirídh amháin ar dhroch-staid na tíre.

Léirítear sa tábla thíos an laghdú mór atá tagaithe ar dhaoir Chéige Connacht, agus tá an scéal mar a chéile i nDún na nGall, Cabhán, Muineachán, Fear Manach agus Longfort. Ní leor a rá go bhfuil failli déanta ins an gcóras iompair. Tá failli déanta i ngnóthaí na tíre tríd is tríd. Níl i meath na n-iaránróid ach cuid

IARNRÓID na hÉireann 1963



An bhearna mhór thart ar cheantar na teorann an ní is suntasaí faoin léarscáil seo. Níl oiread agus troigh de iaránróid i nDún na nGall, i bhFear Manach ná i Muineachán anois. Cuimhnítear freisin gur le h-aghaidh seirbhíse carraí amháin a úsáidtear cuid de na línte.

den scéal, ach cuid an-soléir san am céanna. Is ionann fadhb na n-iaránróid agus fadhb na hÉireann.

Tá daoine ann adeir nach bhfuil córas iaránróid riachtanach sa tír seo. Tá freagra, agus go leor freagraí ar an geist sin. Is iad na bóithre iarainn an córas iompair is iontaofa dá bhfuil againn. Is féidir ulaigh mór a iompar ar aistí fhada go sciobtha (agus níos sciobtha fós ach vaigíní le fólseocháin a úsáid ar na traenacha carraí).

Dá ndóigheal na h-iaránróid chaithfí na milliúin punt a chailleadh ar bhóithre móra cosúil le autobhann na Gearmáine nó autostradas na hIodáile.

Ballina Rates: Sinn Féin Councillor Protests

"If we strike a rate here we are betraying the people who sent us into the chamber," said Seán O Cleirigh, Sinn Féin, at the estimates meeting of Ballina Urban Council in April when he proposed that the Council refuse to strike a rate until the County Council provided Ballina with the essential health and fire fighting services and also condemned the County Council for imposing a rate of 62/- on the people of the county.

Referring to the County Council demand, Seán O Cleirigh said the unfortunate part was they could not do anything about it. He had noticed from the papers where the Western Maritime Counties Committee got very

short shrift from Mr. Lemass in their quest for a rates equalisation scheme.

While he knew they were bound, as was stated in the Co. Manager's report, that they must by statutory demand, pay the County Council demand, he felt that in discussing it the reasons for the crippling rate lay outside the County Manager's, the county's and the Urban Council's control.

They must look outside these bodies for the increased rate. The reason was very simple for Ireland's economy was based on a false foundation supporting three governments, and, for a population in the region of 4,000,000 people, it was too much.

TREATY TO BLAME

Their economic system was based on the Treaty of 1921 and until such time as they got away from that they were going to have the high rates and the dwindling population. Their money was held by the commercial banks and the insurance companies and out of every £100 lodged in the banks £75 was invested abroad.

After a long discussion Seán O Cleirigh's proposition was defeated on a vote, while a resolution to adopt the estimate of 56/6 in the £, an increase of 1/- on last year's figure, was carried on a vote.

Pledge of Support from San Francisco

AT a meeting of the Central Council of the Irish Republican Clubs of San Francisco held in April the following resolution was passed:

"We, the members of the Irish Republican Clubs of San Francisco, America of Irish birth and descent, call for an end to Colonial rule in Ireland, for the withdrawal of Britain's Army of Occupation from Irish soil and the unconditional release of all Irish patriot prisoners now held in English and Irish prisons and we pledge our moral and financial support to the dependents and needy families of these patriot prisoners and to all our kindred in the Irish Republican Movement engaged in the task of ridding Ireland of English rule and the restoration of the Irish Republic as established in Easter Week, 1963.

Denis J. Mulligan, Chairman.
Anna Griffin, Secretary.

thaispeánann go soléir go bhfuil droch-staid ar an tír. Níl ach freagra amháin ar an bhfadhb — saoire, aontacht agus rialtas éifeachtach.

Is scáthán iad na h-iaránróid a

Titim mhór i nDaonra Chuige Connacht

Contae	Daonra 1926	Daonra 1961	Laghdú	Laghdú %
Gaillimh	169,366	149,887	19,479	11
Maigh Eo	172,690	123,330	49,360	28
Liatroim	55,907	33,470	22,437	40
Sligeach	71,388	53,561	17,827	24
Ros Comáin	83,556	59,217	24,339	29

THERE is nothing tangible to show why Theobald Wolfe Tone, a young Dublin Protestant, who did not know a single Catholic or a single individual connected with or interested in the downtrodden, outlawed, impoverished Catholic Gaels of Ireland, should have suddenly and as if inspired, anonymously, but in a manner and in tones and words that commanded attention from all, raised his voice in 1791 on their behalf, aligning and associating himself with them, and stating their case as it had never before been stated by cleric or layman.

The inner voice which moved him to do this noble and generous thing was not understood, even by himself. He had nothing to gain, but much to lose by it and had no assurance that those for whom his voice was raised would not repudiate him.

They had been for some years most unworthily and ineffectually represented by one of those less than lukewarm Catholic associations of which there have been so many in the history of oppressed and persecuted Ireland. Those who controlled it had neither independence of spirit nor courage of heart, neither self-respect nor even a glimmer of national consciousness, and no organisation was more slavishly loyal to "the English interest in Ireland".

Spoke for Catholics

Some eight years before Tone's voice was raised on behalf of the Catholic Gaels of Ireland—the Irish nation as he himself called them—the Irish Volunteers of Belfast, mostly Dissenters or Presbyterians, called for the recognition of Catholics as citizens.

The head of the spineless Catholic Committee, as the shivering Association called itself, instead of welcoming this demand for even limited emancipation, repudiated it and assured the bigoted Parliament in Dublin that the Catholics of Ireland made no demand for the return of their long-lost liberties! They were content to remain as they were, declared the alleged leader of Catholic Ireland, a poor creature named Lord Kenmare, and he called upon all his co-religionists to sever their connection with the tame Irish Volunteers, lest continued support should be regarded as disloyalty to their enslavers and oppressors.

The Voice of Tone

How different was the voice of Tone when, in his *Argument on Behalf of the Catholics of Ireland*, he took his stand beside the dispossessed, persecuted Catholic Gaels, made common cause with them and spoke to friend and foe as one of them, then and for evermore.

"Enough has been done and suffered by us," wrote this unselfish, courageous, Christian Irishman, on whom foreign enemy and native slave have striven to place the mark of the atheist when every other vile move of theirs against him had failed, "enough has been done and suffered by us to satisfy not only justice and law, but cowardice, malice and revenge; it is time our persecution should cease."

"If freedom comes, we will clasp her to our hearts and surrender her but with our last breath; if slavery is still to be our portion, we have learned, by bitter experience, to endure; and to that righteous and just

God Who has created and preserved us, we commit our cause, nothing doubting but that in the fullness of His good time He will manifest His glorious mercies, even unto us; though for wise purposes, He may think it fit to continue us a little longer under the rod of our oppressors, the ministers of His wrath."

There were a few men of spirit and courage among the members of the Catholic Committee. Wolfe Tone did not know even one of them, but they sought him out, became acquainted with him, liked his intrepid ardour and burning patriotism, as well as his candour and humility and thanked God that the Catholic cause had found such an able champion.

One of the men referred to was John Keogh, a Dublin merchant, and through him Tone, who was a barrister, was invited to become the Agent of the Catholic Committee. He accepted with pleasure and so came one step nearer to the side of Gaelic Ireland, his Motherland in bondage for whom he was destined to give up home and wife and children and friends and comfort and, finally, life itself.

United Irishmen

His gifts of mind and heart, his great talents, his shining honesty of purpose, his infectious enthusiasm and boundless energy were all a Godsend to those in the Catholic ranks who looked forward to a determined struggle for justice and freedom.

As if anticipating remonstrances on his foolishness in refusing a profitable political post after the publication of his *Argument* in pamphlet form, Tone wrote of his espousal of the Catholic cause in his *Autobiography*:

"The fact is, I was devoted most sincerely to their cause. I would have sacrificed everything to ensure their success. I would not have deserted my duty to the Catholics for the whole patronage of the Government if it were consolidated into one office and offered me as the reward."

Not religious freedom alone, but full independence of mind and body for all the people of this long-oppressed but unconquered land had already become the purpose of Wolfe Tone's life.

The failure and fall of the powerful Irish Volunteers through bigotry and lack of true patriotism had opened a door for the entry of the United Irishmen, a body that has influenced the national life of Ireland from that far-off time to this day in which we live.

The Society of United Irishmen was founded by a small group in Belfast on October 14, 1791, there being present eleven Dissenters, or Presbyterians, and two Protestants,

the latter being Wolfe Tone of Dublin and his friend, Thomas Russell of Cork. The Society was named by Samuel Neilson, a sincere patriotic, impulsive businessman of Belfast. The resolutions and declaration of policy were written by Wolfe Tone.

His Purpose

At that time reform of the corrupt Parliament in Dublin, justice for the Catholic majority of the Irish people, and unity of every creed and class for the attainment of its aims were the chief targets of the Society; but even then Tone's mind had leaped far ahead of that mild programme of work and he had become convinced that only by breaking the stranglehold of England on this country could the Irish people ever be free. In seventy-one simple, unambiguous words he had already formulated a purpose to which he and all future generations of unfree Irishmen would devote their lives. He has told us what it was:

"To subvert the tyranny of our execrable Government, to break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country—these were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of all past dissensions, and to substitute the common name of Irishman, in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter—these were my means."

Probably no national aim and purpose has ever been so concisely and clearly stated. These words and the thought they enshrine have shone like a beacon before the eyes of all the unselfish, unbought soldiers of freedom who have dedicated their lives to the liberation of Ireland; words and thought that have never lost their potency, their inspiration, their appeal to the minds and hearts of earnest lovers of Ireland and her cause.

English Spies

Dublin followed the lead of Belfast and in a short space of time the Society of United Irishmen had adherents in all parts of the country. Tone enrolled John Keogh and other independent-minded members of the Catholic Committee in the new body. They had come to see that national independence and true Catholic emancipation went hand in hand. It was only when the Society of United Irishmen was declared by the puppet Government in Dublin to be an illegal organisation that its business had of necessity to be carried on in secret.

The tools and touts and spies and informers, for the use of whose degraded service the English invaders of Ireland have ever been notorious, were busy at that time, and in 1794, when

Brian Ó hUiginn's Final Trial

'THE GREATEST

an envoy from the French Republican Government named William Jackson came to Dublin on a mission, via England, where it seems he had failed to make satisfactory contact with a small group of English republicans, he was accompanied by his "friend" and advisor, attorney John Cockayne, who was paid by the British Government to watch and betray him.

Awaiting him and watching also with greedy eye all who would meet and speak with Jackson, was another attorney, Leonard McNally, then and for several years later the trusted advocate and confidant of brave and sincere men who would be defended by him in court and betrayed by him to his employers, the English gang of intriguers in Dublin Castle.

Despite caution and reserve and an intuitive feeling of distrust on his part, Wolfe Tone was drawn into meetings and discussions at which the English spy and the Irish informer were present and very vocal. When Jackson was arrested, prosecuted and about to hear his death sentence, he foiled his accusers by taking poison from the effects of which he died in court. Wolfe Tone and Hamilton Rowan, another prominent Irish Republican, had to go into exile.

Amazing Task

In 1795 Wolfe Tone, his brave wife and their three children sailed for America. He had told his comrades at home that at the very first opportunity he would proceed to France to seek military aid in the uprising that must come before Irishmen could be masters in their own land. True to his promise he quietly slipped away out of the New World and on St. Brigid's Day, 1796, he set foot on French soil and began without delay the amazing task that is forever associated with his name.

Strive as we will we of today cannot fully understand the immensity of that task. Without money, without influence, without experience, the secret power of English cunning and English gold, as well as the ambition of Napoleon working against him, Wolfe Tone succeeded beyond the expectations of any comrade in Ireland or any friend in France.

To win even one military expedition directed towards the liberation of Ireland would have been an almost incredible achievement in the circumstances of the time. Wolfe Tone succeeded in having four expeditions fitted out and sent across the seas in the short space of twenty months, and if the purpose for which he organised them was not achieved, not even the slightest shadow of blame lies upon him, the tireless, the courageous, the indomitable, the unselfish and the true, a man whose like no

other land can claim, a man who in any land on earth would be honoured as the greatest of the great.

One hundred and forty years after 1798, an Irish historian, Dr. Richard Hayes, discovered proof that French public men and officials, military and civilian, exalted and humble, had accepted bribes from English agents and in return for the wages of infamy, had done all in their power to prevent or delay the expeditions, and in several ways their interference was successful.

Forever True

The fourth of the expeditions won by Wolfe Tone and with which he sailed home to capture and death, arrived off the Donegal coast on October 11, 1798. Kildare, Meath, Wexford, Wicklow had struck their blow for freedom and been repulsed. Antrim and Down had poured out the life blood of the bravest. The men of the West, inspired and aided by Humbert and his little band from France, had struck terror to the heart of England, but were now sleeping their last sleep or were being hunted by human bloodhounds on the hills of Mayo.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald was dead, the gallows was busy, the prisons were full, the United Irishmen were scattered, and here was the greatest of them all, true as always to his word, the most daring and reckless of those who fought a losing fight above the restless waters of Loch Swilly on that dark October day—here was gallant and fearless Tone come home to experience the chivalry of England.

Loch Swilly Battle

At the last, because Admiral Bompard knew what the fate of the returned exile would be if taken alive, Tone was urged to go back to France on one of the beleaguered vessels that could just manage to slip through the cordon of enemy battleships that surrounded the gallant *Hoche* on which he fought. He was grateful to his commander for the kindly thought, but he was a son and a soldier of Ireland and no one should ever say that he shirked a fight that was being fought for her freedom.

"Three great English ships of the Line and three frigates," says an account of the battle, "bore down upon the *Hoche*, where it floated off the Irish coast, with its mainmast crippled. Tone commanded one of the batteries throughout the violent contest that followed, when for six long hours virtually the whole English fleet poured its fire upon that solitary and valiant vessel. It is reported that he fought with the

To Theobald Wolfe Tone OF OUR DEAD'

utmost gallantry, and as if defeated though gallant enemy was about to be manifested once more.

Put on Trial

"Masts and rigging were swept away, the decks flowed with blood, and the cockpit was crowded with the wounded and dying defenders of the Flag of France. The rudder was gone and five feet of water was rising in the hold, yet Wolfe Tone walked amid the carnage as if he bore a charm. Only when every gun upon the *Hoche* was silent and the vessel itself was almost sinking, was the flag hauled down. What must have been Wolfe Tone's feelings as he saw the Tricolour of the French Republic fall to the deck of that bloodstained and shattered hulk!"

16 Fateful Days

And here is a subject for meditation by those with any Christian charity or honesty among the many who still say that Wolfe Tone committed suicide in his prison cell in Dublin after he had been illegally tried by court martial and condemned to death. Because he had said in earlier days that the English enemy would never have the satisfaction of giving him a criminal's death, the uncharitable say that he meant to take his own life. His reckless daring during the whole battle of Loch Swilly proves that he meant to go down fighting; that the enemy would only have a soldier's corpse on which to wreak their vengeance.

Here he was now on board the battered and stricken *Hoche*, his actions unrestrained, no enemy chain on hand or foot, no prison walls about him, but the certainty of arrest and imprisonment, trial and almost inevitable death before his mind's eye.

For sixteen days the *Hoche* lay upon the waters before the prisoners were taken off it. If Tone meant to take his life rather than let the English take it, why did he not do so during those sixteen days of heart-break and anguish? There is but one answer to that question. He never meant to take his own life; he had always regarded suicide as cowardly and shameful.

The prisoners were brought ashore at last, and at Letterkenny the French officers were invited to breakfast with the British commander of the district. There was a mean tout, a paid spy named Sir George Hill, hovering about the place. He had been at college with Tone and easily recognised him in spite of the French uniform. At once the returned exile was arrested and manacled. The reward of his unselfish devotion to the cause of Ireland was about to be paid in true English fashion. Imperial chivalry to a

General Hardy, the officer in command of the French Army at Loch Swilly, addressed a strong protest to Lord Cornwallis, the British Commander-in-Chief, in the course of which he said:

"The Adjutant Wolfe Tone is an honest man. His courage and distinguished conduct earn him the confidence of the Government and the esteem of all soldiers who are governed by the principle of honour. I need not, therefore, conceal from you the surprise with which I learned that you have caused him to be treated ignominiously as a criminal."

The reply to this was in full accord with all the traditions of British chivalry in its dealings with fearless and honourable Irishmen whose crime was unselfish patriotism and a desire to see their native land an untrammelled nation, at peace with all the world. Still manacled, Wolfe Tone was placed upon a horse; his feet were then bound beneath the animal's belly, and so he made the long and weary journey from Donegal to Dublin.

On Saturday, November 12, just one month after the arrival of the French force in northern waters, Wolfe Tone was put on trial before a Court Martial in Dublin, an illegal act, even according to British law, as Martial Law was not in operation at the time and the civil courts were in session.

The prisoner was cool, calm, and quietly defiant. He was a soldier of France, come to the relief of his native land, and had nothing to be ashamed of from first to last—"I mean not to give you the trouble of bringing judicial proof to convict me, legally, of having acted in hostility to the government of his Britannic Majesty in Ireland, I admit the fact."

Avowal

And then publicly, proudly, emphatically, in the midst of his country's enemies, he uttered words that have rung in the minds and hearts of faithful Irishmen ever since, giving the lie to those lapsed Republicans who have written that in his early manhood he was a pro-British imperialist.

"From my earliest youth," he said to the Court Martial, "I have regarded the connection between Ireland and Great Britain as the curse of the Irish nation, and felt convinced that, whilst it lasted, this country could never be free nor happy."

"My mind has been confirmed in this opinion by the experience of every succeeding

year and the conclusions which I have drawn from every fact before my eyes. In consequence, I determined to apply all the power which my individual efforts could move, in order to separate the two countries."

Seven years earlier, he, a Protestant who was not acquainted with a single Catholic in all Ireland, had spoken out bravely and manfully and as if inspired with intimate knowledge of the fearful sufferings of the outlawed Catholics of his native land. From that day until he stood alone, facing death for their sake, he had never ceased to battle for their freedom from enslavement, and now again he declared himself their brother and their comrade, paying them a tribute which so enraged and frightened the tyrants entrenched in Dublin Castle, that they suppressed it completely. Only long years afterwards did it come to light.

A Noble Tribute

Said Wolfe Tone to his accusers:

"I have laboured to create a people in Ireland by raising three millions of my countrymen to the rank of citizens. I have laboured to abolish the infernal spirit of religious persecution by uniting Catholics and Dissenters. To the former I owe more than can ever be repaid. The services I was so fortunate as to render them they rewarded munificently; but they did more. When the cry was raised against me (he referred here to the Jackson affair), when the friends of my youth swarmed off and left me alone, the Catholics did not desert me."

"They had the virtue even to sacrifice their own interests to a rigid principle of honour. They refused, though strongly urged to disgrace a man who, whatever his attitude towards the Government might have been, had faithfully and conscientiously discharged his duty towards them, and in so doing, though it was in my own case, I will say they showed an instance of public virtue and honour of which I know not whether there exists another example."

Tone knew that from the moment the battle ended on Loch Swilly's waters without bringing death to him, that his fate was sealed. The only request he made to the Court Martial was that he would be granted the death of a soldier, without delay. The honourable officers constituting the Court, or their masters, decided that he should die the death of a criminal, that he should be hanged within forty-eight hours.

Another question here for the mean traducers who call Wolfe Tone a suicide. Did he contemplate the taking of his own life would he have asked the Court Martial to have the sentence

Moladh an Phiarsaigh

Ir iongnatáir a bfuil
o'fearaib' óga ar péim
laocairde Saebéal. Ní raib
plán as Seán an Oimair
(Seán Mór Ó Néill) an uair
oo himpeal náir aip déir cús
bláda na óas ir píe
Níor máir doo Ruad Ó
Domnaill dé naoi mbliadna
píeas. Cús bláda na óas ar
píeas an pé Saebéal oo puair
an fear ir fearr náir ginead
puair oo Saebéal náir oo
Sall-Saebéal in Éipinn i.
Tiobóir Wolfe Tone.

Céirte bláda ir píe oo
bí plán as Róibéirí Emmet.
Ní Sábáí óimín tráir ar
Tomár Óáir ná ar an
Aéar Coán Ó Spáina. Cao
ar ar fáir cumáir Connéir
na Talmáir? Ar cumáir
craoib na n-ós-fear oo bí
na céannair. Cao ar ar fáir
bpiis agus neapir Connéir
na Saebéir? Ar bpiis agus
neapir iminne na n-ós-fear
oo cúir ar bun é.

—Bealaine 11á, 1912.

Tiobóir Wolfe Tone an
fear oo b'fearr oo
Saebéal náir oo Sall-
Saebéal náir ginead
puair i nÉipinn. Oo bí
bapáir as Wolfe Tone náir
bfuil asáinne. Níor
craoib náir oo-fear agus
uáinne. Ir miméir aipéir
súir anChraoib Wolfe
Tone. Níor ead. Oo
craoib pé i nOia agus níor
labair puair focail, so bpiir
uáinne, ná níor repíir focail
ar a' ócraoib na é
Chraoib é.

Ir iongnatáir ar gac ar
repíir pé, so móirpíir ar
an méir oo repíir pé ar
íreail na gáir a mna péim,
súir craoib pé so óiméir-
máir i nOia agus i nOia
Chraoib a thac. Ir píir so

raib ópoc-muimín. Aise ar
cléir na nÉipann, níor
Saebéal agus Sall, le na
lunn péim, agus b'fear náir
milleán aip é píir. Ir óas
súir píir náir milleán aip é
píir.

Ir óas súir píir náir
muimín leir cláir o'áon
craoib. Ní óimíir leir ran
mí-muimín píir. Ní óimíir
leir i póm éiré óá cúirpíir.
Déir óimíir ar ginead
agus fearcamíir ar nEilín na
fíreáir, agus óimíir é
car ar píirpíirpíir oo
beas-fear náir anpíir ó beal-
báí Éir, ar móirpíir a
anna, ar óimíirpíir a
imíreáir, ar méir a
fóirpíir oo Clannáir
Saebéal. Ní beas Éir ann
míir muna mbéas an fear
píir. A cúimne píir agus a
céasáir píir oo cóimíir beo
so nuge péo i.

Ní raib oo céasáir náir oo
craoib na óas Saebéal náir
puair ó céasáir oo na Níormán
aapir fear oo b'ioncúir le
Wolfe Tone déir ó
Néill. Déir ba mó' ó fear
Wolfe Tone ioná doo ó
Néill. Oo b'píirpíirpíir ó fear
é. Ba Sláine ó fear é. Ba
neapíirpíirpíir ó fear é. Neapíir,
Sláine, agus píirpíirpíir
puair an craoib-láir. "Neapíir
in ár láimh, píirpíir in ár
óiméirpíir, agus Sláine in ár
seapíirpíir."

Agus oo b'úairpíir i
uáiméirpíir imíreáir Wolfe
Tone agus oo b'iongnatáir i
gáir a imíreir. Oo cúir pé
óla Saebéal agus cúirpíir
Sall so mionlín. Oo déir an
céasáir uáim oo cúir na
gáirpíir. Iao. Ir é cúir
léapíirpíir agus póirpíir ar an
gáirpíir píir náir óáimíir na
ólaíir.

—Bealaine 18á, 1912.

carried out within the hour, if that were possible? He would be closely watched and guarded every moment of that hour between the sentence and the execution. He would need time and solitude if he had planned to wound himself mortally; here we find him asking the Court to give him no time and no solitude!

The Enemy's Word

We have only the word of perjurers and practised liars, as well as of self - convicted murderers of political opponents, that Wolfe Tone took his own life. We believe that he was murdered by order of the British Government and that the story of suicide was given out for the purpose of blackening his name and damning him in the eyes of the Catholic people of Ireland who loved him, and who would love him with a still greater and more lasting love had he died for them on the gallows.

The fact that he had decided not to see any of his relatives or friends, and had so written, was a great temptation to the murderers. When they announced that he had opened a vein in his neck with a weapon he had managed to conceal about his person (in three separate accounts of the wounding they mentioned three different weapons) they were able to boldly refuse admittance to any

one who desired to see him, because he had said in letters written after sentence of death had been pronounced, that for human reasons he would see no one, not even his father.

That decision strengthened the hands of those who had made up their minds to wreak murder on his good name as well as on his imprisoned body—Lord Buckingham had said several days before that Tone would commit suicide, and the informer who betrayed him at Letterkenny, Sir George Hill, wrote angrily when he heard of the wounding and the slow death, that the whole thing had been "bitched" as he so delicately put it. This was not their first, nor their last, murder of a similar kind in their dealings with Irish patriots.

No One Saw Him

It was on the day fixed for his execution that the Dublin Castle crew announced the prisoner's attempt on his life. He lived for seven more days, they said; but no relative, no friend, no clergyman was allowed to look at him even from the doorway of his prison cell. We have only the tarnished word of his and Ireland's enemies that Wolfe Tone died as the result of a wound inflicted by himself. We know

(Continued on page 8.)

'THE GREATEST OF OUR DEAD'

Continued from Page 7

them well enough to doubt their word.

If, as they said, he had wounded himself in the neck with first, a knife; second, a razor; third, a piece of broken glass, surely he did not throw the weapon away. Why, then, when he realised that he had not wounded himself deeply enough, did he not open a vein in the other side of his neck, or in his wrist, to make sure that death would ensue? We have only their word that he lingered for seven days, only their word for the date of his death.

Irish Defamers

Self-styled Irish Christians, writing in Irish papers labelled Catholic and Nationalist, have denounced him over and over as a suicide and have thrown mud at those who have praised and venerated and loved him through the generations because of his unselfish devotion to the cause of Ireland free. Let us put a question to these self-satisfied, smug little so-called Catholics who say they are Christians—followers of Christ.

Let us suppose that Wolfe Tone, in a battle with those who were determined to degrade him, made up his mind, now that he was about to be killed for practising the virtue of patriotism, that he would disappoint the killers by ending his life himself. Let us suppose that he really did linger in agony from his wound for seven days, is it impossible to believe that he who believed in God and invoked God's Blessing always throughout his life, spoke to the Lord of love and mercy there in the loneliness of his prison cell, expressing sorrow for the sins he had committed and asking pardon for them? Are the venomous traducers and defamers too narrow-minded, too lacking in faith and trust to admit that God would hearken to that penitential prayer and have mercy on the soul of a dying man?

French Pressure

We have only the word of Ireland's enemies to prove that Wolfe Tone took his own life, he who all his life had spoken against suicide. We know what the word of those enemies is worth and we are aware of the fact of history that they murdered troublesome and dangerous Irish patriots before and after 1798, and attempted to murder others; so we can place no reliance on their word and we have only contempt for the slavish and Anglicised among our own people who accept it as if it were Gospel truth.

It is a fact of history that the public killing of Wolfe Tone was being rushed before French pressure of the military code in relation to prisoners taken in action would prevent it and set him free.

What if the English had already been forced to yield to that pressure, to the inter-

vention of the French Government on behalf of a French senior military officer, as Tone was in the battle of Loch Swilly?

Would it not be in keeping with all the history of British Imperialism to seem to yield to overpowering arguments and then in the silence and secrecy of their prison hire an assassin to do by stealth what they were afraid to do in the light of day?

They would have had nothing to fear, because their unselfish and considerate prisoner had already made the way clear for the doing of this infamous deed when he decided that to save them pain he would have none of his relatives to visit him. They told the outside world that he took his own life by opening a vein in his neck; they even published the words he was supposed to have spoken to a surgeon they said they employed to endeavour to save his life, and represented him as saying when warned to keep still lest more blood should flow from the wound: "What have I to live for?"

Undying Words

That question alone coming from the lips of this man, of all others, raises the shadow of suspicion in our minds. He must have been well aware that the French would intervene and that if he survived he would be deported to France and reunited with the ones he loved as dearly and truly and ardently as any man has ever loved his own.

The words he is reported by his enemies to have said, then, in reply to a surgeon's warning, are without sense or meaning and have the appearance of overdone invention.

To get some idea of Wolfe Tone's love for his little children, two boys and a girl, let us go back in spirit to the seaport of Brest where a strong French fleet had assembled in October, 1796, making ready to sail to Ireland and help the Irish people to regain their long-lost freedom.

The days and weeks went by and one cause of delay after another cropped up—it was not known until 150 years later that English bribes to French officials caused most of the delays and other obstacles. Wolfe Tone was wild with impatience and indignation and fear that the help he was about to bring to the United Irishmen at home would come too late.

One entry in the *Journal* he kept shows how near and dear to him was his helpless family; how near to him at all times was the thought of Almighty God. The words he wrote down in that French seaport should shame forever those Anglicised Irishmen who play the enemy's game by representing him as a callous adventurer who was little less than unscrupulous and prepared to sacrifice everyone and everything to the advancement of his own ambitions.

One night during that long, inexplicable delay, when he was almost in despair and his mind

full of fear for the wife and little ones he had left in America when he sailed for France at the call of the United Irishmen at home, he wrote in the privacy of his *Journal*:

"God knows whether we shall ever meet again. If I reach Ireland in safety, and anything befalls me after, I have not the least doubt but my country will take care of them, and my boys will find a father in every good Irishman; but if I should happen to be killed at sea, and the expedition should not succeed, I dread to think on what will become of them."

"It is terrible. I rely on the goodness of Providence which has often interposed to save us, on the courage and prudence of my wife, and on the friendship of my brother to protect them. My darling babies! I dote on them. I feel the tears gushing to my eyes whenever I think of them. I repeat to myself a thousand times the last words I heard from their innocent mouths. God Almighty bless and protect them!"

Can any reasonable, unprejudiced, Irish mind believe that such a father would deliberately prevent a meeting with his wife and children again by taking his own life, even if it were only to anticipate the ending of it by an enemy?

It is incredible that Wolfe Tone spoke the words attributed to him as he lay dying in Arbour Hill prison; what is credible and in keeping with many facts of history is that the English killed him and invented a series of lies in the hope that they would defame and degrade him in the minds of those to whose freedom and welfare he had dedicated his life.

Record Review

The Four Courts Ceilidhe Band Vol. 1. Starlite Esquire Records Ltd. Price 12s. 6d.

This record is quite good and makes a very pleasant accompaniment for céilí dancing. The tunes are well chosen and well played.

I can only deplore the tendency which has been creeping in for some time past to change the time of some old tunes and airs to what is known as "waltz time". "The Men of the West" is intended to be a rousing song of praise. The words do not fit and could not possibly be sung to the changed time.

When one hears the air of a well known song the words automatically come to mind, but it is a shock to find that the words will not fit in the changed time.

All people of my generation must feel the same about this matter, but I expect that my children and grandchildren will see nothing strange in it. "The old order changeth . . ."

Otherwise the record is very good and I hope that there will be many more recordings of this band. M.T.

A National Monetary System

EVIL EFFECTS OF FOREIGN CONTROL

In this new series of articles under the general title of A NATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM the whole financial structure of the country will be discussed and the advantages of a national system explained by PROINSIAS O GREACHAIN in a simple and straightforward style that will appeal to everybody.

THIS is the first of a series of articles which will consider the evil effects of a money system controlled from outside. The writer will attempt to outline the reforms necessary to correct the evils of this system and outline the advantages which will accrue from the proposed reform.

In passing, it is pertinent to point out some recent evidence of the disadvantages of the present system. In the recent 26-County Budget the Commercial Banks were ordered to give details to the Tax Authorities of interest-yielding deposit accounts held with such banks by individual clients.

The result of this is that depositors are transferring their money to English banks who will not be obliged to inform the 26-County authorities of such deposits.

Regardless of one's personal opinion of such a tax enactment, one cannot fail to be shocked by the lack of power or control exercised by the 26-County administration over our money. If we had an independent monetary system under our own effective control, the export of capital would be impossible without permission.

EXPORT OF CAPITAL

If money is exported in a sizeable quantity from this state it will mean a contraction of an already unhealthy economy and a further deterioration in the employment position. As long as Ireland's monetary affairs are controlled by England, the result will be disastrous to Ireland and advantageous to England.

Because of her "long dark night" of centuries of foreign occupation, Ireland was denuded of capital and industry and her agriculture was directed towards Britain's advantage rather than her own.

It is obvious that in order to rehabilitate our economy we must conserve all our resources and the first step must be to stop the export of capital. Money will inevitably flow in the direction of London, if freely permitted to do so, because it is an international money market and offers more attractive rates of interest to speculators. If capital is freely exported, the export of people will follow just as freely, and that is exactly what has happened in this state for over forty years. And it will continue for another forty

years unless there are revolutionary changes made in our monetary affairs.

Any country which does not have effective control over its own monetary affairs has no real control over its economic affairs and government "by the people, for the people" becomes a sham and a joke because the powers of government are exercised behind the scenes by those who control the financial system. Hence the alacrity with which the 26-County government obeyed the peremptory commands of England during the recent campaign of resistance in the Six Counties.

Another serious disadvantage arising from the control of our monetary system is the difficulty in attracting Irish capital to finance Irish capital development, at economic rates of interest.

INTEREST CHARGES ON LOANS

In order to attract funds to the state loans issued by the 26-County administration, excessively high interest rates must be offered. Otherwise, due to the absence of any power to control the export of capital, the money would flow to the London money market. Thus, it is self-evident that this present system is evil and terribly costly to the Irish people and must be changed by any government which is serious in its claim to govern. The net effect of this aspect of the monetary system is that the Irish people are being milked dry by the excessive cost of capital development.

A side effect of this is the cruel weight of taxation which is necessary to pay the interest charges on "National" (26-County) loans. As this burden is falling on a dwindling population it does not require exceptional intelligence to see that, unless there is a startling increase in the working population of this state allied to a substantial rise in production and the national wealth, saturation point will soon be reached in the people's capacity to carry the burden.

RIISING DEBT NOT HEALTHY

In that event, and the indicators of rising national, local and hire purchase debt are not very healthy, to say the least of it, economic and national collapse could easily occur if the export markets for the 26-County state's products declined for any reason. The first step in reducing our extreme vulnerability would be the establishment of a National monetary system and the closing of the "bolt-hole" through which the wealth of Ireland is exported to the disadvantage of her people.

The necessity for change to a National system of finance will be discussed in the next article, which will also discuss the benefits which would accrue from such a reform.

Aiken has not spoken for his own country yet

The Silent Irishman

—By a—
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
in New York

THE inactivity of the 26-County representatives in the United Nations continues to mystify U.N. observers. The Government of the 26 Counties applied for United Nations membership in 1946 but it was not until December of 1955 that admission was granted.

Since that time their U.N. representatives have been vociferous in expressing their views on such subjects as the partition of Germany, the struggle of Algerian Nationalists for freedom and the courageous fight of Cypriot patriots against English domination.

However, observers have noted that not a single word has been uttered by these representatives concerning British occupation of six Irish counties and other problems facing the nation.

Since the announced purpose of the 26-County State's entry into the U.N. was to promote Irish interests and eliminate the occupation of the Six Counties, every Irishman is entitled to ask why nothing has been done to fulfil this stated purpose.

Why in the period of seven and one-half years has the present 26-County Government pleaded every cause but the Irish cause? The question is a fair one and has been asked numerous times. Never has an answer been forthcoming from Government sources however.

Let us examine briefly the record of the 26-County State in the U.N.

Prior to the Cypriot settlement, their U.N. representative publicly expressed sympathy for the cause of the Cypriot people.

Later when the fighting for Algerian independence demonstrated the determination and desire of the Algerian people for freedom, 26-County U.N. representatives publicly expressed sympathy for the cause of Algerian independence.

The partition of Germany had at that time already been publicly condemned by the 26-County Government.

THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS

During this period, while their representative pleaded for foreign causes in far off lands, the valorous efforts of Irish Freedom Fighters were met with the steel hand of the 26-County Government. Search and seizure was followed by imprisonment for hundreds of Ireland's faithful sons. It seemed that while Algeria belonged to the Algerians and Cyprus to the Cypriots, Ireland's green fields to the north did not belong to the Irish.

More recently, during the Cuban crisis last October, Mr.

Frank Aiken, 26-County Minister for External Affairs, addressed the U.N. General Assembly. His address was carried in the "New York Times" on October 25, 1962 and Mr. Aiken was quoted in part as stating:

"Whatever may be the intentions of the Soviet or the Cuban Government, however, it appears undeniable that the installations, missiles and aircraft now in Cuba are capable, in the hands of ill-intentioned persons, of constituting a deadly threat to the security of North and South America."

One might well ask if the Irish are not also entitled to show concern over the build-up of English forces in Ireland's Six Counties, if as Mr. Aiken states, the American Government is entitled to be upset over the Cuban build-up some ninety miles from the American coast.

Obviously, the answer is yes, but despite this the present 26-County Government has taken no steps to prevent or limit the standing armies in the north. It is apparent that Mr. Aiken feels the Americans are entitled to be upset and take action to reduce the hazard to their security but the Irish are not, even though British troops are actually stationed on Irish territory.

CUBA'S NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

Mr. Aiken went on and is further quoted by the "New York Times":

"It is quite true, in principle, as the representative of the Soviet Union has argued, that it is for Cuba in the exercise of its national sovereignty to decide how best to organise its own national defence. As he said: 'Cuba belongs to the Cuban people and only they can be masters of their fate.'"

Mr. Aiken's concern for the rights of the Cuban people is touching. It is regrettable that he does not show the same concern for his own people. If, as Mr. Aiken stated: "Cuba belongs to the Cuban people and only they can be masters of their fate," then one may well ask why this same rule is not applied to the situation in Ireland. Why must Englishmen be masters of the fate of almost one and a half million Irishmen in the Six Counties?

The answer to this question is a simple one. Mr. Aiken, as representative of the Lemass Government will hold his position only so long as he promotes the policy of Prime Minister Lemass. Mr. Lemass's policy of appeasement and collaboration with Imperial Forces is well known. Speaking before the Oxford Union Society on October 15, 1959, Mr. Lemass stated:

"Our goal is the re-unification of Ireland by agreement, and we cannot expect very speedy results. The barriers of fear and suspicion in the minds of the partitionists are too strong to be demolished quickly. For that reason, our aim is to develop contacts which will tend to build good will and to strive for concerted action in particular fields where early practical advantage can be obtained, hoping to proceed step by step to a new situation in which a re-appraisal of the whole problem can be undertaken, unhampered by prejudice."

The Prime Minister's announced policy is to teach the British the error of their ways in enforcing partition. He seems to believe that by lecturing and preaching the British will see the light. The gullibility of the Prime Minister is appalling. Ireland's history teaches us one thing if nothing else about the English. They are moved by action. They have responded to words. Mr. Lemass's record is one of both inaction and silence.

The partition of Ireland is by Mr. Lemass's own standards an international question and yet he has consistently refused to assert the provisions of the United Nations Charter in an attempt to bring about settlement of the partition issue.

LEMASS AND THE CONGO

His policy of consistently refusing to present the Irish case to the United Nations stands in contrast to the position taken by other member nations, each of which, without exception, used United Nations facilities in promoting its respective national interests. The present Irish policy is in fact, to have no policy at all. The effect of this policy is to maintain the status quo and perpetuate the artificial partition of Ireland as effected in 1922.

Having publicly stated that he will not condone the use of force in re-uniting Ireland, one might then ask Mr. Lemass when he intends to start talking about re-unification. When will he attempt to induce the British to withdraw from the Six Counties? When will negotiations start?

We have heard much of Algerian agitation in the United Nations and we distinctly recall the voices of Egyptian, French and African delegates speaking for the interests of their respective countries. But what of the 26-County delegate? What inspires his silence on Irish issues? Has he been so busy voting to send Irish troops to die in the African jungles for Congolese unification that he has forgotten Irish interests? Mr. Lemass's dislike for even peaceful agitation seems to be as strong as his dislike for the use of force in Ireland.

His policies require that Irish troops die for Congolese re-unification but the use of such force in Ireland for Irish re-unification is forbidden. Mr. Lemass has overlooked the fact that affairs in Ireland have not yet reached the point where the Irish people will accept the status quo. The problem has been ignored far too long. The words of Pearse, written on

TONE IS COMING BACK AGAIN

(This song to a traditional air, has been popular in Ulster since the days of the United Irishmen)

Cheer up, brave hearts, to-morrow's dawn will see us march again
Beneath old Erin's flag of green that ne'er has known a stain.
And ere our hands the sword shall yield or furl that banner be—

We swear to make our native land from the tyrant's thralldom free!

Chorus:

For Tone is coming back again, with legions o'er the wave.
The scions of Lord Clare's Brigade, the dear old land to save.
For Tone is coming back again, with legions o'er the wave,
The dear old land, the loved old land, the brave old land to save!

Though crouching minions preach to us to be the Saxon's slave,
We'll teach them all what pikes can do when hearts are true and brave.

Fling Freedom's banner to the breeze, let it float o'er land and sea—
We swear to make our native land from the tyrant's thralldom free!

Chorus:

Young Dwyer 'mong the heath-clad hills of Wicklow leads his men;

And Russell's voice stirs kindred hearts in many an Ulster glen.
Brave Father Murphy's men march on from the Barrow to the sea—

We swear to make our native land from the tyrant's thralldom free!

Chorus:

Too long have we borne with smouldering wrath the cursed alien laus,

That wreck our shrines and burn our homes and crush our country's cause;

But now the day has come at last; revenge our watchword be!
We swear to make our native land from the tyrant's thralldom free!

Chorus:

CATHAL BRUGH

(Air: The Tri-Coloured Ribbon)

In Dublin's fair city, the sun it was sinking
Our I.R.A. assembled, the fight to resume
Marshallled by their Commandant, old Ireland's great defender
And our Easter Week survivor, the dauntless Cathal Brugha.

Chorus:

May God rest the soul of our brave undaunted soldier
To his land and his comrades 'til death he proved true.
And may God bless the brave lads who followed in his footsteps.
But remember, "No Surrender" were the dying words of Brugha.

The fight it was raging, the roofs they were blazing,
The cannons were pealing, every aim sad and true
His comrades raised the white flag, to save their brave leader,
Far more prized than their own, was the dear life of Brugha.

He cried: "Boys, no white flag shall ever wave above me,
I'll make my dash for freedom and fighting I'll go through."

Then dashing through their cordons, the deadly bullets hitting him,

What a vict'ry for the Free State, three hundred shooting Brugha.

Bleeding and dying lay Ireland's great defender,
No earthly aid could save him, for his wounds were old and new.

He left this world on Friday, the same day as Our Saviour,
And to join the Irish martyrs, went the soul of Cathal Brugha.

His body lies in Dublin, in a cold and silent grave,
But forever in old Ireland, his memory shall be new.

No foreign gold could buy him, no foe could ever change him,
What a model for Old Ireland was the life of Cathal Brugha.

Christmas Day in 1915, are most appropriate in analysing the present Irish stalemate. Pearse wrote:

"The men who have led Ireland for twenty-five years have done evil and they are bankrupt. They are bankrupt in policy, bankrupt in credit, bankrupt now even in words. They have nothing to propose to Ireland, no way of wisdom, no counsel of courage. When they speak, they speak only untruth and blasphemy. Their utterances are no longer the utterances of men. They are the mumbblings and the gibberings of lost souls. . . . When one thinks over the matter for a little, one sees that they have built upon an

untruth. They have conceived of nationality as a material thing, whereas it is a spiritual thing. . . . They have thought of nationality as a thing to be negotiated about as men negotiate about a tariff or about a trade route, rather than as an immediate jewel to be preserved at all perils, a thing so sacred that it may not be brought into the market places at all or spoken of where men traffic."

The wisdom of Pearse's words endures to this day. Many an Irishman wonders whether there is any real difference between Ireland's leaders of to-day and those Pearse described so aptly in 1915.

Gaelic Sports Review

NATIONAL LEAGUE TITLES FOR WATERFORD AND KERRY

BY MAURICE HOGAN

"THE grip of native ash draws impressionable young hearts back to the soil and atmosphere of Gaeldom; fortifies them against national submission and racial perversion. It imparts a spirit of self-reliance, a yearning for a deeper intimacy with native glories and history. It withdraws them from corrupting contacts and fires them with an eagerness to excel that is the pith of chivalry and ambition. The mountain ash had its mystic place in ancient Irish rites. Fashioned as a lithe camán it is the symbol of physical fitness and national integrity today."

This "Celt" assessment of the part that hurling plays in moulding the qualities which make for nationhood seems particularly appropriate as we turn to review the National League series that has ended in glory for Waterford.

It was a glory which, while beaming full on the most worthy victors, radiated its rays widely enough to embrace all other four counties who had made the pace a scorcher as they raced in the straight. Both Wexford and Kilkenny can claim that one stray ball could have wiped out the difference. This margin was narrowed still further by both Galway and Tipperary and, in awarding high marks to Cork for much the same standard of resistance it must not be forgotten that the unique distinction of being the only county to lower the colours of the new National League champions belongs to Limerick.

A SHORT LIST

OF FOUR

All in all, it makes a composite picture of disputed supremacy that could hardly be improved upon as these strong contenders brace themselves in all-out bids for the '63 All-Ireland title. Personally I would say that even thus early, opinion tends to short-list them to four—Waterford or Wexford and Tipperary or Kilkenny and I place them in this unusual order because of the Wembley Cup final in which much can be learned from the clash of the latter pair.

In the eyes of the exiles no other pairing could quite match this. Tipperary are holders but mindful of the providential Group "A" final escape at Thurles, when a game that seemed all wrapped up was thrown wide open again by the magic wand which for a few brief minutes Eddie Keher wielded, they must face this test with some uneasiness. This would be allayed were they sure that a similar stranglehold could be maintained at centre field.

MAJESTIC

MARTIN OG

It was here their reputation as National League specialists first caved in, and Waterford, making victory their watchword from the drop of the hat, equalled them in resolve and far surpassed them in the competence of their striking. Had a camera been playing specifically on Martin Og Morrissey's contribution to victory, what a purposeful, polished and practical interpretation of centre back play would have been made available.

Against a variety of opponents he strode this area like a colossus, demonstrating all the majestic qualities of ground hurling, as lusty clearances penetrated deep into Tipperary territory. Nor could the magic eye have been better employed than in reaching right and left at this point to see how completely Tipperary's most dangerous line was being shackled by L. Guinan and J. Irish. This much accomplished and in the

teeth of a breeze that gave an extra carrying capacity of say twenty yards to goal deliveries and frees, it was a quietly confident Decies selection that got to grips with arrears of two goals when ends were changed.

This was destined to be a thrill-packed term. There were bursts of rapid fire at either end—the first of which launched Waterford out in front. It was followed by a long blank term featured by hurling of superb quality. Tipperary's resistance had lifted clean out of its unsteady spell. The issue hung in the balance depending, or so it seemed, on the team that could notch the next goal.

MEMORIES

THAT WILL LIVE

It fell to Jimmy Doyle who until now had failed to make his customary impact on the exchanges and when his Sarsfield club mate, S. McLoughlin, followed with another goal in the next instant the outlook was gloomy for Waterford, tight though their grip was on the exchanges. But Joe Condon, concentrating mainly on attack, was still lordling it at centre field. T. Cheasty had opened up those broad shoulders of his to a new challenge, and Phil Grimes, master mind of the front line, waster at hand to steer home a goal after he had tacked on a point.

Again Waterford were led when Jimmy Doyle pointed a difficult free and again they were level when P. Grimes did likewise. This was all but up. This was going to be a draw and all neutrals hoped it would be, but we reckoned without that uncanny clotóg of Séamus Power who converged on the centre to set the seal on victory as so often before. His was the most vital score of the day but top marks for adroitness go to P. Grimes for the last ball he slanted over the bar, a fitting embellishment to his princely contribution.

National League strife had "found out" yet another of the provincial champions, bringing the combined casualty list in hurling and football to the alarming total of five—Roscommon, Cavan, Dublin, Wexford and Tipperary. When Waterford won the Oireachtas final cynics said so lofty a standard was given only for one fleeting hour. Here it was back again crisp and sparkling as before. It is a brand that will be hard to copy, hard to counter. Over the hour it merited much more than a mere two points winning margin.

A DOUBLE FOR

THE KINGDOM

But to be the exception in the sphere of football is a role that has long been the right of Kerry. Like Tennyson's brook, champions con; and go but they go on for ever, so what is more fitting that the prevailing title holding lam-slide should pass them by. In few of the preceding Leagues were there so many counties meriting re-

British Big Business Supports Angola Repression

MR. FREDERICK ERROLL, President of the British Board of Trade, made an official visit to Portugal in March. Speaking at a dinner to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the British Chamber of Commerce in Lisbon, he said:

"Not only do we now sell to Portugal and her Overseas Territories some £40m. worth of goods every year, and take from her about £22m. in return, but we have also at least £90m. invested in commercial enterprises in Metropolitan and Overseas Portugal."

"And this is being added to all the time. Last year, for instance, applications were approved from more than twenty British firms to invest a total of more than £1m. in Portugal. And any future applications from British manufacturing and commercial firms who wish to establish subsidiaries in Portugal will, I can say, be considered very sympathetically."

For some time past, the British Government has been lavish in its military aid to Portugal. She has supplied her with many of the Lee-Enfield rifles which are being replaced in the British Army by the automatic rifle. The Portuguese are using these armaments to try to suppress the revolt against her tyrannical colonialism in Angola.

Consequently, the British Government must shoulder some of

the moral responsibility for Portuguese repression in Angola. But then Mr. Erroll helps to clarify the position for us. British big business has a vested interest in maintaining the status quo in Portugal and Angola and British big business is more interested in making money than in upholding Christian standards of morality.

London Notes

An Cumann Gaelach continue to hold their weekly Céilí in St. Peter's Hall, beside Westminster Cathedral every Saturday night from 8.11 p.m. You are assured of a very enjoyable night's Céilí dancing in a truly Gaelic spirit and in a most friendly atmosphere. Come and meet your old friends and make many new ones.

A most enjoyable Céilí was held in St. Pancras Town Hall on Thursday, April 4. This Céilí was held by the London branch of An Cumann Cabhrach. Ritchie Fitzgerald and his Céilí Band gave of their best and London Gaels keenly await their return visit.

An Cumann Cabhrach continue to hold their monthly Céilí in St. Michael's Hall, Elizabeth Street, (opposite Victoria Coach Station), on the first Wednesday of every month. Music by Gasra na nGael Céilí Band.

spect, as one by one group winners battled their way to places in the semi-finals line-up. They were slowest in ironing out the complexities of the Meath, Cavan, Mayo equality and when at length it was accomplished, Kerry's subsequent victory by one point over the rugged Royal county men, failed utterly to convince the majority that this trophy was following in the wake of the Kingdom's 20th All-Ireland title.

In the continued absence of M. O'Connell the midfield standard was ragged and rumour had it that the Valentia stylist's football future was uncertain. But, wonder of wonder, even the redoubtable "Tiger" Lyons was often caught on the wrong foot by the phantom-like advances of Paddy McCormack. It was not easy now to decide whether this was an underestimate of Kerry worth or just a niggardly appraisal of Meath's merits. It is an issue that can be left in abeyance for a few weeks until Leinster, the most exacting of all for the provincial struggles, enlighten us on the point.

The rugged texture of the exchanges, it is true, made it compare unfavourably with the Down-Galway game which was waged in more classic mould even though the dividing margin—one point—was unchanged. In that game Down contrived to cover up the morale-shattering blow they received when Jim McCartan got marching orders. For the day it made their cause the cause of many, for admiration is seldom denied those who are of stout heart when adversity closes in around them. Paddy Doherty's last-second winning point will be spoken of while football is played. This

was precision-perfect Down darting hither and thither in advance of the pass that seldom failed to find them, but when the dust settled on a spirited struggle of just one little indiscretion, or was it two, they very obviously saw the magnitude of J. McCartan's loss in clearer perspective.

STALWARTS

IN VICTORY

Apart from the cleverly conceived advance which charted the only goal of the final, the black knicks they wore might well be as mourning for departed glories. Kicking ahead to no fixed pattern is a type of play that just cannot be reconciled with the tactics normally employed by the Mournemen. Was the change forced upon them by Kerry's traditional mastery in the air? Whatever the answer they lacked the purpose, the poise, the precision that in southern minds have now become part of their heritage.

This was very marked in the closing quarter, the term incidentally in which they were deemed to have no peers in the art of saving lost causes. To a man Kerry played with white-hot fervour. Their half-back line of K. Coffey, Séamus Murphy and J. D. O'Connor was well-nigh invincible. Strength and courage were well matched in the hardest duels of all—those between Mick O'Dwyer and Dan McCartan, and between Tom Long and Leo Murphy. There was a distinct touch of class in the cool and competent manner in which B. O'Callaghan fetched the high ones and promptly lofted them over the bar.

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World Affairs

Winston Churchill and His Empire

THE conferring of honorary American citizenship on Winston Churchill on April 9 met with little popular support among the American people. Many an American questioned whether there was any basis for making such an award.

This was especially true of Americans of Irish ancestry who

By James McNellis

still recall the Tory tactics of Mr. Churchill and his father, the late Randolph Churchill who played such an important part in the Crown's design to partition Ireland.

The event prompted a letter from the ex Prime Minister to President Kennedy. The "New York Times" on April 10 printed the letter in which Sir Winston made this personal observation:

"It is a remarkable comment on our affairs that the former Prime Minister of a great sovereign state should thus be received as an honorary citizen of another. I say 'great sovereign state' with design and emphasis, for I reject the view that Britain and the Commonwealth should now be relegated to a tame and minor role in the world. Our past is a key to our future, which I firmly trust and believe will be no less fertile and glorious. Let no man under-rate our energies, our potentialities and our abiding power for good."

Mr. Churchill's observations and conclusions were his own and are shared by only a few. Most Englishmen to-day would disagree with him. History records that England to-day is a third rate power, thanks to the policy of exploitation and colonialism fostered and vigorously promoted by Mr. Churchill himself.

A THIRD-RATE POWER

Where in this age is Britain's "abiding power for good" as Sir Winston puts it. In India, bled dry by Mr. Churchill and his Tory predecessors for the personal gain of England's ruling class? In Ireland, where after eight hundred years Britain's "power for good" is still rejected by millions who have seen only Britain's "power for evil" and where the Crown's authority must still be upheld by a standing army?

And what may we ask has Britain's "power for good" done in Africa? In such places as Kenya, Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa, Mr. Churchill's policies have sown the seeds of hatred and distrust of all white men.

In all of Asia Britain has not a single friend thanks to Mr. Churchill and his cohorts. History records that wherever the English have been, the people have felt the heel of the tyrant. It is little wonder then that to-day so many of the so-called "neutral nations" are neutral simply because they have experienced in the past Britain's "power for good" and want no more of it.

It is a sad commentary that

the spread of Communism in Africa and Asia has been hastened and fostered by the hatred and discontent created by Mr. Churchill and his Tory accomplices during the past fifty years.

And what of Great Britain herself? Where does she stand to-day? Despite Mr. Churchill's beatings, Britain to-day is a third rate power unable to maintain its own economy without the booty from its former overseas colonies. Millions have left Britain since the end of World War II and the flood continues. The position of the English labourer and farmer is little better to-day than it was sixty years ago.

THE SUEZ BLUNDER

Canada, Australia and New Zealand have tired of producing for the benefit of Britain. The love affair is over. Canadians have never forgotten how Canadian troops were sacrificed by the British High Command in the famous ("cr infamously") Dieppe raid prior to D Day during World War II. Australians and New Zealanders still deeply resent the use of their troops in the North African campaign where thousands died at a time when English armies waited at home for the arrival of American troops to bolster Britain's island defences.

The most recent show of Britain's "gunboat" diplomacy, a favourite Churchill device, was witnessed in 1956 when "mighty Britain" attempted the invasion of Egypt. This master blow proved quite embarrassing to the British who have really never recovered from the shock of defeat.

Egypt to-day is a richer and better nation and despite Tory warnings to the contrary, the Suez Canal has never been more efficiently operated since being taken over by the Egyptians themselves. Turning back to Britain, we note that Scottish and Welsh Nationals have become more active in recent years in their opposition to English domination of their country.

PEARSE AND CONNOLLY

In conclusion, it would appear that Mr. Churchill, amateur historian that he is, has never been able to learn the lessons of history for, while he did not become Prime Minister "to witness the disintegration of the British Empire" as he once publicly announced, he did just that, for the Empire is no more.

However, to be charitable perhaps we should concede it

was not all Mr. Churchill's fault for in reality the disintegration process really started back in 1916 when two Irish rebels by the name of Pearse and Connolly started the ball rolling and gave people throughout the colonies some bright ideas.

KENNEDY'S ATTITUDE TO PARTITION

The forthcoming visit of President Kennedy to Ireland has brought considerable disappointment to Britain's Conservative Party. The President's spurning of a Tory invitation to visit the Six Counties was generally considered in London and Belfast as a rebuff and there is some fear in Tory circles that his visit may add impetus to the old drive for a United Ireland.

Soon after the White House announced the President's visit, scheduled for June, Dublin newspapers took note that Mr. Kennedy, while a member of Congress, publicly expressed opposition to the partition of Ireland. Stormont officials were clearly disappointed by the news of the President's visit and many expressed fears of further agitation. It is generally known that President Kennedy would like to see a United Ireland. However, since taking presidential office, he has been reluctant to express his views publicly for fear of alienating British circles. It remains to be seen how long his silence will continue.

SOUTH AFRICA COPIES STORMONT

The New York Times recently expressed the greatest concern over what it described as a lack of law in South Africa. In an editorial on May 3 the Times stated:

"The South African Government of Prime Minister Verwoerd is continually shocking the conscience of the Free World. The effort of the whites to hold power against a big majority of blacks may be understandable, but the increasingly harsh and uncivilised methods to achieve this aim are inexcusable."

The bill empowering the Minister of Justice to detain a political prisoner indefinitely when his sentence expires has just become a law. This is not "law" or "justice" in the accepted international usage of said terms. The bill was rushed through the Parliament in record time to use against Robert Sobukwe, African Nationalist leader who was due for release today after serving three years in prison for his vigorous protest against the terrible Sharpeville massacre of black Africans in March, 1960. Mr. Sobukwe is head of the now banned Pan African Congress.

The same new law allows suspects to be held in solitary confinement without warrant for ninety days. It also prescribes death for South Africans who advocate the overthrow of their regime, even if they are living abroad. The Nazis also worked under the assumption that their laws were binding outside of their country. This is a typical totalitarian concept. Fascist law, in fact, represents the depth of lawlessness because it is arbitrary and ignores canons accepted by civilised people in the West for many centuries.

Fianna Eireann Notes

G.H.Q.

Our new Constitution is now available in book form. It is attractively covered and laid out. This little book is a "must" for all members and associate members. It is selling at 1s. per copy, post free.

TRAIGH LI

Traigh Li slua reports that its Easter Lily collection was interfered with by local detectives.

LOCH GARMAN

Prior to Easter, members in Wexford were told by the police not to take part in the Easter commemorations. They were warned that their employment would be jeopardised if they ignored the instruction.

Members who laid a wreath on the grave of the Lacey brothers at Blackwater, County Wexford had their names taken by the police. At Enniscorthy, members were questioned by a local detective on Easter Sunday and he threatened to "play it tough with you later".

Na Fianna carried the Tricolour and formed the colour-party at the annual commemoration in Wexford.

GAILLIMH

Easter Lilies were seized on two occasions from a member in Galway.

ATH CLIAH

A member of Slua Mac Aoidh—Aghas and a Headquarters officer were assaulted by police in the G.P.O. while defending

their right to distribute Easter Lilies. They were arrested and held for almost four hours.

The recent bus strike did not deter members from getting to the Wicklow mountains to pursue their scouting activities. Two camps have been held since Easter, one in Glencree and the other in Glendalough. On both occasions the scouts cycled to the camp sites.

Slua Con O Coilbeard is presently engaged in cleaning the three Republican memorial stones on the Naas Road.

ARD-FHEIS

Slua Commanders are advised to hold their conventions as soon as possible. An Ard-Fheis will be held in late September.

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Excessively severe laws always become unbearable and they create a desperation that sooner or later finds expression in rebellion. If the white South African can rule only by terror and "political" justice, they are not going to stay in power so long as they think."

The editors of the New York Times need not have looked so far as South Africa to find "uncivilised methods" in government. May we refer them to our Six Counties where Irishmen languished in jails without charge or trial long before South African Prime Minister Verwoerd rose to power. In fact it would appear that the South African Government has copied Stormont's style and "political" justice for the two systems cannot be distinguished. It is a fact of political life that an Irish patriot in Ireland today has fewer rights than a black man in South Africa.

South Africa's "no trial" law which took effect on May 2 last, caused international press comment. The Toronto Daily Star, Canada's largest newspaper, stated on May 3:

"South Africa's drastic new 'no trial' law which took effect yesterday grants Justice Minister Balthazar Johannes Vorster, a former Nazi sympathizer, the most sweeping

Deprivation of civil rights is, of course, nothing new to Irish Republicans. "Political justice" has always been Crown policy in Ireland and even Prime Minister Lemass has not hesitated to make political thought and opinion a crime and ground for imprisonment without trial.

In any event it must be disquieting to Mr. Lemass and Company that Stormont to be equated with the likes of Adolf Hitler and his Fascist cohorts in Italy. The New York Times appraisal of the situation seems correct and we agree that those who can rule only by terror and political justice "are not going to stay in power so long as they think."

Tullamore Resolution

At a recent meeting, Tullamore, Co. Offaly, Urban Council called for the release of the Republican Prisoners in Belfast and England.

Ireland Since The Treaty

This review of the state of Ireland to-day is essential reading for every thinking Irishman.

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Republican Meetings In Fermanagh

J. J. MCGILL SPEAKS ON ELECTIONS

SPEAKING at Republican after-Mass meetings in Kinawley and Killesher, Co. Fermanagh, on Sunday, May 5, J. J. McGill, M.C.C., Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim, referred to the forthcoming Westminster elections. He said:

"The Republican Movement will contest all 12 Six-County seats, as it did in 1955 and again in 1958. It will seek the support of the nationally-minded people of the whole occupied area for its programme.

Already, a convention of over 60 delegates from all parts of the Mid-Ulster constituency has selected Thomas Mitchell to stand as Republican candidate. Other conventions are being arranged and will be held shortly.

A panel of 12 candidates will give every man and woman in the Six Counties an opportunity of voting for a free and independent Irish Republic of 32 Counties.

Since 1921, when the people of the North were abandoned by those who accepted British rule and British partition of our land, politicians have ruled Ireland North and South; Britain directly controls the affairs of government here in the North and indirectly in the South through her financial control; and our population continues to fall.

ALL-IRELAND PARLIAMENT

When, during the years 1916 to 1921 Irish men and women fought the forces of England they fought for a 32-County Republic as proclaimed in 1916. The people of the North fought as gallantly as the people of the South, and they all fought because they believed that only a free Ireland of 32 Counties could provide a living for all her sons and daughters and could be happy and prosperous.

Partition rule has failed and it has failed as much in Leitrim as in Fermanagh. The

youth of Swanlinbar and the youth of Kinawley or Derrylin have met the same fate—two out of every five, at least, have had to emigrate to find work. The working of the system of partition government imposed by Britain in 1921 will not

older men and women among you will remember those stirring times. Our programme is to boycott British institutions of government in Ireland and establish an All-Ireland Parliament.

Some may suggest that the Parliament which meets now in Dublin will do something about the situation. But the lesson to be learned from the past 42 years is that in Dublin just as in Belfast party-politicians have built themselves and their families into the British-imposed system of Partition government, have got good jobs out of it and are not interested in restoring the 32-County Republic.

Wolfe Tone Bi-Centenary

NORTH and South will join hands this year to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the birth of Wolfe Tone, the "Father of Irish Republicanism". Already, working committees of young Irishmen of various religious denominations have been formed in Belfast, Cork and Dublin to organise commemorative functions.

In the main these will consist of symposia on Tone, his work and his ideals, in which prominent speakers will participate in Belfast, Cork and Dublin. It is also planned to stage an open-air pageant in Dublin on the trial and execution of Robert Emmet, Tone's immediate follower, and to produce a special commemorative brochure on Tone. It is hoped to mount a Tone exhibition in Dublin as well.

The directing body of these functions, known as the Tone Bi-Centenary, hopes that the events will achieve the prim-

ary aim of recalling Tone's struggle in the cause of Irish self-determination and of the true nature of his Republicanism. Secondly it is hoped that the functions will be emulated, even though on a smaller scale, elsewhere in Ireland to mark this historic occasion.

The Dublin Directory will be pleased to offer advice and assistance in the planning of such local functions and will welcome letters (addressed to the Secretary, Tone Bi-Centenary, 104 Kin-cora Avenue, Clontarf, Dublin 3) from interested groups.

The Directory of the Tone Bi-Centenary is:

Belfast: John Bennett, Liam Burke and Seán Caughey.

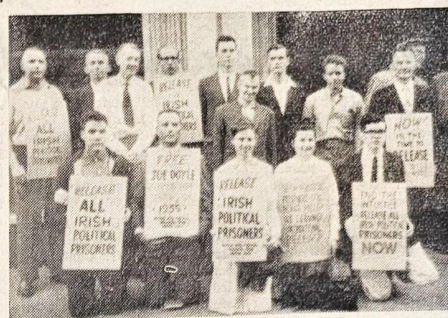
Cork: Sean O Ceallacháin, Ruairí O Drisceoil and Jack Lynch.

Dublin: Deasún Breatnach, Cathal Goulding, Lorcan Leonard, Uinseann Mac Eoin, Richard Roche and Harry White.

change this. No one of the three parliaments which rule Ireland to-day can change it. The programme the Republican Movement will put before you in the coming elections, is in principle the same programme as was put before the Irish people and received their overwhelming support in 1918. The

If the successive 26-County governments had really been interested, then it would never have been necessary that in 1958—37 years after the imposition of British Partition rule—Patrick MacManus of Kinawley, Co. Fermanagh, should have to die for Irish freedom, and James Crossan of Clonee, Co. Cavan. In-

N. Y. British Consulate Picketed



Members of the New York branch of the Irish Political Prisoners Release Committee who picketed the British Consulate in New York on May 4.

The Consulate in Philadelphia was picketed on the same day and the event received coverage on three major television networks. It received such publicity that the British Consul issued a press statement that there are no political prisoners in Belfast or Wakefield—they are all "criminals."

Mr. Tom McGuigan, Jr., Chairman of the Release Committee, went on the radio the following day offering to meet any British spokesman in public and to give the lie to the Consul's allegations.

The United Nations Headquarters in New York was picketed on May 7 and the British Consulate in Washington on May 21.

deed, the deaths for Ireland of these two men, whom many of you must have known, one man from the Six Counties and the other from the 26 Counties teach us a lesson—that the establishment of a 32-County Parliament is a job for all of us, North and South of the Border."

John Mulvihill, Ballinamore, also spoke and said:

"We have come here this morning, not to tell you what British occupation means, because you know it better than we do, but to tell you that in the coming elections you will have the support of the whole Republican Movement in Ireland and abroad among the exiles. We have not come to preach hate or sectarian strife, but the gospel of Wolfe Tone and Betsy Grey, the unity of all Irishmen of every class and creed to end British rule. Ireland is one political and one economic unit. Only on the basis of development of all our country under an All-Ireland Parliament can we achieve prosperity."

Peter A. McGovern, Swanlinbar, said:

"We know that it is with confidence we appeal to the people of Fermanagh and South Tyrone and especially the people of this parish for support for the Republican programme, and workers to collect funds, canvass support and organise registration work. You will be hearing from us again in the months ahead, as a really thorough and efficient election campaign is being planned. Remember our programme is—one parliament,

one government, one army for all Ireland. Until that is achieved by ending Partition rule, unemployment, emigration and low living standards will continue. We do not ask the people of the North to go in under the 26-County Government, because that will not solve their problems. We do ask them to help us to make the all-Ireland Republic proclaimed in 1916, a reality. Then and only then can Ireland prosper."

At Kinawley the speakers were introduced by Francis Drum, and at Killesher by John Mellanphy.

An R.U.C. detective took photographs of the speakers and helpers, and on the journey home the speakers were followed by squad cars as far as the border.

COISTE CUIMHNEACHÁIN NAÍSIÚNTA

Republican Ireland Honours Wolfe Tone at BODENSTOWN SUNDAY, JUNE 23

ASSEMBLE AT SALLINS AT 2.15 P.M. SHARP

Oration will be delivered by Tomás Mistéil, Dublin.

Special Trains from Dublin, Cork and Tralee. Special buses from many other centres.

Chief Marshal: Gearoid Mac Carthaigh, Cork. Chairman: Sean O Ceallachain, Cork.

Wolfe Tone Commemoration céilí, Mansion House, Sun., June 23, Rinnce 8-12. Cead Isteach: 4/-.

ORDER OF PROCESSION

1. Advance Guard.
2. Colour Party.
3. Cork Volunteer Pipe Band.
4. Ulster Contingents.
5. Band.
6. Cumann na mBan.
7. Cumann na gCaillíní.
8. Coiste Cuimhneacháin Náisiúnta.
9. National Graves Association.
10. Connaught Contingents.
11. Band.
12. Na Fianna Éireann.
13. Clann na nGael.
14. Band.
15. Munster Contingents.
16. Band.
17. Leinster Contingents.
18. General Public.
19. Band.
20. Rearguard.

As a very large gathering is expected at Bodestown this year, those attending are asked to note the following points:

All contingents will proceed to assembly field immediately on arrival at Sallins.

Fall-in will be sounded at 2.15 p.m. by Fianna buglers. An authorised steward wearing armband will be at the service of each contingent. Parade will leave for Bodestown at 2.45 p.m.

On arrival at the graveyard a steward will lead each contingent to its appointed place.

When the ceremonies have concluded, the contingents will withdraw from the graveyard and march back to Sallins.