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"TO BE BRAVE IS TO BE WISE."

Eamonn de Valera—Election Manifesto—Aug., 1923.

SINN FEIN ELECTION MANIFESTO.

The Sinn Fein Candidates in this Election stand as they have stood in every Election since 1917, for the unity and untrammelled independence of Ireland. Like Padraig Pearse they know but one definition of freedom—

"Absolute freedom, not the freedom of a geographical fragment of Ireland, but the freedom of all Ireland, of every sod of Ireland."

Accordingly, they stand by the Republic, constitutionally proclaimed by the elected representatives of the people in January, 1919, that Republic which has been consecrated by the blood of the best of our generation. They appeal to the people to be fair to themselves and fair to the nation, the generations dead and to come, they ask them to put craven councils aside, to obey their nobler instincts, and once more to tell the world boldly what it is they truly in their hearts desire.

A couple of years ago it was our glory that we forced the British Prime Minister to confess—

"If you ask the people of Ireland what they would accept, by an emphatic majority they would say 'We want independence and an Irish Republic'—there is no doubt about that."

Is the truth not the same to-day? Why should we fear to say it and confound the propagandists who have been telling the world the base lie that the Irish people have, of their own free choice, chosen to become a partitioned British province.

The world is once more looking on. Shall it be said that this generation has turned renegade to the national faith and outdone the disastrous submission of the princes and prelates of Henry II, which brought us centuries of shame and sorrow.

God will be with the brave and the true. Where the will is, the way will not be wanting, and—to be brave is to be wise—for there can be no progress, no stability, no rest, for this nation so long as a single shred of foreign authority remains here.

EAMONN DE VALERA.

August, 1923.

President de Valera.

President de Valera is a prisoner in Arbour Hill Barracks. He is not allowed to write any letters out. Mrs. de Valera has not heard from him since his removal from Limerick on Thursday, Aug. 16.

"Sedition."

DAIL EIREANN'S MESSAGE TO DE VALERA.

On the 29th June, 1920, the following message, proposed by Arthur Griffith, and unanimously agreed to by the DAIL was despatched to President de Valera in America:—

"DAIL EIREANN assembled in full session in Dublin to-day unanimously re-affirms the allegiance of the Citizens of Ireland to your policy, expresses complete satisfaction with the work you have performed, and relies with confidence upon the great American Nation to accord recognition to the REPUBLIC OF IRELAND now in fact and in law established."

Even the sentiments of Arthur Griffith and the Second Dail are "sedition," it seems, under Cosgrave's Government! Posters worded as above were seized, with paste and brushes, from the boys who were posting them up in Temple Bar. The capture was effected by Free State soldiers.

The Poisoners.

BRITISH PROPAGANDA AT WORK IN ROME.

The following communication is dated from Rome, August 17th:—

The morning papers all devote articles to the ar-

rest of De Valera, its motives and its probable consequences.

They all try to convey that he purposely put himself in the way of arrest with two objects in view. First: to recover lost popularity by figuring as a martyr, and secondly, to save his skin, counting on the disinclination of the Government to face the bloodshed which would probably follow his execution, with more to like effect.

They further add that the Government has published extracts from his speeches and writings, together with captured documents of a most compromising kind, all of which go to show that he was responsible for the massacres and burnings and similar atrocities of the past year.

They conclude with the significant hint that his plan of taking advantage of the electoral struggle to secure immunity will not save him, and that he must pay the penalty of his misdeeds.

All these articles, which are clearly of common origin, pretend to have been received from London; but even a slight acquaintance with the methods of Roman journalism shows that they are really manufactured in Rome, and are, beyond any doubt, the work of the British propaganda office in that city, and are being published broadcast so as to poison the public mind against him and to prepare the way to eventual acquiescence in his execution or other punishment.

It is well to bear in mind that when Desmond Fitzgerald was in Rome early in May he was in close touch with the British embassies, came to a definite understanding with them, and through their help made arrangements for manipulating the Italian press under the skilled direction of a kindred spirit, the Marquis MacSwiney, who has been dabbling in newspaper propaganda on his own account for the past couple of years—so low has Ireland fallen in these dark and evil days.

How Rory O'Connor was Betrayed.

(From the "Daily Bulletin," Dec. 21st, 1922).

The following letter from the late General Rory O'Connor, dated from Mountjoy Jail, appeared in "Poblacht na hEireann" on Thursday, 31st August. It reveals a degree of treachery on the part of Richard Mulcahy never equalled by any man during the entire British Regime in Ireland:—

"The lies and hypocrisy of the Free State leaders are astounding, especially to those of us who took part in the Army negotiations for unity and who know the whole inner history of these negotiations.

"We were never requested to evacuate the Four Courts. On the contrary, at one meeting of the Coalition Army Council, at which Mulcahy, O'Duffy, Mellows, Lynch and myself were present, we were only asked to evacuate the Ballast Office, the Kildare St. Club, the Masonic Hall and Lever Bros.

"At that stage we actually discussed co-ordinated military action against N.E. Ulster and had agreed on an officer who would command both Republican and Free State troops in that area. We were also to send from the South some hundreds of our rifles for use in that area. The reason given was that it would never do if rifles which had been handed to the 'Government' for use against the Republic, and which of course could be identified, were found in use against Craig. An exchange of rifles was effected. It should be remembered that at this time the 'Government' was publicly declaring that it was the mutineer section of the Army that was fighting the Ulster people.

"At this meeting I have referred to, someone suggested the evacuation of the Four Courts, and Mulcahy laughingly said that as long as we held the place the war against N.E. Ulster would be attributed to us. We, of course, had no objection. From this you will see the real reason why we were not asked to evacuate the Four Courts. (We subsequently got 25 minutes to do so.)"

What a story this letter tells! The man who lacked courage to vote against the treaty and lacked

courage to protest openly against the slaughter of the Catholics of the North, lying to the enemy he dreads, holding out the right hand of friendship to England and with the left preparing to make war! Yet he dared not face the consequences of defiance and was satisfied to use men like Rory as his protection, sending them to make war openly and take the whole punishment that must come. If he had then been loyal even to them, his fellow-countrymen, comrades-in-arms! But suddenly, when the dreaded enemy proved alert and threatening, to turn on them with English guns . . . and that was not the end. They surrendered by Oscar Traynor's orders, not unconditionally, but as prisoners-of-war, promised honourable treatment as such . . . The murderous end does not bear telling again.

And this traitor, this murderer, this slave, takes on his lips the name of Cathal Brugha!

We remember his treacherous act in the first Treaty debates—how he destroyed his own army's last hope of resistance by proclaiming its weakness to the winds; we remember his promise to maintain the army as the army of the Republic, to let a convention be held; and how he recruited mercenaries to supplant Republicans everywhere, how the convention was proclaimed, how he manned Limerick with pro-treaty troops and, but for De Valera's action, would have provoked war there and then.

The story of his dealings with Frank Aiken is not forgotten in County Louth; the exchange of arms, the secret plans for concerted action, the pretence of considering Aiken's proposals for peace and then the midnight invasion and arrest of unarmed, unsuspecting men; the release of Ulster Specials who had been Aiken's prisoners and who Mulcahy's troops sent back to their diabolical work in the North.

Kerry has not forgotten Mulcahy's answer to the hideous massacre of Ballysedy—“He had the fullest confidence in his men.” Ireland will not, cannot forget.

And now he is lying, lying most meanly and dangerously to the people of Ireland in an attempt to win their votes. He tells them that the Treaty is not dependence, that there is absolute equality between the Irish people and the English people embodied in the Treaty, that there is absolute, supreme and sovereign control over Irish affairs secured to them in the Constitution. It is incredible that he himself should believe these lies.

Has some fanatical madness fallen upon this man, or was he a traitor from the first? Is that curse upon him that is on those who summoned young men to die, to give life and take life, for a thing in which they themselves never believed, who were using the Republic that Kevin Barry died for as a stepping-stone to Dominion Home Rule? These are questions none of us can answer now.

But Mulcahy is asking for our votes. He is asking us to return men to parliament who will return him to power, and to “extraordinary power”—power to imprison and to torture and murder his prisoners in the future as in the past. To that, an answer can be given. The men and women of Ireland can declare that they will have an Ireland free from the corruption of such treachery and such crime; that they will not take upon their souls the double curse of Judas and of Cain.

Election Campaign.

“Freed from the terrors of the bomb and the rifle, the citizens of this country are now assuming the responsibilities of a free democracy and exercising the right to choose their law-makers.”

This startling statement appeared in “The Independent” of August 17th—two days after the Election Meeting at Ennis! Did ever a government enjoy the service of so docile a press!

Instructions to Voters.

Electors who wish to use their influence against the Murder Ministry should place No. 1 on their voting paper against the name of the Republican Candidate, and then place a number in the order of their preference against every name on the papers except those of Free State Government Candidates.

Ulster.

The following poem by Miss Theresa Braydon is quoted from “Irish Freedom” of August, 1914.

A tragic surrender has been made since then; it is for the Irish people to repudiate that surrender now.

No feud with a son of Ulster

Whatever his creed, have we;

Our Land is his and our heart is his

In the kinship of liberty.

But never to friend or foeman

We'll yield till the last star reel

One sod of the earth that has known the birth

And the blood of our Shane O'Neill.

There's a waiting place and a welcome

For the Orange beside the Green,

And a day at hand when our ranks will stand

With never a cloud between.

But never shall friend or foeman

Deeree where a Pale shall be,

From Spike's wild Isle to the last defile

Where Tory shatters the sea.

They Shall be Speaking . . .

“The Republic stands for truth and honour—for all that is noblest in our race. By Truth and Honour—by Principle and Sacrifice alone will Ireland be free. That this is so—that this is immutable—I am prepared to stake all my hopes of the hereafter.

“Ireland must tread the path Our Redeemer trod. She may shrink, as indeed she has shrunk—“Put away this chalice”—but her faltering feet will find the road again, as indeed she is already finding it. For that road is plain and broad and straight; its signposts are unmistakable. It is the road on which Wolfe Tone, and Emmet, and Mitchell, and the Fenians and Tom Clarke, Pearse, Connolly, Kevin Barry, Terence MacSwilline and Childers were the guides.

“I have no regrets, for the future of Ireland is assured. The Republic is assured and before long all Irishmen, including those now unhappily in arms against the Republic, will be united against Imperialist England—the common enemy of Ireland and of the world.”

That is the last message of Liam Mellows. There are other voices too that should be heard to-morrow when the people of Ireland are to speak their will, whether Ireland shall be bound or free. They have been silenced by the Servants of the Foreigner because they loved Ireland's Freedom too well.

But a thousand voices to-morrow will speak for every one of these; for Irishmen and women who were faint-hearted yesterday because of their sacrifice are brave to-day.

These men and boys died with one light before their eyes, one prayer on their lips, one glorious certainty in their hearts: that the people of Ireland would take heart and stand united for Freedom once again.

Let every man and woman in Ireland listen to these voices that the enemy can never still, and speak for Freedom in their name.

“ . . . Fred, Patrick and myself will be executed to-morrow morning. . . . We offer our lives to Al mighty God that by our deaths it may bring peace and happiness to the land we are about to leave.”

Martin O'Shea,

Roscrea, January, 14, 1923.

“I did my duty and I am prepared to meet my God. I fought as a soldier of the Irish Republic and I am not ashamed of it. We will win yet; for those lives are not offered up for nothing.”

James O'Rourke,

Mountjoy Jail, March 2nd, 1923.

“Tell them all not to be down-hearted, as it is the will of God, and to stand firm for the old cause and they will win some day.”

John Murphy,

Military Barracks, Kilkenny, Dec., 28, 1922.

They rose on the deathless wing

In the storm and gloom of the year—

Now the fields are stirring here

With the pulse of resurgent spring;

And you who believe their desire

Can be chained by an earthen band,

You shall know the truth when the new-born fire

Flames forth from the heart of the land.

PADRAIG DE BRUN.

“You will all live true to the faith of our National Fathers, and when called upon to do a great thing for Ireland you will face it manfully.”

Dick Barrett,

Mountjoy, Dec. 8, 1922.

“I have fought and worked for a sacred principle, the loyalty of the Nation to its declared Independence and repudiation of any voluntary surrender to conquest and inclusion in the British Empire. That is the faith of my comrades, my leaders and myself. Some day we shall be justified when the Nation forgets its weakness and reverts to the ancient and holy tradition which we are preserving in our struggle, and may God hasten the day of reunion amongst us all under the honoured flag of the Republic.”

Erskine Childers,

November 17, 1922

“Constitutional Government.”

On Tuesday, August 1st, dealing with applications for Habeas Corpus in the King's Bench, Mr. Justice Dodd said that he was bound by the law, which empowered the Government to keep persons disaffected to the Government in jail.