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BRUTALITY!

Jury Disagrees

"If you find me guilty you are finding every Irish separatist of every generation, from Tone to the present, guilty of the same thing," said Cathal Goulding, Rathfarnham, Dublin, addressing the jury at Portlaoise on April 19 when he was charged with the alleged possession of a Luger pistol and 3,000 rounds of ammunition. He said that the jury, ordinary people, had been summoned for jury service because the Government wanted them involved in the campaign against the freedom movement in this country.

The jury after a 30-minute retirement intimated that they could not agree. They retired again on instructions from the Judge and spent another 30 minutes before announcing again that they disagreed.

The judge adjourned the case until the following day, but later acceded to an application from Mr. Hederman for adjournment to the next session. Mr. Goulding objected saying that he had been in custody since February 6.

Judge Fawsitt told him that he understood the State might take a certain course that would be known inside two weeks. If this course was not taken the trial would take place at the next session.

Garda John Halloran, Garda Joseph Donnellan and Det. Sergt. Galvin agreed in cross-examination that a special watch was being kept for Mr. Goulding's car. In reply to a question from Mr. Goulding, Sgt. Galvin said: "I knew

your car was approaching the town. It was my intention to stop and search it."

At the time of going to press, the State have not made known what "certain course" they might take with Mr. Goulding who told the jury that he had spent 15 years of his life as a Republican prisoner in British and Irish jails.

Mr. Goulding, who was arrested on February 6, is 44, married, with one child.

Police Baton Peaceful Parade MANY INJURED

Edenmore Grove, Raheny; Lee Steenson, Leinster Ave., North Strand; Malachy Haughey, Belgrave Square, Monkstown; (Continued on page 12)

VIOLENT scenes were witnessed in Dublin on Sunday, April 24th last, when police made repeated attacks on a Republican parade en route to Glasnevin Cemetery. The attacks took place at five points: St. Stephen's Green, Grafton Street, Parnell Square, Berkeley Road and at the gate to Glasnevin Cemetery.

Strong forces of baton-wielding police took part in the attacks which were directed against a Republican flag carried at the head of the Dublin contingent. The Special Branch detectives were very much in evidence, inciting the police to attack.

Arrested on Sunday night, April 26, were Robert McKnight, McAuley St. Belfast; Roddy Hogg, Cookstown, Co. Tyrone; Patrick A. O'Connor, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford; Jackie McArdle, Cookstown, Co. Tyrone; Desmond Ward, Monkstown Rd., Dublin; Claran Moynihan, Oliver Plunket Street, Mullingar, and James Browne, Keeper Road, Crumlin, Dublin.

All appeared in Dublin District Court on Monday, April 27. Mr. McKnight, who was charged with assaulting Chief Supt. Michael Fitzpatrick, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and the six others were remanded on charges of obstructing gardai.

In a dawn swoop by Special Branch detectives on Tuesday, April 26, nine men were arrested in their homes and were later charged in Dublin District Court from which they were remanded in custody. The men remanded were — Denis Carmichael, Mellows Rd., Finglas; Laurence Malone, Donnycarney Rd., Donnycarney; Anthony Murray, Mellows Rd., Finglas; Liam Boylan,



Rory Scanlon holding baton wrested from attacker. The baton bore the initials D.M.P.

HOSTING IN THE NORTH

BRITISH Military, B. Special, R.U.C. and armoured car patrols as well as the banning of trains and buses from the 26 Counties heralded the greatest ever Republican demonstration held in the North on Sunday, April 17. Eighty thousand people including Trade Union contingents from all parts of the North as well as visitors from the South participated in the 1916 Jubilee Commemoration at Casement Park, Belfast. The 30,000 strong parade from the assembly point at Hamill Street which preceded the ceremonies included 25 bands, Cumann na mBan, Cumann na gCallini, Fianna Eireann, I.R.A. veterans, ex-prisoners, G.A.A., Conradh na Gaeilge, Trade Unions and thousands of the general public.

On the platform at Casement Park with Mr. Seamus Costello, who delivered the oration, were the President, Vice-President and Secretary of the Belfast Trades Council; Mr. Jimmy Steele, President of the Six-County 1916 Jubilee Directorate; Mr. Frank McGlade, Directorate Chairman; Mr. Malachy McBirney, Belfast Committee Chairman, and relatives of those who have given their lives for Irish Freedom.

The Proclamation was read by Mr. McBirney and Mr. Costello in the course of his oration said:

"In this jubilee year of 1966, times of all branches of the we stand, as it were, on a watershed of history. It lies spread out behind us in all its grandeur and its squalor, its glory and its tragedy. This is indeed an historic occasion for two reasons.

First of all, it is the first time in years that an all-Ireland commemoration has taken place in Belfast — the cradle of Irish Republicanism. It is also a truly historic occasion by virtue of the fact that we have here to-day representa-

If we of this generation are to pay a fitting tribute to the men who died for us all in 1916, it is absolutely essential that we understand the ideals for which they died. The most widespread misconception outside the Republican Movement concerning the men of 1916 is that they had died simply to



S. Costello

change the colour of the flag and the post boxes — that they were a group of romantics unconcerned with the everyday problems of the people. Nothing could be (contd. L/ch. 11)



Joe Clarke, veteran of the battle of Mount Street Bridge, and a young supporter of the Easter Lily. Together with Fiona Plunkett, Julia Grennan and Seamus MacGlohdáin, Joe sold the Lily during Easter week-end.



Is Labour "Organised and Revolutionary?"

A Chara,
Permit me to make one or two remarks on Roy Johnston's article in the April issue of the United Irishman. The article, "1916 and its Aftermath", is interesting for a whole number of reasons. But I am concerned in this letter with one point only. Mr. Johnston writes: "Now, however, in '66, in the 50th anniversary year of the Rising, it is just possible to discern the elements of that labour-republican unity which was the central feature of the 1916 Rising".

To my knowledge the elements of the labour-republican unity of 1916 was firstly a class-conscious independent army of the Irish workers, the Irish Citizen Army, whose constitution "pledged and still pledges its members to work for an Irish Republic, and for the emancipation of labour" and secondly an army of the Irish anti-imperialist medium and small property-owners, the Irish Volunteers.

We know why the Citizen Army went into this alliance. Connolly explained why in the "Workers' Republic" of December 18, 1915 — just four short months before Easter Week, 1916. "We cannot conceive", he wrote, "of a free Ireland with a subject working class; we cannot conceive of a subject Ireland with a free working class. But we can conceive of a free Ireland with a working class guaranteed the power of freely and peacefully working out its own salvation". So the army of the organised Irish workers went out to fight for a free Ireland in which the working class would be guaranteed "the power of freely and peacefully working out its own salvation". We know that the democratic Irish Republic which alone would guarantee the working class this power and this right was defeated. The tragedy is that Irish Labour tends to forget that.

That then was the position in 1916. In 1966, fifty years later, where Mr. Johnston do you see "elements of that labour-republican unity" of Easter Week 1916? How can you say that it is "just possible" to discern those elements?

There is a Republican move-

ment, a revolutionary and increasingly democratic movement, but where is the Labour movement?

We know that there is an Irish Labour Party and that there are several other organisations claiming to speak for Labour, on both sides of the border. But there is one missing ingredient in the whole Labour movement.

"We strove to make Labour in Ireland organised — and revolutionary". Connolly wrote. Is Labour in Ireland today organised AND revolutionary? A blind man can see that it is not. There is no comparison between Labour in Ireland in 1916 and Labour in Ireland in 1966. It is no use pretending that there is any comparison. Another thing I disagree with in Mr. Johnston's article. He writes that the missing element in the Irish National Revolution since 1921 has been "the Labour Movement, the Connolly tradition, the 'men of no property'". Surely this is not true. Have not men of no property always constituted the bulk of the national movement not only since 1921 but ever since the very first moment the idea of breaking the connection with England entered an Irish mind. This is indisputable.

Perhaps Mr. Johnston meant to say that the missing element was Labour "organised and revolutionary". That would be nearer to the truth. Again he lumps in "the Connolly tradition" with "the men of no property" and this gross error confuses things. The "Connolly tradition", as Mr. Johnston must know, is not merely the participation of "men of no property" in the national revolution, it is the participation of this section of Irishmen as a distinct and separate organisation with its own aims and objects prepared "to co-operate in a forward movement" but reserving to itself "the right to step out of alignment, and advance by itself if needs be, in an effort to plant the banner of freedom one reach further towards its goal".

If by the missing element in the Irish National Revolution Mr. Johnston actually meant labour organised and revolutionary, then this

element has been missing not only since 1921 as Mr. Johnston states but from the defeat of the first Irish Republic in Easter 1916. The Labour Movement under O'Brien and O'Shannon was not organised and revolutionary.

Michael Murray.

Dublin 6.

BUNSCOIL ROSPHOIRT

A Chara,

Chusla muid ar an Radio agus léigh muid ar an bpáipéar go deiridh gur fosclaidh bunscóil úr i Rosphoirt, Co. Mayo, a chosain €12,000. Is cosúil gur bhé Ros Dumbach i nGaeltacht Thuaisceart Mhuighne a bhí i gceist. Má seáim na Roinne do bunscóil sa nGaeltacht ('se sin gur íoc an Roinn 55% den chostas ar a laighead).

Ba ghálanta mar léigh an banaisteoir an tAifreann sa scoil, lá na foscaite, agus rinneadh an beannú chomh binbhriathrach céana, i dteanga ár sinsear spioradala, Churchill, Maxwell, Castle-reagh, Coulter.

Is díol truaighe I, an Roinn Oideachais, cinnte. Le diogras don Ghaeltacht tugann siad deontais ar leith chun scoileanna a thógáil ann agus lá na foscaite fhein tig le na banaisteoirí an drochmheas atá acu ar pholaisí na Roinne agus an naisiúin a thaispeáint, i bhfianaise oifigi na Roinne féin. Níorbh fháil leis an moanaisteoir a aithneachtáil lá na foscaite: "we shall overcome".

Féictear domsa gur ag leanacht do pholaisí Sheán Mhic Eil, Ardeasbag, atá siad — ag cur in aghaidh beartanna an Rialtais i leith na Gaeltige. Ní fhios acu go fóill gur shocráig an Rialtas ó shoin an Ghaeltige a mhárú le cineáltais.

Pé seáil é, molaim fhein coiste a bhunú le rásal Fairry-house, Luan Cásge 1916, a chomóráid. Cathaoirleach?

"Soupier".

Beal an Atha, Co. Mhuighne.

P.S. Chuala mé go deiridh gur ruaisceadh na Sasanaigh as an tir sa mbliain 1922 agus go bhfuil an Ghaeltige slán ó shoin.

Peter O'Brien

The Yard, 65 Lower Clanbrassil Street (Leonards Corner).

CAR CRATES

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Joe Clarke and Mr. Lemass

26 County Taoiseach, Mr. Sean Lemass, invited Mount Street Bridge veteran Joe Clarke to attend the State Reception at Dublin Castle on Sunday, April 17. From his home at 33 O'Donovan Road, Dublin on April 15, Mr. Clarke wrote the following reply:

"I acknowledge receipt of your invitation to a reception in St. Patrick's Hall, Dublin Castle, on Sunday 17th April on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Rising of Easter Week 1916.

I wish to advise that I am rejecting your invitation in the same manner as I rejected the Treaty of Surrender in 1921 and the second compromise in 1932.

The fact that you have sent me an invitation means that you agree I have a right to be present but you and your Party, Fianna Fail, did not worry about my rights when you imprisoned me on 3 occasions — my only crime being that I still upheld the principles and ideals of Pearse and Connolly.

While you are wining and dining in Dublin Castle on the 17th April, I will be in Belfast (British Occupied Ireland) with my comrades, old and new, who have never deviated one iota from the Republican Cause and the Separatist Tradition.

In conclusion, do not forget there are young men in Belfast Jail, Limerick Jail and Mountjoy Jail, their only crime being they are following the teachings of all true Republican Leaders from Tone to Plunkett".

MacDIARMADA SISTERS SAY 'NO'

Prior to Easter Sunday the sisters of Sean MacDiarmada asked the 26 County authorities not to allow the 26-County Army attend the commemoration at Killyclogher on Easter Sunday morning. They said that they believed it hypocritical for the Government to attempt to honour their brother while at the same time announcing a ban on the historic Easter Lily, the emblem of Easter Week, 1916. Sean, they said, died for a 32-county Republic, which had not yet been achieved. They also said that the forces of the 26-County State had raided their home in recent years while engaged in the patrolling and maintaining the British-made Border.

The sisters, Margaret and Rose MacDermott, did not attend the morning commemoration which was attended by units of the F.C.A. They were present in the afternoon, however, when the official Republican commemoration took place.

Bodenstown

June 19

SINN FEIN COMMENT ON DE VALERA PLEA

The following statement was issued by Sinn Féin on April 20:

The recent statements by Mr. de Valera, President of the 26 Counties, and Capt. O'Neill, Prime Minister of the Six Counties, call for comment by Sinn Féin. The former's plea for an all-Ireland Parliament has been flatly rejected by Capt. O'Neill and this has surprised nobody.

The present system of partition government came about by the implementation of an Act of the British Parliament, the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people. This division of our country was accepted by Cumann na nGaedheal (now Fine Gael) in 1922 and by Fianna Fáil in 1926. Despite any constitutional changes made since in the 26-County state, these parties still accept, acquiesce in and operate that British imposed system. Occasionally they talk of ending it and restoring the All-Ireland Parliament overturned in 1922, but they have no plan or even semblance of a plan for doing so. They have shirked this primary national duty for decades and completely abandoned the nationally-minded people of the North.

The British Parliament kept direct control of Six Counties because it was the largest area they could hold with a safe majority in favour of union with Britain. Edward Carson himself explained: "We should like to have the largest area possible, but there is no use in our undertaking a government which we know would be a failure if we were saddled with Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan". In the nine counties of Ulster there would be a Unionist majority of only three or four seats. Also, the counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh, which together constitute 36% of the occupied area have always voted in favour of a free, united Ireland. So have South Armagh, South Down, most of Derry and the Glens of Antrim. This leaves only an enclave within a 30-mile radius of Belfast with a clear Unionist majority.

The permanency of the Border was guaranteed by the Ireland Act, of the Labour Government in 1949 and successive British governments have refused to guarantee that they would renounce all claim to the North even if the majority of the people there voted for freedom. The question of national freedom is not a question for referendum, however, but even if a vote were taken on it, it should not be a vote of six counties just because it suits England, but of the whole nation.

Various efforts made by the nationally-minded people of the North to restore an All-Ireland Parliament have always been opposed by the Leinster House politicians. In the 1950s the people of South Armagh elected an abstentionist M.P. on the understanding that he would seek to represent them in Leinster House. When he sought admission to Leinster House he was turned away and refused even the meagre crumb of "right of audience". Time and time again our people in the North have been snubbed because the 26-County politicians fear the clash with England that would result from an attempt to set up a parliament representative of all Ireland.

Mr. de Valera's offer to Capt. O'Neill that the Stormont Parliament would continue in existence and retain its powers under a 32-County Parliament is not acceptable to Sinn Féin. If this were done it would still be possible for the pro-British regime to operate its vicious system of gerrymandering in elections, discrimination in jobs and housing and the whole elaborate system operated to keep an ascendancy element in control. We would have a situation such as exists in the U.S. where in some of the southern states negroes have scarcely any rights as citizens. The 32-County Republic Sinn Féin hopes to restore would guarantee to all the "equal rights and equal opportunities" of the 1916 Proclamation.

Not only are the Six Counties controlled by England but the 26 Counties have merely the trappings of freedom not the substance. A tricolour flag and green pillar boxes do not constitute freedom; they are merely symbols. The Irish people needs control of all the nation's resources, a national monetary system and economic independence.

Mr. de Valera's pious platitudes will not bring about Irish freedom nor even hasten the day of its achievement. Irish freedom will not be had for the asking, but for the taking by a resurgent people. Perhaps last Saturday's speech, so out of line with Mr. Lemass's "new approach", was meant to offset the obvious hollow-ness of the Jubilee celebrations, or more likely still, perhaps it was meant to influence the electorate in the coming Presidential Election.

In conclusion and as an alternative to the obvious lack of policy of the politicians, Sinn Féin recommends to the Irish people its National Unity and Independence Programme, the four salient points of which are:

1. To convene the elected representatives of all Ireland as the National Assembly of the Independent Irish Republic.
2. To proceed to legislate for all Ireland.
3. To use every means in our power to overcome opposition to the Republic.
4. To repudiate all treaties, pacts and laws that in any way curtail the nation's independence.

THOMAS DAVIS CULTURAL SOCIETY Ballads, Traditional Music and Dancing CONCERT

— in —
Liberty Hall, Dublin

— on —
SATURDAY, MAY 21 at 8.00 p.m.

ARTISTES:
Maevie Mulvany, The Begley Sisters, Brendan Caulwell, Inis Ealga Dancers, Sean Potts, Paddy Moloney, Martin Fay, Tony MacMahon.

ADMISSION: 6/-.

Notes and Comments

ELECTION ROUT OF REPUBLICANS

EMPTY "PATRIOTIC" RHETORIC

Now that all the bally-hoo and "celebrations" are over, let's take a hard, critical look at Easter 1966. First of all, of course, we all know there was nothing to celebrate, in spite of all the desperately patriotic and would-be inspiring speeches of Government spokesmen. At quieter commemorations throughout the country Republican speakers plainly exposed the fallacy of the Jubilee celebrations and showed how empty the utterances and rhetoric of the Fianna Fail "patriots" really were.

A certain hysteria, almost panic, had been built up before Easter by the Stormont and 26-Counties governments and also by the newspapers, until practically every ordinary citizen expected to be assassinated in bed. It struck me that the two governments concerned and the newspapers were very obviously disappointed that everything passed off fairly quietly and that Republicans generally had proved themselves to be decent, responsible fellows after all. "Sabotage Campaign"

This disappointment seemed to be reflected in the avidity with which the news-hungry and sensation-starved papers pounced on the few incidents that did occur here and there and built them up into a "sabotage campaign" or something like that. But let's ask ourselves a few pertinent questions about these incidents and about the precautions built up by the Stormont and Leinster House regimes.

Why was it apparently necessary for the Stormont Junta to bring more British troops into the Six Counties for Easter, 1966? Why was it apparently necessary to send armed patrols probing along the Border, searching houses and fields and holding up cars and peaceful citizens in the performance of their ordinary, everyday business? Why was it apparently necessary for the Stormont regime to seal the Border on the occasion of an Easter parade in Belfast?

Armed Guards

And, south of the Border, why was it apparently necessary for the Special Branch to augment its ranks and post armed guards on public buildings, British diplomats, government ministers, etc? Why was it necessary for the Misneach hunger-strikers to make their public demonstration of protest and why was it necessary for the

nearest living relative of Sean Mac Diarmada to spurn an honorary degree being bestowed by the National University?

These were questions which obtruded themselves during the so-called celebrations and which called for answers. The answers were self-evident, however, and were quickly spotted by most Irish people and by the many foreign journalists who were in the country at the time. The answers could, in fact, be condensed into one phrase — these things occurred because Ireland is not free and, as Pearse put it, an Ireland not free can never be at peace.

Show of Strength

Both the Stormont and the 26-County regimes realised that there are many, very many, Irish people who are not happy and satisfied about the situation in the country today and because they realised this and feared the consequences they were forced to put on their show of strength. What was the object of this show of force if not to intimidate those who might be tempted to protest in some way?

Unfortunately (or fortunately from the Republican point of view) for Mr. O'Neill and Mr. Lemass, their mobilisations and massings of armed guards had the opposite effect to that expected. People everywhere suddenly realised that Ireland was still as un-free as when Pearse spoke and that the real rulers were not in Stormont or in Leinster House but in Downing Street in London.

Got the Message

Quite plainly it became obvious that the trouble in Ireland was that the country was still in subjection and that there were people who were prepared to sacrifice their liberty and their health to underline this. And quite plainly also the people got the message. They quickly saw through the hypocrisy and the emptiness of the official "celebrations." They realised the truth of the Republican statements that the discontent and dissatisfaction in Ireland had one root cause — British imperialism: in naked, armed form in the Six Counties and in hidden, economic control in the 26 Counties.

Nor was it merely the younger people and the Republicans who showed their disillusionment. Read the following comment in "The Wexford People" by their Dublin correspondent (who

is certainly no Republican or even Republican sympathiser):

"The celebrations that have just ended have brought to the surface a problem that has for years remained unnoticed by many citizens. It is the bitter disillusionment of some of the veterans of the period 1916-22.

The ceremonies in Dublin were conspicuous for the absence from them of the only surviving widow of a signatory in the 1916 Proclamation. In Leitrim the sister of another of the executed leaders of the Rising not only refused to attend the official celebrations but even openly supported what might be called the unofficial ceremony.

Elsewhere, too, the non-Government sponsored functions were attended by more than the youthful section that we call the "dissident republicans" for want of a better general term. It seems that, while most of us have been busy honouring the revolutionaries of 1916, a hard core of survivors is satisfied that there is little reason for celebration at all.

The curious, and perhaps significant, thing about it is that this core consists of intelligent, well-educated men and women. The rank-and-file members of the Volunteers or Citizen Army turned out by the hundred last weekend.

There has been a tendency to dismiss such disillusionment as representative only of the dissident fringe; but few of the "old guard" could be classed as such. What the phenomenon suggests is that a re-appraisal of the success (or failure) in achieving the objectives of 1916 might do no harm."

The commemoration of the Rising of 1916 undoubtedly has fulfilled a useful purpose. It has shown the people of Ireland who the true inheritors of the legacy of Pearse and Connolly really are. In their realisation of this the people of Ireland can be expected to act in their own good time. That they will do so no one need ever doubt. The Jubilee sowing of Messrs. Lemass and company may well result in a harvest far from their liking — but it will be a harvest that will bring benefit and fruit to all the people of Ireland.

MAC DARA

No matter how tinted the glasses through which one might look, the results of the 1966 Imperial Elections in the Six Counties show a rout of the Republicans.

Five seats were contested on this occasion. According to the Sinn Fein Ard Comhairle the other seven, situated in predominantly Unionist areas, were not contested as a "gesture of their desire to ensure that no unseemly incidents would occur in this Jubilee Year of 1916".

It might be as well that Sinn Fein made this "gesture" because judging by the results in the five seats contested the defeat overall would have been enormous.

The votes cast for the Republicans were as follows (1964 figures are in brackets): ARMAGH, 13,467 (22,432), MID-ULSTER, 27,168 (22,810), DERRY, 2,860 (21,123), SOUTH DOWN, 8,917 (11,021), FERMANAGH and SOUTH TYRONE, 10,370 (16,138).

The figures for the five constituencies therefore show that the Republican vote in them dropped from 83,534 in 1964 to 62,782 in 1966.

Solace may be taken from the increased majorities in Armagh and Mid-Ulster but the results in the other constituencies represented a complete and utter rout.

Before beating any drums about Mid-Ulster, the following points should be remembered: (1) It was a straight fight between Mitchell and the Unionist; (2) there has always been a respectable Nationalist (Catholic) majority in the area; (3) there is an excellent Republican machine there; (4) of the 31 candidates in the North Mitchell was by far the most impressive on TV election discussions and in public performance; (5) Mitchell though a Dublin man is considered as 'one of their own' in Mid-Ulster; he is a tremendously popular and respected figure in the constituency. In fact many maintain that it is a dead-heat between himself and the late Pope John for the title of pin-up boy of the Nationalists in the constituency—the late U.S. President Kennedy is a poor third.

In Armagh Charlie McGleenan is also somewhat of a 'king' among Nationalists. A veteran of 1916 and the Tan War he is spoken of with awe among the people there. Yet he could only muster 13,467 of the some 30,000 Nationalist (Catholic) votes in the constituency. He did increase the Republican vote by slightly over 1,000 on the 1964 figure but it was a three cornered contest then. It must be remembered, also, that in 1955, a candidate resident outside the constituency, Tomas MacCurtain of Cork, polled over 20,000 votes for the Republicans.

In 1964 when George Mussen in South Down polled 11,031 votes, he was opposed for the anti-Unionist vote by N. L. A. b o u r would be opposed for the anti-Unionist vote. He went to live in the constituency for his most popular figures, the late Sam Thompson, the famous playwright. It is important in considering this year's result to bear in mind that he had only one opponent, a Liberal candidate who on his public appearances (and these are important in Elections) seemed a silly, doltish-type figure. Yet the Liberal polled 9,568 against Mussen's 8,917 votes. The Liberals cashed in on one ridiculous blunder

the four-cornered contest of 1964. Derry and Fermanagh/South Tyrone anti-Unionist voters showed a strong preference for the 'attending' Nationalists. But it would be too easy to write it off as a decision on "attending" and "representing" as opposed to "abstaining" and "not representing". There is a little more to it than this. The Derry Nationalist Gormley is a Nationalist M.P. in Stormont while the Fermanagh/South Tyrone National Unity man, Donnelly, is a member of the Enniskillen Urban Council — Enniskillen is the main centre of the constituency. The decisive factor, I would suggest, was the plank on their platforms which said "we have done something for you". The Republicans were in the position where they could not promise to do something but the electorate seemed to remember that they had been promising since 1955.

In this question of "doing something on bread and butter issues" lies the kernel of the Republican defeat; in it also lies the future of Republicanism in the North.

By far the most interesting contests from a Republican viewpoint were those in Derry and Fermanagh/South Tyrone. In both constituencies the anti-Unionist vote was sought by 'Nationalist' type as well as by Republican candidates. The Derry candidate received the blessing of the Stormont Nationalist Party while they denied any connection with his counterpart in Fermanagh/South Tyrone.

In a straight fight in 1964 Hugh McAteer the Republican candidate received 21,123 of the Derry votes. This time Niall Gillespie could only poll 2,860, a drop in the Republican total of 18,263 votes! This debacle cannot just be written off because of Mr. Gormley's intervention. True he was nominated early, he had the whole Nationalist organisation, such as it is, behind him, he is a Stormont M.P. and a very much publicised one. Niall Gillespie is a respected figure in the area, his dedication to the Republican cause being admired by all and sundry. The fact that the Republicans have been contesting elections in the constituency since 1955 should have been an advantage to him. The 'vote-splitting' finger could be pointed at Gormley who was intervening for the first time. He polled amazingly well for a 'vote-splitter', 22,167 or 1,044 votes more than Hugh McAteer received in the 1964 straight fight. Something more than just 'vote-splitting' was responsible for Mr. Gormley's poll.

Many people doubted whether Niall Gillespie would poll more than Paddy Gormley in Derry. Few there were who felt other than absolutely certain that Rory Brady would give the 'National Unity' candidate J.J. Donnelly a dressing in Fermanagh/South Tyrone. Here Rory Brady had his campaign swinging before it was even known that he would be opposed for the anti-Unionist vote. He went to live in the constituency for his most popular figures, the late Sam Thompson, the famous playwright. It is important in considering this year's result to bear in mind that he had only one opponent, a Liberal candidate who on his public appearances (and these are important in Elections) seemed a silly, doltish-type figure. Yet the Liberal polled 9,568 against Mussen's 8,917 votes. The Liberals cashed in on one ridiculous blunder

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In a straight fight in 1964 Hugh McAteer the Republican candidate received 21,123 of the Derry votes. This time Niall Gillespie could only poll 2,860, a drop in the Republican total of 18,263 votes! This debacle cannot just be written off because of Mr. Gormley's intervention. True he was nominated early, he had the whole Nationalist organisation, such as it is, behind him, he is a Stormont M.P. and a very much publicised one. Niall Gillespie is a respected figure in the area, his dedication to the Republican cause being admired by all and sundry. The fact that the Republicans have been contesting elections in the constituency since 1955 should have been an advantage to him. The 'vote-splitting' finger could be pointed at Gormley who was intervening for the first time. He polled amazingly well for a 'vote-splitter', 22,167 or 1,044 votes more than Hugh McAteer received in the 1964 straight fight. Something more than just 'vote-splitting' was responsible for Mr. Gormley's poll.

Many people doubted whether Niall Gillespie would poll more than Paddy Gormley in Derry. Few there were who felt other than absolutely certain that Rory Brady would give the 'National Unity' candidate J.J. Donnelly a dressing in Fermanagh/South Tyrone. Here Rory Brady had his campaign swinging before it was even known that he would be opposed for the anti-Unionist vote. He went to live in the constituency for his most popular figures, the late Sam Thompson, the famous playwright. It is important in considering this year's result to bear in mind that he had only one opponent, a Liberal candidate who on his public appearances (and these are important in Elections) seemed a silly, doltish-type figure. Yet the Liberal polled 9,568 against Mussen's 8,917 votes. The Liberals cashed in on one ridiculous blunder

the four-cornered contest of 1964. Derry and Fermanagh/South Tyrone anti-Unionist voters showed a strong preference for the 'attending' Nationalists. But it would be too easy to write it off as a decision on "attending" and "representing" as opposed to "abstaining" and "not representing". There is a little more to it than this. The Derry Nationalist Gormley is a Nationalist M.P. in Stormont while the Fermanagh/South Tyrone National Unity man, Donnelly, is a member of the Enniskillen Urban Council — Enniskillen is the main centre of the constituency. The decisive factor, I would suggest, was the plank on their platforms which said "we have done something for you". The Republicans were in the position where they could not promise to do something but the electorate seemed to remember that they had been promising since 1955.

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—DENIS FOLEY.

1916 LECTURES

Monday, May 9: "The Literary Revival and 1916". Brian Farrington.
Tuesday, May 10: "An Teanga agus 1916". Cian O hEigeartaigh.
Wednesday, May 11: "1916 and Twentieth Century Freedom Movements". Kader Asmal.
Thursday, May 12: "Connolly, Ulster and 1916". Jack Bennett.
Friday, May 13: "Labour and 1916". George Gilmore.

Jury's Hotel, Dame Street, 8 p.m.

WOLFE TONE SOCIETY.

Ennis-corthy Branch of the National Commemoration Committee

RESULT

Sweep on Grand National 1st Prize (£5)—Miss Nancy Coady, 18 Patrick St., Ennis-corthy. 2nd Prize (£3)—Mr. M. Doyle, Ross Road, Ennis-corthy. 3rd Prize (£2)—Mr. Tony Daly, Killabeg, Ferns.

Invitation to Revolution

"AN uaisleacht a bhronn cinn feadhna na réabhlóide seo againne ar an mBéarla in Eirinn tá sí imithe uadh le fada": Deasún O Fionnaile. Trí glúine ó ri go ráimhail.

Tá meath ar an mBéarla, dar iels. Tagaim leis. Sílim gur tháinig meath ar an Leidin nuair leathnagh sí amach faoin Impireacht Rómhánach agus, níos déanaí, faoin Eaglais.

Sílim gur tháinig meath ar an nGréigis nuair a leathnagh sí feim amach, freisin (an Caidhnáí no Koivz). Léigh mé áit eigin, agus sílim go lúlonn sé le reasán, go dtagann meath ar theanga nuair a fhoghlaimíonn na mílte i, daoine nár togadh léi, daoine nach dtuigean an traidisiún ar a bhfuil sí bunaithe. Déarfann go dtugann cósait eile i gcóist, gach dá mbaineann le hImpireacht nó ollstát, státseirbhís ar dual dí teangechal a chur as a riocht, ruag a chur ar smaointe agus a "gobairdige" féin a chumadh; agus, ar ndóig, héim a chur ar ghnó agus ar chúrsal míleata. An clicheé agus an rosc; an dá nmad is mó dá bhfuil ag smaointe.

Is dóig hionn go bhfuil an Béarla tar éis áiri róscáinte.

Is dócha go raibh páirt ag an tionscallocht le traidisiún Shasana a scrios, leis.

Sílim go bhfuil tábhacht as cuimse mór le traidisiún. An té a bhfuil a fhios aige go mion agus go cruinn faoi féin is duine slán é. Is é atá mé a rá gur rud nádúrtha é eolas a bheith ag duine ar an mhuintir roimhe, ar a chuid staire, ar litríocht agus éigse a chine i gcoitinn. Neartaíonn an t-eolas sin a mhisneach agus a phearsantacht; solaisíonn sé a bhealach roimhe; déann sé an duine a fhith isteach go daingean ina chomhthionól féin; agus treoraíonn sé an comhthionól.

Tá an tuisceán sin agam óna bhfuil ar eolas agam faoi stair agus faoi thraidisiún na hEireann, fé mar atá sé léirithe sa litríocht agus sa bhéalaídeas. Neartaíonn a bhfuil foghlamtha agam sa Spáinn agus i dTuaisceart na hAfraice an teorric sin. Sí an teanga an sruth ar a n-ádhanna an traidisiún; múnlaíonn sí féin agus an traidisiún an rud ar a dtugann muid dúchas; agus as an ndúchas úd sea thagann an uaisleacht, mar litríocht.

CEANGAILTE

Tábhacht teanga? Deir Deasún O Fionnaile go labhairíonn na Sasanaigh

WE CONTINUE THE ESSAY BY Deasún Breatnach WHICH HE DELIVERED IN Q.U. BELFAST. A FURTHER INSTALMENT WILL BE PUBLISHED NEXT MONTH

Eireannaigh. Tá na mílte Eireannach ann a bhfuil an port céanna acu inniu.

Minic mé, ag smaointeamh gurb é easba mhórtas ciné is cuis mórdán le cuid mhaith de ógchiontóirí bheith os comhair cúirte anseo agus i gcéin, cé nár móide an t-easba sin bheith ina thús agus ina dheireadh den secal. Tá traidisiún eile seachas an dúchas ag trá mar an Chríostaíocht féin.

Ach ta ionadh ar Dheasún go bhfuil meath ar Bhéarla na hEireann nó ar litríocht i mBéarla na hEireann, ma thuigimse i gceart é.

Ar thobair na Gaeilge bhí an litríocht sin ag freastal agus ar an dóchas a spreag an renaissance Eireannach a chuir Conradh na Gaeilge tús leis. Tá an Ghaeltacht ag tra le fada. Múchadh an dóchas i 1921. Lean Yeats ar aghaidh go ceann tamaill ina dhiaidh sin. Sí docha gurb é Yeats fear deireadh litríochtí Bhéarla na hEireann.

Tharla rudaí eile ó 1921 i Eirinn, an chinsireacht ina measc. Cailleadh drochmhéas agus ní ba mhéasa ar Joyce, O'Casey, O Faoláin, O Flaith-earta, O'Connor, Usher agus ar scríbhneoirí nach iad. Cuireadh deireadh lena chuid scríbhinní in Eirinn. Go príomh dá phobal féin sea saothraíonn scríbhneoirí; nuair a múchtar iad tagann truasliú eigin ar a saothar, téann an litríocht as riocht de dheasca an phobail dhúchais. Againn fós atá an chinsireacht agus a bhaineann. Smaointigh faoi chás McGabern.

Agus, ar ndóig, tháinig Béarla Shasana ina sruth chugainn i nuachtáin, in irisí, i leabhair, ar scannáin agus ar radío. Ní fhéadadh Béarla na hEireann bua a fháil ar an sruth sin.

Chomh maith le sin bhí Londain — agus tá fós — ina phríomh — nó máthair chathair ag an meánaíme a bhfuil an chumhacht aici ó 1921 i leith. Is seanséal é go ndéantar stóraitheas ar Shasana in Eirinn. Tá athrú tagtha fiú ar bhlas cáinte na meánaíme; is cúis náire blas "culchie" a bheith ag duine. Síad na meánaímeanna, iad bunaithe ar chóras Shasana, a rinne an obair sin agus drochobair eile nach í.

Is sean secal é, leis, go bhfuil sé ina ghalair againn drochmhéas a chaitheamh ar gach rud Eireannach; ní dheanadh ion iarracht le sin a athrú ó 1921 anuas, ach oiread.

Dá ndéanfaí Gaeilge a chur ar lámh shábhála, a Dheasún, seans go sábháilfí Béarla na hEireann!

SABHAIL NA GAEILGE

Tá an Fionnaileach ag iarraidh orainn Béarla a shaothrú (má thuigimse é) chun Sasana agus stáit uilig an Bhéarla a chur ar bhealach a leasa; ach deireann sé áit eile sa thráchtas nach raibh Gaeilge ina bac roimh

oilscáipeadh leithéid "An tOileanach" nó "Fiche Blain ag Fás".

Is é mo bharúil go mbeidh ar ndóthain a dhéanamh againn i sábháil na Gaeilge gan tabhairt faoi Bhéarla agus go gcaithfidh muid ár dtéanga féin a múnla is a saothrú — sin nó bheith báite i ngaim-bineachas an Bhéarla agus an náisiún — pobal na hEireann — a challiúint.

Nuair ba threise muid ó thaobh saoirse intinne de, camteoirí Gaeilge fite fuaite i dtraidisiún na hEireann bhí ionainn. Tagaim leis an smaointeoir Franchac, de Chardin aondacht in éagsúlacht. Ní headarnáisiúnachas go dúchas (an "náisiúnachas"). Ní mór dúinn muid féin a thuiscint ar dtús roimh iarracht ar dhaoine eile a thuiscint. Is maígn nach déan a leas, dá mba fios dó cá mbeadh a aimhpleas.

"Ach le himeacht na fise daonnachtal agus na huaisleachta beo as an mbeatha in Eirinn ní raibh urtábhra ar bith fégtha gur bhí fúid trácht airthi" — Deasún O Fionnaile. Is fíor sin faoina scríobhadh — nó, ar a laghad, faoina cheadaíodh — in Eirinn i mBéarla. Is féidir é a mbeá i dtrá Amharclann na Mainistreach, i dtrá Radío agus Telefís Eireann; agus ní gan chúis, is dócha, go bhfuil cros ar shaothar Frank O'Connor agus eile agus go bhfuil cead isteach agus fíor fháilte roimh an bhfóilríocht a bhfuil James Bond ina choróin uirthi.

Ar ndóig, níor cuireadh stop leis an "Murder Machine". Ní dheanadh iarracht ar mhacsamhail scoileanna an Phiarsaigh a bhnuí thuaidh theas. Tá caint ag an bhFionnaileach faoi na péaróidí: síad na meánaímeanna, atá dearg-naimídeach do smaointe, a sholátraigh iad.

Go hainis atá an secal faoi litríocht Bhéarla in Eirinn; go hainis atá síad nó hárseoirreachta féin. Ní hamhlaidh atá an secal i scríbhneoireacht na Gaeilge, go háirithe ó tháinig Sáirséal agus Dill ar an saol. Tíocfaidh muid chuige sin ní ba dhéanán.

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The scene in the G.P.O., Dublin, at the close of the Misneach hunger-strike. On the left, notes in hand, is Cian O hEigeartaigh. On the right, Joe Clarke, 1916 veteran, who gave Misneach every support.

MISNEACH'S GREAT IMPACT

HUNGER-STRIKE is a passive acceptance of Government weapons more associated with Republicanism than with any other cause or -ism in this country. At times it has been an effective weapon, as in the case of McSwiney and his comrades. More often it has proven a failure, a costly failure as in the cases of Darcy and McNeels and Sean McCaughey. But insofar as hunger-strike is the ultimate protest left to the individual against the might of a State which is indifferent to his or her status in the G.P.O., where an oration was delivered by Cian O hEigeartaigh. O hEig staged a most effective protest hunger-strike during the course of Easter week. It lasted but five days, to the hour the duration of the Rising of 1916, and its effects could prove to be quite as far-reaching as the Rising itself. It marked the end of

passive acceptance of Government language policies by an efficient and capable group of young men and women. It was, in effect, a declaration of war. For the duration of the strike, the premises occupied by Misneach became a place of pilgrimage for all the Gaeilgeoiri of the city. The support received was far in excess of that anticipated by the organisers. The week came to an end with a most moving ceremony by the reading of Pearse's Oath by the only girl to take part in the strike.

It marked the end of the strike.

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We Remembered.

Cork

Mr. Tomas Mac Giolla, President of Sinn Féin, delivered the oration at the Republican Plot in St. Finbarrs cemetery where a crowd described as the largest since the twenties attended. In the course of his oration he compared the ceaseless attack on those who propagate the Republican Ideal to-day with that waged on the men of Easter Week. He said: "For propagating the same political and social ideas as Connolly and the other men of Easter Week, Republicans are also being ceaselessly attacked by Church and State. The Catholic hierarchy has consistently opposed Republicanism with all the weapons at its disposal, even to the extent of excommunication. It condemned the United Irishmen, the Fenians, the 1916 Rebellion, the subsequent fight for freedom, the Republicans who opposed the Treaty and the campaigns against British forces in 1940 and in 1956. I have no hesitation in saying, that despite all these condemnations, the Republican who loves his country and his fellow Irishmen and is prepared to sacrifice his career, his family his friends and his very life if necessary, is nearer to God and to God's teaching than the man, whether he be clerical or lay, who supports the British connection and the British imperial economic system in Ireland. One would think that you cannot love God without also loving British Rule in Ireland." He said that the Irish people must oppose the unchristian capitalist system inherited from Britain which leads to the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few and the permanent degradation of the many who are deprived of essential health and educational facilities, job security, a decent wage and satisfactory working conditions.

Mr. Tomas Mac Giolla, President of Sinn Féin, delivered the oration at the Republican Plot in St. Finbarrs cemetery where a crowd described as the largest since the twenties attended. In the course of his oration he compared the ceaseless attack on those who propagate the Republican Ideal to-day with that waged on the men of Easter Week. He said: "For propagating the same political and social ideas as Connolly and the other men of Easter Week, Republicans are also being ceaselessly attacked by Church and State. The Catholic hierarchy has consistently opposed Republicanism with all the weapons at its disposal, even to the extent of excommunication. It condemned the United Irishmen, the Fenians, the 1916 Rebellion, the subsequent fight for freedom, the Republicans who opposed the Treaty and the campaigns against British forces in 1940 and in 1956. I have no hesitation in saying, that despite all these condemnations, the Republican who loves his country and his fellow Irishmen and is prepared to sacrifice his career, his family his friends and his very life if necessary, is nearer to God and to God's teaching than the man, whether he be clerical or lay, who supports the British connection and the British imperial economic system in Ireland. One would think that you cannot love God without also loving British Rule in Ireland." He said that the Irish people must oppose the unchristian capitalist system inherited from Britain which leads to the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few and the permanent degradation of the many who are deprived of essential health and educational facilities, job security, a decent wage and satisfactory working conditions.

Newry

Dr. Patrick Quinn delivered the oration at Newry where the largest crowd since 1949, when the commemoration was banned, participated.

Kerry

Commemorations were held at Ballykissane, Killorglin, Listowel and Tralee. At Ballykissane, Mr. Eamon Mac Thomais delivered an oration in which he paid tribute to the three Volunteers drowned there on Good Friday, 1916. In Tralee where the largest parade for many years was held the oration was delivered by Mr. Jerry Savage who spoke of the traitorous activities of the "Free State" authorities from 1922 onwards. He said that the men

ON Easter Sunday and in the course of Easter Week Commemorations under the auspices of the National Commemoration Committee were held in centres in each of the 32 Counties. In all cases the commemorations consisted of religious services, parades to Republican memorials, blowing of the last post and reveille, the laying of wreaths, the reading of the Proclamation and the Easter Statement from the Army Council and the delivering of an oration. Invariably the platform party included relatives of men who have given their lives in the freedom struggle as well as veterans of that struggle.

who fought in the 1956-62 campaign were the true successors to the men of 1916.

Leitrim

St. Mary's Pipe Band from Derrylin, Co. Fermanagh led the parade in Killyclogher, birthplace of Sean Mac Diarmada. The sisters of Sean MacDiarmada were present and heard tribute paid to them by Mr. Archie McKevitt who said that "in spite of terrorism and oppression they had always kept to the ideals of their brother". Mr. John Joe McGirl delivered the oration.

Tyrone

Twenty thousand people and twenty bands participated in the commemoration ceremonies in Coalisland, Co.



Tyrone. The proclamation was read by 1916 Volunteer, Patrick Crawford. Mr. Rory Brady delivered the oration in the course of which he spoke of Tom Clarke, the first signatory of the Proclamation who had spent his early years in Dungannon. Clarke, he said, has inspired several generations with his patriotism. He called on Irish youth to join the Republican Movement and said that they should be prepared to fight to free the Six Counties. Later another local 1916 Volunteer, Joseph O'Neill unveiled a plaque at the parochial hall commemorating those from Antrim, South Derry and Tyrone who had assembled there in 1916 to answer the call of their political beliefs.

Armagh

Easter Sunday in Armagh city began with a parade to the Republican Plot in St. Patrick's Cemetery where wreaths were laid. In the afternoon thousands marched to the Athletic grounds where Mr. Sean Stephenson of Cork delivered an oration. He said that since the Volunteers merged with the Citizen Army, the newly-formed Irish Republican Army had never ceased its physical struggle with Britain and it would continue to seize every opportunity to continue the struggle by the only means possible — namely physical force.

Senator James G. Lennon who spoke after Mr. Stephenson disagreed and said: "We have to learn that while the cause of unity and freedom must now as in the past be the ideal of the Irish people, the methods of the past cannot be those of 1906 and onwards, but that in other spheres and in our time the same spirit and courage which imbued the men of 1916 and before must enlighten our effort to attain to that ideal". Mr. Stephenson left the plat-

form in the course of Senator Lennon's address.

Derry

Thousands marched in the parade in Derry City where a commemoration was held in Celtic Park. Mr. Neil Gillespie presided, Mr. Alden McKinney read the Proclamation and an oration was delivered by Mr. Sean Keenan in the course of which he said the national spirit seemed to be at a low ebb at the moment but they should remember it was low before Easter 1916. "In recent years", said Mr. Keenan, "there has been a well-organised outcry against the use of force as a political weapon, but these who raised their hypocritical hands in horror at the use of force to remove partition remained slavishly silent about the use of force to maintain it. There was evidence of that force all over the Six Counties to-day, in sandbagged barracks, police reinforced by "B" Specials and British soldiers flown in from England.

In Dungiven wreaths were laid on the graves of two local patriots, Lt. Carolan and Vol. Gilmartin. Mr. Neil Gillespie delivered an oration.

On Easter Sunday hundreds of people turned up at the Loup Cemetery despite the ban on the Commemoration to be held there by the Six County authorities. They included the two sisters of Sean Larkin who lies buried there — Mrs. Mary McCallion and Mrs. Bridget, Lavery. Mrs. Lavery on arriving at the graveyard was requested by the police to postpone her visit but refused saying that she had been visiting her executed brother's grave on Easter Sunday for many years past.

The banned commemoration did in fact take place on Easter Monday. A crowd estimated at over a thousand heard Mr. Kevin Agnew read the Proclamation. Wreaths were laid on behalf of the Republican movement, Old I.R.A. and South Derry District Board G.A.A. before Mr. Larry Bateson delivered an oration.

Donegal

The largest Commemoration for thirty years was held at Drumboe while at Glencolmille a huge commemoration was also held. Mr. Sean



Gormley, Galway, who delivered the oration at both venues said that the Republican Movement remained on the side of the Proclamation of 1916. He said that they had a "fine bit of codology" going on in Dublin. They were advised by 26-County politicians to celebrate the 50th anniversary of 1916, but he asked them what had they to celebrate. How could

they say they were free and independent when a few miles from where they stood there was a British army of occupation to which Mr. Wilson added a couple of thousand for fear that Irishmen would come together to remember their dead. What freedom had they when they were tied hand and foot to the British treasury and the Bank of England? This was borne out when they were unable to borrow a few million pounds from America and they had to go to Germany, England's old enemy, to try to get it at exorbitant interest.

Father James McDyer spoke in Irish and English in Glencolmille. He said that the



greatest tribute they could pay to those who died for their country in 1916 and succeeding years, and the unknown thousands who made sacrifices for their country down through the centuries, was in the manner in which they bore themselves during the next fifty years. They were not to die for Ireland, they were to live for Ireland. "Let us attack the problems of our country with vigour, with determination, in a spirit of dedication, and with unity and in charity", he said.

Belfast

Ten thousand people were at the Republican Plot at Milltown Cemetery on Easter Sunday where Mr. Niall Fagan, Treasurer of Sinn Féin delivered the oration. He said that the Republic for which the men of 1916 fought and died was not the divided occupied country they had today.

Mr. Fagan spoke of the discrimination practised by the Stormont government as part of that government's policy and referred to distribution of public housing and public appointments. He referred also to the wide-spread denial of essential freedoms in the occupied area, with its record of internment and its use of the notorious Special Powers Act.

"If justice cannot be achieved by peaceful means", said Mr. Fagan, "resort to other methods will surely follow". He said that the first crack in the British empire was made in 1916 and that "our next act might disintegrate it completely".

Donaghpatrick

Mr. Tony Ruane delivered the oration after a huge crowd led by the Tuam Band had marched from Quaily

Cross to the Republican Plot at Donaghpatrick Cemetery.

Toomebridge

"The Spirit of Republicanism is on the march", said Mr. Kevin Agnew when he presided at the Toomebridge commemoration at the memorial to Roddy McCorley on Easter Monday. To the many thousands who thronged the village he said that the men of 1916 did not die for two Irelands but for an Ireland indivisible from coast to coast. They did not die for a 26-County Republic and if the leaders in the South thought that the Republicans of the North would be content to spend their lives under the Union Jack and in half slavery they were greatly mistaken.

Mr. Larry Bateson who delivered the oration said that they should not be weakened in their resolve by those who would use religion to further their own gains. He said that the struggle for Independence was, from the beginning, not a sectarian struggle but the struggle of a people and a class against exploitation by a rich and powerful few. That struggle, said Mr. Bateson, can only be won by Catholic and Protestant uniting to fight for equal rights and equal opportunities for all.

Fermanagh

Rory Brady delivered the oration at the Fermanagh Commemoration held at the grave of Volunteer Philip Cassidy in Arney on Sunday, April 17. Several bands participated in the parade in which thousands marched.

Melbourne

The Annual Easter Week Commemoration was held at the McSwiney Memorial in the Melbourne General Cemetery where wreaths were laid on behalf of the Irish Australian Athletic Association, Irish National Association, Irish Pipers' Association, Foley School of Irish Dancing, Na Fianna Eireann, Easter Week Anniversary Committee, Tone-Pearse Sinn Féin Cumann, Connolly Association and the League for an Undivided Ireland. Mr. Joe O'Gorman read the Proclamation and other speakers were Mr. Gerald Fitzgerald, Mr. Jack Murray and Mr. T. W. Brennan. The Commemoration was featured on National Television News on Easter Sunday night.

'Frisco

The Easter Commemoration held at the Knights of the Red Branch Hall was organised by the Irish Republican Clubs in

San Francisco. The guest speaker was Mr. Tim Walsh, President of the Irish Freedom League.

Manchester

Exiles in Manchester had ceremonies throughout Easter Week organised by a committee representative of all Irish organisations in the city including Clann na hÉireann.

On Easter Sunday over a thousand paraded to the Republican Plot in Moston Cemetery where an oration was delivered by Mr. Fintan Smith of Dublin. A very successful concert was held on Easter Sunday night.

On Easter Monday afternoon Lancashire played Yorkshire in a football game. High Mass later in the evening was celebrated by Dr. Philbin, Bishop of Down and Connor. On Wednesday a commemorative Ceili was held, Thursday was Folksong night and, on Friday night, Professor Dudley Edwards lectured about 1916. The week of ceremonies ended with a Dinner and Ceili at St. Brendans Irish Centre on Saturday, April 16.

Dublin

Among those who participated in the Republican Parade from the Customs

House to Glasnevin on Easter Sunday were Welsh, Scottish and Breton nationalists. Mr. Rory O'Driscoll of Cork delivered the oration at Glasnevin. Earlier in the day a commemoration was held in Deans Grange Cemetery following a parade from Blackrock.



Wexford

The graveside of George Keegan was the venue for the Enniscorthy commemoration where the oration was delivered by Mr. Sean O'Sullivan. As well as the Enniscorthy Commemoration, wreaths were laid at graves and memorials in New Ross, Poulpeasty, Taghmon, Kyle Cross, Killanne, St. Mullins Cemetery, Carlow and Corrig. At the Wexford town commemoration which was the largest for years, Mr. Myles Shevlin, in an oration, paid tribute to the Wexford men of various generations who died for a 32-county Irish Republic.

Ballygar

The Kilmore School Band headed the parade to the grave of Vol. John McDonagh. Mr. Jim Mulvey, presided and Mr. Thomas Concannon in the course of an oration said that never before was it so necessary and so urgent that the Irish people waken up to the fact that every day that goes by the Irish nation is dying and that the British and their minions in Ireland are entrenching themselves even

(Contd. Lch 10)

GLENCOLUMBKILLE

Clann's "Operation Help"

GLENCOLUMBKILLE lies some 30 miles west of Killybegs and it meets the Atlantic as the hand meets the glove. It is approached through some of the most barren and desolate country in Ireland, moorland rich in browns and purples but little else. Occasionally one sees a cottage, whitewashed and clean, and one speculates as to how these sturdy people wrest a living from this land.

Entering Glencolumbkille itself, the traveller moves through a pass, turns a bend in the road, and there spread out to the sea lies the heart of the Co-Operative. It surprises one, for this valley is neither underpopulated nor deserted but bears all the marks of a thriving community. The village itself lies between the viewer and the sea. It is small and compact and shows up whitely against the darker colours of the valley. Between the village and the sea stands the weaving shed where young men produce the hand-woven tweeds which have made their county known the world over. Across the valley, mountains rear steeply and here and there are homesteads surrounded by the hard-won small fields carved from

to survive. Not given to the airier forms of idealism, his feeling is for people and their needs. Throughout the visit, Desmond Fay concerned himself with the purely practical side of the operation in hand. Before the party left the valley he had checked and double checked on every aspect of the project. In Leo McVeigh he had the assistance of an enthusiast to whom the moving of mountains was not only possible but practical.

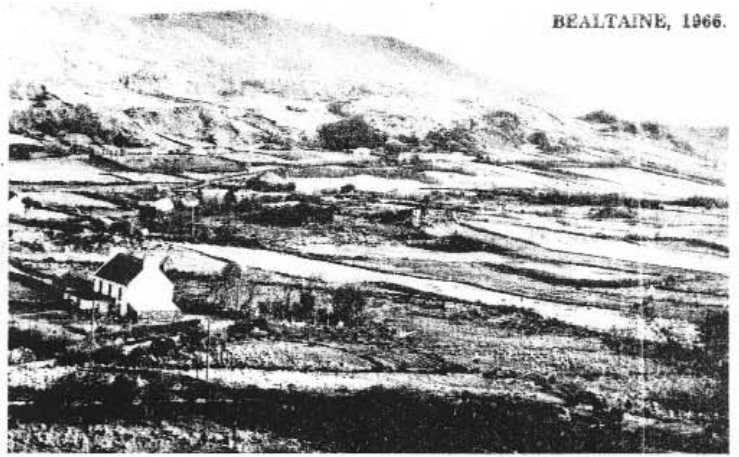
The farm which has been assigned as their work project to Clann na hEireann lies on a wind-blown plateau about three miles south-east of the village. The townland in which it lies has died completely. Not one house is now inhabited. The greatest difficulty was found in pinpointing

in a state of decay, will be razed and the foundations of a new house will be dug nearer the main road.

It is an ambitious project but one which will give the satisfaction of genuine achievement to those taking part in the effort.

Clann na hEireann has decided that a volunteer force of seventy men and girls working for the duration of August will be sufficient to achieve the targets set by the Errigal Co-Op. Arrangements have been completed for the billeting of the party and for their feeding and entertainment. The men will sleep in the old schoolhouse and will have their meals in the community centre. The girls will live with local families but will join the boys for meals and for work.

It is anticipated that the day's labour will be finished by 4.00 p.m. and so arrangements are being made for the entertainment of the party. This will take the form of sport, ceilidhithe, concerts and



The heart of the Co-operatives.



Left to right: Lea McVeigh, Fr. J. McDyer, Desmond Fay.



A family will return here . . . after Clann.

nature by the people of the valley.

When the Clann na hEireann representatives came to the Glen they knew exactly what they wanted to do. For a year past the organisation has been involved in the Defence of the West Committee of London. Desmond Fay, the leader of this expedition had visited Glencolumbkille previously and had been inspired by the work of Father McDyer. Desmond it was who first mooted the idea of a corps of exiles composed of members of Clann na hEireann, and of other exile groups, which would work on any project given to it by the Errigal Co-Operative for one month in the summer of this year. With Leo McVeigh, a Tyrone man, he travelled to Donegal in February to do the advance work necessary to the success of the project.

Desmond Fay is of the well known family connected with the birth of the Abbey Theatre. Educated in England, and a British Army Major in the 2nd World War, he has an intense love for all things Irish and especially for the West. He sees co-operation as a practical necessity if the small farmers of that area are

the farm boundaries for there are no fences on the land nor are there even the remains of stone wall or ditches. The Ordnance survey map to the scale of 6" to the mile was of little value for many of the landmarks noted have disappeared. The labour upon which the work party will engage consists in the fencing of this farm, the construction of drains and the fertilisation of the soil. Should time permit, the old farm-house, now

To date, about forty boys and girls have pledged their holidays to the Errigal Co-Operative, this with almost no publicity beyond word of mouth. From the response so far it is reasonable to assume that in 1967 the work undertaken by Clann na hEireann in the West will be on a much bigger scale.

The organisers are hopeful that a number of volunteers will be forthcoming from Ireland to add to the unity of the effort. There can be no doubt that volunteers will be forthcoming.



As well as farm-work, there is a certain amount of employment for men provided in the Gaeltarra Eireann weaving factory. Here first-class hand-woven tweeds are made.



There is employment for girls in the food-processing factory run with the aid of the Irish Sugar Company.



?

There is, according to Fr. McDyer, a need for a new factory to absorb the upcoming crop of young girls. If another factory cannot be found, these girls will have to emigrate.



The bounds of the farm were hard to ascertain.



If there is time, the old building will be demolished.

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A Free Trade Cathecism

This is Part 2 of a document issued by the Economic Independence Sub-Committee of Muintir Wolfe Tone.

negotiating until July last, when he agreed with Wilson to negotiate a free trade agreement. Furthermore, to quote Garrett Fitzgerald—“even if it were true that no other reciprocal agreement for the freeing of trade were open to us, apart from this proposed free trade agreement, it would not necessarily follow that we must accept this free trade arrangement — for it is at least possible that participation in it would be more harmful to our economy than our continued isolation from other trading groups, which could to some extent be further mitigated by unilateral tariff concessions”.

17) Will free trade mean higher taxation?
Almost certainly, as the Irish Government will gradually lose the revenue it gets at present from various duties, and will have to find a substitute for this lost income through taxation. Moreover, the price of some goods — meats, for example — is likely to rise in Ireland under free trade, as British consumers bid the price up.
be anything like its present form by 1970. And if the gamble doesn't come off it means that we are tied irrevocably to Britain, as our industries go down before hers like ninepins, or are taken over by British investors.

18) What are the political implications of Free Trade? Mr. Lemass denies that there are any; but where there is economic dependence there is political dependence. This is a fundamental law. In foreign policy matters, in our attitude to various world political problems, the past year has seen Ireland draw significantly closer to Britain. Can Ireland remain neutral again if Britain goes to war? It is extremely unlikely. Article 17 of the Agreement allows Britain to take “whatever security interests in time of war or other international emergency”. Such measures could easily take the form of putting import levies on Irish goods as a form of economic pressure “justified” by a war situation. And if Ireland dares to be neutral how can she avoid being dropped back into penury, as her industries will be incapable of producing the consumption goods she will then be buying from Britain.

19) Mr. Lemass says free trade with Britain will help us if we enter the Common Market. What truth is there in this?
This is like saying that if you can survive a bad attack of pneumonia, you are not likely to be knocked out by the Free Trade with Britain is much worse than free trade with the Common Market ever could be bad enough as that prospect is. For free trade with Britain gives Ireland scarcely any new industrial or agricultural markets, while giving British industry a present of the Irish home market. At least in the Common Market Irish exporters would have easier access to large new markets on the continent, while Britain would still remain our main competitor on the home market. Mr. Lemass is in fact gambling on the hope that Britain — and Ireland — will get into the Common Market in the next few years, giving us new export markets in time, before the dismantling of protection really begins to hit us and before British industry takes over the Irish market on a huge scale. But there is no guarantee whatever that Britain's entry to the Common Market is assured — or even that the Common Market will

20) Will free trade with Britain do away with Partition, or the effects of the Border?
No. Partition will remain. As Mr. Lemass himself said: “The benefits of the Agreement in regard to imports will be restricted to goods of British origin only and all the necessary customs, checks and controls will have to be maintained at all points of entry into the area under our jurisdiction”. But in the sense that the Twenty Six Counties will be as fully integrated with the British economy as the Six Counties is already by 1976, or at latest 1981, it will make the political independence of the Government in Dublin very much of a formality, even if it will still retain the trappings of sovereignty which Stormont lacks. This is, of course, what suits Britain best. If we were politically part of the United Kingdom again we would be able to give Britain all sorts of trouble. With formal political independence possessed by a compliant Dublin Government, Britain is able to wash her hands of Ireland's problems before the eyes of the world, while simultaneously gripping us in a vice from which Mr. Lemass's Government is certainly going to make no genuine effort to get us free.

21) Will the Free Trade Agreement do away with the import levies Britain imposed on Irish exports in October 1964?
No, these will remain as long as the British Government considers them necessary. So “free trade” for our industrial export to Britain will still mean they will have to pay a levy on entry to Britain — now 10%. The imposition of this levy was against the terms of the last Anglo-Irish Trade Agreement. By imposing it, Britain broke this Agreement unilaterally. There is no guarantee in the present Agreement against a recurrence of such an act if Britain should again consider it “necessary”.
22) Did Mr. Lemass have to negotiate a Free Trade Agreement with Britain?
No. Mr. Lemass could have sought an Agreement with Britain whereby Irish agricultural exports were given fairer outlets on the British market in return for a partial scaling down of Irish industrial protection. This was in fact the kind of Agreement most people thought Mr. Lemass was

23) Has Fianna Fail changed its policy on free trade with Britain in recent years?
The extent of the volte-face of the Fianna Fail Government on this issue is shown by the following statement on free trade made by Mr. De Valera in 1939:
“The principle of free trade is buy whatever you can in the cheapest market, no matter what effect it may have at home, and sell whenever you are permitted in the dearest market. Let there be no interference with the individual.
“Let the law of the jungle prevail both within the State, concerning the individual in the State, and between one State and another.
“The gentlemen who stand for the Free Trade policy in its fullness would wipe out national territories because it would not work if these national barriers were not wiped out. They want a cosmopolitanism which is not accepted by the majority of people in any country in the world. They want a state of affairs in which, say, a modern Greece would have to disappear because its land is not sufficiently rich to enable it to exist in the fierce competition.
“The Free Trade policy is one for which we do not stand. We saw it in operation for the greater part of the nineteenth century and for the beginning of the twentieth. The people revolted against it and a national policy was set up.
“The people set out not merely to get political freedom but to get economic freedom. In order to get economic freedom they based their policy mainly on protection, because it was the only policy that would enable them to have any measure of real freedom.
“They saw the Free Trade policy working out in the depopulation of the country, a depopulation that reduced the number of people living in Ireland from eight and a quarter to four and a quarter million. They decided that if this nation was to survive we would have to have protection for the industries of the people. “Otherwise the end was

Seon Sleeven Interviewed

Lenar dTuairisceoir

FOLLOWING rapidly on the Terence O'Neill speech to a group of Catholics and Protestants recently in the north-east and the Dublin Government's joyous celebrations of “the achievement of Wolfe Tone's Republic” in the Twenty-Six Counties, the leaders of the two regimes met secretly in Anglesa towards the end of last month with the British Premier, Mr. Wilson, presiding.

After a half hour's talk it was decided to appoint a Cultural Liaison Officer for all-Ireland. He would have the rank of a cabinet minister without portfolio; he would not sit in Westminster, Stormont or Dublin but would be paid a salary (undisclosed — it is covered in the secret service vote) by the Imperial Parliament; and his duties would be “to look to the cultural integration of the three areas”. Lots were drawn to discover who would have the honour of selecting a “suitable, neutral candidate”. This responsibility fell to Mr. Seán Lemass.

S.: Well, I happened to be in a position to supply some valuable information to some colleagues and friends of Mr. Lemass on some delicate stock exchange business.
T.: Of course. But what else?
S.: I am a lawyer, you know. I have a good knowledge of law. If I hadn't, some

to be a lot of misunderstanding still. You understand public relations

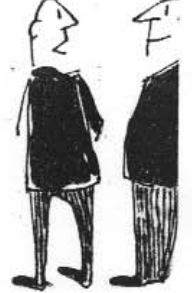
S.: Yes, I did a course. You give puffs from time to time and try to hide the facts for as long as possible.

T.: I couldn't define it better myself. But these cultural relations?

S.: We've got to do something about getting a standard English accent in Ireland. We've got to wean Mr. Keane away from his mountain men and get him back into the main stream of Anglo-Saxon

Strip-poker

The remainder of the afternoon was devoted to games of strip-poker in which Captain O'Neill and Mr. Lemass were heavy losers. We understand that the next meeting of the three politicians has been arranged for a date shortly before the next British Imperial Election.
Following hurried consultations and processing by computers of thousands of applications Mr. Seon Sleeven, a little known lawyer from East London, was appointed.



“We'll be able to slip it into the G.P.O. after a few more public lectures by Lemass.”

The following is a recorded interview.

Tuairisceoir: Congratulations, Mr. Sleeven. Tell us, what were your qualifications for the job?

Sleeveen: My grandmother was Irish.

T.: We guessed that Surely there were other considerations?

S.: Both my parents were born in Britain. My mother was a non-practising Catholic. My father was a non-practising Protestant. She was of southern stock; his came from the north. Middle-class background. Sound Tory views.
T.: Anything else?

thousands of my clients would be booked for long spells behind bars.

T.: An bhfuil Gaelige agat?

S.: I beg your pardon, sir?

T.: Do you know Irish?

S.: Begorra and beada shure an I have a shmatterin' of it. A few months here an —

T.: Quite. What games do you play?

S.: Poker, mostly.

T.: Gaelic, hurling, handball

S.: I don't speak Gaelic but my uncle, who was a policeman in the Isle of Skye, has a smattering of it.

T.: Hurling Handball?

S.: I saw a game of hurling once on the telly. Rather like hockey though not quite so refined. The players have very rough accents

T.: Apart from poker do you have any interest in any games, er, field games?

S.: Golf. I've had a few games with your Mr. McCourt and Mr. Byrne. I rather fancy rugby. I look at soccer on the telly now and then. Frankly, I'm rather too busy to take much interest in them.

T.: Literature?

S.: What's that?

T.: You know—books, writing, prose, poetry, drama.

S.: Bond and Mickey Spillane.

T.: And the theatre, Mr. Sleeven?

S.: I was always a great fan of the Windmill Theatre. I saw the Follies Bergères a few times. Used take in a few strip shows now and then, to facilitate clients.

T.: Tell me, what, apart from acting as stock exchange adviser, what do you hope to achieve in Ireland?

drama. Fundamentally, he is sound, a prominent member of the Language Replacement Movement and that class of thing. We are looking to an Ireland honours list and are negotiating for the transfer of Eton to the Foxrock or Carrickmines area. It might do something to raise the tone of the National University. We plan the amalgamation of O.N.E. and the British Legion. And, of course, we'll have to do something about the Kildare Street Club. We hope to organise, with the help of Clongowes, a course for the Irish Christian Brothers and some of the nuns—separately, of course, to get them with the new Ireland. What we would hope to achieve is something on the lines of a higher class Boston society, or Belgravia, if you know what I mean, to get rid of the divisive influences. One of my ablest helpers is a senator by the name of FitzGerald. O'Higgins and his tea parties are on the right lines; Terry O'Neill loves that Jazz. A small, couth society on the edges of the vast, interior ranch: that, in a few words, is the aim. I'm afraid I'll have to go now. I have to meet the President at a cocktail party.

Qualifications

S.: My father was in some British force in Ireland in, I think, 1918. He got a medal for something in towns by the name of Cork and Balbriggan, if my memory serves me. Really I know very little about Ireland. I'm afraid I'll have to do some research to fill in the blanks for you. Anyway, the late Mr. Lloyd-George was awfully grateful to Pater.

T.: I'm sure he was. Now, would you care to tell us your cultural qualifications?

S.: Cultural?

T.: Cultural — you know, degrees, universities, languages, the lot.

obvious in competition with other countries that we would have to get larger and larger units and more and more machinery carrying less and less people on the land, and we were going to be a large grass farm beside Britain, a large industrial country.
“It was to save the country from that fate that the other policy was adopted”.

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Gaelic Sports Review

Stirring Encounters In Store This Month

MAURICE HOGAN

*The long, long wished-for hour had come, yet come, a stór in vain.
And left you but the wailing hum of sorrow and of pain.
My light of life! My lovely love! thy portion sure must be
Man's scorn below, God's wrath above — a chuiste geal mo chroidhe!
'Twas told for thee the world around, 'twas hoped for thee by all,
That with one gallant sword bound thou'dst burst long ages thrall!
Thy faith was tried, alas! and those who perilled all for thee
Were cursed, and branded as thy foes—a chuiste geal mo chroidhe!
What fate is thine, unhappy isle! that even the trusted few
Should pay thee back with hate and guile when most they should be true?
'Twas not thy strength or spirit failed, and those that bled for thee
And loved thee truly have not quailed—a chuiste geal mo chroidhe!
I've given thee manhood's early prime, and manhood's warning years;
I've blessed thee in thy sunniest time, and shed with thee my tears;
And, mother, though thou'st cast away the child who'd die for thee,
My latest accents still shall pray for chuiste geal mo chroidhe!*

*I've tracked for thee the mountainside and slept within the brake.
More lonely than the swan that glides o'er Luan's fairy lake.
The rich have spurned me from their door because I'd set thee free;
Yet do I love thee more and more—a chuiste geal mo chroidhe!
I've run the outlaw's bold career and borne his load of ill,
His troubled rest, his ceaseless fear, with fixed sustaining will,
And should the last task chance befall e'en that shall welcome be:
In death I'll love you most of all—a chuiste geal mo chroidhe!*

The dead who died for Ireland have now had the full accolade of a nation's gratitude and away we go into the competitive traffic jam of May which needs all of its five Sundays to dispose of what has been allotted to it. To decide on, and adhere to the principle of first things first is not all so easy in this instance, as vying in appeal with the National Hurling League semi-finals on the first and second Sundays and the final on May 22, are Leinster Championship games at senior, intermediate and minor hurling levels; in senior and minor football; in senior football in Munster, the Wembley Tournament which, as usual, are billed for Whit Saturday, May 28, and the Cardinal Cushing games which cover the period May 22 to 29 inclusive, and are being staged in New York, Boston, Chicago and Connecticut; to make additional funds available to the Missionary Society of St James for Latin America.



Eddie Keher (Kilkenny)

In the past five years, that be the spirit of the young Clare hurlers ever so inflexible, the task they tackle in the first of the semi-finals is beyond them. It is true that the surest thing about all such reigns is that they must end some time, true also that the Considine, Loftus, Nevin, Cleary, Slattery, Danagher, Dunne, Cronin contingent would be unworthy of the colours they carry were they disposed to accept defeat in advance. In neck and neck finishes they proved their mettle against Cork twice, Dublin and Galway in the qualifying rounds, which saw them at their best in demoralising a hopeful Limerick by 4-10 to 3-6, and they fared better than most, particularly in the second half, in forcing Tipperary to bestir themselves in order to secure a 5-8 to 3-3 victory in the '65 Munster semi-final. These, incidentally, were the only games recorded against Tipperary as they journeyed on to their 21st All-Ireland title, and if John O'Donoghue could be said to be operating behind an iron curtain as far as protection was concerned, consistency was just as pronounced in attack where the scoring aggregate read: 23 points to 12 against Clare; 23 to 5 against Cork and 22 to 10 against Wexford. Link this consistency fore and aft with the field craft of the ageless Theo English and the wide ranging enterprise of Mick Roche, and how futile it all seems to argue that Tipperary are not heading for another League title, maybe to improve on their tally of twelve. By this figure they have already lapped their nearest rivals, Limerick and Cork, who tie

at six each. But here is a poser. Assuming they do reach the final (this issue must go to press before the result is known) which will their opponents in the final be, Kilkenny or Cork?

There is hurling enchantment in the mere coupling of these two names but unhappily it is a heritage of the receding past, for while they did meet in the League final as recently as 1962 when Kilkenny in winning convinced the critics that a big recovery was pending; an appraisal which in a forward sense was vindicated in the All-Ireland final of a year later, when the highest score ever reached by losing finalists — 6-8 found Waterford pipped by a 4-17 Noneside tally, the longed-for revival has never quite materialised. This failure is more baffling in the Kilkenny instance, for unlike Cork who must go back to the rip-roaring final of 1960 for their last worthwhile bid for Munster honours, Kilkenny in addition to retaining their place as front rankers in Leinster, have made repeated sorties into southern territory to rattle



P. Fitzgerald (Cork)

Tipperary more than a little in both National League and Oireachtas engagements. And the hardest thing that can be said of them, perhaps, is that they need not have lost all the games they did, particularly over the past twelve months. The last Oireachtas final apart, there has been an alarming simmering down in the spirit of urgency that had hitherto been so marked a feature of mid-field supply and forward finish, and in no instance was the latter defect more in evidence than in the Railway Cup final on St. Patrick's Day, when a Kilkenny dominated Leinster attack gave no hint that they were in quest of their third successive title, until the dying seconds when a goal or two no longer mattered. It is perhaps significant that much of this frustration stemmed from the three Cork defenders that Munster had called to the colours—Denis Murphy, Denis O'Riordan and at a later stage Pat Fitzgerald. It is an accepted fact that duplicating the defenders mentioned with three others of equal standing will be least of the worries of selectors—Willie Murphy, Jim Regan, Dan Coughlan and Denis Hurley, who in P. O'Connor, T. O'Donohue, G. O'Leary and P. Doolan had

already got a surplus of sterling candidates, before Jerry O'Sullivan of Glen Rovers availed of the final of the Champion Club Competition to convince all and sundry that the attacking-defender's talent which sealed his greatness in the late fifties are again at his fingertips. But if roughly half of this Cork team literally picks itself, there are headaches to spare in drilling an undistinguished vanguard into anything approaching the collective efficiency of their nostalgic hurling heydays.

In this series they have failed but once and only by one point to Clare in extremely soggy conditions at Ennis. They avenged this in a subsequent play-off at Kilmallock without, however, asserting more than that fraction of superiority which the 4-7 to 3-8 tally conveys, so their highlights in five outings have been the 4-6 to 1-3 and 3-8 to 0-7 by which they disposed of Dublin and Limerick respectively.

Showpiece?

Would Kilkenny have achieved less had they been allocated to Division 1 B, seems a pertinent question to ask in probing for relative merits. Personally I would say no, and that instead, progress would have been on a more clearly defined basis of supremacy. This view is nurtured by the conviction that, grouped as they were with Waterford, Laois, Wexford and Tipperary theirs was the more difficult assignment. Their one failure to the latter was inglorious enough 4-11 to 3-5 but it should be noted that this is six points of an improvement on Cork's Munster final stand, when the urge for conquest was infinitely greater. This is tantamount to saying that the better balanced Kilkenny will somehow contrive to outlive the almost ruthless dedication of Cork's defensive set-up. The 'little people' have a crock of gold dangling invitingly at the end of all National League rainbows. It will lure on one and other to the limit of their skill and endurance, and given favourable playing conditions may well result in this clash being the showpiece of the whole series. Equality is an essential factor in the build-up of a prospective classic. It ceases to run riot at this stage and the reason—Tipperary's continued dominance—is almost too obvious to call for elaboration, but for the records here are the figures covering the five seasons commencing 1960. Five Munster titles; four each of All-Ireland and National League titles, and five Oireachtas Cup titles.

On the last two occasions at Group final levels, Kilkenny, playing better then than now, appeared to have found a successful countering formula: The most recent of these was in '65 and it cut no ice at all when they met subsequently in the League final proper. This is the yardstick of Tipperary's greatness. The solidity it reflects may have been weakened somewhat by defensive changes that have been forced upon them, but they have shown an uncanny knack of finding the right man for the right place, and until this trait reneges them it is hard to look past them for the League champions of '66. Meath apart, the draw for the Leinster Senior Football

Championship shows a most unusual preponderance of merit to have found its way into the bottom half. At the second round stage it will be: Wexford or Wicklow v. Meath; Westmeath or Carlow v. Laois; Longford or Louth v. Dublin; Kildare or Kilkenny v. Offaly. Its Munster counterpart is stunted by comparison, the pairings being: (A) Waterford v. Tipperary; (B) Clare v. Cork. Here as in Leinster the semi-finals spill over into June and they read: Kerry v. Win-



Tom Walsh (Kilkenny)

ners of (A), Limerick v. Winners of (B).

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- Twelve Glorious Years, by Jack Mahon. Price 5/-.
- Our Own History and Social Order, An insight into how international finance controls the political and economic destinies of nations, including Ireland, by the Rev. Denis Fahey, C.S.Sp. Price 5/-.
- The Oireachtas Story, Price 3/-.
- Maraioch Seán Sabhaid Ailéir, Death's Sheslin Sabhaid le Maraioch Seán Sabhaid 12/6 (children's book) agus 15/- (adult's book).
- Robert Emmet's Speech from the Dock, Price 1/-.
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- Now called with soft cover at 7/6.
- Jimmy Hopps, by Sean Cronin. The story of the United Irishman who was to '88 what Pádraig Pearse was to 1916 and James Connolly was to 1916.
- Jim Larkin and the Dublin Lock-out, Price 3/-.
- The Great Hunger, by Cecil Woodham-Smith. Price 7/6.
- Hold Your Hour and Have Another, by Brendan Behan. Price 1/-.
- The Easter Rebellion, by Max Caulfield. Price 1/-.
- Socialism and Nationalism, by James Connolly. Price 2/-.
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- The Easter Week, by James Connolly. Price 2/-.
- National Songs and Ballads, A collection of over 250 Irish songs, ballads and recitations. Bound in board cover. Price 7/6.
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- Nation or Province?—Ireland and the Common Market. The Republican attitude. Price 1/-.
- Wolfe Tone. A short biography of the Father of Irish Republicanism, by Sean Cronin. Price 2/6.
- Money Manipulation and Social Order. An insight into how international finance controls the political and economic destinies of nations, including Ireland, by the Rev. Denis Fahey, C.S.Sp. Price 5/-.

More Than A Local Interest

Limerick's Fighting Story, edited by Colonel J. M. MacCarthy. Anvil Books Ltd., Tralee, 256 pp., 8vo., wrappers, 5/-.

This is another commendable piece of work from Anvil Books Ltd. 'Limerick's Fighting Story' is largely the republication of a book which appeared, under the same name, about 20 years ago, but which has been long out of print. The present volume is finely produced and set in clear type (unlike the old edition) Colonel MacCarthy, who was Adjutant of the famous East Limerick Flying Column, has done a skillful piece of editing. Some readers, however, will miss the numerous pictures which appeared in the old book.

The story of the fight in Limerick from 1916 to the Truce of July 1921, is told by the men who made it. Limerick, apart from the 1916 period, has a splendid fighting record. The first Flying Column — the active service unit was started in East Limerick. Places synonymous with the Black and Tan struggle, such as Knocklong and Kilmallock are recalled in this invaluable book. The daring rescue of Sean Hogan was beautifully told by the late Desmond Ryan. "John Joe" said quickly to his brother, "They are there. Hogan's on the train." As Eamonn O'Brien turned and told him what John Joe's message was,

Sean Treacy took off his glasses, placed them in the case, shoved the case in his side pocket, with the words: 'Is that so? Come on then!' Treacy was first into the corridor, his revolver drawn. 'Limerick's Fighting Story' makes fitting reading this year when we hear so much about the spirit of 16. This book shows us the result of that spirit: a whole countryside united behind the I.R.A. locked in combat with British tyranny. Those stirring days are recalled by the writers of the various articles, most of whom were participants in the struggle.

Heroic Struggle

It was a heroic struggle. The role of the guerilla fighter was an unenviable one, often waiting for hours in an ambush position on a bleak hill, then, maybe, the frustration of failing to make contact with the enemy who had decided to stay in barracks that evening. The risen people were magnificent. Their support of the I.R.A. built up the morale of victors: their unquenchable spirit defied the Black and Tan terror.

This book has slight technical hitches such as repetition of facts in different articles. However, these are details. 'Limerick's Fighting Story' should be widely read; it contains much more than a local interest.

B.O.C.

BOOK REVIEWS

Expert Depiction of the Villains

Roger Casement—The Truth About the Forged Diaries, by Dr. Herbert O. Mackey; 96 pp., 27 illustrations. 4s. 6d. nett. C. J. Fallon Limited, Dublin.

Dr. Mackey's book has high merits. It tells the intricate detective story with simplicity and skill. It is the summary of 30 years of indefatigable study and research and the careful sorting and sifting of relevant material. The result is a brilliant piece of historical detective work woven indeed round a dominating personality. It is a breathless tale and one with a moral; and we can all profit by the lesson.

Dr. Mackey has written extensively on medical and historical subjects and has two biographies, and four books on Roger Casement to his credit. He is recognised as one of the greatest living authorities on Casement's life and work. To the present generation, the events behind the capture, trial and execution of Casement are but vaguely understood. The scene was the Easter Rising and World War I and its impassioned audience was the civilised world. The use, then, of forged diaries, to silence the world-wide appeal for reprieve, will remain forever a clear-cut example of a perversion of justice. In the years that followed, England, blinded by prejudice, suspicion and fear, passionately rejected truth and justice and obstinately identified the national interest with falsehood and injustice. Fifty years later, the world is still looking for the answers to the anxious questions opened in men's minds by the case of Roger Casement. Only a handful, led by Dr. Mackey, organised resistance to the chorus of hatred and misrepresentation; while most of England's population was swept away by



The Casement Diaries

the wave of mass-hysteria. None of the major factors that combined to make the case a cause celebre escape Dr. Mackey's attention. All the characters, especially the villains, are depicted here with expert strokes and if the truth seems stranger than fiction it is because Thomson, Hall and Smith would be incredible in any setting.

Dr. Mackey has written a remarkably fresh and interesting book. Without so much as an intimation on his part, his vivid pages on the gross perversion of justice which rocked the civilised world half a century ago can be read as a tract for our times.

Leitheoireacht Measartha Taithneamhach

"Diarmuid O Dónall", le Donald Mac Amhlaigh. An Clochmhar Teo., 12/6.

Meastar chuile leabhar Gaeilge mar "litriocht". Ní mar sin i dteangeacha eile. ina mbliain na mílte leabhar á gcur amach in aghaidh na bliana. Foilsítear a laghad sin leabhair Gaeilge go mbítear ag súil le meán-chaigideán a bhfuil níos aoirde ná mar a fhaightear i dteanga ar bith. Cuína beath-fhaisnéis, leabhar staire, úrscéal, cnussach gearr-scéalta, leabhair thábhacht nóg cineál ar bith eile, bímid ag caint faoi "litriocht".

neart mi-shástachta. Ma tá lecht ar an scéal 'sé atá ann ná go bhfuil eospa teannais ann; go bhfuil eachtraí ar scéal scoite amach ina iomarca ón scéal ina iomláine. D'fheadfaí go leor de na h-eachtraí a chur i gcló mar altanna nó mar ghearr-scéalta fíú. D'fheadfaí roinnt de na h-eachtraí a ghearradh amach ar fad agus ar éigin a chuirfeadh sin isteach ar an scéal. 'Sé is cúis le sin, sílim, ná gur mó de bheath-fhaisnéis nó d'úrscéal an leabhar uaireanta; nó gur mó de dhialann é b'fhéidir.

"Séard atá san úrscéal seo ná a portrait of the Artist as a Young Man. Is léir gur saol an údair idir ceithre bhliain déag agus seacht mbliain déag nó mar sin atá mar bhun leis an úrscéal. Ach is beag costúlachta atá idir seo agus saothar Joyce. Is beag costúlachta atá idir Mac Amhlaigh, mar dhuine, agus Joyce. Ní ag dul i ngleic leis an saol, ag fóigáir cogaidh, ach ag baint ionaid amach dó féin sa saol mar atá sé, atá Mac Amhlaigh. Seo deireadh an scéil: "Agus den chéad uair ina shaol bhíais den séasamh agus den sé a bhíos i ndán dóibh siúd nach mbíonn bun ós cionn ná a achran lena geóim ná lena dtimpeallacht. Bhí sé ag teacht in aois céille". Ró-abann, agus gan móran léiritú ar chúis an aithríthe, a thogann seo, tréis dó imeacht ón mhuintir dteach roimhe sin le

B'fhéidir nach "litriocht" é an saothar seo. Ach is léitheoireacht measartha taithneamhach é. Ró-mheasartha, ró-chuinn, ró-mhall b'fhéidir, ach fiú má tá an téama lag agus scanlíte, tá roinnt de na h-eachtraí innste go h-álainn; is scéalai maith é an t-údar. Agus ina theannta sin, tá sé i ndán caractairi a léiritú ar fheabhas — a uncail Beartle O Conluain, mar shampla; is lomaf duine go bhfuil aithne aige ar Bheartle dá chuid fhéin.

Bua amháin atá ag an leabhar-tá Gaeilge ann. Is mó leabhar ón Chlub Leabhar le blianta beaga anuas nach raibh sin le feiceáil iontu. Seo an tríú leabhar on údair atá bunaithe go dlúth ar an shaol féin. Níl sé ar aon-chéim le "Dialann Deoráil" ná le "Saol Saighdiúra". B'fhéidir go bhfuil sé in am do busladh amach ón mbeath fhaisnéis/dialann.

F.O.R.

Interesting and Well Documented

OUR OWN RED BLOOD by Sean Cronin. Published by Dublin Wolfe Tone Society. 66 pp. 8vo., wrappers, 3s. 6d.

HERE'S THEIR MEMORY by Richard Roche. Published by the National Graves' Association, Wexford Branch. 94 p.p., 8vo., wrappers, illus. 3s.

The author of "Our Own Red Blood" introduces us to the 1916 leaders by bringing us to their separate "trials" and then filling in the details. It is a very moving introduction indeed, and one that must leave a lasting impression. Pearse, Clarke, McDermott, Connolly and Casement come to us clear as life. But the pictures of McDonagh, Ceannat and Plunkett are, unfortunately sketchy.

Part two of this book gives us a very exciting and well documented account of the information which was in the possession of the British authorities during the weeks preceding the Rising. It is frightening to see how efficiently Irishmen worked against the cause of freedom; only the dithering of the Castle authorities saved this from being the Rising that never got started. Probably nowhere else have we got the Castle files so completely opened to the public. This chapter alone would make the booklet invaluable.

It is part three of this booklet which is most disappointing. Bare facts of the Rising follow one another without a break. This is "cramped" information. And yet here and there the author shows his ability to create atmosphere and revitalise personalities.

This should have been a full-length book. We hope that Sean Cronin will do this work some day. He has the knowledge and the feeling and the ability to weigh the relative importance of the various factors. Above all, he obviously is not one of those journalists who are writing for cash; his sincerity is something new in 1916 writings.

Possibly that is the highest tribute that can be paid to this booklet; one feels compelled to ask for more.

"Here's Their Memory" is an amazing little book. With a mastery economy of words, Richard Roche describes various freedom campaigns and introduces us to the Republican dead of Co. Wexford. Undoubtedly a copy should be read and kept in every Wexford home. The reviewer has not a drop of Wexford blood in his veins, but he can well appreciate that this book must deeply move any sons of that county.

The book holds great interest for all Irishmen. Through its pages we can follow the history of the whole country. Possibly it may move men from other counties to do a similar work in tribute to their own counties' dead.

In his foreword Mr. Roche writes: "The nation that honours its heroic dead and cherishes their last resting places deserves well of the future." This thought obviously means a lot to the author and, of course, to the publishers; probably it explains why we often get minute details of a man's funeral and grave and sometimes very little about the man himself. This is rather a pity. Sean Etchingham, for instance, was well worth a more detailed account of his career. Often we get so brief a glimpse of the men that we are given no chance whatsoever of getting to know them. Nevertheless we get a very good picture of, for instance, Michael O'Hanrahan and this, together with Mr. Roche's ability to say a lot in a few words, makes us all the more upset at the space given to descriptions of funerals. After all, some of the worst types that ever lived have "enjoyed" some of the biggest funerals.

Considerable help is, however, given by a generous supply of excellent photographs. It would be a pity if anything written above should put any reader off securing this book. It is really a treasure.

Richard Roche deserves to be elected "Wexford man of the year."

T. O'D.

A TRIBUTE TO LIMERICK

CUMHNIÓN LUMNEACH Published by the Limerick City branch of The National Commemoration Committee. 124 pp. Wrappers. 2/6.

THIS is a year of National remembrance with a vengeance and just now we are inundated with a flood of 1916 literature of all types, ranging from the purely 'cashing in' efforts of the professionals to the more erudite works of the scholars. They all serve the purpose of bringing home to us the reality of the Rising, the tremendous effect it had on the life of this Nation. But almost without exception these books paint a Dublin canvas, there is nothing much to be said about the country.

Limerick has remedied this failure in its own case through publication of this well produced book. And Limerick can blow a louder trumpet than most in connection with the rising. Daly was a Limerick man, so was Colbert. Tom Clarke had an intimate connection with the City through his marriage to a daughter of John Daly the Fenian. Mary Spring-Rice, of Howth gun-running fame was also from Limerick. Bishop O'Dwyer, the patriot priest, spoke from Limerick against the butcheries of Maxwell, whom he termed "military dictator of Ireland." O'Dwyer's outspoken remarks were no little help in bringing about the later resurgence of National feeling.



Tom Clarke

The Limerick committee is to be congratulated for their initiative in having this book produced. It is a tribute to their interest in their city and its history.

A. O. M.

Recent Records

"The Black and Tan Gun," Johnny Flynn Showband.
"His Name was Connolly," Waverly Records.

THERE are many who object to the setting of essentially ballad material to pop tunes or to the more hybrid style of music known as country and western. There are those who object to pop in any of its forms as a detergent industry based on music, it produces bubbles which shortly disappear. Yet though the bubbles do not last the industry does and is going to be with us for a long time.

"His Name Was Connolly" from Waverly Records, presents three singers, Patrick O'Malley, Diarmuid O'Neill and Peadar O'Toole in a variety of songs telling of Connolly's life and death. To the purist this record is very much a case of balladry gone wrong of a story fitted to unsuitable music. Delivered in a Bohemian rollicking roar, the songs have considerable impact, some of them are touching, such as "The Living and the Dead," others are stirring, such as "Connolly's Rebel Song." Occasionally the effort does not quite come off, as in "To lay down his Life," where the orchestral treatment intrudes somewhat.

OF INTEREST

For those who have come to admire James Connolly through the recent Televis

Kiteann series on the Rising, this record will be of interest.

Inexplicable Ban

From Pat Smyth and The Johnny Flynn Showband comes "The Black and Tan Gun," a country-and-western style ballad. In common with many others, Emerald Records must be feeling the effect of the inexplicable Radio Kiteann ban on all songs containing a patriotic motif. Considering that these publishers have made a considerable investment of both money and time in the production of these records, it seems rather unfair to penalise them because of some bloody-minded Minister's nightmares. Unlike too many Irish industries, the showband at least draws its capital from this country and its work-force.

This is quite a good record with a very pleasant tune. Pat Smyth has the kind of voice which deserves to succeed, no gimmicks, no unintelligible grunts or screams but pleasant melody backed by smooth orchestration.

A. O. M.

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COMMEMORATION

(cont. from page 5)

further. He said that the Irish people must strengthen their resolve to work for full freedom and thereby rid themselves of a system which has meant nothing but suffering, hardship and insecurity for the majority of the people.

Elphin

Speaking to a huge crowd assembled in Elphin, Co. Roscommon, Mr. Tom Boyle said the character and nobility of the leaders of Easter Week would forever emblazon the pages of our history.

"Let us", he said, "pledge ourselves to the preservation of our separate culture and language and thereby preserve our distinctiveness as a sovereign people. Let us give patriotism its true purpose and full objectives and never rest until the aims and aspirations of Easter week are realised".

Shanaglish

At Shanaglish Mr. P. Geraghty presided, the Galway roll of honour was read by Mr. Brian Mac Lua and the oration delivered by Comdt. General Tom Maguire.

Lurgan

Seven thousand townspeople marched in Lurgan on Sunday morning to the Republican Plot where at the grave of Staff-Captain Thomas Harte, the Proclamation was read, wreaths were laid and an oration was delivered by Mr. Sean Stephenson, who also delivered the oration at a ceremony in Maghera.

Drogheda

A huge crowd including the Lord Mayor and members of the Corporation attended the Drogheda ceremonies. Organisations represented were the G.A.A. clubs, Old I.R.A., Trades Council, Gaelic League and the various branches of the Republican Movement. The oration was delivered by Mr. Brendan Lynch. Larry Grogan presided.

Limerick

The unity of the citizens of Limerick in their tribute to 1916 is obvious from the order in which the parade to the Republican Plot was constituted: Old I.R.A., Cumann na mBan, Cumann na gCailiní, Fianna Éireann, Trades Council and affiliated unions, O.N.E., G.A.A., Camogie Association, Knights of Malta, Red Cross, St. John's Ambulance Brigade, Catholic Boy Scouts, N.A.C.A. and National Cycling Association.

At the graveside the Easter Statement was read by P. O. Maolcatha, who presided, and Mr. Liam Liddy in the course of his oration stated that in 1966 there was a great need for the idealism and determination of 1916. If we ever abandon the ideals of Easter Week, he said, we shall have abandoned the Irish nation.

Earlier the parade Colour Party marched to the 1916 Memorial where a wreath was laid by Comdt. D. Dundon, President of the Limerick Commemoration Committee.

Birmingham

Week long ceremonies also marked Easter in Birmingham. The parade on Easter Sunday led by two pipe bands inclu-

1916 and it's aftermath

Here are the last two paragraphs of "1916 and its Aftermath" by Roy Johnston, omitted last month as a result of pressure of space.

"Where are the people to back up with scholarship and research and writings the idea that the Irish nation can survive, has a future, can evolve a materially and spiritually enriched life without selling itself to foreign speculators. Where are the writers fit to convey this idea to the common people and raise their eyes from next week's pay to their own needs as a nation?"

Possibly they lurk, undetected, among the students and young graduates; the sons and daughters of the gombeen-capitalists who are at present carrying out the traditional evaluation of their parents made by the youth of every generation. There is a precious few years before the mould sets, when the future and the past wage a tug of war. So far the ones who opted for the future have gone, those who opted for the past have stayed. How much national intellectual ferment does it take to break this pattern? This I feel is the factor which will decide whether 1966 will turn out to be an end or a beginning.

The following books or authors were referred to:

- 1) The work of Connolly in Belfast in the 1911 period is chronicled in "The Life and Times of James Connolly" by Desmond Greaves, (Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1963).
- 2) For insight into the way of thinking of the contemporary African national liberation movement, read "The Damned" (Les Damnés de la Terre) by Franz Fanon (Présence Africaine, Paris, 1963).
- 3) For a wide-ranging and penetrating analysis of the economic relations between the 'advanced' countries of Europe and America and the 'undeveloped' countries of Africa, Asia and America, read Paul Baran "The Political Economy of Growth" (Calder, London, 1957).

Regarding the place of guerilla tactics in 1916 it has been pointed out that the guerilla tactics of the 20's were evolved in discussions in Frongoch based on the experiences of Ashton and Mount St. Bridge. So perhaps I was unfair to 1916 when attributing priority to Kilmichael as the first occasion when guerilla warfare was used successfully against the motorised storm-troops of imperialism; the origins of this action in fact do go back to 1916 itself.

Mass

A Commemorative Mass for Christy Bird, Sean McCaughey and John Duffy will be offered at the Franciscan Church, Merchants Quay, Dublin on Sunday, May 8 at 10.45 a.m.

Belfast Oration (from Page 1)

further removed from the truth. We of the Republican Movement know that Clarke, Pearse, Connolly and the others died for the ideals of a free, independent and prosperous nation, proud of its own distinctive language and culture, working out its own destiny, untrammelled, and unhindered by any outside or alien control—a nation that would ensure the security, prosperity and happiness of all its people without distinction as to class, creed or political persuasions.

Having stated what the aims of the 1916 leaders were, it is essential that we examine the situation in Ireland today, and see how far we have progressed towards the ideals for which they died 50 years ago. Let us now see what we have achieved after 45 years of so-called "independence". The politicians in the South have spent 45 years telling us that we are free, that we have achieved the ideals of Connolly, Clarke, Pearse and the others. What they really mean is that they have accepted the existence of Partition, with its consequent evils of emigration, unemployment and sheer poverty. They would also have us believe that the selling of our national assets to the first foreigner who has the money to buy is a hallmark of freedom. They would also have liked us to believe that the use of the infamous Offences Against the State Act against workers who are struggling for a just wage is a necessary and desirable thing. This year with the signing of the so-called "Free Trade Agreement" the recent and long standing betrayal of national interests has been presented and acclaimed as an advance in the pursuit of national unity. This is the agreement which will make Ireland more dependent on Britain's goodwill politically and economically, than at any time since the Act of Union—this then, is the "freedom" that Mr. Lemass would like us to believe the patriots of 1916 died for.

EXPLOITATION OF WORKERS

Having examined the position in the South, let us now turn to the North, and see how almost 1½ million of our countrymen are faring out under direct British rule. The North today is a place of carefully fostered bigotry and sectarianism. It is also a place where an extremely high proportion of the population is denied the right to have a political organisation which represents their point of view. It is also a place where religious differences between Catholic and Protestant workers are deliberately fostered by those whose only purpose is the exploitation of all workers.

It is essential that we understand how discrimination against any section of the working classes works to the benefit of the Capitalist class. The great majority of people in the North are either industrial workers or small farmers who are controlled economically by a majority of wealthy and privileged capitalists. It is the business of these capitalists to maintain their privileged positions, to

never set their sights on the just distribution of the wealth which they created, and which the capitalists now enjoy. It is their business to ensure that the majority will never become a force strong enough to remove them from their privileged positions. The positions of the privileged are secured by their artificially created divisions of the working classes. By discrimination in employment and housing one section of the community are led to believe that it is in their interest to keep the capitalists in power. Never are they told that the jobs which they hold and the houses which they live in are theirs by right, rather are they tricked into believing that these natural rights are a reward for their support of the regime. These tactics serve the twofold purpose of keeping a large section of the population loyal to the regime, whilst at the same time it ensures that they do not insist on a bigger share in the wealth.

UNITE ALL SECTIONS

Having outlined what we of the Republican Movement believe to be the true position in Ireland today, many of you are, no doubt, wondering what we propose to do about it. The first aim of the Republican Movement is to unite all sections of the Irish people, irrespective of class, creed, or political persuasions, in their demands for political and economic independence. Many of you may feel that this policy, particularly in the North, is impossible to achieve. History has shown that this is by no means impossible. In 1798 Catholics, Protestants and Dissenters fought side by side for national independence. The men of 1848 led by John Mitchel, the Newry Presbyterian, and Lalor, the Laois farmer, wanted no less than "Ireland her own, from the sod to the sky". The Irish Revolutionary Movement at the beginning of this century had no better champion than James Connolly. His feat in uniting the Protestant and Catholic workers of Belfast in 1911 and leading them to victory in the dock strike is often forgotten. But here in the fight for the emancipation of the worker, Connolly showed that Catholics and Protestants had a common bond. His slogan was "Irish Worker", not Catholic Workers, or Protestant Workers—his battle cry was "The Cause of Ireland is the Cause of Labour, the Cause of Labour is the Cause of Ireland". A further illustration of this common bond can be found in the Belfast of the early '30s, when armed Catholics and Protestants side by side faced British armoured cars and machine guns, when the British attempted to cut down on the out-door Relief Benefits. The united efforts of Irish workers won the day. The ideals of the Republican Movement of today are identical to those of Tone, Mitchel, Lalor and Connolly. The land of Ireland for the people of Ireland, the wealth of Irish industry for those who create it—namely, the Workers. This is not a Utopian dream, and certainly not impossible. It can be achieved and will be achieved

when the workers of Ireland, when the men of no property in Ireland, when elements of Irish Republicanism and Labour realise the power which they hold in their own hands, when they decide to unite and fight for the rights which are theirs for the taking. In pursuance of this policy it is the duty of every man here who calls himself an Irishman to go forth from here and play his part in the organising of a militant Trade Union movement with a national consciousness. It is also our duty in the rural areas to assist in banding together the small farmers who are at this very moment threatened with extinction. It is our duty to return the land of Ireland to the people of Ireland.

Let no one pretend that our task is an easy one. When the Irish people do decide to unite in their demands for complete freedom, they will see who their real enemy is. They will find themselves opposed by the concentrated might of British Imperialism in its most vicious form. We have seen it manifested many times in history when the military might of Imperialism was used against the revolutions of the common people of subject nations.

We in the Republican Movement have never regarded the National tradition and the Social tradition in our history as separate and distinct entities, each existing alone and apart from the other. In this historic city of Belfast Irish Republicanism was born. Republicanism was conceived in answer to the tyranny of despots, it was conceived in answer to the exploitation of the people, it was conceived in answer to bigotry and sectarianism. For Tone, all these evils stemmed from the connection with England and in his lifetime he worked to subvert this tyranny. We in the Republican Movement are the inheritors of this tradition. We believe that the connection with Britain is the source of all our evils and believe in ending it.

There is no one who can say that Partition has been of benefit to the Irish people. There is no one who will not say that it has not been of benefit to sectional interests amongst us, to those who thrive on the weakness which is division, the cancer which is bigotry and sectarianism.

Now as in time past, we Republicans must set our faces steadfastly on the road which leads to freedom. Freedom to us means among other things the evacuation of British troops from our country. We will not compromise on this question. No foreign troops under no matter what flag will ever garrison Ireland in peace.

Sean Leabhair ag teastáil

An praghas is áirde Imleabhar nó Leabharlann

Proinnisias O Tailliur

93 ASCAL MUCROIS, Balle Atha Cliath, 12

NATIONAL GRAVES ASSOCIATION, MAYO

Unveiling of Memorial at Ballina

ON SUNDAY, 15th MAY, 1966, at 3 p.m.

By Comm.-Gen. T. McGulre, I.R.A.

— ASSEMBLY 2.30 —

"We love them yet, we can't forget, the Felons of our Land"

Labour and The Rising — II Pearse As A Man

HAVE tried, by quoting extracts from Arthur Griffith's paper, "Sinn Fein", and the Larkin-Conolly paper, "The Irish Worker", to indicate the forces that were working towards the declaration of the Republic in 1916 and towards its overthrow in 1922.

"Irish Freedom", to Griffith, meant freedom for Irish industrialists to manoeuvre to greater advantage within the imperial system. An independent Republic had no place in his plans. He was a sincerely patriotic man. He saw the development of industrialism within the imperial economy as the basis of all the goods that people mean when they speak of freedom, and he used the same words in his propaganda as other nationalist propagandists use, and so, among those who gathered round him in the Sinn Fein Party there were some who were shocked to find that his unquestionable patriotism and his very volubly expressed hatred of all things English did not prevent him from calling upon the British military forces to come to the rescue of the Irish Employers when their interests were threatened by the railway strike in 1911.

AN ORGANISED WORKING CLASS

The Larkin-Conolly labour movement, as early as that, had a higher aim than merely improving the lot of the working class within the established order. In that year James Conolly and P.T. Daly were organising Trade Unions in Belfast. Larkin, in the "Irish Worker", referred to them as "Building up an organised working class — the work we set ourselves to accomplish — the resurrection of the Irish nation". That objective did necessarily entail a break with the imperial system, and it was only when Conolly became convinced that the I.R.B. leaders of the Irish Volunteers were determined to make that break that he joined forces with them. The sympathy, however openly declared, of most of them with the labour movement would not have been enough.

I hope I have quoted enough of Conolly's and Larkin's own words to show that their aims were unattainable without the building of an Irish economy based upon the needs of the Irish people and upon their ownership of Ireland. I hope I have made it clear that Conolly realised that that could only be done by an independent Irish Republic.

As the 1914 war crisis developed he proceeded to act accordingly. Ever since the formation of the Irish Volunteer force he had been urging its members to press

GEORGE GILMORE

past the Home Rule leadership and to take their stand for an independent Republic. In an open letter to the Irish National Volunteer Provisions Committee in 1914 he wrote: "The triumvirate which guides the destinies of the 'other house' (Redmondites) has adopted as its official motto the words 'Defence, not Defiance'; a very proper sentiment for any loyal son of Empire to express".

MONTEITH

In November, 1914, Robert Monteith, then an Irish Volunteer organiser, was ordered out of Ireland by the British government. The Citizen Army and the I.T. & G.W.U. held a meeting of protest. "He is not", Conolly wrote, "of our counsel, he is not of our Union, he is not of our Army, but as he was struck at by our enemy because he held the same high ideal of National Rights as we had, we sprang to offer our all for his aid. That was the true spirit of militant Irish Labour".

Conolly was determined that the 1914 war should not pass without an attempt being made by the Irish nation to gain its independence. That is a fact with which we are all familiar. It is also a fact, though it is not so widely disseminated, that he saw that attempt, not only as an assertion by the Irish people of their ownership of Ireland, but also as part of the revolt of the oppressed people of the world against what he described as "a war of royal freebooters and cosmopolitan brigands".

In August, 1914, at the outbreak of war, he wrote: "What ought to be the attitude of the working-class democracy of Ireland in face of the present crisis? In the first place we ought to clear our minds of all the political cant which would tell us that we have either 'natural enemies' or 'natural allies' in any of the powers now warring". His advice was to see that the food necessary to feed the Irish people should not be taken away to feed the warring nations. Farmers would be tempted by high prices. Provision must be made for the Irish working class before food should be allowed to go. "Let us not shrink from the consequences", he wrote, "This may mean more than a transport strike, it may mean armed battling in the streets to keep in this country the food for our people. Whatever it may mean, it must not be shrunk from. It is the immediate feasible policy of the working-class democracy, the answer to all the weaklings who, in this crisis of our country's history, stand helpless and bewildered crying for guidance, when they are not hastening to betray her. Starting thus, Ireland may yet set the torch to a European conflagration that will not burn out until the last throne and the last capitalist bond and debenture will be shrivelled on the funeral pyre of the last war lord".

The I.R.B. leaders of the Irish Volunteers were, of

course, as determined as Conolly was that what seemed to them the opportunity presented by the war should not be allowed to pass without an armed uprising. As Conolly's determination became more certainly known to them they became anxious lest his plans should clash with their plans, and so they sought an understanding with him. It has been said that he was kidnapped and held until that understanding was reached. If that did happen it seems strange that it should have been thought necessary. What is certain is that Conolly was co-opted on to the military council and appointed to command the joint forces — Irish Volunteers and Irish Citizen Army — in the Dublin area.

The story of the actual Rising does not need retelling. It has been told many times much better than I could tell it, but there is one detail that is not usually stressed and that has especial significance in any examination of the role of the Labour movement in 1916. It concerns the manner of Conolly's death. He had been severely wounded in the fighting in and around the General Post Office, and, after the other leaders had been executed there was a long delay. It seemed likely that his life might be spared. The newspaper that was virtually the mouthpiece of the Dublin Employers' Federation took fright and called in unmistakable terms for his death, pointing out to the British authorities how unjust it would be to leave that most dangerous man alive. So Conolly was taken from his bed, strapped to a chair, and carried before a firing squad.

The forces working for — and against — Irish independence were clarifying their position to those who were willing to see.

THERE must be very few in Ireland today who are not familiar with the profile of Pádraig Pearse. He always favoured the profile view, mainly because of a family optical weakness. We note the square sturdy frame and the frank open countenance. He inherited his stocky frame from his father, James Pearse, a monumental sculptor from Devon, and from his mother, a County Meath woman, he drank in all the old stories of the men of '98 and patriotic ballads with which this lady regaled her children. It is a curious thing that with the exception of O'Donovan Rossa and John Devoy, Irish leaders have not been of wholly Irish stock. We have the example of Cathal Brugha, sprung from a Yorkshire family called Burgess and the manly Mayor of Cork, Terence McSwiney, had an English mother.

NOT WHOLLY IRISH

Possibly in many facets of his character Pearse was not wholly Irish. His style of public speaking was not cast in the Irish stamp. His tender love for animals was not common to the native Gael. In this connection I can recall the words of an uncle of mine who had served his apprenticeship as a sculptor under William or "Willie" Pearse as he was affectionately known. He told me that he had heard the Pearse boys had been admonished by their father not to go fishing because it was cruel; the hooks tore the mouths of the unfortunate fish. To some people that may seem stretching things too far, but that was how James Pearse was constituted. Some have thought that Pearse's stories of the West of Ireland were too sweet and tender, too muted to be completely Irish. I think allowance has not been made for Pearse's environment. Victorian Dublin ringed with British military



barracks and the whole Irish way of life permeated with insidious English influences and the people conditioned into the ways of the British raj. Moreover, Pearse grew up in an Ireland where the Gaelic tongue was despised and derided and was kept alive in remote Irish-speaking districts, until it was revealed to the whole country in all its beauty and cadence by the genius of two men, Dr. Douglas Hyde and Professor Eoin MacNeill. Taking this into consideration Pearse triumphed over considerable difficulties and though the academic mind may carp and criticise, Pearse's works have survived while their works lie dusty and unread on library shelves.

Pearse was no overnight revolutionary. He evolved his system of nationalism by long thought and probing the utterances of public men. In the early stages of his career Pearse was a Constitutionalist and a follower of John Redmond but when he realised that Redmond was only the pliable dupe of the English Liberal Party, he promptly severed his connection with the Parliamentary Party. Pearse was consumed with a burning sincerity, like his idol, O'Donovan Rossa. His mind burned through sham and fraud no matter where he found it, even in his own ranks. He lashed many among us, particularly those misguided people who created the riots at the performances of Synge's "Playboy of the Western World".

"Ireland in our day as in the past," Pearse wrote, "has excommunicated some of those who served her best and canonized some of those who served her worst. We damn a man for an unpopular phrase; we defy a man who does a wrong thing gracefully. The word to us is evermore significant than the deed. When a man like Synge, a man in whose sad heart there glowed a true love of Ireland, one of the two or three men in our time who have made Ireland considerable in the eyes of the world, uses strong phrases, symbols which we do not understand, we cry out that he has blasphemed and we proceed to crucify him. When a sleek lawyer rising step by step through the most ignoble of all professions, attains to a Lord Chancellorship, we confer upon

him the freedom of our cities."

It is ironical to think that the educational system that Pearse condemned in his day in a trenchant phrase as the "murder machine" is still with us, though watered down to suit modern requirements. Pearse did not believe in producing "eight or ten animated Leaving Certificates," he produced eight or ten personalities who held their certificates as well. Pearse's system was not founded on fear or intimidation, each pupil was put on his honour and into each was instilled the old triad of the Fianna: "Strength in our hands, Truth on our lips, Purity in our hearts." In short Pearse treated boys as human beings not as soulless robots. Pearse wrote in a mystical poetic way about boys and youth, and like Casement was subjected to foul slander. A few years ago a noted Anglo-Irish writer imputed homosexuality to Pearse on the strength of his poems. Pearse lost his fiancée in a drowning accident. Our Divine Lord has so far remained unscathed, how long will the muckraker remain undeterred?

ST. ENDA'S

It is depressing to think that that wonderful school, St. Enda's, is slowly disintegrating into ruin, neglected by the Irish nation. At this moment we can truly say with the old poet Fearflatha O'Gnive:

"If Thou hast consented That there be a new England named Ireland To be ever in the grip of foes, To this isle we must say farewell!"

Pearse decided that Ireland's soul must be redeemed by a blood sacrifice. "A bloody protest for a glorious thing." When he occupied the Post Office along with his friend and comrade, James Conolly, they both knew they were going to die in defence of Ireland's honour. Sean O'Casey puts it beautifully when he visualises Pearse's thoughts as he marches to face the levelled rifles of the firing squad — "... farewell the jewelled faintness in the thoughts and play of children — Oh, farewell! The moments have grown bigger than the years."

ARD MACHA

But It Was Grand!

Well, it's all over for another fifty years, but it was grand while it lasted. All our parades and pageants and displays certainly came up to expectations. To see all the bands and the soldiers marching down O'Connell Street really would do something to you. And wasn't the hundreds and hundreds of survivors on the platform a grand sight altogether? We had to have them outside the G.P.O., because they wouldn't have all fitted inside the building. We'd have had to pack them like sardines and even then there would have been a couple of hundred left out. Still, we had them on show and that was the main thing.

Then we had the Garden of Remembrance. Here again, like the G.P.O., we had to do a bit of fiddling with the institutions but it was only to make sure that we kept certain people on the outside of the gate. We had to make sure our supplements weren't despoiled. After all, it would be very embarrassing to have photographs of these outsiders mixed up with our own, it would lead to all sorts of misunderstandings.

Of course, you've probably heard about the other crowd, the illegal organisation. All you could see everywhere was Easter Lilies and after they were told by Mr. Lenihan not to sell them. I'm beginning to think he's their publicity agent. And as for their parades! They put ours in the ha'penny place and I believe they hold them every single year. You'd be amazed how many people, men, women and children, still think we're not free, despite the fact that our own practical Prime Minister has told them by deed, that the Six North Eastern Counties don't belong to us at all. But what do you think happened? — They held parades up there too and wore the Easter Lily and carried the tricolour! Treason, that's what it is, treason. I just hope Mr. Wilson accepts our apologies, that's all. It's a terrible pity Joe Clarke, Fiona Flurket and the MacDiarmida sisters are mixed up with them, though, when you think of all the money they could have made coming in with us. As if it hadn't been bad enough with the McSwineys and Brian O'Higgins. Makes you think at times, but it's better not to think.

An Fhírinne Mhaol

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Ballina Bus

A bus is being organised from Dublin to Ballina on Sunday, May 15, for the unveiling of a memorial at which Tom Maguire will deliver an oration.

The fare is 25 shillings and intending travellers should contact Joe Clarke.

THE UNITED IRISHMAN

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Telephone 41045.

May, 1966

Is I An Phoblacht ár gcuspóir.

Presidential Election

THE forthcoming Presidential election in the Twenty-Six County State is more clearly than ever before, a political contest with each candidate supported by his respective party machine. The efforts of Mr. Eoin O'Mahony to secure nomination has shown that this, the highest constitutional office in the State, is as much a political gift as that of rate-collector. No matter what effort is made to dignify either the contest or the competitors, the result depends on the efficiency or otherwise of the respective party machinery.

For Republicans, the attitude to be adopted presents difficulties, no matter how the affair is viewed. On the one hand is Mr. de Valera, a man who has shown throughout his career a viciousness of action towards Republicans coupled with a hypocritical lip-service to the ideals for which Republicans stand, as to make him thoroughly unacceptable to those not blinded by exalted mediocrity and fence-straddling.

On the other hand is Mr. T. F. O'Higgins, one who has very little to recommend him but, also, very little to condemn him personally.

Mr. de Valera has given Republicans sufficient reasons for not supporting him in any context. Mr. O'Higgins has not, so far, given any reason for supporting him.

Fishing Rights Body Formed

THE Railway Hotel, in Eyre Square, Galway, was the venue for a meeting of Galway Bay fishermen and supporters on March 22. For once the hotel was host to men who knew the meaning of toil itself, rather than the words of songs about toil.

The National Water Restoration League was formally launched: the immediate demand is that the fishing rights for salmon in Galway Bay should be available to Galway Bay fishermen, outside the "king's mile" (a line joining points on the coast one mile from the river mouth) as is the case elsewhere in Ireland. Eamon Conneely, of Carna, said that the present regulations for salmon prevented them from fishing mullet, a plentiful fish for which there was a good continental market. Connemara fishing was confined to the short lobster season by unjust laws which were imposed in the interest of the foreign company which owned the Corrib salmon rights.

Seamus Mac Ríocaird, of Howth said that fishermen must organise, start a fund to defend their interests of so much a salmon landed. The Youghal men had done this, defending themselves against the Duke of Devonshire, hiring expert advice.

Prof. L. O Nualláin of University College, Galway, said that he supported the objectives of the League and would help in any way he could.

Columba Mac Caimhíall, legal adviser to the League, spoke briefly of the legal status of fishing rights: as rights derived by conquest, any move to regain them in the local interest was a blow for national freedom.

Seamus O Mongain spoke on the nature of co-operative organisations, the long-term objectives of the League being

* To acquire the fishing rights of the lakes, rivers, estuaries and bays of Ireland for the Irish people;

* To organise the people to make a collective demand to have the necessary legislation introduced for the purpose of acquiring these rights;

* The assets of these fisheries to be co-operatively administered for and by the local community.

Dr. Roy Johnston of the Dublin Wolfe Tone Society stated that the fact that human resources and natural resources were prevented from being brought together to produce wealth by foreign imposed laws was the measure of our progress since 1916.

Cathal Quin of Killala said that the North Mayo fishermen had the salmon rights in the sea, and had agitated and got improved rights in the estuary, but that they were still restricted by day-laws which took no account of weather conditions in the open sea.

The meeting stood for a minute's silence in memory of Pádraig O Riordáin, the late Secretary of the League (see obituary, U.I., April) who had been killed in an accident while working on League business.

A resolution was passed calling on the Minister to rescind the regulations which prevent the Galway Bay fishermen from fishing for salmon and mullet in the open sea, and for eels in the lakes. A deputation was elected to meet the Minister at an early date, after the necessary preparatory work had been done.

Michael O Ceallaigh of Galway City, presided.

The secretary of the League is Miss Ursula Grace, Lower Salthill, Galway.

POLICE BATON PEACEFUL PARADE

(Continued from page 1)

James Noel Murphy, Bridge St., Ringsend; Seamus Fagan, Windmill Park, Dublin; and Rory Scanlan, Inverness Road, Fairview.

On Friday, April 29, Michael Murphy, 17 Gardiner Place, Dublin; Desmond Hynes, 344 Cashel Road, Crumlin, and Noel Redigan, 241 O'Devanney Gardens, North Circular Rd., were each sentenced to two months' imprisonment on charges of assaulting Special Branch detectives in Cathal Brugha street the previous Wednesday night. The prosecution said that the assault took place when Special Branch detectives were taking a prisoner into custody.

Each of the prisoners claimed that they had been hounded by the police over a long period. Noel Redigan said "These men are from the political section of the Special Branch in Dublin Castle, and they have been pestering me at my home since Nelson Pillar was blown up. They have been following me and searching me, and if I stop to talk to anybody the detectives put them up against a wall and search them, without producing any identification. They have been haunting me and trying to get me on any little charge they can."

Others arrested during the week were, J. Daly of Cork, who was fined £10 on April 28 and Leo Scullion of Dublin.

On Monday, May 2, Desmond Ward, Claran Moynihan, Patrick O'Connor, Roddy Hogg and Jackie, McArdle again appeared in Court.

Desmond Ward, on the application of his solicitor, was further remanded for two weeks. Claran Moynihan, through his solicitor, applied for trial by jury and was remanded until May 25. P. O'Connor applied for and was granted a remand to May 10.

Roddy Hogg and Jackie McArdle, who were represented by Mr. Donnchadh a Lehané, solicitor, were fined 40s. and £20 respectively.

On Tuesday, May 3, Des Carmichael was sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment and fined £35; Larry Malone received 2 months' imprisonment; Anthony Murray, three months' imprisonment; Liam Boylan, 2 months; Lee Steenson, 2 months; Seamus Fagan, £2 fine.

Sympathy

Sympathy is tendered to the husband, sons and daughters of the late Mrs. Sean Hynes, Main Street, Banagher who died on Friday, April 15. Mrs. Hynes was a life long supporter of the national movement and always kept an open door for Republicans on the run.

Sympathy is extended to the Hodgins family of Blackrock on the recent death of Mrs. Hodgins.

Midlands

Police attacked lily sellers in Birr, Mullingar and Oldcastle. In all places arrests were made and sellers assaulted in the barracks. In Birr two of those arrested were seriously injured and detained in hospital after their release. In Oldcastle those arrested included a young girl.

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The memorial to the "rank and file" 1916 men in Glasnevin.

Sellers of Easter Lily Attacked

ATTACKS by 26 County police on sellers of the Easter Lily seem to have been confined to Cork and the Midlands this Easter.

Carrigtwohill

At evening Mass in Carrigtwohill, Co. Cork on Holy Thursday the local sergeant appeared to be attempting to incite trouble with the Lily sellers while the barrack yard was crowded with police drafted from Cork City, Cobh and elsewhere.

On Easter Sunday morning a force of 27 gardai and sergeants charged the Easter Lily sellers and drove them into the church. Inside Mr. Sean O h-Airtneada was assaulted by baton wielding police and suffered an ear injury.

Lily sales in the area were the highest on record.

The wreaths laid at the Republican Plot in Cobh on Easter Sunday were on inspection on Monday morning seen to have been interfered with during the night. The Easter Lilies pinned on each wreath had been removed.

Midleton

For the third year in succession East Cork was the scene of several incidents when police attempted to suppress the distribution of the Easter Lily.

In Midleton at 8.30 on Easter Sunday morning eight Lily sellers were approached by a number of police, some in civilian clothes, and told to move off. They refused.

After 10 o'clock mass sellers were again in their positions when about thirty policemen lined up across the road and to an order "draw your batons, charge" rushed the Lily sellers. The sellers were batoned to the ground. One of them, Charles Ronayne whose head was split open was brutally kicked while lying on the ground. Eventually all the sellers managed to get away. Later, selling again commenced when a large group protected the sellers.

Here again sellers were unable to satisfy the demand for lilies which was unprecedented in the area.

I.R.P.B. STATEMENT

We have been asked to release the following for publication:

"With regard to recent incidents in the 26-County State in which damage was caused to various public utilities and an injury caused to a citizen, it is felt that a definite statement is called for from the Republican Movement.

From 1954 it has been the policy of the Movement to avoid at all costs any activity which might lead to bloodshed between the servants of this state and members of the Movement. In many cases this policy has meant that heavily armed Volunteers in the border area have surrendered to the 26-County police and military rather than provoke any counter-blow which might distract the attention of the Movement from its first objective, the ridding of Ireland of foreign troops.

As a corollary to this attitude the Republican Movement has not concerned itself in the slightest way with the destruction of monuments of foreign origin, nor has the Movement aided implicitly or explicitly such demolitions. We have refused to settle for the destruction of the symbols of domination; we are interested in the destruction of the domination itself.

On one occasion only in the past twelve years has the Republican Movement engaged in hostile action within the boundaries of the 26-County State, and this action was directed against a visiting unit of the British Navy.

Nevertheless, all such pointless activity is laid at the door of the Republican Movement. In 1957 hundreds of Republicans were interned, ostensibly as the result of a raid for gelignite made on a quarry in the 26-County State. At that time, the Republican Movement, through this bureau, denied any connection with the raid. Nevertheless, this isolated action was sufficient for the introduction of internment.

In view of the present Economic difficulties facing the government of the 26 Counties, a chaotic situation which could be created by recent senseless acts would not be unavourable to the 26-County government at this time. Such a situation would

give the 26 County government an excuse to re-introduce internment without trial or Special Military Courts or other coercive measures under the Offences Against the State Act. Once introduced against Republicans it would not be difficult to apply it to other sections of the community who are at variance with the government mainly on Economic issues.

From the foregoing it should be obvious that the policy of the Republican Movement is directed solely against British Rule in Ireland and the Movement is prepared only to engage in actions against British Forces in Ireland."

(Signed) J. McGARRITY, Secretary.

An Cumann Cabhrach

AN Cumann Cabhrach has for years been maintaining the dependants of prisoners as well as dependants of Republicans killed in action.

Due to the increase in the number of prisoners there has been a considerable strain on our resources. Funds are urgently needed and subscriptions should be sent to us at 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1. Below is a list of recent subscriptions:

Dublin

T. Murnane	4 0 0
M. Kelly	4 0 0
F. Hegarty	2 0 0
E. Hawes	1 0 0
Miss M. Cullen	4 0 0
P. McNamara	10 0 0
Mrs. Daly	1 0 0
John Grogan	2 0 0
Dublin Committee	2 12 6
Office Collection	6 8 0
E. V.	6 10 0

Cork

L. Heaphy	10 0 0
Cork Collection	5 0 0
Bandon	10 0 0

Belfast

Belfast Collection	28 18 2
Anon. Andersonstown	5 0 0

London

M. Connors	1 0 0
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