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Twopence.

"The Exact Constitutional Position" Explained By Eamonn de Valera

OUR CHARTER

WHO could the past forget
wherein was spoken
That parting word by men who
gave their all?
That word which those who, tho'
their pledge is broken,
Don't scruple, for base motive, to
recall.
Freedom! How it left the lips of
Emmet,
To be echoed by each martyr
down the years,
To-day the serfs who should, by
right, condemn it,
Enlist its aid to dry a nation's
tears.

And as a kerchief to the nation's
eyes,
They hold it lest beyond its
blinding fold
Their victim thro' her tears should
recognize
A semblance of the treachery of
old.
That treachery which brought her
to the pier
Of valiant sons who marched the
rugged way:
Sons whose conscience held no
haunting fear
Of what posterity might think
or say.

Oh! would that it were true—this
"Freedom's Charter,"
That Irishmen no more in dur-
ance vile
Be held by those who would their
birthright barter
To swoop with the invader smile
for smiles.
Of Freedom thus they speak while
vainly trying
Their servile aims in garb of
truth to hide;
But this bloodless "freedom
which demands no dying,"
Is not the Freedom for which
brave men died!

MARTIN O'BRIEN.

PROCLAMATION

THE "IRISH FREE STATE"
IS DEAD. LONG LIVE THE
"IRISH FREE STATE!"
GOD SAVE THE KING!

THE accuracy of the statements made by Máire Ní Sheuibhne in her articles on Dáil Éireann published in the *Wolfe Tone Weekly*, is proved by the following interview given in 1922 by Eamonn de Valera, President of the Republic, to a representative of the *Chicago Tribune* and officially published in *Poblacht na hÉireann* on Dec. 30, of that year. "You ask," said Mr. de Valera, "in what manner the Government of the Republic is now functioning? Before I reply it is necessary that you should understand the exact constitutional position. As late as June last the existence of the Republic was still acknowledged by all the deputies of Dáil Éireann, the recognised Parliament of the Republic. Mr. Griffith was President of the Republic, and Ireland's Diplomatic and Trade Representatives in foreign countries were functioning as representatives of the Republic.

TOWARDS the end of May a Pact was entered into as a result of which the elections declared by England, on an incomplete Register, were sanctioned by the Parliament of the Republic, but only on the explicit understanding that the terms of the Pact should govern the elections and that the question of the 'Treaty' was not to be an issue, and that the members who were elected were to be returned for the Third All-Ireland Parliament.

In June these elections were held, but at the instigation of the British Government the Irish Executive made war with its troops upon the Army of the Republic, and instead of the Third All-Ireland Parliament summoned the Provisional Twenty-Six County Parliament, into which no Republican could enter. Moreover, the Executive caused Republican deputies to be arrested, and suppressed the Second Parliament which was to have met in final session on June 30. This suppression was quite illegal, but when Republican deputies sought remedy through the Supreme Court of the Republic, the Executive suppressed the Court as well. The Executive, in fact, assumed dictatorial powers and effected a regular coup d'état.

SINCE June the Army of the Republic and the Republican

deputies have been engaged in defending by arms Republican institutions and the constitutional Republican position against this unlawful exercise of force by the Executive. Their aim is, if possible, to preserve the Republic and the independence and integrity of Ireland which it connotes, but at any rate to make certain that when the Irish people come to make their decision at the next elections the dis-establishment of the Republic will not be presented to them as another *fait accompli*.

THE position of the 'Free State' Government is altogether unconstitutional so far as Irish law since 1919 is concerned. It can be justified only from the point of view of those who from 1919 to 1921, when the Republic was acknowledged by the vast majority of the people, still continued to regard Ireland as a part of the legitimate domain of the British Government and subject to British constitutional practice. This apparently is the attitude of many of the Irish Bishops, but it is certainly not consistent with the principle of majority rule on which they base their present opposition to us.

THE Government of which I am head is merely a temporary emergency Government. It has been set up by the faithful deputies of the Second Parliament which, until it is legally dissolved, is constitutionally the sovereign authority of the Nation. We are acting as the temporary Trustees of that authority and will surrender it when Parliament is permitted to meet. The funds which the 'Free State' authorities are endeavouring to secure, both here and in America, are the property of the Republic, and can be disposed of only by this Republican Parliament. The Twenty-Six County Parliament has no right whatever to these funds, and the Trustees which it has appointed can show no title to their claim to be regarded as the legitimate successors of the Most Rev. Dr. Fogarty, Stephen M. O'Mara and myself.

THE Executive when it brought off its coup d'état last June had control of all the Republican Departments of State. Our Govern-

ment has had to undertake therefore the reconstitution and reorganisation of all the Departments. The task is extremely difficult, mainly owing to the control of the press by our opponents, but we are making headway rapidly, and we are confident that as bit by bit the people come to realise what our objective is they will rally to the support of the institutions of the Republic as they rallied to them before in 1919. The institutions of the 'Free State' are institutions dictated by England under threat of war. The institutions of the Republic are native institutions which the Irish people can mould freely for themselves without reference to any foreign authority or the limitations it would impose. The Republic means complete political freedom; the 'Free State' a freedom limited by the Articles of Agreement."

THAT was fifteen years ago, and according to the *Irish Press*, we have achieved our independence, but do not know it. What is "the exact constitutional position to-day?" "Saorstát Éireann" has become "Eire"; the "Irish Free State" has become "Ireland"; to the great gratification (artfully concealed under a mask of seeming anger) of the British Government, to whom it was awkward to write down George as King of Ireland, when portion of this country was officially known as the "Irish Free State." Its name is now "Ireland" according to law and, according to law, George is "King of Great Britain and Ireland." We are "sovereign, independent and democratic," but we can travel abroad only under the kind protection of him who by law is still our King. It is on his behalf and in his name and with his authority our new £15,000 President will welcome the representatives of other countries when they come here. Is that "the exact constitutional position in 'Eire' as far as 'Free Staters' are concerned? As for sincere consistent Republicans, 'the exact constitutional position' is just as it was the day Eamonn de Valera gave the interview we have quoted.

CONSTITUTION DAY
IS JANUARY 21.

WE APOLOGISE

HYPOCRISY

AN apology is due to our readers for the taking up of so much valuable space with such an apparently trivial matter as the "quarrel" between the Standing Committee of Sinn Féin and ourselves; but we want to satisfy the justifiable curiosity of some readers who have written for information as to what it is all about. In our issue of Dec. 4, referring to the annual Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin which was being held next day, according to announcements in the daily papers (no announcement was sent to us) we asked: "Will it (the Ard-Fheis) have the moral courage to rescind a four-years-old resolution which leaves members and even the President of Sinn Féin free to accept jobs from a usurping government?"

THE resolution was one in which it was stated that a man for whom a job had been made by the Free Staters in office was "a fit and proper person to be President of Sinn Féin." One of the reasons why that job was created for and given to the person in question was to do injury to Sinn Féin. Realising this, some of those at the head of the organisation tried to defeat that mean object by having as little fuss as possible about the matter, hoping that the man who had accepted the job would retire unobtrusively from the Standing Committee and do whatever good he could in the job he had seen fit to accept. Instead of that, he allowed himself to be nominated for the Presidency of Sinn Féin, and despite protests from the best and most sincere workers in the organisation, he was elected. Some members withdrew from Sinn Féin at once; others remained on for a year, hoping to have the slavish decision reversed at the next Ard-Fheis, but they were defeated and insulted, and were left no alternative but to resign. That decision of the Ard-Fheis, twice repeated, violated the spirit of Sinn Féin and made the lip-loyalty of the Standing Committee and Ard-Fheis to Dáil Éireann a mere mockery, an empty pretence.

THE inconsistency and confusion of mind of the Standing Com-

mittee showed up glaringly some time later, when the man who had been elected President of Sinn Féin after he had accepted a specially made job from a usurping government, was deposed and expelled by the same people because he had taken part in a radio broadcast! And yet they were too petty to admit they had made a mistake in the first instance, and take the simple and obvious step that would make the repetition of such a mistake impossible. In a vulgar and offensive letter published in the daily press they had called sincere and active Republicans "quitters" and "stone-throwers"; and now they made no amends, but continued on their stupid, petty, futile way, although all but themselves could see they were killing the Sinn Féin organisation and gratifying its enemies. To people not acquainted with the foregoing facts and who asked why Máire Nic Shuibhne and others had left Sinn Féin, the deliberate falsehood was told that they had left because "teachers and others in similar positions" would not be expelled from membership. No meaner lie could be told, but those with no knowledge of the true state of affairs cannot be blamed for believing it.

WHEN the recent Ard-Fheis was about to be held, announcements of it and invitations to be present were sent to the imperialist daily press, but no such announcement or invitation was sent to us, although two resolutions of congratulation to the Publisher and Editor of the *Wolfe Tone Weekly* were on the *Clár*. At the Ard-Fheis we were subjected to a great deal of criticism, and when one of the resolutions we have mentioned was being discussed it was stated distinctly (not in the presence of the Press, of course) that members of Sinn Féin could not be asked to buy and read this paper because "any week it might contain criticism of Sinn Féin." As a result of that and similar statements (now conveniently forgotten!) that particular resolution was withdrawn.

A SHORT note in our issue of Dec. 11, commenting on the pretence of public supporting us while subjecting us in secret session to unjust and untrue criticism, has called forth a letter that would take up more than a column of our space if we were to publish it. We are not replying to it because we are not publishing it; and we are not publishing it because we have no respect for the body from which it has come. When those who composed it and authorised the sending of it withdrew and express regret for their public denunciation of sincere, active, earnest Republicans as "quitters" and "stone-throwers" and when they no longer set the seal of their approval on the acceptance of "Free State" jobs by members of the governing body of Sinn Féin, they will receive our respect and co-operation and the hospitality of our columns. Until then they must seek publicity for

their attacks on us and others from the imperialist papers they recognised when they boycotted the *Wolfe Tone Weekly*.

WE write thus, as we have written here and elsewhere many times already, because we want to see Sinn Féin become again the strong, effective civil arm of the Republic of Ireland, and because we resent the violation of the spirit of Sinn Féin by petty, mean-minded people who are not fit to govern any organisation. They have "governed" the organisation to which they belong almost out of existence. We ask the sincere and earnest members of Sinn Féin (we know there are such) are there at present in Cumann anywhere which from year's end to year's end carry on the work for which Sinn Féin was founded? Were there ten genuine working Cumann represented at the recent Ard-Fheis? How many "delegates" were present who belonged to no Cumann at all? Was there any justification whatever for the self-adulation indulged in at the Ard-Fheis? Has not the Sinn Féin organisation diminished in membership and spirit and virility ever since that demoralising decision about which we have written was taken four years ago? Are the sincere members of Sinn Féin satisfied that men and women who have slaved and drudged unselfishly for many long years to keep the Separatist spirit alive should be publicly pilloried as "quitters" and "stone-throwers" and "enemies of Sinn Féin"?

ONE other question we will ask the sincere, inarticulate members of Sinn Féin. Why do they remain silent while a hostile press represents them and their Standing Committee as approving of the new "Free State" Constitution? In the forefront of a leading article in the *Irish Press* of December 9 the statement is made plainly, explicitly and with great gratification that the Standing Committee and Secretaries and President of Sinn Féin have no fault to find with the new Constitution, and they are congratulated with sweet uncton on their praiseworthy attitude. That statement has not been contradicted in the *Irish Press*, although in the meantime the Standing Committee could find time to write a long letter of abuse and equivocation to the *Wolfe Tone Weekly*. Do the sincere rank-and-file members of Sinn Féin approve of these things? Are they going to allow a once great organisation to be "governed" out of existence, or are they going to make it once more worthy of support and respect?

paper that is their mouthpiece and that is controlled by their leader, advertises the muck-vendors of pagan England. But what have the youth of the National University, of the Colleges, of all Ireland to say of this brazen hypocrisy?

A CHRISTMAS message broadcast by the head of King George's "Irish Free State" ended with an appeal to the youth of this country. "And you, the youth of our country, who may be listening to me," it said, "you for whom your fathers suffered and endured and remained faithful unto death... remember that to no generation of Irishmen for hundreds of years have come the opportunities that now are yours. The inestimable heritage of a great tradition has been handed down to you, but you yourselves, must give it life by your own service and by your own devotion."

IN what way have the people who issued that hypocritical message taught the youth of Ireland to revere the brave and true "who suffered and endured and remained faithful unto death"? They have taught the youth of twenty-six counties of this land to abhor such men as criminals who raised their hands against their own people, and who were justly put to death by the lawful authority in Ireland—the "Free State" usurping traitors. For over five years they have taught the youth of the "Free State" that Erskine Childers, the Four Martyrs and their comrades were criminals and now they hypocritically ask the same youth to revere and honour and love the patriots of their race who "were faithful unto death."

THE murderers of those men have been rewarded with positions and pensions, their slanderers have received special honours at the hands of the official head of the "Free State", and the murderer-in-chief who publicly boasted that he signed all the warrants for the "authorised murders", is named as one of the King's Privy Council of the new "Irish Free State" that was ushered in with all the usual make-believe on the 29th of last month. Is it any wonder there is apathy in Ireland to-day, that there is cynicism, that there is selfishness, that there is forgetfulness of the uncompromising, faithful Dead?

ALL that—and more—has been taught for over five years in the so-called National University, of which King George's "Free State" Prime Minister is Chancellor; and in that same institution where the intelligent youth to whom the Christmas appeal was addressed are supposed to be taught to reverence the National Fathers who were "faithful unto death" the men of 1798 are vilified and slandered in a history text that is blasphemous as well as blatantly British. And this has been done, is being done and will continue to be done with the help and approval of men who appeal to Ireland's youth to reverence Ireland's martyrs! One does not wonder that the daily news

(Continued at foot of previous Col.)

AN TATHAIR PEADAR

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ONCE UPON A TIME

THERE was an interesting finish to the memorable debate on the Treaty of Surrender in January, 1922.

HERE is the interchange between Mr. Mulcahy and Mr. de Valera—both of whom he it noted claimed to be "Irish Republicans" at the time of the Treaty:—
Mr. de Valera.—"The only thing we are really anxious about is the army, and perhaps the Minister for Defence would give us some idea of what he proposes to do. I am anxious myself as an individual who knows the Army. I am anxious to know what the position of the Army will be. I fear that unless that Army is kept intact as the Army of the Republic we will not have that confidence—the members of the army will not have that confidence—which is necessary if we are to keep them as a solid unit."

MR. Mulcahy.—"In reply to President de Valera's question with regard to the Army, the policy of the new Executive will be to keep the Army absolutely intact, and that, as between this date and the re-assembling of the Dail, there is absolutely nothing that should give anybody in this assembly any uneasiness with regard to the Army and with regard to its strength."

Mr. de Valera.—"The Minister for Defence has not quite satisfied me. He says he will keep the Army intact. What I am anxious about is that orders given to the Army will be given in the name of the Government of the Republic; otherwise I fear that there might be some trouble."

MR. Mulcahy.—"The Army will remain occupying the same position with regard to the Government of the Republic, and occupying the same position with regard to the Minister for Defence, and under the same management, and in the same spirit as we have had up to the present."

Mr. de Valera.—"I do not want to pin you down any further, so I will take it at that."

Mr. Mulcahy.—"On a point of explanation; what I said apparently has not been understood. It has been suggested I avoided saying the Army will continue to be the Army of the Irish Republic. If any assurance is required—the Army will remain the Army of the Republic."

THIS debate between two men who both claimed to be Irish Republicans, took place on January 10th, 1922, yet as we know that very Army was used a few months later as an implement of oppression of Republicans, and is still being used to dragoon any man who dares to describe himself as a supporter of the outlawed Republic. Separatists who will compromise with the conquest will fight against the revolution at a later stage.

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THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND A GLANCE AT ITS HISTORY

By Maire Nic Shuibhne

(CONTINUED)

THIS summary of the story of the Republic of Ireland was carried so far in 1932, and written especially for the information of those who were visiting Ireland that year of the Eucharistic Congress. In the five years which have since elapsed much has happened to show the people of Ireland that compromise is fatal to the national position. It is therefore useful to bring this short outline of the history of the Republic up to date by a commentary on the main events which have occurred since the secession of the Fianna Fail party from the Republic in 1926.

FROM 1927, when the party took the oath of allegiance provided for in the Treaty of Surrender, and entered the "Free State" parliament, until March, 1932, Fianna Fail were in opposition. During that time they opposed the coercion bills of the Cumann na nGaedheal party, and in press and on platform, maintained that their object was the restoration of the Republic of Ireland to its rightful place. On one occasion in 1929, Eamon de Valera, the leader of the Fianna Fail party, stated emphatically in the "Free State" parliament that that body, of which he was then a member, had merely a *de facto* authority and that the real authority lay with the body of which he himself had been a member up to 1926, i.e. the Government of the Republic of Ireland. He added that that Government of the Republic, of which he had ceased to be a member, had exactly the same *de jure* authority as he had claimed for it when he himself was at its head. That statement, made in the "Free State" parliament with every appearance of sincerity, put hope in the hearts of many that at the first opportunity he would do his part in making that *de jure* authority once more the *de facto* authority also. That opportunity came a few years later. The Autumn of 1931, as has been already stated, saw on the Statute Book of the British-made "Free State" parliament the most outrageous, unchristian coercion act that ever stained the annals of any country. The first Free Staters, who had been in office for ten years, fully expecting to be returned once more, proclaimed an election for the early Spring of 1932. The people, however, refused to sanction their last act of infamy. A considerable number of Republicans voted in the election for the purpose of eliminating the Coercionists. Many on the other hand, believing that one may not do evil that good may come of it, refused to vote for anyone to enter a British made parliament under the authority of the King of England.

THOUGH officially the Fianna Fail election manifesto promised nothing more than the removal of the oath of allegiance as "a step back to the Republic" most of their supporters were convinced that they would not stop there, and there was much rejoicing when the Cumann na nGaedheal party was defeated and Fianna Fail took their place. One of the saddest features in the present situation is the

deterioration of those men who set out on the "New Departure" in 1926 with such high hopes.

It must not be forgotten that the great majority of the supporters of the Fianna Fail policy, as outlined in the constitution of the party in 1926, firmly believed that as soon as they obtained power their leaders would straight away return to their Republican allegiance.

IMMEDIATELY on their election to office—even at 11.30 p.m.—the Minister who succeeded to the charge of the military prisons, then full of Republican prisoners under the Coercion Act of 1931, hastened to Arbour Hill and announced the news of their speedy release to those in "Free State" custody for the "crime" of being "members of an illegal organisation, viz., the I.R.A." The "Free State" gaols were cleared next morning of those Republican prisoners. That was in March, 1932.

THEIR defeat had surprised the Cumann na nGaedheal party and in the course of a few months there were indications that they did not intend to accept that defeat. Various bellicose speeches were made about defending the Treaty, and the sanctity of treaties. One of the ex-Ministers made a speech in the early summer of 1932 after the formation of a body, then called the "National Guard" which later developed into the "Blueshirts". This speech amounted to a threat of civil war in defence of the Treaty of Surrender—in defence of the authority of the King of England in Ireland! Instead of dealing with those threats immediately and firmly Fianna Fail showed deplorable weakness. As a result of this weakness the situation was becoming impossible for the Fianna Fail party which did not have a majority in the "Free State" parliament. On New Year's Day, 1933, a General Election was proclaimed, and the party returned to power with a sufficient number of seats to feel secure for some time.

AGAIN their supporters looked for a definite statement about the recognition of the Republic; again they were disappointed. The oath of allegiance was abolished; the Governor-General removed from the Viceregal Lodge to a private house and ceased to hold public functions. His office, however, remained intact and every "Free State" document of any importance had to be signed by him "in the name of the King."



EMPIRE DAY IN IRELAND

DECEMBER 29, 1937, will be remembered as Empire Day in Ireland.

On that day the "Irish Free State" Government, composed of men who once were Republican in outlook, in word and in deed, definitely abandoned the Republic of Ireland, by setting up a New State with a New Constitution—a State bound by "the link of the Crown" to the British Empire.

The official organ of the new Empire State (both controlled by Mr. de Valera) made frantic but ludicrous attempts next day to show that the parades of paid officials, soldiers, police, placehunters and pensioners, were evidences of national enthusiasm. The camouflage and make-believe were so apparent to the people that they were just silent, and went about their work or their pleasure as on any other day.

The official organ was in such dire straits that it elevated an ordinary meeting of an Urban Council into a "demonstration."

The British Government let the cat out of the bag in an official statement in which it said that it was "prepared to treat the new Constitution as affecting no fundamental alteration in the position of 'Eire' as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations" and went on to say that "Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa take the same view." There is the new "freedom" for you!

"The fight must go on!"

IN 1921 those who were advocating the Treaty of Surrender spoke of the oath as a mere "symbol", and the authority of the King of England as a "shadow". Republicans were scoffed at as dreading "symbols and shadows". They retorted that the reality of the authority of the King of England was behind that symbol, and such authority was incompatible with the sovereignty of Ireland, while its symbol itself was the outward mark of shame and disgrace. Now the outward symbol was removed by Fianna Fail, but not the reality behind it. The "Free State" was kept intact; the Governor General maintained the King's authority without whose permission no law could be made. One must not minimise, any more than magnify, the importance of removing that symbol of disgrace. It was a good thing that it should go, but it should have been emphasised that the reality had yet to go. The hiding away of the Governor General was, on the other hand, looked upon as but the beginning of that system of pretence which has been an ever-increasing feature of the Fianna Fail policy since.

RELEASED PRISONERS.

THE Reception Ceilidhe in honour of Maurice Twomey and his comrades, held last Tuesday evening in the Mansion House, Dublin, was a very decided success. We hope to publish next week the address delivered by Maurice Twomey.

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 1938.

TO THE MEMORY OF FIVE BRAVE IRISHMEN

WHO DIED FOR IRELAND
JANUARY 8, 1923

LEO DOWLING.
SYLVESTER HEANEY
LAURENCE SHEEHY
ANTHONY O'REILLY
TERENCE BRADY

THEY told you that the Army you were joining was the Army of the Irish Republic. They put the false title up on placards for you. They told you that in order to establish the Republic it was necessary to utilise the Treaty, so that you could be armed and equipped for the purpose of establishing the Independence of Ireland. By false pretences they led you along, telling you they were framing a Republican Constitution, and that they would have no Governor General, and that they would never take the oath of allegiance. Lyingly they whispered in your ear that when the time came they would stand up against England and say they would not have these things. That was how they beguiled you and many boys like you into their army.

★

AND then you saw them attack, not England, but your former comrades of the Irish Republican Army. You saw them bring in their King-pitted English Constitution while they abolished the Republican Courts and all the Republican institutions. You saw your Commander-in-Chief stand at the salute for the representatives of the English King in Ireland. You saw them raiding, night after night, the homes of those revered ones, the Men of 1916. You saw them bring into the army men who had never fought for any cause but England's, while they murdered—officially and unofficially—the men who were fighting without pay for the cause of Ireland. You saw the Rory O'Connors and the Liam Mellows,—names historical in the fight for Irish Independence,—facing the firing squads, while men who never fought for any cause but that of England, were in the counsels of your Higher Command. You saw that you were ranged in arms on the side of Empire, against the ancient and undefeated cause of Ireland.

★

THEN your eyes were opened. You saw that by treachery and falsehood, you had been betrayed, and like honourable men you returned to your old allegiance, to

A NATIONAL LITANY

(From *Irish Freedom*, Sept., 1914).

O MEMORY of the holy martyrs who fell by the looter's sword, who perished in the fires lighted in the aisles of our abbeys and monasteries by English plunderers, *Come to our aid in this day of danger and save us from the cunning of our enemies!*

O memory of our tortured priests, hunted through the woods and the mountains, murdered even as they stood before the rude hillside altar, giving glory to God and consolation to their afflicted people, *Be with us now and save us from the snares of our enemies!*

O memory of the baby hands outstretched in vain for a mother's fond caress as they were borne away by English thieves to slave in foreign lands, or quivered with pain untold as they were held aloft on the spears of their English murderers, *Be with us in this hour that our children may not curse us for our slavishness in days to come!*

O memory of the innocent maidens of our race defiled by a godless and brutal English soldiery, *Be with us always and guard us against the whisperings of crafty enemies and false friends!*

O memory of Mullaghmast, of the gallant hearts lured to an awful death by hell-inspired English foes, *Be with us now, and nerve our arms in the day of battle!*

O memory of Eoghan Ruadh O'Neill, of noble Aodh Ruadh O'Donnail, of Father Sheehy, of Tone, of Emmet, of Orr, of Willie Neilson, of the Brothers Sheares, of Henry Joy McCracken, of Russell, and of many another faithful lover of Ireland, done to death by English assassins, *Be ever in our mind and urge us on to the final fight*

with the rivers and destroyers of our land!

O memory of the maddened victims of English cruelty in '98—memory of the shorn heads and eyes of boiling pitch, of the finger nails pulled out from the quivering flesh, of the bones broken and sinews snapped on the rack, of the half-languages and other devilish tortures too horrible even to name, *Be with us now and guard us against the wiles of England and her tools!*

O memory of the famine pits of '47, of the millions done heartlessly to death by hunger in a land teeming with food, of the men and women sent out in coffin ships to find a watery grave, of the homes levelled and burned, of the corpses left unburied by the roadside, of the fiendish yell sent out over the world from English throats that the Irish race was swept away at last, *Be with us and rouse our hearts to anger when Irish slaves beseech us to save the rotten English Empire!*

O memory of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, murdered in an English goal to satisfy an English mob's appetite for blood—memory of their last sad hours when howling English demons in the shape of men and women, danced and sang and cursed about their prison door and denied them even one peaceful hour to commune with their Creator, *Be with us and guard us against ever clasping the hand that is red with the blood of countless Irish martyrs!*

O memory of every English outrage, every English crime against Ireland, *Come close beside us now and help us to realise that the Irishman who lifts his arm in defence of the robber Empire, is a traitor to his race, his land, his kin, to all things noble, to all things good, to the God who made him a son of Ireland, to the mother in whose womb he was conceived!*

GIOILA GAEDHEAL.

MESSAGE FROM U.S.A.

THE following cable has been sent to us from Washington, D.C., U.S.A.:

"Editor, *Wolfe Tone Weekly*, Dublin.—Irish Republican Government League of America meeting here to-day sends New Year greetings to Irish Race through you, pledges unswerving support to Irish Republican Government and patriot prisoners, and denounces Valera's Constitution making himself Dictator of camouflaged British Dominion, betraying the Irish Republic, and definitely dishonouring his pledges to the Irish in America.

SEAN O'DEORAIN.
President."

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WHAT IS EDUCATION?

BY PADRAIC PEARSE

It is a long time since I was first attracted by the Gaelic plan of educating children. One of my oldest recollections is of a kindly grey-haired seanchaibhe, a woman of my mother's people, telling tales by a kitchen fire-place. She spoke more wisely and nobly of ancient heroic things than anyone else I have ever known. Her only object was to amuse me, yet she was the truest of all my teachers. One of her tales was of a king, the most famous king of his time in Ireland, who had gathered about him a number of boys, the children of his friends and kinsmen, whom he had organized into a little society, giving them a constitution and allowing them to make their own laws and elect their own leaders. The most renowned of the king's heroes were appointed to teach them chivalry, the most skilled of his men of art to teach them arts, the wisest of his druids to teach them philosophy. The king himself was one of their teachers, and so did he love their companionship that he devoted one-third of all the time he saved from affairs of state to teaching them or watching them at play; and if any stranger came to the dun during that time, even though he were a king's envoy demanding audience, there was but one answer for him: "The king is with his foster-children." This was my first glimpse of the Boy-Corps of Eamhain Macha, and the picture has remained in my heart.

In truth, I think that the old Irish plan of education, as idealized for boys in the story of the Macraodh of Eamhain and for girls in that of the Griann of Lusga, was the wisest and most generous that the world has ever known. The bringing together of children in some pleasant place under the fosterage of some man famous among his people for his greatness of heart, for his wisdom, for his skill in some gracious craft,—here we get the two things on which I lay most stress in education, the environment, and the stimulus of a personality which can address itself to the child's worthiest self. Then, the charter of free government within certain limits, the right to make laws and maintain them, to elect and depose leaders,—there was scope for the growth of individualities yet provision to maintain the suzerainty of the common weal; the scrupulous co-relation of moral, intellectual and physical training, the open-air life, the very type of the games which formed so large a part of their learning—all these things were designed with a largeness of view foreign to the little minds that devise our modern makeshifts for education. Lastly, the "aite," fosterer or teacher, had as colleagues in his work of fosterage no ordinary hirelings, but men whom their gifts of soul, or mind, or body, had lifted high above their contemporaries,—the captains, the poets, the prophets of their people.

AS the Boy-Corps of Eamhain stands out as the idealization of the system, Cuchulainn stands out as the

idealization of the child fostered under the system. And thus Cuchulainn describes his fostering: "Fionnchaomh nourished me at her breast; Fergus bore me on his knee; Connall was my companion-in-arms; Blai, the lord of lands, was my hostaller; fair-speeched Seancha trained me in just judgment; on the knee of Amhairdin the poet I learned poetry; Cathbhadh of the gentle face taught me druid lore; Conchubhar kindled my boyish ambition. All the chariot-chiefs and kings and poets of Ulster have taken part in my bringing up." Such was the education of Cuchulainn, the most perfect hero of the Gael. Cuchulainn may never have lived, and there may never have been a Boy-Corps at Eamhain; but the picture endures as the Gael's idealization of the kind of environment and the kind of fostering which go to the making of a perfect hero. The result of it all, the simplicity and the strength of true heroism, is compressed into a single sentence put into the hero's mouth by the old shaper of the tale of Cuchulainn's Phantom Chariot: "I was a child with children: I was a man with men."

CIVILIZATION has taken such a queer turn that it might not be easy to restore the old Irish plan of education in all its details. Our heroes and seers and scholars would not be so willing to add a Boy-Corps or a Griann to their establishments as were their prototypes in Ireland from time immemorial till the fall of the Gaelic polity. I can imagine how blue Dr. Hyde, Mr. Yeats, and Mr. MacNeill would look if their friends informed them that they were about to send them their children to be fostered. But, at least, we can bring the heroes and seers and scholars to the schools (as we do at Sgoil Eanna) and get them to talk to the children; and we can rise up against the system which tolerates as teachers the rejected of all other professions rather than demanding for so priest-like an office the highest souls and noblest intellects of the race. I think too that the little child-republics I have described, with their own laws and their own leaders, their life face to face with nature, their care for the body as well as for the mind, their fostering of individualities, yet never at the expense of the commonwealth, ought to be taken as models for all our modern schools. But I must not be misunderstood. In pleading for an attractive school-life, I do not plead for making school-life one long grand picnic; I have no sympathy with the sentimentalists who hold that we should surround children with an artificial happiness, shutting out from their ken pain and sorrow and retribution and the world's law of unending strife; the key-note of the school-life I desiderate is effort on the part of the child himself, struggle, self-sacrifice, self-discipline, for by these things only does the soul rise to perfection. I believe in gentleness, but not in softness. I would not place too heavy a burden on young shoulders, but I would see that no one, boy or man, shrink the burden he is strong enough to bear.

I BELIEVE that many teachers fail because instead of endeavouring to raise themselves to the level of their pupils (I mean the moral, emotional, and imaginative level), they endeavour to bring their pupils down to theirs. For a high, if eccentric, moral code, a glad and altruistic philosophy, a vision of ultimate beauty and truth seen through the fantastic and often humorous figments of a child's dreams, the teacher substitutes the mean philosophy of the world, the mean code of morals of the counting-houses. Our Christianity becomes respectability. We are not content the teaching the Ten Commandments that God spake in thunder and Christ told us to keep if we would enter into life, and the precepts of the Church which He commanded us to hear: we add thereto the precepts or commandments of Respectable Society. And these are chiefly six: Thou shalt not be extreme in anything—in wrongdoing lest thou be put in goal, in right-doing lest thou be deemed a saint; Thou shalt not give away thy substance lest thou become a pauper; Thou shalt not engage in trade or manufacture lest thy hands become grimy; Thou shalt not carry a brown paper parcel lest thou shock Rathgar; Thou shalt not have an enthusiasm lest solicitors and their clerks call thee a fool; Thou shalt not endanger thy job. One has heard this shocking morality preached from Christian pulpits. Those things about the lilies of the field and the birds of the air, and that rebuke to Martha who was troubled about many things, are thought to

have no relevancy to modern life, for these are of the essence of Christ's teaching.

I DREAMT that I saw a pupil of mine, one of our boys at St. Enda's, standing alone upon a platform above a mighty sea of people; and I understood that he was about to die there for some august cause, Ireland's or another. He looked extraordinarily proud and joyous, lifting his head with a smile almost of amusement; I remember noticing his bare throat and the hair on his forehead stirred by the wind, just as I had often noticed them on the football field. I felt an inexplicable exhilaration as I looked upon him, and this exhilaration was heightened rather than diminished by my consciousness that the great silent crowd regarded the boy with pity and wonder rather than with approval, as a fool who was throwing away his life rather than as a martyr that was doing his duty. I would have been so easy to die before an applauding crowd or before a hostile crowd, but to die before that silent, unsympathetic crowd! I dreamt then that another of my pupils stepped upon the scaffold and embraced his comrade, and that then he tied a white bandage over the boy's eyes, as though he would resent the hangman doing him that kindly office. And this act seemed to me to symbolize an immense brotherly charity and loyalty, and to be the compensation to the boy that died for the indifference of the crowd.

NO COMPROMISE!

"NOW, and in every phase of the coming struggle, the strong mind is a greater need than the strong hand. We must be passionate, but the mind must guide and govern our passion. In the aberrations of the weak mind, crying resistance, let us not lose our balance and defy brute strength. Let cultivation of a brave, high spirit be our great task; it will make of each man's soul an unassailable fortress. Armies may fail, but it resists for ever. The body it informs may be crushed; the spirit in passing breathes on other souls, and other hearts are fired to action, and the fight goes on to victory. To the man whose mind is true and resolute ultimate victory is assured. No sophistry can sap his resistance; no weakness can tempt him to savage reprisals. He will neither abandon his heritage nor poison his nature. And in every crisis he is steadfast, in every issue justified. Kejoice, then good comrades; our souls are still our own. Through the coldness and depression of the time there has lightened a flash of the old fire; the old enthusiasm, warm and passionate, is again stirring us; we are forward to uphold our country's right, to fight for her liberty, and to justify our own generation. We shall conquer. Let the enemy count his

dreadnoughts and number off his legions—where are now the legions of Rome and Carthage? And the Spirit of Freedom they challenged is alive and animating the young nations to-day. Hold our heads high, then, and we shall bear our flag bravely through every fight. Persistent, consistent, straightforward and fearless, so shall we discipline the soul to great deeds, and make it indomitable. In the indomitable soul lies the assurance of our ultimate victory."

—TOIRDEHALLACH MACSUIBHE.

AN EMPIRE DAY SPEECH

THERE is no limit to colonial hypocrisy. At an Empire Day meeting in Westmeath a member of the "Free State" Parliament, Mr. M. J. Kennedy, is reported as having said: "An Taoiseach (Mr. de Valera's new title as colonial Prime Minister) had appealed to youth to take its place in Nation-building. He (the speaker) would add to that that youth could not take a finer model than Liam Mellows, the founder of Fianna Eireann." Now, the man who made that hypocritical speech is intelligent. He can hear, and read, and he knows that the Government, the Parliament of which he is a member and of which his Taoiseach is head, has been teaching the youth of the 26 Counties for the past five years, in the schools and colleges under their control, that Liam Mellows was a criminal; and he knows that the same Government and Parliament have closed the headquarters of Fianna Eireann within the past two years, and banned it as an illegal organisation, while giving free scope to the Scouts and Cubs and Boys' Brigades of the British Garrison in Ireland.

Seán buíochas arís

(AN LEADMAINE)

(AN LEANATHAINE)

V

DA ARM A15ne

Níor cinneadh ar an gcomhairle
éire, agus creidim go dtiongbála
suir éail rin an lá oíche. Ach ní
mór liom a d'athas go raibadap
míreanail, agus go raib fúta a
heir tiliir.

Ni fuláin liom an méirí rín, dár
liom, a dtíor go nócáir le 'Dion-
bhlaic' don cunnair laetearmál a
bí m' éirí asam. Níete acá ma-
eáinne as an scime aonraic ir feir-
eáinne an fearpháir dóirí fear-
cóirceann a náirpín; asur ir ahi-
láir 'u' éirí le dóir-a deir 'm' do-
pphóirnáic go tpeacáí d'asáirac de
dárí an r'péil d'ubhrónaí acá in-
péirí anirí go haéduimair asam,
asur 'u' éirí dóm fóir a deir as
r'píobáir asur as imáduáir i gcóir
uairíní ar fearú na míor. "Míng-
eann fearú na héiréann mo cóir,"
ar mac uil m'eadáir i s'clann m'ea-
leir na b'neiceannáir éasópáca,
"asur veannan í cóir é." Ni
c'éisearr le go neam-easlaic éun an
dárí acá ceapáca don té s'fíor cóir,
i n-easáir an fearú, na fóir ní c'éis-
eann leir írceac i long pphóirnáic

caðairt dubflán a námio san dóðar
mair a beir aige leir. Dá "óige"
vá mbirú dume, nó dá "óíomaoimís"
vá mbirú ré ní úeáfaró ré a leicéro
rin tré maoar óige ná ar corp
óíomaoimís.

★

Tá baom ann agus míneocaró mo
peannadóir ódín an t-úolgar, an ríor-
aíor, agus an fonn a tugas do deagán
sáeócal a túl ina leictéir na con-
dairle agus peannairí com gáir-
rín a táirgáir oíga féin, ar son an
t-eon-fail rín peáda agus a geom-
sáeócal a dúirgáir, agus ar fúit,
cé go nabadair fa anforlann agus
fa táir, ar fúit agus go gearraíor
go gearraíor i n-áirí a náimí a
sáeócal a dúirgáir.

+

Mineochara ré ina ceannra rin níos
atá pátaí roiléir san Iúirleabhar .i.
an ppiopair doctlaoróte agur an pún
uaingear a o'fan ionam coimheige

seAn mISrAAl

Cuirimís cíos ar creachtain re
le Droicéad an Iomráid do ríoch
Séan Mírceál ó lá go lá agus é pé
slar as Sallaib. An creachtain reo
dúgaim tórnóir ar an Iomráid
reim. Eogán Ó Neachtáin do eap
Saebils air agus páipais Mac-
Mághuib, trídianac Ué air, do eap

Δη τὰ σείρετ: 1e. παρὰ τὸν ὁ πύρρα

•

An lá reo ar a bhrú mé ag caint
 éiríais fearce de muinnir Déil.
 Fearce ann—an lá i ngeirí an
 “Dapa. Lá - veas.” O’airnis mé
 fear mór amháin—an fear a bí ag
 bualaí ar éinn de na oimí.

ann 'r iao uilig a5 maoinéad ar
 saircibeact an ffr móir. Di riao
 a5 iarrad ar dume éigin fíadail le
 riubal anonn ear an oirdeoin, a5ur
 ní pad aet an fear móir reo a cair-
 beann 50 pad uéat aise rin a
 véanann. Di riao 'gá meallao 'r
 'gá meallao aet níor bós ré. Ann-
 rin éirias na míl a clabóir a
 carad ruar leir, a5ur oiréact mar
 gníot an Daób le Cú Cluann na
 crean-am nuair bíod bpuinead a oí-
 aín, cúir pé rin an fear móir cun

nó 50 padamar tall ag bun na car-

ƆƆeapung muto ruar nɔ so naɔ-
amaɔ of comɔɔɔ an Ɔɔn mɔɔɔ ɔɔɔ
Ɔeapamaɔ anɔɔɔ ɔɔɔ ɔɔɔɔ an an

•

Dain an Veiré dGaimn na caróso
tinn dSur tús dSár nínnesá af a
dúle mar d'icé

"Ni rab ré in vo póir ariam é a
 téanam," arfa mire, "a clabair
 turbe ve flioc Cromuall!"
 "A parobis ve páraipe!" arf
 eisean, "aet cairdeánarú mire vut
 sur veas-Opárteas ve flioc Cróda
 ..."

“Billi beas buirde!” arfa mife as
cathair na hÉireann do a leas an fíor
a úrma é. D’éirigh ré. “d
Séamuir a claidhe!” arfa eisean,
“cuireamar an fíor na hÉireann as an

Dóinn.
 Ásúr 'o'ionnpuis ápir.
 "A cneamhaire a éirís do cneamhaire!" ápra mire, "óeanfard mé leacair brós do do cneamhaire éon cneac-burde!" Ásúr pug mé áir 'i cúis bapra-cúir pa mífáin nó a leac. É. Cúir mé mó slán áir a ué. "Ánoir," ápra mire, "nac brail fi Dúll buante! Buante go veonl an Róim go bráit!" Ásúr béic mé an méao rin amac go h-ápo ásúr go meonáit."

Tugamar cat-púil ar an fear mór.
Dí ré n-a luige go fóill ádt dí na
rúile oirainne. lean mé ar an cáine
maoróicis agus mo cara faoi mo

"Ta bill com mair le dte-
an la 45 Seamur . . .!"

Uo preab an fear mór agus
 uchl cruíléis di ré ear an vpoiceas
 anall cúsainn agus sheim rcórnais

(Cn10C).

★

Má bhí Déarla maic agam' mácam
agur cabair ruar maic uirthi, bí an
Saeulinn aici an áilleacht, leir. Ní
raib eigi a n-atar ag timpal te ceat-
namad míle ó Eulinn Uí Caomh. Bí
Saeulinn breas 'ó á labairt an uair
rin i gEulinn Uí Caomh agur an
fuair 'Dúé' álla go léir. Ní veirim
ná go bfuil Saeulinn maic le
n-áireachtad fóp i gEulinn. Ad cá
pí náe fóir caite uata ás fóiríof
mhuicir 'Dúé' álla. Túsar féin
camall aimpire, bliam ip 'óde liom,
i nDúé' álla, i n-áice Ceann Cuirc,
bheir agur deic mbliana á' vadac
ó fin. Bí aor ós na n-áice an uair
rin ás eirise ruar agur san aon
focal Saeulinne acu, agur donar
an fGéil ar fáo, an fagas Déarla
a bí acu níof aimpéar niam niamir
rin ná niam ó fin aon éaint cómh
spána leir. Cuairt a bhinn ás éir-
ceatad leo fhuairf corcianta i
geuimne dom an focal a veiread
Dummar na mhuicéir.

Daime san Deapla san

1 gCuirinn Uí Caoimh a bith Dáir-
muro 'n-a cómnuithe, agus is uóda
gur tug fé fé nveara na daoine ósa
as caiteamh in Saeluinne uata agus
as labhair an Déala trína nuaire.

↓

Di ana fearn orm-ra pé 'n toman é. Di roir Déarla asur Saeluinn asam or cionn mo éilabáin. Mura mbéar an áic 'n-af fusaó asur 'n-af cósáó mé, áiméac, ní béar an Saeluinn asam, asur mura mbéar an máicéan a cusáó uom ní béar an Déarla asam. Asur féac, mura mbéar roir Saeluinn asur Déarla vo beic asam mar ácáto, ní béar aon éiric i n-aon cor asam ar an obair a véanam acá véanca asam. Pé fearar pé leit a béar ar an mbDéarla asam, ní cabarfaó pé aon éumap uom ar an nSaeluinn vo fílacáó mar aym aigne asur vo lámhréid mar aym aigne. Iy áitlár a béar an Déarla 'a m cup amú ra lámhréid rin. Pé fearar pé leit a béar asam ar an nSaeluinn béar an cup amú céatna áicir- 'a véanam orm i toacáó an Déarla. Ac vo fusaó éimeit pé leit ar féc aym ve'n 'd á aym aigne, asur éolur pé leit ar conur féc aym acu vo lámhréid; anfan, i n-neacó béit as cup a céile amú orm, iy áitlár a bío riav as cabrúacó le n-a céile asam.

★

Anonn leir ašur ruš sneim vā
lānā ar na nōpā ar šac caoš 'r
riubai rē leir nō so naš rē leat
bealaš tārna. Annnin, a v'peac-
ar ū, čut rē no plimp ar a doš
ar an v'pōiceau 'r ruš sneim an šp
bāroce ar na rāteca, ašur ar rin
nī čiocear leir copnā. Nī čiocear
leir bošau nā nī čiocear leir pēapē
fēim a leigim. Dē rē v'pōicea mō
beau rē šan anāš šan anam. Šašpē
riav ar ašur čuš comāle nō riānā
ar a doš 'r ē fēim a tārpašgt mō
rin ačč ča v'cuš rē anō ašpō ošca.
Ašur nī rācaš ēinne v'ā čōip.
Čāšip cušp beaš šašite ašur lušp
an v'pōiceau so v'cau—ašur an pēap
mōp leir. Dē pēan ar an čuroac-
ca. Čašipōe an pēan dočt o
comā rē rē!

Smaoitiḡ mé an feist agur o'in-
nir do mo caparo é. Uí ré rárta;
cóm rárta rin gur leis ré reamte
níosda an.

Sfor leir an deift agáinn siota
beas agus rcaoilteamar an bá
náma a bí feirctíste af an caob i
bfur. Ircacá linn agus tarráinn ve
duill maite láirne na maraí náma

FAIS LEISTEOIRI
DUINN,
A CARA

(нѣ Cpfoc).

"Na b'adome ir l'gda ciall :
n-finn

BY ARRANGEMENT WITH THE TALBOT PRESS, LTD.

THE LIFE-STORY OF WOLFE TONE

CHAPTER III.

TONE THE EMANCIPATOR.

But I'll go down to Belfast
To see that seaport gay . . .

§ 4.

TONE had come to Belfast on deep political business. He had travelled up with Whitley Stokes, Fellow of Trinity College. They played "coaching whist" on the road, scoring according as they saw cats, pigs and so forth from the sides of the coach. "Very pretty amusement for a statesman and a philosopher." Good Stokes was left to fag in Belfast, while Tone supped with the old set and danced on the green in regimental; but Stokes was content, in his strange mystical way, meditating on the time prophecies and getting flunting to copy down the words of a love song from Monaghan, "The Green Woods of Truagh." Stokes studied the Irish language and wrote an Irish vocabulary; his son, Whitley Stokes the second, would be one of the giants of Gaelic scholarship, exploring the old classics; while his daughter, Margaret, would be the opener-up of knowledge of Celtic art. A great-grandson would save ten thousand and a hundred thousand lives by his researches in tropical medicine, and would perish in 1926, a martyr to benevolent science. Tone knew that there was greatness in Stokes, but wrote "what he would highly, that

By AODH DE BLACAM

he would holly." This best man whom Tone ever knew was not built for revolutionary days; he shrank from the means that men must use in war. Nevertheless, in his strange, detached way, he was a big force. He it was, perhaps, more than any other, who taught Tone the ideal of brotherhood among Irishmen. What Stokes conceived in his mystic thought, Tone sought now to realise in action.

Behold Tone, therefore, labouring with redoubled intensity to capture the Dissenters for Catholic emancipation, and all Ireland for unity. Declarations to be adopted on the anniversary of the Bastille are drawn up, argued over, answered letter by letter, at meeting after meeting. Doggedly Tone works to get Emancipation embodied. Mark, that he is not for a republic yet. Some men are ahead of him; but all that he seeks is freedom and unity under any form of government, and this is revolutionary enough.

★

EARLY on the 14th Tone is roused. He gets into his gallant uniform, breakfasts with the Catholics, and goes off to parade, mounted on a borrowed mare. Brigade is formed, there is a march to the green slopes of the Falls (*Fál*, a ditch), and so with colours flying and martial music, after the manoeuvres, home the companies come to the town's centre and fire off a reverberating *feux-de-joie*

"More absorbing than any novel"
—A Reader.

around the Linen Hall, and the echoes roll as if from the fall of the Bastille. Belfast quivers with the report, and there is a great dinner at the Donegall Arms, where the weavers talk of the timidity of corps elsewhere and the need for moderation, but the resolutions, including emancipation, are carried after five minutes. "We have it hollow . . . Could have carried anything . . . Huzzah, huzzah! . . . Broke my glass thumping the table . . . God bless everybody again generally."

§ 5.

SO home to Dublin comes Tone, with the leading figures in Belfast committed to all that he desired. The fall of the Bastille has brought Belfast's bigotry to its fall also. With Keogh, he rode out to Grattan, the retired patriot statesman, who gave wine to his guests and elegantly lamented that the Patriot Parliament to which he had exclaimed *Esto perpetua!* had shown itself no Parliament. Small hopes there! Then Tone spent days in folding papers for the Munster Bishops, and blessed their Lordships: dined in Drogheda with their Lordships of the Northern province, "all very pleasant, sensible men," and went to bed early for once; and fared yet once more to the North that he loved so well.

HE was warned not to visit Rathfriland; there was nearly a battle with the Peep-of-day-boys, or Protestant terrorists. "Horrible thing, these religious discords," he wrote; "certainly fomented by the aristocrats of this country." Having dined with the Catholic Bishops in Drogheda, he was refused a meal at the inn. Rostrevor he visited, riding by the shore. At Belfast again, he went out to see MacCracken's new ship, the "Hibernia"; it had an English crown on its shield, and all roared at MacCracken. Eighteen dissenting ministers from all parts of Ulster were reported all well disposed to Catholic liberty. One of them was challenged by someone in his congregation for his part on July 14th and offered to argue the point after meeting, but all gave in: all well. There were bad reports from Lishurn way.

Lord Annesley, who is by all accounts a mere brute . . . has a trick of knocking down the Catholics on the roads or wherever he meets them for his amusement; scoundrel! Why do they not knock him down again and be hanged?

At Newry, Tone was persuaded to delay for a while, in order to reconcile bickering parties of Catholics. This he did with his usual delightful persuasion, and then *entre deux vins*, proposed a United Irish society. The proposal was relished. Next day he went to Mass in the old chapel at the place where Newry's Catholics are buried. News came that day that the King of France had been dethroned. "Very glad of it," wrote Tone, "for now the people have fair play." It was August 19, 1792—the first breath of Republicanism was in the air.

(To be Continued).

GAMES AND ATHLETICS

THE nine clubs which compose the Irish Amateur Athletic Union held an outing lately. It will be remembered that this is the body that sold its soul to Bull and Belfast. According to the newspapers the outing took place in the vicinity of Glanavin. An ironic commentator, describing the event, forecast a bright prospect in front of the barefooted Claremen who came from Colonel O'Callaghan's Mills to swell the thing.

★

JUST 50 years ago, hurling and football broke down the parish frontiers, and looked for battles in wider fields. In 1885-6, a few inter-county challenge matches, arranged by I.R.B. centres, were contested, but they held little competitive interest. They had, however, national values. In 1887, the games that were played under G.A.A. auspices assumed a definite inter-county trend. Parish teams continued to function here and there under their own rules for a couple of years later.

★

IT is incorrect to say that the famine extirpated our native games. This is one of the sweeping generalisations which obscure the vital contrasts of history. As a matter of fact, a history of parish hurling from 1850 to 1865 would reveal surprises. The first *cánán* I ever handled was spokeshaved by a man who

captained his parish team in 1859. Thirty years later, I saw that team which was not affiliated to the G.A.A., in action.

Of course the Famine i.e. the Big Famine, had a serious effect on native games and pastimes. However, they survived that scourge, the survival involving an exhibition of splendid racial tenacity. Ultimately that is what counts, the spirit of Terence McSwiney and not the spurt of a changeling.

★

TO return to the G.A.A. competitions. The retrospect of the 50 years work in field and forum swarms with pride and passion and prejudice. And with jealousies too. It will be agreed, I think, that freedom, prosperity, happiness would be brought immeasurably nearer to us by the extirpation from our character of senseless, unholy jealousies. That might be too much to hope for, but a great deal could be accomplished in that direction by a wise G.A.A. Government.

★

EXPLOITATION, which the man in the street so often mistakes for politics, has had baneful influence in Council and field, but it has failed to dam up the stream of continuity. A greater danger at present is manifest. It is the spirit of complacency which appears to have nestled on Gaeldom. I have already struck a warning note

about that in this Journal, and I hope to emphasise it while the county conventions are in session.

★

THE G.A.A. is a young organisation, but not an organisation for the young. There are still living, hale and hearty, men who played in the earliest matches staged under its auspices. They are its best assets. Meet them at the Gaelic venues, talk to them and you will find the old, true spirit still informing their outlook. That spirit arises from consciousness of the intimacy which exists between *camán* and country. Those men, and not the "broad-minded" young 'Gael's' who decry the Ban, represent the unbreakable link of Gaelic continuity.

May this New Year bring fresh accessions of happiness to all veteran Gaels, and to the younger ones added enthusiasm for the Games of the Gael!

DALCASSIAN.

WARNING

"Our heroes' spirits dwell in the places where they lived, and the hills of Ireland must be rent and her cities levelled with the ground, and all her children driven out upon the seas of the world before those voices are silenced that bid us be faithful still, and to make no peace with England until Ireland is ours."—PEARSE.

TRADITION

"The songs of the poets of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries gave to every cottage in the land the ownership as well as the tale of an heroic ancestry. They linked the Ireland of yesterday with the Ireland of Fionn and Oscar, of Diarmuid and Gráinne, of Deirdre and the sons of Uisneach, of Cuchullain, the Hound of Ulster. A people bred on such soul-stirring tales as these, linked by a language the 'most expressive of any spoken on earth', in thought and verse and song with the very dawn of their history, wherein there moved as familiar figures, men with the attributes of the gods, great in battle, grand in danger, strong in loving, vehement in death—such a people could never be vulgar, could never be mean, but must repeat in their own time and manhood actions and efforts thus ascribed as a vital part of their very origin."

ROGER CASEMENT.

"THE SAME AGAIN"

THE same people who praised the Treaty of Surrender and exhorted us all to accept it; the same people who praised the Murder Gang of 1922; the same people who praised the English-dictated first "Free State" Constitution are now praising the second "Free State" Charter of Liberty. Why?

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RESURGENCE

A young Fianna boy has written this reply to verses entitled "Resurgence" in praise of Empire Day, which appeared in the "Irish Press" on December 31.

"EIRE"—O God! why do they mock me
With paper "freedom"—under England's Crown?
Even while they forge another link to bind me,
Another traitors' chain to drag me down.
But God be praised! My lovers are not unquieshed,
Their arms are strong as steel, their hearts are true;
Another day will see my armies marching,
To strike another blow for Róisín Dúibh.

Aye, once again old Dublin will awaken
To the tramp of marching feet of valiant men;
The Rearguard will do battle once more for me
On the mountain, in the town and in the glen.
Their bayonets shall flash gladly in the sunshine,
And sycophants and slaves the day will rue,
When with Judas kiss they put the crown of tinseal
On the bowed and dear dark head of Róisín Dúibh.

My children yet shall drive the foe before them—
Whether clad in khaki coat or coat of green—
And mercenaries will flee in droves ere vengeance
O'er takes them for the insults to their Queen.
My flag shall fly o'er all my many counties—
From Antrim's hills to Kerry's mountains blue—
And my sons shall place the bright gold crown of Freedom
On the dear dark head of deathless Róisín Dúibh.

BRENDAN F. BEHAN.
31/12/37.

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Empire Day In Belfast
UNIQUE CELEBRATION.

To celebrate the voluntary entry of the "Free State" Government into the British Empire, James of Stormont invited nine young Ulstermen—one for each of the nine counties of Ulster—to be guests of His Majesty in the Crumlin Road Hotel, Belfast, for periods ranging from one year to one month.

The young men selected for this honour are Denis Whelan, Felix Kelly, Daniel O'Doherty, Alex McAtamney, John O'Connor, John Campbell, Henry White, Patrick Ferrin, and Daniel McAllister.

The reasons given for the conferring of the honour were that the young men in question had assembled with others to honour the memory of four men who have been classed as criminals by Eamonn of "Eire", viz., "Rory, Liam, Dick and Joe"; that they had carried flags inscribed "Join the Fianna"; and that like true Ulstermen, they had issued military commands and marched in military formation.

To save space the *Irish Press* in reporting the function, omitted the Christian names of James's guests, calling them Kelly, O'Doherty, etc., but gave the names of the receptionists and guest-masters in full—Sergeant R. J. Wilson, District Inspector Geelan, etc., etc. Another sign of our freedom within the Empire.

NOTE—Before the coming into force of the new "Free State" Constitution Crumlin Road Hotel was a prison.

REAL FREEDOM

"... TO THE IRISH MIND FOR MORE THAN A THOUSAND YEARS FREEDOM HAS HAD BUT ONE DEFINITION. IT HAS MEANT NOT A LIMITED FREEDOM, A FREEDOM CONDITIONED BY THE INTERESTS OF ANOTHER NATION, A FREEDOM COMPATIBLE WITH THE SUZERAIN AUTHORITY OF A FOREIGN PARLIAMENT, BUT ABSOLUTE FREEDOM, THE SOVEREIGN CONTROL OF IRISH DESTINIES. IT HAS MEANT NOT THE FREEDOM OF A CLASS, BUT THE FREEDOM OF A PEOPLE. IT HAS MEANT NOT THE FREEDOM OF A GEOGRAPHICAL FRAGMENT OF IRELAND, BUT THE FREEDOM OF ALL IRELAND, OF EVERY SOD OF IRELAND."

—Pearce.

AN ANTIDOTE

"WE want in the Ireland of to-day an antidote to the spirit of Anglicisation which is abroad. I know of no more effective barrier against the encroachment of that spirit, next to the Irish language and Irish song, than the general singing at concerts and gatherings of good Anglo-Irish ballads and songs. The music-hall and concert-room may be made a very powerful agency in denationalising and even debasing our people. From a national and moral point of view what effect can empty, vulgar, mawkishly sentimental songs have? And such songs are only too often heard at our so-called Irish concerts."—Preface to *Songs of the Gael*, edited by the late Father P. Walshe, C.M.

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