

SAOIRSE ÉIREANN WOLFE TONE WEEKLY

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 31, 1939

Twopence.

DO NOT VOTE FOR COERCION

BETWEEN the policies of the two political parties contesting the by-election in Dublin there is no difference, and not a single Republican vote will be cast for either.

But supporters of Fianna Fáil who are still only partly disillusioned should think twice before they vote.

Every vote cast for Mr. John McCann is a vote for coercion against Republicans. Mr. McCann may be an estimable man in private life, but in this contest he represents the party in power, and that party will hail his return as a sign of the acceptance of the two Coercion Acts by the people of Dublin City South.

For that reason we ask the members and supporters of Fianna Fáil in the constituency who are readers of this paper, to follow the example of the Republican electors and cast **NO VOTE** at ALL next Tuesday, unless they demand and secure in advance the withdrawal even at this late hour, of the Coercion that is about to be launched against the comrades of Kevin Barry, Liam Mellows and Cathal Brugha.

A vote for John McCann is a vote for the persecution of faithful uncompromising Republicans.

PERSECUTION OF PRISONERS

WE expressed the fear a couple of weeks ago that persecution more terrible than silence, solitary confinement, hard labour or association with criminals might be inflicted upon the Irish Republican prisoners at present in the jails of England.

We feared that following the statement sent out from a meeting of the English Catholic Hierarchy on Low Sunday, an attempt would be made to brand the Irish men and women in prison in England as members of a secret society opposed to the Church, and to persecute them by refusing them the Sacraments that would be such a source of consolation to them in the hardship and loneliness of prison.

Our fear was well founded. We have just received news that Most Rev. Dr. Barrett, Bishop of Plymouth, has ordered the Catholic chaplain at Dartmoor Prison to refuse the Sacraments to the Irish prisoners until such time as they renounce and repudiate the Irish Republican Army. It is said that Dr. Barrett is an Irishman, a native of Cork.

We have heard that in at least one of the other prisons there has been no refusal of the Sacraments, but the only place about which we have got definite information is Dartmoor. There are thousands of men and women in Ireland and scattered over the world to-day who know from bitter experience in 1922 and 1923 what a cruel form of persecu-

tion it is to a Catholic to be refused absolution and Holy Communion unless he becomes a national renegade.

This terrible and cruel practice was condemned in no uncertain terms by Monsignor Luzio, the Pope's special representative who got such a cold reception here from all but the faithful Republicans who had nothing to hide and nothing to be ashamed of. The refusal of the Sacraments to Irish Republican prisoners was quietly dropped after his visit here in 1923.

Let us again tell Dr. Barrett of Plymouth and all others like him

who abuse their high position by persecuting in this mean fashion men and women who are as good Catholics as they, that the Irish Republican Army is not a secret society, and has not been condemned by the Church at any time.

They should be slow to accept as truth the infamous lies of a degenerate Irishman like Sergeant A. M. Sullivan, and before they allow imperialistic prejudice to sway them in the discharge of their duty as pastors, should consider the harm they can do to souls, to the Church and to religion.

BODENSTOWN

ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY years ago, Theobald Wolfe Tone was laid to rest in a lonely little graveyard on the wind-swept plains of Kildare. He was outlawed, tortured and persecuted in life; he has been slandered, libelled and defamed in death; but because he worked and fought and died for a free Irish Republic, his name is enshrined forever in the hearts of all who love Ireland, while his torturers and defamers—the petty tyrants who hated him and the slaves who pursued him beyond the door of death with their lies are buried in the oblivion to which all such as they belong.

FROM that lonely grave in Bodinstown sprang the living Irish Republic for which men of '48 and '67 and 1916 and 1922-23 gave

their lives, and to that grave every heart that loves Ireland and hopes to see her free from English thrall will ever turn for inspiration, with reverence and with pride.

ON Sunday, June 25, the annual Republican Pilgrimage to Bodinstown Churchyard will be held. It will be a hosting of the unconquered Gaels of Ireland, a tribute of love to the heroic dead, a renewal of our faith in the cause that cannot be killed by force or intrigue, by foreign enemy or native slave, a reminder to tyrants and the tools of tyrants that the spirit of the Republic is immortal and eternal.

LAST WEEK'S ISSUE WAS
COMPLETELY SOLD OUT
WITHIN TWENTY-FOUR
HOURS.

10,000 WORKERS WANTED!

No Area Should Fail to Make a Success of the PRISONERS' DEPENDENTS'

FLAG DAY

SUNDAY, JUNE 18.

IN ADDITION TO THE FLAG DAY,

HOLD A CEILIDHE IN YOUR AREA!

IS IRISH WORTH WHILE?

English Laws Supply the Answer

V.

AS emigration, however, increased so did the demand for English, as being the most profitable language for anyone intending to emigrate, even for commercial men who did not emigrate, and for professional men such as lawyers and doctors. To this was added the fact that the National Board gave cheap education, a very important matter in a poor country like Ireland. But this gradual tendency was brought to a head in 1846 by the Famine which compelled the Irish to emigrate in multitudes, and at home to look to what was profitable rather than to what was patriotic and national. For the moment "the spirit was broken that never had bent." Irish came to be regarded as a millstone on an Irishman's neck, impeding his progress, and English as a talisman to lead him to success.

AT this critical moment, the English Protestant societies, at the connivance and probably the instigation of the Government, thought of a plan "to spread the light" which had the effect of killing the language with kindness. With such undoubted malice was this done, that I cannot resist quoting their own words in this connection. In a book published in 1844 entitled "Reasons, Authorities and Facts afforded by the history of the Irish Society, respecting the Irish language as a medium for conveying Scriptural instruction to the peasants of Ireland," this interesting information is given. This book was written by the Secretary of the Society, and in answer to some people who had objected to the use of the Irish language as being likely to promote its spread, he says: "But this use of the Irish tongue, so far from tending to promote its continuance, has the direct contrary effect. This paradox stands now demonstrated by the uniform experience of the Society, that, wherever it has established itself for three or four years, it has not only reconciled the people to the use of the English, but led to its adoption as a means of advancing in education, civilization and spiritual knowledge." Here their own words convict them. They were anxious to make Protestants of the people, provided it did not interfere with their denationalisation and the destruction of their language. In pursuit of this policy they had the Protestant Bible printed in Irish, and presented along with doles of money, meal and soup, to any of the starving Irish peasantry who consented to accept these offerings for allowing themselves to be enrolled as converts. When this mean and cunning attempt at proselytising became generally known, there arose a storm of prejudice against this "Irish Bible" which reacted on the language itself and brought it for a time into disrepute. This went on for twenty years or so, doing little or no service to the Protestant religion, but causing much injury to the Irish language.

THUS the language began to die away mainly as the result of the definite policy of the Board of National Education, appointed by the Government chiefly from a class of Irishmen who have been steadily hostile to the aspirations of the people, and being perfectly ignorant of the language and literature of the Irish, pursued from the first with unvarying pertinacity the great aim of utterly abolishing the language. For half a century this continued till at last, owing to great agitation, Irish was permitted to be taught in National schools as an extra subject, and in 1884 after more pressure, allotted a fee, but it was still regarded with disfavour and but rarely taught.

WE have seen now some of the official attempts of the British Government to destroy the Irish language, but the efforts of individual Englishmen and some renegade Irishmen were no less strenuous in endeavouring to attain the same object. And why? Because they saw that the language of Ireland was one of the strongest obstacles in the way of Anglicization, and they realised that while it lived it would preserve the national spirit. The struggle has now been in progress for over

seven centuries. Through proscription and persecution, in spite of cold and famine, fire and sword, our ancestors have preserved for us the language of our motherland, and with it the spirit of nationality which animates every true Irishman. Our country's history is full of suffering, but also full of glory and inspiration. Yet we will profit little by it all, if we have the misfortune to be ignorant of the riches of our inheritance.

OH! Irishmen, ours is a glorious heritage: more blood has been spilt and more suffering undergone in preserving it for us than has been expended for any country in the world in a like position. And is this heirloom to be for us as pearls cast before swine! No! We must not fail. "The great God never planned for slumbering slaves a home so grand." But fettered slaves we shall be, as Davis has said, if we lose our national language. Let us, therefore, do our part and in spite of all opposition hand down to posterity the language of our glorious past, which has enshrined in it the aspirations and hopes of generations of heroes and martyrs.

DOMINALL MAC CARRAIGS.

IGNORANCE

THE late Stephen MacKenna was one of the most brilliant men of his day, and one of the most Irish-minded and most fearlessly outspoken. He lashed the *Seoinín* Irish who, swallowing whole and entire the English enemy's lies about us and our language and our literature, endeavour on every possible occasion to belittle the country of their birth.

STEPHEN MACKENNA was a member of the little Irish-speaking political Society, Cumann na Saoirse, brought into existence by Pearse through the medium of *An Barr Buadh*, although he did not agree with all its objects. He was intimate with Pearse, MacDonagh, Plunkett, Ceannt and almost all the 1916 leaders, and mourned for them as if they had been his brothers. In the following pen-picture of Thomas MacDonagh he scarifies the ignorant so-called cultured creatures who despise their own language. It wrote of him as having a very attractive though not an imposing presence, a quick eye beaming friendly goodwill to all the world, handsome features, a pleasant voice, a fluent easy abundance of the best sort of natural unaffected Irish that smacked neither of the freshly picked up and 'worked off' idioms of the class-room nor of the graves of the old dead authors just such an Irish as one would imagine the conversation of literary circles would be if our benighted, lazy 'Intelligenzia' and our hopelessly unimaginative 'Aristocracy' had not ignored the language that served the long generations of poets and magnates alike in days when our little lan dwas alive and in honour in the world."

"I have heard MacDonagh talk for an hour at a time on Latin Literature—with much illustration from Catullus, a pet theme of his thought and talk—and I have wished that those could hear him who, in grotesque ignorance or in lying malice, assert that the Irish of so much poetry is fit only for discussing the feeding of pigs and the promise of cows. The difference, of course, was that he knew the language, the others knew merely a smattering of history; they, judging Ireland and the Irish people—most unhistorically—by other countries and by less intelligent races, jumped to the conclusion that a nation must have long lost the tradition of respect for intellectual things, for the great world of beauty, for the graces of poetry, the expression of emotion, the consideration of general ideas."

Are't those some stupidly, ignorant people still in our midst, as bumptious and dense as ever!

CARLTON THI DUBLIN

THE GAELIC LEAGUE MUST GO

THE Gaelic League has got poor thanks from the Staters for its approval and support of Coercion.

The President of the Gaelic League voted for the Coercion Bills as dutifully as did his god-brothers, Mr. Frank McDermott and Sir John Keane, in the "Free State" so-called Senate; and the Head Coercionist was re-elected President of the Ard-Chraobh of the Gaelic League.

The thanks of the Coercion Government found expression in the speech delivered by Minister Derrig at Kilkenny Feis on Sunday, May 21.

He did not mention the Gaelic League once during his long speech, and he actually called for the setting up of a rival body with branches throughout the country.

It was the beginning of the carrying out of Mr. de Valera's threat uttered some time ago when he suggested some vague plan of his own for the revival of the language to a deputation from the Coiste Gnótha of the Gaelic League. Because they did not jump at it he became angry and said that if they were not prepared to toe the line and do as they were told others would be found to do it.

Now Mr. Derrig has come out with a suggestion for the formation of "local committees" throughout the country to endeavour to awaken the enthusiasm that has been knocked senseless by compromise, by surrender, by desertion of ideals and principles, by the make-believe and materialism and self-seeking that have been spread like poison gas all over the country during the past seven or eight years.

Just think of the irony of coercionists who have accepted the British Empire and the British King and who are now about to try to dragoon the whole twenty-six counties into similar acceptance—just think of such men asking for voluntary effort and for enthusiasm to revive the language they have been killing for seven years!

Why did Mr. Derrig not ask for the revival of Gaelic League craobh-acha instead of his local committees? Why did he ignore the Gaelic League altogether in his speech? Is it the beginning of an attempt to wipe out the Gaelic League and grab the language movement in the interests of party politics?

FERMOY MEMORIAL

A committee has been formed for the purpose of unveiling the memorial erected in Kilerumper, Fermoy, to the memory of the officers and men of Cork No. 2 Brigade who gave their lives in the struggle for independence from 1916 to 1923. General Liam Lynch, Chief of Staff, is laid to rest in this plot. It has been decided to unveil the Memorial on Sunday, July 23. Full particulars will be published later. Subscriptions to cover expenses will be thankfully received and acknowledged by:—

LIAM LEDDY, Araglen, Kilerworth, Co. Cork.
THOMAS WALL, Fermoy, Co. Cork.
JEREMIAH CASEY, Meadstown, Kildorrery, Co. Cork.

**A VOTE FOR FIANNA
FAIL IS A VOTE FOR
COERCION**

THEN AND NOW

ON November 17, 1922, in "the seventh year of the Republic," Mr. Rutledge, as Minister for Home Affairs, and Mr. de Valera, as President of the Republic, signed a Declaration as to "the war waged by the British Government against the Republic," as to the truce of 1921; and as to the conference, and the "Articles of Agreement for a Treaty."

They declared that the January, 1922, Dail's "resolution purporting to approve of the said instrument" was passed under "duress and threat of war," that "the said instrument implied a surrender of the sovereignty of Ireland, and could not be, and is not, binding on the Republic of Ireland, and could not be, and was not, ratified in the form of law by Dail Eireann," and "that such purported approval was *ultra vires*, and accordingly null and void."

THE EXECUTIONS.

FURTHER, they declared, that "in June, 1922, certain persons known as the Provisional Government" "executed" four Irish soldiers, the first of the seventy seven they murdered for being armed. No direct English official of our day had ever thus done scores of youths to death.

Next day (Nov. 18, 1922) Messrs. de Valera and Rutledge proclaimed that the "Provisional Government, with other enemies of the Republic, have entered into a conspiracy to divide this ancient nation and dismember its territory, and to subvert the Republic, which they were sworn to defend."

Any person acting in the King's Courts or appearing before them "shall be declared an enemy of the Republic." Mr. de Valera alone, on November 22, 1922, signed the "Formal Notice" that "the Republic, founded on a vote of the people . . . could not be legally disestablished, by any act of its legislature; merely an organ for maintaining the Republic."

HALF AND HALF.

BUT the Free State dug itself in, as the saying was. Mr. de Valera came to say that if Republicans went on asking the people's votes, while refusing to go into any "de facto" assembly, republicanism, that is, the cause of independence, would fade away and fizzle out.

Be it said here, however, that when Mr. de Valera had said, long before, that "I am not a Doctrinaire Republican," the stress presumably was on the last word, meaning that the speaker was for the nation's independence, whatever were the form of government it might choose. He did not presumably lay stress on "Doctrinaire," or mean that his Republicanism, as his ideal of independence, had in it some alloy.

He did not say, that "I am half and half for independence." But he might be held to say that "I am, possibly, half and half for Republic or for monarchy."

Anyway, the former President of the Republic lost faith in the policy of abstention; and in the Summer of 1927 he took the Oath of Allegiance

to the King and the Free State Government, and went into the Free State Parliament.

On March 14, 1929, in that parliament, he said: "I still hold that our right to be regarded as the legitimate Government is faulty. . . . You (original Free Staters and Treatyites) brought off a *coup d'etat* in the Summer of 1922. . . . You have secured a *de facto* position." But "Those who continued on in that organization (the Second Dail), which we have left, can claim exactly the same continuity that we claimed up to 1925 (sic) . . . I differed with them, because I had to recognize there was somebody who would have to keep order, that there was a *de facto* position created by you" (first Free Staters).

However, it may surely be said that the British Government had, undeniably, long ago, created for itself a "de facto" position. Yet we (later Free Staters) have held, and hold, that its right to be regarded as the legitimate government was faulty. What then?

THE MORAL RIGHT.

IN 1931 Mr. de Valera declared that at the (1927) Second Election, after his entry, the Free State had acquired the moral right to govern—spite of his above cited proclamation of November 1922. If this Free State's parliament were, then, lawfully based, had it not been thus lawfully based, before 1927?

And had Mr. de Valera's Irish soldiers before that date been (as their then enemies said), "irregulars," not to say murderers?

Yet, when their "irregular" leader, Erskine Childers, was "executed," I heard Mr. de Valera say—"I think these exact words—"that is the greatest crime that has been committed here yet." I think he added words to this effect: "It would make me almost despair of Ireland." Am I wrong? But would he be wrong?

HOME OF HEROES.

PEARSE, in another day, of the parliamentary parties and the split, had lifted his then unheard voice: "Who can look at our political and national life at the present moment and continue to hope? The men who we call our leaders are engaged in tearing out one another's vitals, and there is no prospect they will ever stop."

Yet a Childers, later, would keep reminding us, that Ireland is the home of Emmet, of Davis, as of Pearse himself; and of the MacSwineys, of Mallin and MacDermott, of Mellows and his comrades, and of many another, who, faulty as men may be, did not fail Ireland, nor help to pull Irishmen down, from faith to cynicism, and from the hopes in high ideals, to frivolous contempt for themselves and their country.

W. F. STOCKLEY.

(Written three years ago, this article is worth reprinting now on the eve of the enactment of Coercion).

LIMESTONE GRAVE MARKERS FROM 50 GILMORE, BALLYHAUNIS, MATO.

Gaethilg Gan Gaedhealachas

Tá tseán-iaipact fá téanam i lárán na h-uaire an teanga náir-únta óit deoráic, ac vó uairle an curpóir i rin, ní n-é bun agus bárr agus veipe ar faotar i map rin féin.

Admuimhir sup cabactac agus sup an tabactac an nro é at-deor-éant na teangan—"san teanga san cip" aoirio, ac muna bruit Saobalacac ag out ar asarí caob le caob lei, tá lób ar lán agus lób úp é lei nár noóis.

Tá uaine, curí aca ós agus curí aca eilonna, as foilum na Saer-úge i lárán na h-uaire agus níl ve curpóir na r-foilacac ac porc eigin v'ráit vó bárr. Ní map rin abí an fseal píe nó píe chíe ve bíanta ó foim seallam-re vuc. Domne abí as fsearac ar na pan-sanna agus as foilum na Saer-úge an uair úo vó bí pé tom vóipú. Ní paib aon nro le ráit vó bárr an uair úo, ní paib, mair, ac a mairac ar fáv b'póir.

Seav ní fabáirí an Saerúis féin aonam na h-Éireann i-n-aon éop. Caburigeann pí san aoirí, ac tear-uceann Saobalacac có maic. Muna bruit ac Saerúis anán as vume ir ionann é agus corp san aonam. Pé ar vóhan é vpeáir liom-í aon lá ven úian vume a beav ar veágn Saerúige ac go mbear meón Saobalacac aige ná vume eile a beav na éanneóir

vúicair ac a beav put-fuar marip le Saobalacac.

Umír i tom vóipú anpnan. Cuimír cogav ar Saalacac ó lá go lá. Ní bíor aon lábaríeac as gabáit linn—cor Saalacac cor Sallao mar avéarí. Umír ar caob na nSaobalacac agus i gcomit na nSall agus é rin san rcac san eagla. Caobuimír le clúic na nSaobalacac, le ceol na nSaobalacac, le púncí ir le caiteam aimpne na nSaobalacac. Cuimír cogav ar píe-ú-í Sallao, ná céigimír eúca, agus nuair ir cumágn vón cáileac cáir-ío pí iméacac. Tá an cip loirice aca pan, ac oipánn féin av loic. Vá mbear píealacac agáinn a beav i tom vóipú i vcaob Saobalacac na cípe reo pí leófaríor íceac i-n-aon cor íav ar an scéav vut píor. "Domne beas mncí féin reav cípe" vó píe Cúicinn. Seav, tá pé fuar a beic as íappav an cip vó áic-Saobalacac agus ceav a cor as gac reipímíear agus as gac narpín ceac íreac agus Sallacac ir pá-éacac vó reápeav nár mears, ac oipánn féin an loic map avub-áic ceana.

Pé seál é, an méro agáinn aca as íappav a beic i vóipú céig-ímír an asar. Téanamir ar noicéac—agus beav vóia linn ir a mairac Deannúige leir éin curp-í an Phappas a baint amac, pé rin: Cípe Saobalacac có mat le Cípe fap.

"UID-RACAC."

THE VAMPIRE

IT is a truism that blood follows the British flag. Nearly every day in some part of the far-flung British Empire there is war between the invader and the conquered peoples. The primitive inhabitants of the North-West Indian frontier are bombed from the air by British forces, their humble homes demolished, and men, women and children killed. Cannot the English desist from bringing death and destruction to the primitive tribesmen in their mountain fastnesses?

AT present England is engaged in exterminating Arabs, who are not friendly to her rule in Palestine. England intends to hold Palestine for her own imperial purposes and she cares little or nothing for the claims of Jews or Arabs. Her crooked diplomats, including Balfour, promised to provide a national home for the Jews in Palestine. Another British diplomat pledged that England would establish the Arabs in the Holy Land. These conflicting promises were made during the World War when England needed the financial assistance of the Jews and the military co-operation of the Arabs. The bitter disputes between the Jews and Arabs have resulted in bloodshed and two races have become the victims of England's crooked diplomacy. Besides guerilla warfare between the English troops and Arabs, the English controlled courts have sentenced to death Jews and Arabs

suspected of killing their political opponents.

ENGLAND has not changed in the centuries. To-day as in the past the spilling of blood follows her flag. In order to hold on to Palestine she has created ill-feeling between the Jews and the Arabs and has succeeded in her nefarious purpose. The bad feeling between the two races furnishes England with an excuse to remain in Palestine. Regardless of this pretext, she would not evacuate the Holy Land which she regards as an important link in her Asiatic Empire. Both the Arabs and the Jews know now if they had not known it before that England promotes strife between various races to forward her own interests and to add more territory to her bloated empire. Before world justice can prevail, British imperialism must be crushed beyond resurrection.

G.A.

"NO HELP FOR ENGLAND"

ON Sunday, May 21, two further chapel gate meetings were held in Co. Louth—one at Lordship, the other at Grange—to make known to all concerned that the people want no connection with England in war or in peace. The speakers were Messrs. Tom Greene and Arthur McKeivite, and when they mentioned the men and women who are fighting the old fight in England there was loud applause.

CASEMENT'S

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 31, 1939.

TARDY
TOMMIES

MR. DE VALERA (senior) let down his own official organ rather badly in the first speech he made in the Dublin by-election campaign.

For weeks the *Irish Press* had been giving glowing accounts of the rush of young men to join the militia, and pictures were published showing crowded recruiting rooms.

Did Mr. de Valera suggest that the reports were cooked and the pictures faked? He deplored the fact that the new drive for recruits had not been a success.

"One would imagine," he said, "that the position being what it is" (he didn't say what) "we would be getting more recruits than we could train. I believe that it is only a misunderstanding of what is at stake that is keeping back those who are so tardy in coming forward."

Was it really lack of understanding of his own position or was it hypocrisy that made Mr. de Valera refer to 1918 and say the young men found the Volunteers more attractive than now.

Surely he cannot be so far away already from the real Ireland he once led as to think that there is any comparison between the Irish Volunteers of 1918 and the "Eire" militia of to-day!

One force was recruited in the face of death and danger and British "law and order" to defend and uphold the Republic of Ireland; the other is recruited to defend and uphold a mongrel Dominion of the British Empire, and to help to enforce coercion against the true comrades of the men of 1918.

For the militiamen, bounties, free holidays, free equipment, promises of jobs, and yet they won't join up. For the real Irish Volunteers, coercion, persecution, raids, arrests, imprisonment and the threat of the gallows, and still they keep on joining up!

"You cannot turn back the current of tradition."

COERCION UNPOPULAR

THAT the Perpetual Coercion of Republicans about to be enacted and enforced by the Merriam Street politicians is unpopular even with their own supporters is shown by the fact that there was no platform reference to it in the Dublin by-election, and by the further fact that the Governor-General was sent away to the country, "on a holiday" from his hard work, so that his signature to the Treason to the Crown Bill would not be appended until after the by-election.

"DOOMED TO DECAY"

READERS of the *Irish Press* rubbed their eyes on May 22 when they came to Page 6, and found there a letter from Fianna Fáil Deputy Martin Corry actually criticising the Minister for Finance.

People asked was the iron discipline of the Coercionist Party getting cracked at last, and wondered if this was the first tangible sign of the break-up that is expected if and when the Treason to the Crown Bill and the Offences Against the Empire Bill become law.

As we have already stated, there has been a rumour current in Fianna Fáil circles for some time that Mr. de Valera has issued an ultimatum to over a score of his Party who have been sulking in their tents, to vote for the final stage of the Coercion Bills or resign. It is said they have refused to do either and that the deadlock reached was the principal reason why Mr. de Valera cancelled his visit to America at the last moment.

It may be that Mr. Corry's letter was a sign and an expression of that revolt. The "Free State" Finance Minister, Mr. McEntee, had said some hard things about the farmers who grow beet. It angered the well-paid Minister that ill-paid drudgery was not kept up without a murmur, and he warned them that they might kill a certain sugary goose that was supposed to be laying golden eggs.

Mr. Corry retorted that if there

were any golden eggs knocking about they were collected by Mr. McEntee and his colleagues of the "Free State" Government, who are the biggest shareholders in the Beet factories. Isn't it a nice state of affairs when a Government goes into business and assumes control as buyer where it may be called upon to arbitrate as between buyer and seller?

We have heard a lot about prosperity from the party in power, and the tourists will be told soon as they pass through that the country was never as well off, but one who has inside information, being a member of the party, tells a very different tale.

"I can only hope," wrote Mr. Martin Corry, "that those in control (his own party leaders) will realise the danger both to the shareholder and the farmer of the short-sighted policy of keeping the price of beet on such a border line that the decent hard-working farmer who grows it is ONLY ONE JUMP AHEAD OF THE SHERIFF. The factories find it impossible to get adequate acreage grown and an industry in which all should be happy and contented seems doomed to decay."

It took no small amount of courage on the part of a back benchman in a "disciplined" Party like Fianna Fáil to write a letter like that. The *Irish Press* couldn't very well refuse to publish it. Is it one of the signs?

"THIS FREEDOM"

IN its issue of last week the *Meath Chronicle* (which supports Fianna Fáil) again dealt editorially with the new Perpetual Coercion Acts which will become law as soon as the Dublin by-election is over. The paper commented on the fact that the "Free State" Government failed to induce twenty-seven of its own deputies to vote for the Treason to the Crown Bill. Of the more ruthless Bill it said:—

"The Offences against the State Bill has not yet passed all its stages, but it will. This measure is much more obnoxious, and much more inexcusable than the Treason Bill. The responsibilities of the Press are increased enormously and when it becomes an Act we should hardly dare to write an article such as this one, moderate and all as it is. We betide the newspaper that puts the three letters I.R.A. in contiguity. The Minister was mean enough in the Senate to make allusion to a recent obituary notice in the Dublin papers as illustrative of what he and the Government has in mind. The Act, when it becomes an Act, can be stretched further. It can

affect such bodies as farmers' organisations, trades unions, and almost anything one cares to think of. Criticism of the Government, objection to its decrees will become a crime. It is true that Mr. Rutledge said in the Dail or Senate that the judges would not construe the Act outside reason. Our answer to his suggestion is that the judges will construe the law as they find it and will not interpret that nebulous thing the mind of the Oiríochtas. Probably this is the last week we will be able to say anything about all this. We will have in the next week or two implemented 'this freedom' in terms of the Treason and Offences against State Acts."

DÚCAS

Di pánaí agur a mácaí na rúnaí cun tinnéir lá. Ní raib pánaí as ite cava agur v'pánaí a mácaí ve cava na caob ná raib pé as ite a tinnéir. "Dué, a mácaí," appa pánaí. "cáim as pécaim go nci go mberó an murcáí puap."

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FAIL IS A VOTE FOR

COERCION

MARY GLENN FUND

STEADILY, week by week, the Fund for brave-hearted Mary Glenn is being supported by our readers. We hope she knows by now that she is not forgotten in Ireland.

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DEMOCRACY (English Version) AND MARY GLENN

DEMOCRACY shall want no shield.

We freedom-loving Englishmen
'Gainst Germany shall take the field

But—jail for Mary Glenn!

Sieg Heil!—The Reich can't understand

High principles that govern men.
Contempt on that aggressor-land—
But jail for Mary Glenn!

Fascist Italy is mud,
No liberty of speech or pen.
We'd free Albania if we could—
But jail for Mary Glenn!

Come! Let us join and save mankind
From Continental Axis-men—
(We Britons have no axe to grind)
But jail for Mary Glenn!

Hark! There's a voice on Connaught winds,
Chanting a dirge for Englishmen:
"For all your democratic minds
YOU'LL PAY FOR MARY GLENN!"

ROSC CATO.

DESPAIR NOT

THINK of the past—do not despair,
Nor fill with useless sighs the air;
But grasp the flag with steady will,
And firm as rock upon a hill,
Read ye the lesson taught of old
By those who now lie dark and cold,
The gallant hearts who lost the crown,
Yet never bowed the spirit down.

"Ireland is not merely in servitude but in a kind of penal servitude. Certain of the slaves among us are appointed jailors over the common herd of slaves."

WHEN a nation is in bondage, then must its oppressor place its free-souled citizens in chains. So, to-day, the jails of Ireland and England hold Irishmen and Irishwomen who have been guilty of working for the freedom of Ireland.

The bodies of those prisoners are tortured, but their souls are free—more free than those of thousands who walk the streets and roads of Ireland, at seeming liberty. For, no Irishman or woman can claim to be other than a slave if he or she be not in peril of joining these brave souls in their dungeons.

"If they'd have sense and recognise the existing state of affairs they wouldn't be there," says one slave. "We've got our own parliament now, and if the people want a Republic they can vote for it in the ordinary way," says another slave. "We've got our freedom," says a third slave.

Yes, we have a parliament for three-fourths of Ireland under the patronage of the British Dominion Office in London, and its representatives go to other countries in the name of the British King, and those countries send representatives here with credentials addressed to the British King. "We have a toy 'President' with no authority or power, and a toy 'Senate' and more make-believe than ever was known in any country in the world.

WOLFE TONE died in revolt against a parliament of Irishmen sitting in Dublin, calling themselves the National Government of an independent and sovereign Irish Nation (and not a partitioned nation either)! A parliament of Irishmen who had sold themselves to England and governed Ireland in the Imperial interests—checking criticism by coercion acts.

Remember that, and mark it well when your fellow countrymen are imprisoned for "treason," and slaves howl at them that they are in prison for disobedience to the Gov-

They saw the dawning pale and fade,
The deadly harrow tempests made;
But rose shone pure, and faith was bright,
The twin-stars of their clouded night.

ernment elected by their own people.

IS Ireland free? "England, we are told, offers us terms," said Patrick Pearse. "She gives us a Parliament with an Executive responsible to it. . . . So this is to be a final settlement, Would Wolfe Tone have accepted it as a final settlement? Would Robert Emmet have accepted it as a final settlement? Either we are heirs to their principles or we are not. If we are we can accept no settlement as final which does not 'break the connection with England the never-failing source of all our political evils'; if we are not, how dare we go in annual pilgrimage to Bodenstown!"

IS Ireland free? "While we are connected in any shape with the British Empire, the connection implies some dependence. . . ." wrote that immortal martyr, Terence MacSwiney. "The spirit of our manhood will always flame up to resent and resist that link. . . ." "There is no such thing as qualified independence. . . ."

We Irish Republicans of to-day take our stand on the teaching of Tone, of Pearse, and of MacSwiney. The coercionists once accepted that teaching also—they have changed, but we have not.

IRISH men and women are in jail and others soon will follow them there. You may hold meetings of protest, you may get public bodies to pass resolutions. You might even succeed—though it's unlikely—in getting every man and woman of them set free.

But if you did, what then? Would they be free for a month? Would it be a week even before some other Irish man or woman were imprisoned for denial of the Conquest in some form or other? To the thousands of Irish men and women who genuinely sympathise with our political prisoners there is only one way to finally throw open the jail-gates—and that is to release not only those prisoners, but the whole Irish Nation.

While Ireland is bound in fetters to the British Empire Ireland is in penal servitude.

Again they front the tyrant-mass,
Again they're streamed like tattered grass,
Yet conquerors, for they left behind
The trophies of a country's mind.

JUNE 18

WE ask all our readers to memorise every word of the advertisement on Page One which announces an All Ireland Flag Day for the Prisoners' Dependents on **SUNDAY, JUNE 18**—just a week before Bodenstown Sunday.

Every man, woman and child with a spark of national spirit should take part in this nation-wide drive to cheer and console the prisoners by providing for their dependents. It is such a little thing when compared with the sacrifice being made by the men and women in jail that every Irish-minded, Irish-hearted person should be eager and willing to lend a hand.

Our own opinion is that a house-to-house collection should be made in every parish **EVERY WEEK** while the prisoners are in jail.

Workers will note that in addition to the Flag Day it is requested and expected that a Ceilidhe be held in every area and the proceeds forwarded **WITHOUT DELAY** to the Honorary Treasurers of the Prisoners' Dependents' Fund.

Begin your preparations **THIS VERY DAY**. Leave nothing to chance. Enlist the services of every person willing to help; and do your share of the work so well that when you meet other energetic workers at Bodenstown a week after the Flag Day you will not be ashamed to look them in the face.

Despair not! blazon forth this scroll
Upon the country's bannered roll:
The righteous cause can never bend
Until it conquers in the end,
What though the chieftains all are gone!

A line of chiefs still cometh on
To send the cry from sea to sea—
We must be free!—we must be free!
JOHN KEEGAN CASEY
("Leo").

Every Republican in Ireland is Expected to be at

BODENSTOWN

SUNDAY, JUNE 25

MAKE ALL ARRANGEMENTS IN TIME!

WHEN IRELAND HAD HER NAVY

PRINCIPLE

THERE is still a great deal to do in the way of historical research, and that there is a grave need for educational work similar to that carried on by the Young Irelanders, no one will deny. A very typical example of a forgotten or neglected phase of Irish history is that of Ireland's embryo navy, maintained by the clans who bordered on the sea coast and officered by such daring sea captains as the famous Grainne O'Malley, of Connacht, and Fíneen O'Driscoll, of Munster. The fleets of these sea-coast clans in the 16th century enabled Ireland not only to trade directly with the Continent, but also to harass English shipping in the four seas. There are many bitter complaints made by Elizabeth's statesmen that Grainne O'Malley the famous feminine sea captain "famed for her stoutness of courage and of person," was a pirate who was a terror of the four seas.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fact that Elizabeth had outlawed her as a pirate and offered a reward of £200 for the body of Grainne, dead or alive, the English Queen, true to her policy, invited the pirate to her court, and offered to make Grainne a Countess if she would consent to make her privateering vessels part of the English Navy. In a similar manner, Elizabeth outlawed Fíneen O'Driscoll, and later sent for him, promising him pardon and rewards if he would become an ally of the British fleet.

THE important work done by this embryo navy may be briefly outlined by mentioning that Brian O'Rourke, of Breffny, and McSweeney, of Donegal, both owners of fleets, were powerful enough to harbour between them 1,300 refugees from the Spanish Armada, in spite of the threats and petitions of English Ministers, and to give them protection and hospitality until the shattered fleet had been rebuilt. The O'Driscolls, O'Sullivan and McCarthys, of Munster, also possessed fleets of boats, and gave invaluable service to their allies, the Spanish, in 1601, their boats acting both in the capacity of pilots and of warships.

O'SULLIVAN BEARE'S History of Ireland of that period makes mention of the capture by Owen Roe O'Neill of English vessels, which he took on his way back to Ireland, and sent to Wexford to be manned by the sea-going clans there, who were to use them on behalf of the Confederate forces. The possession of this embryo fleet enabled Ireland to run in her own supplies of munitions and provisions, and prevented her from being absolutely dependent upon her foreign ally for military expeditions.

THE capture of English vessels must have considerably augmented the native Irish fleet, for O'Sullivan Beare's history also records how D'Oberman from Flanders petitioned the Irish Government for the post of commander of the foreign ships of war which had come into their possession.

The disappearance of the Irish navy may be attributed to the disappearance of the Irish clan system, but that a certain number of Irish privateer captains survived until the 17th century is adduced by the fact that Cromwell complains of the depredations of these captains on his shipping, and mentions "several commissions from the rebels styling themselves the Supreme Council of Confederate Catholics are issued to men of war whom they maintain at sea to spoil the trade of this kingdom."

THE break-up of the clan system, and the absorption of the privateers into the English navy, or their extermination as "pirates," only partly accounts for the fact that naval power in Ireland was never revived. Cromwell, it is true, made it an offence punishable by death for an "Irish Papist" to be found living within three miles of the sea coast, and made it a penal offence for an Irish Papist to carry on a trade with a foreign nation. Other English monarchs, following in the footsteps of Cromwell, enacted laws which effectively crushed Irish shipping; but that Ireland defied and evaded many of Cromwell's acts is known by the very fact that there is still an Irish nation to-day. Had the laws of Cromwell or the laws of his successors been accepted by the Irish people, this land would have been long ere this a mere pensioners' home for various groups of English soldiers.

EVEN the English Colonists or the "Anglo-Irish" who sat in Grattan's Parliament had learnt how to evade the English laws prohibiting Irish trade with foreign countries, and smuggling was carried on so extensively and so successfully in the 18th century that Ireland was beating England out of her foreign market and had even captured the salt trade in Scotland and in parts of England. English State Commissioners of the time complain bitterly about the success of these smugglers in crowding her out of the market, and admit that the great fish curing industry of Newfoundland was started by Irish Catholics, driven from their own country. But the vessels which carried on this smuggling trade were not Irish, being for the most part French vessels who carried in a cargo of wine, and took out in payment, a cargo of Irish woollens or some Irish manufacture of produce.

THE drunken habits of that and subsequent generations of Anglo-Irish "gentlemen traders" has been attributed to the fact that wine and brandy were smuggled in such quantities that they were both cheap and plentiful. Henry Flood, alone of the Anglo-Irish Parliament seems to have realised the importance of Ireland having a navy of her own, but his efforts to have such a navy established were unsuccessful. Although it would have been like every other branch of the so-called Irish services at that time, merely a branch of the English navy, yet there is no telling how men trained for

THE N.A.C.A. is deserving of support in its fight against the Imperialising of Irish athletics. This journal has given it aid unstintedly. Principle determined and compelled that aid. Principle. No word is so misused. No word is more abused. No word is more important. Yet people who utter it emphatically, and with apparent sincerity in advocating a particular conception, smash it the next moment without turning a hair.

THE law which forbids Irishmen to represent the entity, Ireland, in athletic competitions with other countries was put into execution at the instance of Englishmen. This is not an anti-British assertion made with prejudice. It is purely a question of fact. In the fight, therefore, against the British enforced athletic isolation, Principle ought to have an all-embracing meaning and significance. Let it be understood, then, that the N.A.C.A. man who plays or supports Rugby, Soccer, Cricket, or Hockey is violating Principle. He is inconsistent. He is, if he is capable of reasoning logically, guilty of moral cowardice. Life, we shall be told, is full of inconsistencies, which irresistibly enmesh. Supermen may laugh at the curves but plain men can not.

IT is neither safe nor logical to substitute Principle by any form of compromise or diplomacy. Es-

pionage is, in certain circumstances, a commendable tactic; but fighting an enemy whilst yielding him moral support is demoralising, and ends in defeat and disaster.

IN face of these self-evident truths, I regret that I cannot commend the suggestion that the 100 Yards Championship sponsored by the N.A.C.A. be held at Croke Park on the same day as the All-Ireland Hurling Championship Final. I use the word "regret" sincerely, because in certain circumstances, I could and would regard the suggestion as admirable. These circumstances are — competitors in the N.A.C.A. premier annual, athletic competition must be members of the G.A.A., or at least may not be either players or supporters of foreign games. Why should the N.A.C.A. refuse to accede to such proposition? Numerical strength often menaces progress, i.e. when it is so diluted that it brings about both defeatism and defeat.

DECISIONS

TO kick the ball away when it is put down by the referee does not contravene any rule of the G.A.A. nor lower the status of the Association. To threaten a referee is not a matter for punitive action. To treat spectators to a fifteen-minute riotous hold-up of the game is not a matter for adverse comment. These were decisions given — Turn to page 8

the naval life in even a pseudo-Irish navy might have reacted to the rising of 1798, or of what assistance they might have been to the French expeditions sent by Napoleon.

WOLFE TONE at least had reason to lament the lack of an Irish navy, and during his long and heart-breaking sojourn as envoy many times mourns the fate of a nation which has to depend for its freedom on the will of another.

THE thing which turned the Irish people from the sea life, I believe, was not the laws against shipping, not the laws against Catholics living within three miles from the sea coast, but the laws which seized and bound into slavery in the English navy, thousands of Irish Catholics. The policy of the Press Gang, the policy which made Irishmen into English seamen against their will, was the policy which not only absorbed the men who could have manned an Irish navy, but gave the Irish people a fear and distaste for naval life. Legally, that is to say theoretically, the English naval officers were only allowed to press into the English service seafaring men, but the newspapers of the 18th and early 19th centuries are full of descriptions of the activities of the Press Gang in our Irish cities, and accounts are given of the attempts of mobs to rescue the unfortunate victims of England's navy as they were dragged away through the streets to slavery on the fleet.

THE famous mutinies at the Nore and elsewhere in 1797 are at-

tributed, partly at least, to the disaffection of Irish impressed sailors, and there are several Irish names among the men executed. I remember Thomas MacDonagh telling me that there were so many "impressed" Irish-speaking sailors in Lord Nelson's fleet that, rearing conspiracy, Nelson made a rule penalising any sailor who would carry on a conversation in Irish. As late as 1812 an emigrant ship lying in Lough Foyle was boarded by the press gang, and a good half of the passengers, together with some friends who had come to bid them farewell, were carried away amidst cries and imprecations, to the British fleet. Such incidents were common, and the Lough Foyle one might never have been heard of only for the fact that the officer responsible in this case was reprimanded and the prisoners released.

IN concluding these few sketchy notes on Ireland and the naval life, I must not forget to mention John Holland, the Irish Fenian, who invented the submarine, hoping to use it for Ireland against the English navy. The effective use made by Germany of the weapon designed by Holland to smash the English navy is one of the triumphs of the Fenians which must not be forgotten, and the story of Holland is one worthy of study by modern Irish Republicans. I hope that this outline of some of Ireland's sea activities will inspire some pen more competent than mine to write a complete story of Ireland as a naval power.

M. O'D.

PRINCIPLE

(From page 7)

by the Central Council when it considered the Referee's report of the now famous, rowdy Laoighis-Mayo match. Why, a delegate actually said that there was nothing wrong about the match, and that nobody could cavil at it save chicken-hearted armchair Gaels! And an ex-president recited a family litany to show that misconduct was impossible. But what did the people go out and pay to go in to Croke Park to see? An exhibition of football, or temper? The Central Council has answered badly.

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U.S.A. AND WAR

ONE of the daily American papers that speak for the people of U.S.A. and not for the Anglophiles, is the *New York Journal and American*. Day after day it has been and is still hammering home the truth that the American people are dead against any war alliance with England or any other European country. The paper knows that George and Bess of England and their lesser tools will make a determined effort in the near future to rope in the United States, and so it has been putting these results of America's entry into the war of twenty-five years ago before its readers:—

"FIFTY-TWO thousand of the flower of our young manhood dead—

Hundreds of thousands maimed, blinded, crippled and mad—

THIRTY THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS of our treasure poured out—

Outstanding debts from almost a score of defaulting countries of Twelve Thousand Million Dollars.

These facts must be told OVER AND OVER to the American people because there is a new generation that remembers nothing of our fatuous attempt to 'make the world safe for democracy'—the most disastrous enterprise into which our people was ever lured.

"NOT a single valid reason has ever been advanced by the advocates of another European adventure why we should go over there.

RHETORIC and RIGMAROLE should not take the place of REASON.

We are told that we will be dragged into war against our will. NO PEOPLE CAN BE DRAGGED INTO A WAR AGAINST ITS WILL.

But a people CAN WILL to stay out of war.

And the American people have willed JUST THAT.

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European alliances, which ultimately will lead to war, mean DEATH to our democracy.

They mean REGIMENTATION of free Americans.

They mean CONSCRIPTION.

They mean taxes that will ruin every free enterprise and the confiscation of the bulk of the income of the lowliest worker.

European alliances and another expedition to Europe will NOT SAVE ANY DEMOCRACY on the face of the earth—but it WILL ruin for fifty years to come—maybe forever—the ONLY DEMOCRACY that is GENUINE, that 'is, our United States."

WE do not know how many of our readers, remembering the Tom Mooney injustice and other things more closely concerned with ourselves, will agree that the United States can be accepted as a genuine democracy, but we ask them to watch closely the game that is being played by our arch-enemy England, the cleverest and most unscrupulous trickster in the world; and we ask them again to speak out and get all the people to speak out and say that it is our will also to give no help to the English enemy when war breaks over her guilty head.

SCOTLAND AND WAR

WE deny England's right to call Scotland into another war. Deny her right to use our name as part of Britain in her foreign negotiations. Our work is to organise the man-power of this country not only to resist any attempt to commandeer their services but also to take advantage of the opportunity to harass England and force her to relax her grip on Scotland. We have a right to form our own Government and stand in its defence. ENGLAND'S DIFFICULTY IS SCOTLAND'S OPPORTUNITY.

—Scots Independent.

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