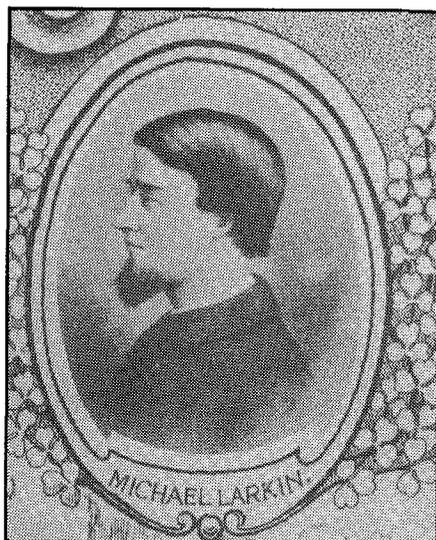
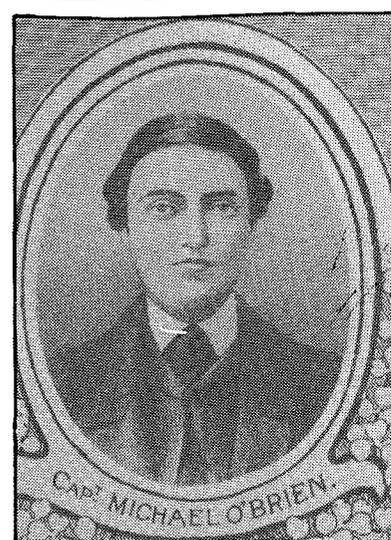




William Philip Allen, executed at Manchester following the death of Sergeant Brett in the raid on the van.



Michael Larkin, father of four children, the only married man among the three who were executed.



Michael O'Brien, formerly a lieutenant in the U.S. army and a captain in the Fenian military organisation, executed at Manchester.

Mourning the Martyrs

A study of a demonstration in Limerick City, 8.12.1867

Limerick's Fenian story in 1867 was one of high hopes at the opening of the year; of bitter disappointment in February and still more so in March; of underground survival in the months that followed; and of a most spectacular demonstration early in December. In this paper an attempt is made to examine closely and in strict chronological sequence how that December demonstration was planned in the short space of four days and carried through on 8 December to a remarkable point of success. The examination has been undertaken in order to show, with all clarity possible at this remove of time, the ideas and attitudes current among all those who were concerned in it – the people of Limerick City and the surrounding countryside; the local members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood; the police and the resident magistrate; their loyal supporters in the task of preserving law and order; and the officials in Dublin Castle whose views can be seen in their actions and reactions to the current situation.

1: Cúl

In February the Kerry bungle caused great disappointment in Limerick and hard on its heels came news of arrests¹ in the city. On the date set for the rising, Daniel Lyddy and Owen Donegan were arrested² in a house in Ellen Street.

le Breandán Mac Giolla Choille

Morale was lowered by the failure of the actions in the county and in the country generally, and by further arrests in the months after the outbreak. Then in June and July came the trials at special commission in Limerick City of the men alleged to have been implicated in the events of 5-6 March in the county, notably at Ardagh and Kilmallock³; and also the trial at Clare summer assizes of Thomas Fennell for his part in the Kilbaha affair.

Despite the tidings of defeat and relentless pursuit by law and authority, there is evidence of continuing Fenian activity. Early in July it was reported⁴ to Dublin Castle that Nicholas Corbett of Newtown Mahon and James Murphy of William Street, Limerick, a leather-cutter, were soliciting money in aid of the Fenian movement and were looked upon as leaders. There was also bad feeling, wrote the resident magistrate,⁵ between the lower classes 'who are deeply tinged with Fenianism'⁶ and the soldiers of the 74th, a Scots regiment quartered in the Castle Barracks, Limerick. The soldiers had been assaulted at night and, though no provocation on their part could be proved, it was asserted that they had called most insulting names such as 'Bloody Papists' and 'Damned Fenians'. In September a number of collisions between soldiers and civilians took place and seven Limerick men⁷ were convicted on charges arising out of the assaults

and sentenced to periods of imprisonment varying from 14 days to 2 months with hard labour. For these civilian attacks there were reprisals by the soldiers and in one of these on 21 September Thomas Childerhouse⁸ of Ellen Street was severely wounded. Indeed, things had come to such a pass that the resident magistrate became convinced⁸ that the peace of the city could not be preserved if the 74th regiment were permitted to remain. He won his point. Between 6 a.m. and 7 a.m. on 26 September the regiment quitted Limerick⁹ and were replaced by the 52nd.

The men of the new regiment were scarcely settled in when they became the victims of a bizarre Fenian ruse.¹⁰ The sentry on duty at the Castle Barracks saw two women present themselves at the entrance gate seeking permission to come in and see the place. Things were dull that day and they were admitted. It was later discovered and reported that it was a man dressed as a woman, accompanied by a real woman, who had sought and obtained the requisite permission, had gone through the barracks and the tower and had made a rather minute examination both inside and outside and then gone away. In November there were clearer signs of Fenian activity. Two or three Fenian emissaries had come to Limerick in the middle of the month; one of them was commissioned to

desire the Fenians to hold themselves in readiness for an immediate order which they might receive at any moment. It was understood that the emissary was coldly received¹¹ and was told that the local men were not in a position to make any movement as they had no arms. All of this went to corroborate the remarks of the resident magistrate¹² made on 30 October about a great anxiety in the city for the last two months to renew the Fenian excitement. But as far as the authorities were aware, no overt acts were committed by the Fenian party and the tranquility was not disturbed until feeling was aroused by the reports of the execution of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien in Manchester on 23 November.

2: Ullmhú

Like members of the organisation elsewhere, the Limerick I.R.B. followed in the national and local press the unfolding story of the arrests of Irishmen in Manchester, of the trial and conviction of five of them, and of the hanging of the three men. Three days after the executions the *Limerick Reporter and Tipperary Vindicator*¹³ informed its readers of the dismal details and carried an editorial which was prophetic in its vein:

"We fear it is but the beginning of the end. We tremble to think that the challenge which has been given by Lord Derby's Government will be accepted by the entire of the Fenian brotherhood wherever they exist; and we are likely to hear of bloody reprisals. Already we perceive by the *Irish Times* that a rumour has gone abroad that assassination Clubs have been formed by the Fenians. To this we do not give the slightest credence. A great storm is, no doubt, gathering; and England may wrap herself up in the notion that she can brave every danger that comes – but those who sow reap. We leave the application of the truism to the unerring progress of events".

The first open manifestations of public indignation at the executions were the mock funeral processions held on Sunday, 1 December 1867, in Manchester, Cork City and Bandon. Press reports of these processions were read in Limerick and by mid-week¹⁴ the idea was springing up of staging in the city on the following Sunday a similar public expression of indignation at the legalised murders in Manchester on 23 November. The intention was sufficiently well known to catch the ear of the editor of the *Limerick Chronicle*¹⁵ who in the issue of 5 December gave space to 'a kind of mysterious rumour' about a Fenian demonstration after the manner of Cork and Manchester. Scornful of the proposed wretched burlesque, he warned his readers about

the dangers of participation:

"If such an organization should be instituted by the actually disloyal, we trust that from motives of curiosity or thoughtlessness the tradesmen of the city will not be found to join in it. Already too many families have been rendered desolate through the folly of some of their members, and it should be remembered that indirect sympathy with the Manchester malefactors will necessarily bring unfortunate men under the surveillance of the police. If our suggestions are acted upon, this wretched burlesque will be contemptable (*sic*) in its insignificance".

The *Limerick Reporter*¹⁶ also carried an item about a possible demonstration and added that there were relatives of the young man Allen living in Limerick, as well as persons who remembered him well, as he had worked for a time about two years previously in the employment of a well-known builder in the city. These rumours reached the ears of the resident magistrate and on 5 December he wrote¹⁷ to Dublin Castle that a 'Fenian Funeral' was arranged to take place in the city on Sunday. So far as he could judge, there was no reason to apprehend any disturbance of the peace; nevertheless, he would take some extra precautions. His letter was passed to the chief secretary¹⁸ who noted its contents but did not comment on them.

The proposal to organize a funeral procession seems to have originated in Limerick – as in Cork the week before – among the members of the various trades in the city. After some private or informal talks, probably on Wednesday 4 December, a meeting attended by representatives of the trades in the city was called for Thursday night and it was there determined to call a larger meeting in the Mechanics' Institute, Bank Place, the following night to consider how best they could show their regret for the noble men who had been executed at Manchester.¹⁹ The meeting determined upon was announced publicly by placards and handbills posted and distributed through the city.²⁰

By all accounts²¹ the meeting convened in the Mechanics' Institute at 7 o'clock on Friday night was a large and successful one. Long before the appointed hour groups began to collect about the entrances. At the hour the room was nearly full, at a quarter past it was thronged – passage, staircase and hall were crowded, and numbers extended and congregated in a large crowd in the open space in front.²² All the thoroughfares leading to the Institute were packed by many anxious groups who had not been able to obtain admittance to the meeting, all discussing the one great subject.²³ Within the walls those present were chiefly members of the working classes

but there were also in the attendance respectable artisans, shopkeepers, shop or drapers' assistants and clerks. The proceedings were of the most orderly character from beginning to end and were mainly remarkable for their unanimity and the manifestation of bitterness which followed references to England and her laws or for the applause which greeted patriotic sentiments.

On being voted to the chair, Mr. John Maher said he felt honoured at being called upon to preside at any meeting held in the hall of the Congregated Trades of Limerick but particularly at such a respectable and patriotic one. He hoped that the patriotic trades and people of Limerick would not be behind hand in the great movement taking place throughout Ireland and they called on their fellow citizens of every rank to support them. He was ready to hear anyone who had a resolution to propose or who would cooperate with them in making the demonstration they contemplated a worthy one. As, no doubt, had been arranged the night before, John Upton²⁴ promptly proposed and Bernard Cusack seconded the resolution:

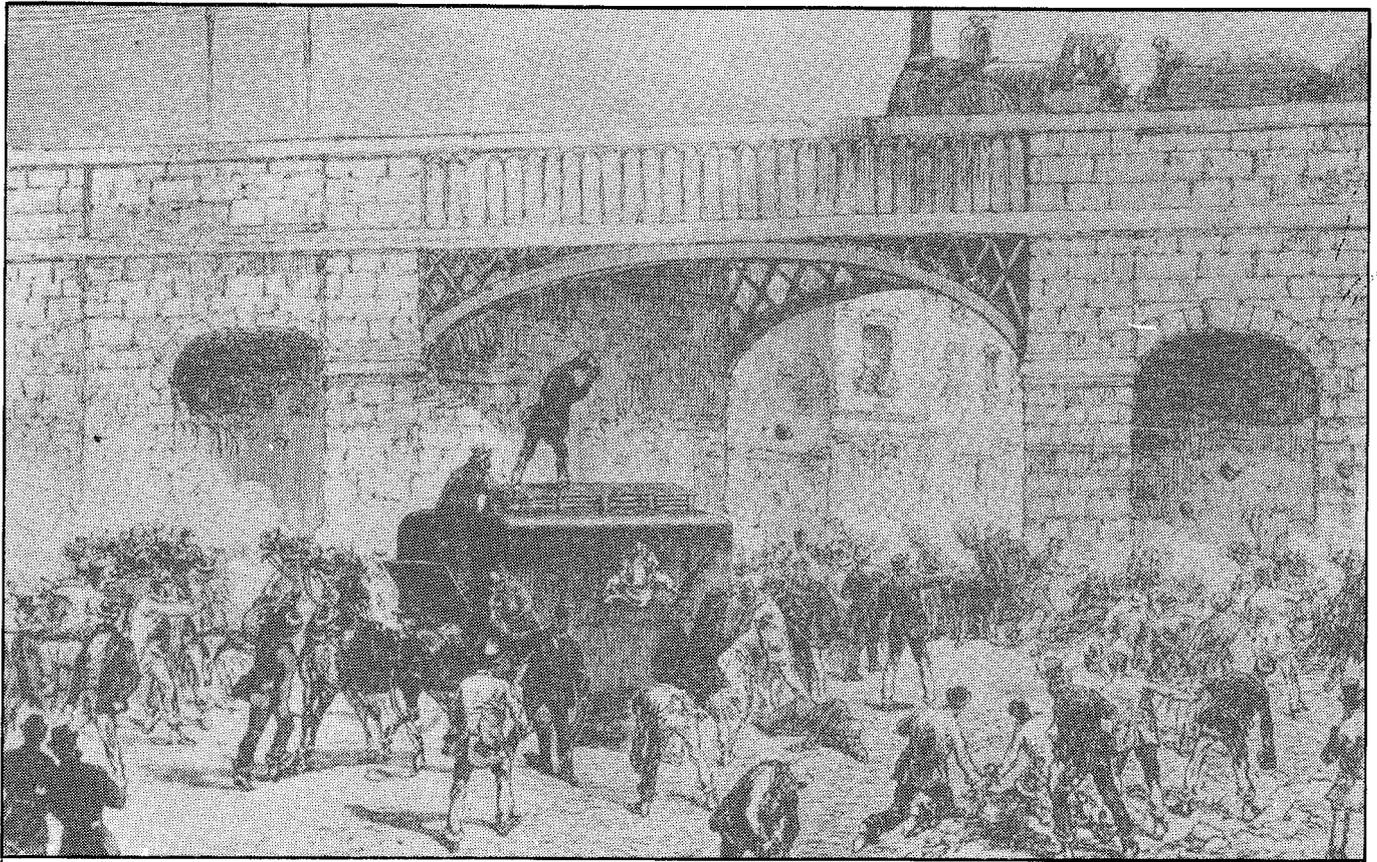
"that steps be at once taken by this large meeting to show the deep and heartfelt regret felt by all for the cruel deaths of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, as noble martyrs in the cause of poor suffering Ireland: and that the better to carry this into effect the Trades and people of Limerick march in Solemn Funeral Procession on Sunday next".

The chairman thought that the resolution was not going too far, or perhaps far enough, but under the present circumstances of the country they could go no farther. They wanted to carry on the procession legally and within the law, and no one who had a sign of drink or who was in the least disorderly should take part in it. These words were followed by cheers and the resolution then passed.

The second resolution was proposed by John Carmody²⁵ (who was to play a major role in subsequent proceedings) and seconded by John O'Keeffe.²⁶ It resolved:

"that the women of Limerick – these women whose fame and patriotism are as historic as the ancient city itself – be called on to show that the spirit of their noble-minded ancestresses yet lives in them, by cooperating with us in our movement on Sunday next".

In the course of his harangue, which was of a most violent character,²⁷ Carmody said that if the men of Limerick could meet their enemies again²⁸ on equal vantage ground he would pledge himself every man would be ready to try conclusions and be aided by the women (cheers). He trusted they would convey the substance of that resolution to their homes and that the result



The attack on the police van under the railway arch, Hyde Road, Manchester, to rescue the Fenian leaders, Colonel Kelly and Captain Deasy. The location was ever afterwards remembered as 'Fenian Arch' and the original brick archway was taken down only in recent years.

would be worthy of the people of Ireland (cheers). The chairman then explained the procession arrangements, described the emblems to be worn and announced that a subscription list to defray expenses was open.

On a proposal by John O'Keeffe, seconded by a Mr. Coleman,²⁹ Carmody took the chair and was loudly cheered. His address to the meeting, which sounded most patriotic to his audience and violently nationalistic to the police,³⁰ was punctuated by cheering. When he counselled having but 'the one fixed idea,³¹ either to emancipate themselves or be destroyed' there was vehement cheering. Although they sympathized with the dead, Carmody continued, although the record of their murder was living in their hearts, they had not died in vain, the green, the immortal green must survive the struggle with England's power, it would go down with their last breath or triumph in their liberty (tremendous cheering, the parties in the streets taking it up and responding likewise). Before concluding he advised them that they should meet on Sunday with extraordinary reserve and they should show by their conduct that the memory of the sacrifice in Manchester was deep in their bosoms and that, if England slaughtered three thousand men instead of three, she would not terrify them.³² After a vote of thanks to John Maher the meeting ended. A committee then met (sometime later than 10.30 p.m.) to

draw up a programme for the procession and once the route was fixed to arrange for the printing before morning of placards and notices.

Although the personnel of the organizing committee is not known, it can be safely assumed that among its members were some of those who were prominent at the meeting in the Mechanics' Institute. If the constabulary had been required to say who they were, one of the first names they would have mentioned would have been Jonathan Allen of Boherbuoy.³³ He had been 'arrested for fenianism in its **early stages** in tampering with soldiers and, in default of bail, was imprisoned'. As a result he had forfeited a limited pension gained for service in the army. Despite this loss and also despite the fact that for a long time he had not been employed at his profession – teaching – it was noticed that he appeared to live well. In the handbills broadcast in the city he was described as the secretary and as such was active in convening the meeting of 6 December and he made himself conspicuous in the procession itself.

Saturday, 7 December, was a busy day for all concerned; it was particularly so for the organisers of the procession and for the resident magistrate. Early in the day he had sent a message by telegraph³⁴ informing the under-secretary in Dublin Castle of the large meeting at the Mechanics' Institute, adding again that he did not apprehend

any disturbance of the peace. Later in the day he wrote and despatched a report³⁵ confirming the message telegraphed and outlining the precautions he had taken so as 'not to be unprepared for any possible disturbance'. He had requested Col. Vesey who was in command of the troops in Limerick to have all confined to barracks and ready to turn out at a moment's notice. The county inspector of constabulary had ordered in some additional men of his force from the country. Finally, instructions had been given to find out 'the most prominent persons in getting up this Fenian demonstration'.

The organizing committee spent the whole day attending to the preparations.³⁶ First of all they had to collect the printed notices which announced: the funeral procession to the memory of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien commencing at 1 p.m. on Sunday from the Mechanics' Institute; the emblems to be worn – green rosettes with a small black knot in the centre and crape hat bands, and the particular request for the strictest order. Arrangements had to be made right away for distributing the notices³⁷ as widely as possible in the short time left; for the appointment of marshals and stewards; for informing all appointees of the duties entrusted to them.

Several committee members were detailed to approach local band leaders and request them to have their musicians play at the procession.

It was soon clear that the programme had been widely distributed and enthusiastically received. Large numbers of sympathetic people began to crowd the shops and buy up rosettes, ribbon and crape. The monster-houses in the city were open all day long on Saturday serving eager customers; one shopkeeper in William Street said he netted £57.10.0 in the course of the day on the sale of rosettes and ribbons. When ribbon began to run short and could not otherwise be supplied, the pieces remaining were cut into three strips and purchased with avidity wherever they could be had. Some milliners were obliged to remain open all Saturday night and to an advanced hour on Sunday morning in order to satisfy the increasing demand. The *Limerick Reporter* pointed out that it could not be said that those who sought for ribbons, rosettes, fetters, crape, etc. were all of the poorer or more ignorant classes – 'no such thing – the execution of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien has widened the circle, if not of Fenianism, certainly of Fenian sympathizers and of those in particular who abhor legalised iniquity, no matter what shape it may assume'.

It is both interesting and amusing to see how the *Limerick Chronicle*³⁸ viewed from the opposing political standpoint the same events of Saturday. The paper reported the intention of the Fenian sympathizers of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien to make a display of their numbers on Sunday in a sort of funeral procession and to march through the thoroughfares of the city for the amusement of the public. Drapery establishments in the city were cleared out of all the old green ribbon and crape they contained which lay stored away for years. Foolish men and women had thrown away their money (hard-earned in the cold weather) and the drapers selling the stuff considerably beyond its value had made a nice penny. There were difficulties in regard to music. The instruments of the local band were in pledge in a pawn office in the Irish-town and could not be released; consequently the local Fenians were driven to getting a little temperance band from the village of Newmarket-on-Fergus, Co. Clare, to play the Dead March in Saul. The processionists would, as a wind up, drown their grief pottle deep and thus put a complete finish to the wasteful expenditure of the week's wages.

3: Mórshiúl

At Mass on Sunday morning, 8 December, priests asked their congregations to pray for the repose of the souls of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien and the request was met with strong and loud responses.³⁹ Masses were offered for their eternal repose and at St.

Michael's parish church the congregations at the 8 o'clock and 12 o'clock Masses were told that the intended procession was lawful and that the clergy saw no reason to discountenance it. After Mass little knots of people gathered to talk about the news of the day and make plans for taking part in the procession and greet friends arriving from outside the city. From an early hour the principal approach roads to the city were thronged with country people making their way on foot and thronged they remained until the procession began. It was claimed⁴⁰ that, besides those who had come from distant parts of the country the day before, there was no village within walking distance of Limerick which had not its representative present on Sunday. Indeed the vast proportion of the gathering came from the counties of Limerick and Clare.

Shortly after 1 p.m. the procession began to move off from the Mechanics' Institute. At its head was the hearse, covered with a black pall with white edging, on each side of which the names of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien appeared in large white letters⁴¹ It was drawn by six horses. The two centre horses bore plumes of black; the others plumes of white, signifying – it was held by some – that Larkin was married whereas the other two were not. Immediately following the hearse were women (about 700), schoolboys (between 300 and 400) and members of the Young Men's Society of Limerick (about 100).⁴² Next came the Boherbuoy Brass Band who, according to the *Limerick Chronicle*, were 'rasping the Dead March in Saul in strains that would pierce the nerves of a rhinoceros'. Then came the congregated trades, probably in the following order and strength.

coopers	200 ⁴³
masons	–
tobacconists or tobacco spinners	–
tailors	250
painters	about 180
bootmakers	about 200
carpenters	200
plasterers	180
sawyers	100
printers	–
bakers	200
cabinet makers	200
smiths	–
corkcutters	200
fishermen	–
butterbuyers	–
Englishtown Fife and Drum Band	
drapers assistants,	
shopkeepers,	
grocers-assistants,	1000
and clerks	
saddlers	–
butchers	–
victuallers	–
provision dealers	–
labourers and	
country people	about 1000

The procession extended for about one mile: the hearse was at Colooney Street (Military Road end) before the processionists had passed Denmark Street. The *Limerick Chronicle*, whose estimates may be too large as the paper was apparently trying to goad the lethargic officials in Dublin Castle into action, reported 11,000 marching and 20,000 spectators. The county inspector of constabulary who would be under strict obligation to make an accurate estimate thought⁴⁴ there were about 1100 boys and females, and 3000 males, 5 or 6 deep, accompanied by about 8000 people irregularly at each side, moving from the point of assembly in Bank Place to the Catholic cemetery of St. Lawrence, via the principal street.⁴⁵

From William Street the procession was led by a priest, Fr. Patrick Quaid, P.P., O'Callaghan's Mills, Co. Clare, who addressed the people assembled in the cemetery. The police had kept up a constant patrol during the day and 'except when a rather too inquisitive look was given at a hat', said the *Limerick Reporter* (too innocently), 'their conduct was marked by extreme propriety'. What the police were actually doing was taking down 'the names of several persons who took part in the procession'.⁴⁶ The gates of the Castle Barracks were closed but inside the troops were under arms all the night before and all Sunday – needlessly, as it turned out.

The demeanour of those taking part in the day's events was all that the police, magistrates, clergy and – not the least important – the organizers of the procession could have desired. In a purple patch, the *Limerick Reporter* were certain that 'never before, whether as regards numbers, respectability or intensity of feeling, did such a well-dressed and well-conducted assemblage of brave men and beautiful women parade the streets of the City of the Violated Treaty to attest what they call their deathless hatred of alien misgovernment ...' The rival local paper, while admitting that the women had turned out in their strength, noticed among them factory girls and street amazons conspicuous for their masculine forms but not the daughters of Limerick traders who 'refrained from mixing in Sunday's gathering'. Likewise the president and secretary of the Congregated Trades refused to have anything to do with it and it was due to a species of terror operated by the guilds which compelled 'the attendance of a large number of tradesmen who otherwise would not have joined in the affair'. The Tipperary contingent did not come as there were no railway trains coming from Waterford on Sundays and to that fact they were indebted for the absence of the roughs residing along the route of the Waterford-Limerick line. The country contin-

gent numbered by far the larger portion of the processionists: 'we should add that the city remained perfectly tranquil during the day and evening'. The best tributes to organisers and participants were not publicly known as they were given in reports written by the resident magistrate and the county inspector. They were all well and respectably dressed, wrote Oliver Moriarty,⁴⁷ and 'appeared to me to belong

up a prayer for the repose of their souls. You have come here without violating any law to fulfil the law of God (cheers). Return to your homes in sobriety and order. Go home peaceably, break not the laws of God or man, your enemies are watching you and there are some of them here today. Kneel down now and offer up a fervent prayer to heaven for the repose of the souls of the three men".

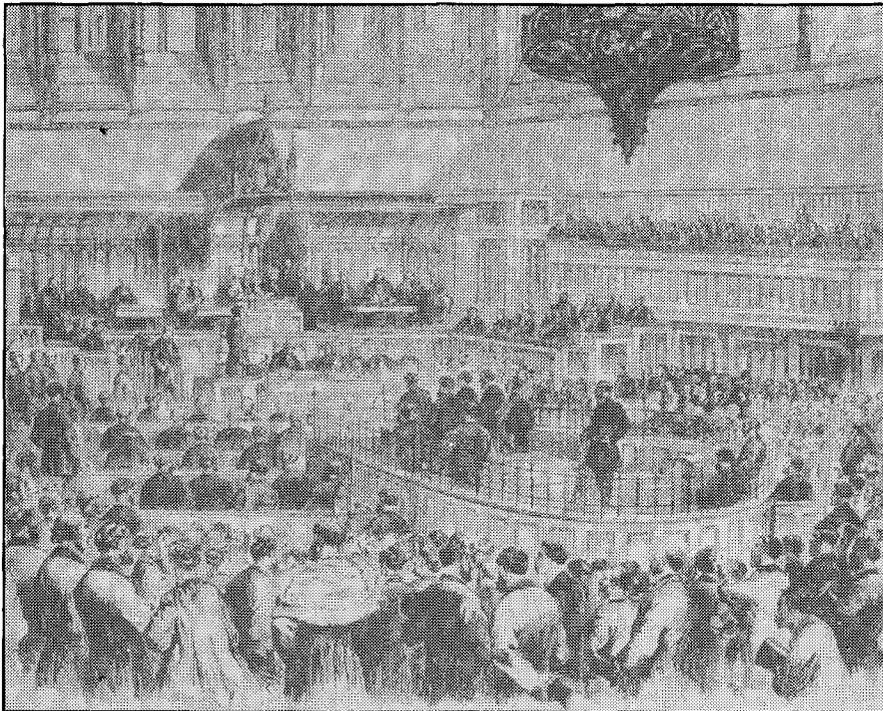
Fenian and anti-Fenians are fully agreed with the most red-hot of Fenians that Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, names which are destined to live long in the memories of the Irish people – at home and abroad – had not a fair trial, that they were sent to death for a crime of which they declared their innocence and that they did not meditate the wilful murder of any man ...".

The classification of the participants as anti-Fenians, non-Fenians and red-hot Fenians – all united in their protest against the martyrdom at Manchester – can be accepted as an accurate one. There must, of course, have been many who were simply curious enough to come to see what was happening on that Sunday afternoon but they were 'the minimum'⁵³ and were easily distinguished from the others by not wearing emblems of mourning.

How many Fenians, 'red-hot' or otherwise, took part in the procession? Of those identified by the constabulary thirty⁵⁴ – roughly 1 in 14 – were known to be Fenians. A further four can be clearly identified as Fenians and, if the standard of required certainty were lowered to admit seven cases not proved beyond all doubt, the total would be forty-one – or say, 1 in every 11 identified by the police. (It is possible that the police officers were mistaken in some of their identifications. For example, John Daly who is recorded as having been present with Edward Daly – his brother – may not have been in the country at the time.⁵⁵) Among the identified Fenians there were men who, months before the procession, had been imprisoned on suspicion of being connected with the organisation – men like Francis Donnellan who had been in custody for six months in 1866 or Daniel Synan who had been arrested after the attack on Stepside police barracks and had been released under rule of bail.⁵⁶ There are also in the return persons whose similarity of surname suggests that they may be related to arrested Fenians: two examples are (i) John Upton (No. 418) and William Upton, who took part in the rising at Ardagh and (ii) the two fishermen named Leddy, and Daniel Lyddy, butcher, who had been arrested on 5 March 1867.

About 95% of the persons identified by the police lived in the city. They represented about 14% of the estimated total number of processionists. Among them were, according to the police, ten procession leaders; as the idea of holding a procession originated (publicly, at any rate) in the city and, as the preparations had to be completed between Friday night late and Sunday morning, the ten may well be a large proportion of the total complement of active leaders and marshals. The ten identified as leaders were:

Jonathan Allen, schoolmaster



Allen, Larkin, O'Brien, Condon and Maguire on trial before the special commission at Manchester Assize Courts, November, 1867.

to a better class than I was prepared to see taking part in such a procession'. Reporting within a few hours of the termination of Sunday's proceedings, the county inspector wrote⁴⁸ that 'the majority did not belong to the city, they were very respectable in demeanour and dress, there was a complete absence of the Roughts ... all passed off peaceably, a drunken or disorderly person was not seen during the time the procession was in movement'. He also noted that almost all wore green and black rosettes.

The astute manner in which the organisers managed to stage a huge procession right through the centre of the city without mishap or misdemeanour and particularly without infringing the law was consummated in the way the day was brought to a close. When the procession reached St. Lawrence's Cemetery, Fr. Quaid took his place at a large cross to the left of the mortuary chapel and members of the organising committee called for silence. Fr. Quaid then addressed the people briefly, in words like these⁴⁹:

"I attended here today at the wish of the people to do honour to Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, who deserve this honour (cheers). I call on you to offer

All then knelt down and to the priest's prayer that the souls of the three men might rest in peace there was a fervent 'Amen'.⁵⁰ There was some cheering for Fr. Quaid and, according to one report, for the Fenians and for Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, ending with "God Save Ireland". Immediately afterwards 'the immense assemblage broke up and dispersed quietly to their homes'.⁵¹

The question arises – can this funeral procession be called with accuracy a Fenian demonstration? The question can be put in another way: did the Limerick thousands come out on 8 December 1867 to honour the three Fenians who were hanged in Manchester or did they turn out to record their protest at the flagrant injustice suffered by three Irishmen on an English gibbet? The contemporary newspapers must be pressed into service to indicate the contemporary views. On 10 December the *Limerick Reporter* had the following relevant comment:

"Whatever variety of feeling there may prevail about Fenianism and Fenians and on these subjects we have never attempted to conceal our opinions,⁵² the manifestation of Sunday could only have been the result of a supervening cause in which non-

Thomas Burke, tobacco-spinner
 John Carmody, butterbuyer
 Thomas Childerhouse, corkcutter
 Myles Egan, hatter
 Thomas Hogan, baker
 James Murphy, leathercutter
 Martin Murphy, sawyer
 James McDonnell, porter
 John O'Brien, baker

Eight of these men were Fenians and two may have been Fenians i.e. Childerhouse and Hogan. Childerhouse⁵⁷ had been attacked by the soldiers in September and received a head wound; his movements from then up to the time of the procession were not recorded by the police and consequently it is a matter for conjecture whether the blow made him a Fenian or confirmed him as one. One thing is, however, certain: on 8 December he was in fine Fenian company. The police reported Thomas Hogan as having marshalled the procession,⁵⁸ as having been very active but not *ipso nomine* a Fenian. This Thomas Hogan, baker, who lived in Henry Street, has yet to be fully identified. In the meantime it may be noted that one of Allen's sisters was married to a Mr. Hogan, a respectable clerk and book-keeper in Limerick, and that she was among the women who followed closely after the hearse.⁵⁹

It would appear, therefore, that though the proposal for the demonstration arose among the trades it was the Fenian element in their ranks who more than likely mooted the idea first and through active workers like Allen and popular figures like Carmody were able to take over the management of the procession.⁶⁰ In the sense that members of the I.R.B. probably supplied the most of the organisers, leaders and marshals it may be described as a demonstration which was led by Fenians and supported by Fenians, *inter alios*, of course. (It is abundantly clear from the reports quoted on other pages that the resident magistrate and the hostile *Limerick Chronicle* referred to and thought of it as a Fenian affair).

4: *Iarscéal*

Shortly after the crowd had dispersed on Sunday evening, the county inspector despatched a telegram to the inspector general informing him that the funeral procession had terminated and that all had passed off quietly. A copy of this telegram was sent to the under-secretary at 6.50 p.m.⁶¹ As the resident magistrate had telegraphed a message direct to the same official independently, the Castle officials could, as far as Limerick was concerned, settle down to enjoy the remaining hours of Sunday.

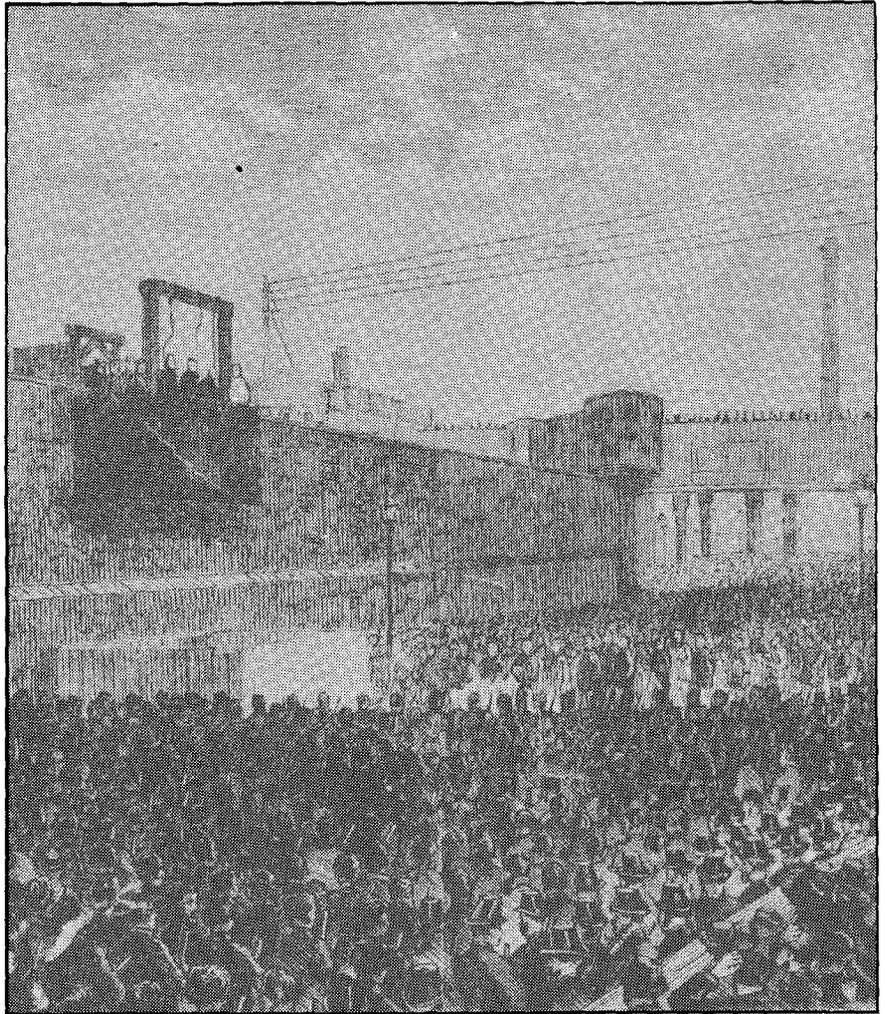
Early on Monday morning, 9 December, the county inspector's report, written the evening before, was received and forwarded by the

inspector general to the under-secretary; he passed it on to Lord Mayo without delay. The same day the resident magistrate despatched a two-page report on the procession. In the course of a report dated 10 December the county inspector observed that the principal speaker at the meeting in the Mechanics' Institute, John Carmody, butterbuyer, was a violent nationalist 'strongly suspected to be deep in the Fenian Conspiracy, he took part in the procession here on Sunday last.'⁶²

the attorney general⁶⁴ who wrote the opinion:

"I wish for a special report as to the men before whose names I have placed an X: did they wear green sashes or rosettes? Is anything known of their antecedents in connection with Fenianism? Is there any authentic report of Mr. Quaid's words and can they be proved? Is Allen still a schoolmaster? An early reply will oblige".

A Government minute was sent to that



The executions of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien at the New Bailey, Salford.

On Tuesday, 11 December, the chief secretary had before him all these papers. He approved of the police action in taking down 'the names of several persons who took part in the procession' and advised calling for a list of them. The under-secretary wrote accordingly to the inspector general who communicated with the county inspector in Limerick on 18 December. A list of persons identified was prepared and forwarded on 20 December; published with this paper it is entitled⁶³ 'City of Limerick, Return of the Names of persons who took part in the Funeral Procession here on the 8th Instant to the memory of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, Identified by the Constabulary of this District'. Next day it was submitted to

effect and the county inspector was asked to report.

In the meantime the *Limerick Chronicle*⁶⁵ continued to inquire into the aftermath of the procession and with evident glee issued a warning to the local Fenians that their Christmas might be spent in prison:

"We believe it not unlikely that the leaders of the Fenian mock funeral procession ... who are known to the police authorities here, will find themselves partaking of their Christmas dinner in other quarters than in the midst of their family circles, the Executive being perfectly acquainted with their antecedents and those who originated and carried out the arrangements of the procession".



BANK PLACE,

Letterhead of the Mechanics' Institute, Bank Place.

The same issue carried a report about a deputation of four who waited upon Dr. Butler, Roman Catholic Bishop, at his residence, Corbally, to ask him to give an order to his clergy to have an Office or Holy Mass celebrated in St. John's Cathedral for the three men; his lordship declined to comply with their request. The editor of the paper was wrong in his predictions about arrests: the leaders of the procession dined at home and things rested so until after the holidays.⁶⁶

On December 27 William Kelly, 1st sub-inspector, reported on the persons marked X⁶⁷ by the attorney general and observed that all the parties except four⁶⁸ wore green rosettes and craped tied with green ribbon. The report reached the under-secretary on 29 December.

The problem for the Executive in regard to the Limerick procession⁶⁹ was whether to take action or ignore the whole thing. Two courses of action were open – to prosecute for the part taken in the procession or to arrest the suspected persons under the provisions of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. The resident magistrate ventured the humble opinion⁷⁰ that prosecutions would not be prudent and from the observations he had heard made by the most respectable and loyal of all creeds and politics it would, he knew, be universally condemned and should end disastrously. He reminded the Castle authorities that he had suggested the issue of a warrant for the arrest of John Carmody because of what he knew of his antecedents, of the part he took in the Fenian funeral and of the seditious observations he made use of. When this opinion and other relevant papers were submitted, the attorney general did not consider⁷¹ that it would be expedient to prosecute for the Limerick funeral; he did advise, however, the issue of warrants for the arrest of John Carmody (no. 29 in the Return), James McDonnell (no. 228), and Daniel Synan (no. 397). He further observed that it would not be necessary to detain them long in custody, provided they left the country.⁷²

Lord Mayo decided to consult Moriarty and awaited his reply before taking a decision. In a private letter⁷³ to the chief secretary, the resident magistrate said he had no doubt that a warrant should issue against Carmody but not against the other two.

"Limerick is just now rather quiet owing to the want of leading Fenians – and in my opinion the best way to keep it so is to arrest and imprison from time to time such men as Carmody who I have no doubt is engaged in treasonable practices. With regard to McDonnell and Synan, I would say they should not be arrested ... I consider they are at present unworthy of notice. McDonnell is a young porter in a shop – no doubt a Fenian messenger but can have little weight or influence. Synan is a young scamp, but it is doubtful whether he is doing anything to advance Fenianism. There are others in Limerick who are much more dangerous and should I see at a further period any necessity, I will report specially as to their conduct".

Lord Mayo accepted Moriarty's views rather than those of his attorney general and confined his immediate attention to only one of the three, namely John Carmody, who was arrested on 18 January, 1868, and lodged in the county gaol where there was a military guard of forty men on duty. When it became known in the city that Carmody had been arrested, wrote the Limerick correspondent of the *Freeman*, it created a great deal of talk and 'as the rumour goes, others who made themselves conspicuous in organising the procession have fled, dreading a similar course of judicial proceeding against them, as it is abroad that others will be made amenable for whose arrest warrants are in the hands of the constabulary'. The correspondent was badly mis-informed about the warrants but he was partially correct about the arrests for within a week one other notable processionist was taken into custody. Jonathan Allen was seized in a city street,⁷⁴ handcuffed and brought to

the county gaol. On his person was found a document written in his own hand in order to gain financial assistance for the families of the Manchester Martyrs. Addressed to the working men of Limerick, it asked:

"Are the suffering, sorrowful, helpless families of the brave, generous, noble-hearted, high-minded Irish patriots to perish from the cold? Allen, Larkin and O'Brien and hundreds of others ... are suffering the tortures of the damned in British dungeons. John Martin has applied to the Irish Nation for a collection for these Irish families. Is the appeal to remain unanswered in Limerick? ... The congregated trades of Limerick are respectfully requested to convene a public meeting at the Mechanics' Institute to discuss the best method of raising a City subscription. A beginning is everything. Jonathan Allen".

A police report on the arrest was submitted to the attorney general who thought it was a case to justify a warrant. The chief secretary received his opinion on 29 January but before coming to a decision wrote⁷⁵ to Moriarty asking whether or not Allen was engaged in promoting Fenianism beyond seeking money for the families of the Manchester convicts. The resident magistrate's reply on 1 February was reminiscent of the reply given to Pontius Pilate: if he were not an active and dangerous member, we would not have asked for a warrant⁷⁶. Lord Mayo accepted the local view and caused a warrant to issue on 5 February. Allen remained in Limerick custody until 13 April when he was moved to Mountjoy Prison.

In the meantime John Carmody had found a powerful advocate in James Spaight, a justice of the peace who was a timber merchant in Limerick. Spaight wrote⁷⁷ privately to Charles F. Bourke, private secretary to the chief secretary, regretting that the wishes and feelings of local magistrates be set aside by the government and those of total strangers, comparatively ignorant of the

antecedents and characters of persons with whom they are brought into contact, be adopted. He maintained that Carmody was not connected with the Fenian organization 'beyond his drunken buckrum speech at a crowded meeting where he talked a lot of rubbish under the excitement of drink and popular applause'. The attorney general advised the reply⁷⁸ that Carmody was not arrested for his drunken buckrum speech, though it did confirm the information on which government had acted. Three days later the medical officer in Mountjoy Prison⁷⁹ reported that Carmody was under his care, since his reception, for asthma, debility and loss of appetite and that he considered continued confinement must seriously injure his health and endanger his life. Bourke wrote⁸⁰ to Spaight on 28 February informing him that his friend J. Carmody was to be released at once.

The report of the expected release was soon common knowledge in Limerick and among the Fenian party there was 'general joy and satisfaction'.⁸¹ The police were not overjoyed. They thought that Spaight, in consequence of his successful interference on Carmody's behalf, would be an especial favourite with the Fenian class in the city and they regretted Carmody's return as Fenianism was still rife. When Carmody was released from custody on 12 March the resident magistrate and the local police officers were incensed at the action of the government. In a strong letter⁸² to Dublin Castle, Moriarty complained that Spaight had betrayed the confidence which was naturally reposed in him, that he had exerted his best influence with the government to get Carmody released without communicating with the police authorities in Limerick or with himself, that he had impeached the reports respecting Carmody's complicity with Fenianism as unworthy of credit and that he had sent paragraphs to the local press on the subject. 'This is a course of proceeding, continued Moriarty, 'which I cannot help characterising as very reprehensible and which tends strongly to bring my position in Limerick and that of the Police into disrepute'. Having read this letter, Lord Mayo thought that the best reply was to regret that any misunderstanding should have arisen on Carmody's case and point out that the release was decided on grounds of health only, Mr. Spaight being informed merely as a matter of courtesy.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that correct protocol was strictly followed in the case of Jonathan Allen, the resident magistrate being consulted step by step in regard to his release on 22 June.⁸³ This was in some measure compensation for the feeling of frustration the police and resident magistrate had suffered on the release of Carmody; but it was as nothing compared with the joy and satisfaction felt



A portrait of Sir James Spaight.

by the I.R.B. and their sympathizers on the liberation of the two men made to bear the consequence of

"the most remarkable demonstration of public opinion ever witnessed by the living generation, even in a city which has been the scene of some of the most striking manifestations of national feeling that have ever taken place in Ireland".⁸⁴

5: Ceangal

1867 was a bleak year for the Fenians at home and every success that came their way was more than welcome. The organisation of the funeral processions in honour of the Manchester Martyrs on the first two Sundays of December were everywhere attended with outstanding success. The funeral processions were used by

Fenians and by Fenian sympathizers in Limerick (as has been shown, it is hoped, in this paper) and in other places to gain the utmost advantage possible from the widespread and deep-felt indignation at the treble hanging in Manchester and bring home to the masses the ideas and ideals – the Fenian ideas and ideals – for which these men were held to have died. Though not immediately and directly productive of practical political results, they nevertheless set a successful precedent for peaceful demonstration and for annual commemorations which, by uniting the highly evocative memory of three patriotic Irishmen who met cruel death in Manchester with the clear Fenian principles of separation and freedom, proved to be of powerful inspirational force by times right down to the rising of 1916.

RETURN OF PERSONS IN PROCESSION, 8.12.1867, AS IDENTIFIED BY THE POLICE

For an explanation of the compilation of the return published in the following pages, see pp. 40-41. A few changes made to facilitate the reproduction of the original return are explained in this introductory note.

In the original return 12 entries in the numbers column are prefixed by the

letter A and 24 entries are marked X; these prefixed letters are not shown in the return here published but are given in the appropriate entries in *Identification Notes*, pp. 41-43. In the original return there is a fifth column captioned *Remarks* in which are found:

(a) the name of the county in 19 entries where the place of residence is outside Limerick City (Co. Limerick in 16, Clare 2, and Tipperary 1),

or

(b) the words *leader in the procession* in 10 entries (nos. 2, 5, 29, 35, 115, 161, 225, 227, 228 and 313).

The county in (a) has been added to the address in the *place of residence* column; the leaders in (b) are indicated by an asterisk in the names column. The letter N placed after the number in the first column indicates that further information about the person is given in *Identification Notes*. These changes apart, the return here published is a copy of the document in the State Paper Office file Fenian Papers F/5030 (Police and Crime Records).

* = leader in the procession

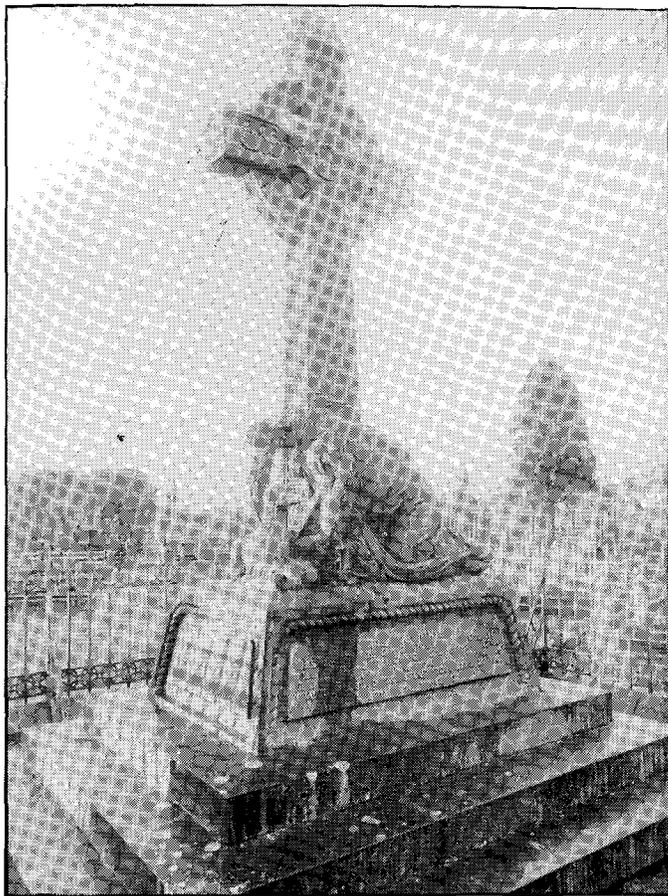
N = see this number in *Identification Notes*

CITY OF LIMERICK

Return of the Names of persons who took part in the Funeral Procession here on the 28th Instant to the Memory of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, Identified by the Constabulary of this District.

No.	Names	Occupation	Place of Residence	No.	Names	Occupation	Place of Residence
1N	Revd. Mr. Quaid	Parish Priest	O'Callaghans Mills, County Clare	51	Michael Coffey	Broker	Back Clare Street
2N	Jonathan Allen*	Schoolmaster	Boherboy	52	John Connell	Hawker	John Street
3	James Airy	Porter	Hoggs Lane	53	Edward Connell	Grocers Assistant	Georges Street
4	William Ahern	Mason	Ballally Lane	54	John Crowe	Flour Merchant	Treaty Terrace
5N	Thomas Burke*	Tobacco spinner	Mary Street	55N	John F. Creagh	Bookkeeper	Osmington Terrace
6	Edward Barrett	Shoemaker	Mary Street	56	Patrick Carmody	Tailor	Patrick Street
7N	Patrick Brazill	Clerk	Sexton Street	57	Patrick Coleman	Clerk	Rutland Street
8N	John Bourke	Clerk	Athlunkard Street	58	Michael Cusack	Painter	Cecil Street
9	James Blackwell	Butcher	Thomas Street	59	Joseph Cassidy	Pawn Brokers Asst.	Cashel, County Tipperary
10	George Barry	Publican &c	William Street	60	John Connell	Baker	Duggan's Row
11	John G. Bowler	Pawnbroker	Nicholas Street	61	William Cronin	Clerk	William Street
12	Henry Barton	Shoemaker	Sir Harry's Mall	62	John Cross	Shop Assistant	John Street
13	Joseph Barton	Shoemaker	Sir Harry's Mall	63	Timothy Coughy	Clerk	Rutland Street
14	Patrick Boland	Moulder	Westland Street	64	John Carr	Tobacconist	Rutland Street
15	Patrick Burns	Carter of Bread	Mount Kennett Mills	65	John Carney	Biscuit Maker	Charlotts Quay
16	Stephen Bourke	Shoemaker	Mary Street	66	John Carter	Smith	Queen Street
17N	Mathew Brennan	Publican &c	Patrick Street	67	Thomas Connors	Pigbuyer	Athlunkard Street
18	David Butler	Harness Maker	Chapel Street	68	John Cronin	Clerk	William Street
19	Thomas Blake	Cooper	Denmark Street	69	P.J. Carrig	Upholsterer	Wickham Street
20	William Burke	Butcher	Denmark Street	70N	William Carroll	Farmer	Lodge, County Limerick
21	David Begley	Grocers Assistant	William Street	71	Cornelius Casey	Broker	Cornwalles Street
22N	Patrick Bourke	Clerk	Athlunkard Street	72	Michael Casey	Broker	Cornwalles Street
23N	Nicholas Bennett	Clerk	Wickham Street	73	Robert Cummins	Shoemaker	Robert Street
24	Edmond Blackwell	Butcher	Bedford Row	74	John Carthy	Railway Porter	Gouldavoher, County Limerick
25	James Bourke	Engine Fitter	Mary Street	75N	Maurice Casey	Broker	Cornwalles Street
26	Thomas Bridgeman	Laborer	Foynes, Co. Limerick	76	John Costello	Cooper	Kellys Range
27	James Brien	Clerk	Boherboy	77	Michael Coughlan	Clerk	Summer Street
28	John Baggott	Farmer	Baunacloha, Co. Limerick	78	Michael Clanchy	Musician	The Island
29N	John Carmody*	Butterbuyer	Anne Street	79	James Daly	Butcher	Mary Street
30	James Coffey	Broker	Back Clare Street	80	John Doherty	Mason	Athlunkard Street
31	James Coleman	Pigbuyer	The Abbey	81N	Thomas Dooley	Mason	John Street
32	Patrick Clancy	Fisherman	The Abbey	82	John Doherty	Mason	The Abbey
33	Michael Clancy	Fisherman	The Abbey	83	John Donohoe	Clerk	Mungret Street
34	David Cronin	Cabinet Maker	Charlotts Quay	84N	Edward Daly	Lathsplitter	Pennywell
35N	Thomas Childerhouse*	Corkcutter	Ellen Street	85	John Daly	Lathsplitter	Pennywell
36	Patrick Cavanagh	Tobacco Spinner	Creagh Lane	86	Patrick Donovan	Corkcutter	Back Clare Street
37	John Cruise	Printer	Back Clare Street	87	Michael Davis	Smith	Carr Street
38	James Collins	Cooper	Georges Street	88	John Dinneen	Laborer	Mary Street
39	John Casey	Shoemaker	Windmill Street	89	Daniel Dunworth	Baker	Catherine Street
40	Joseph Cusack	Moulder	Henry Street	90	James Daly	Laborer	Mary Street
41	Patrick Cahill	Clerk	Careys Road	91	John Dunne	Packer	Edward Street
42	Timothy Cooney	Gasfitter	Back Queen Street	92	Michael Dwyer	Shoemaker	Charlotts Quay
43	John Connell	Laborer	Halls Lane	93	John Dwyer	Shoemaker	Charlotts Quay
44	William Clohessy	Stonecutter	Myles Lane	94N	Frank Donnellan	Publican	Killealy
45	Denis Connolly	Stonecutter	Carey's Road	95	Edward Dowd	Shoemaker	Mary Street
46	Patrick Carey	Shoemaker	Edward Street	96	Michael Daly	Painter	Boherboy
47	David Cronin	Mason	Charlotts Quay	97	Cornelius Donohoe	Clerk	Vises Fields
48	Patrick Cronin	Mason	Charlotts Quay	98N	Michael Donohoe	Porter	Island Road
49	Patrick Coleman	Pigbuyer	Athlunkard Street	99	Michael Dalton	Shoemaker	William Street
50N	John Clancy	Fisherman	Athlunkard Street	100	Timothy Dalton	Shoemaker	William Street

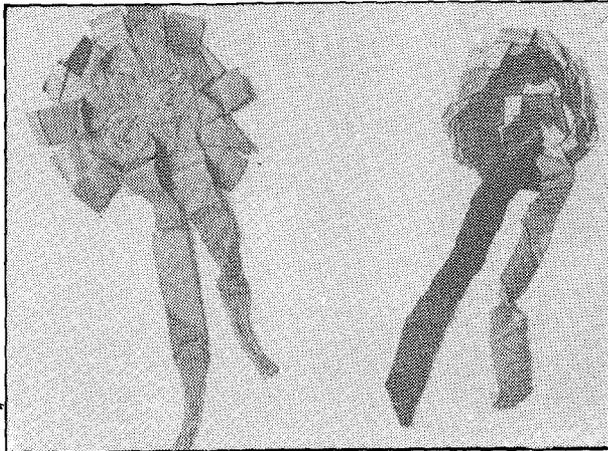
No.	Names	Occupation	Place of Residence	No.	Names	Occupation	Place of Residence
101	Thomas Donovan	Tailor	Cunninghams Lane	174N	Michael Hayes	Tailor	Cornwalles Street
102N	Cornelius Daily	Clerk	Thomas Street	175	Denis Hayes	Tailor	Cornwalles Street
103	Edward Daily	Broker	Clare Street	176	Martin Hughes	None	Little William Street
104	Edward Dunne	Draper	William Street	177	Patrick Hennessy	Clerk	Catherine Street
105	Michael Donnellan	Clerk	Brunswick Street	178	John Hogan	Clerk	Chapel Street
106	Patrick Daily	Painter	Careys Road	179	Cornelius Hogan	Broker	Sexton Street
107	James Davis	Mason	Ellen Street	180	Michael Heffernan	Clerk	Blackboy
108	William Daily	Hawker	Quins Lane	181	William Hanrahan	Pigbuyer	Nelson Street
109	John Davis	Mason	Nicholas Street	182	John Hennessy	Clerk	Dominick Street
110	Michael Donnelly	Pawnbrokers Asst.	Nicholas Street	183	George Hughes	Drapers Asst.	William Street
111	Michael Dwyer	Cooper	Kellys Range	184	Patrick Hasset	Butcher	Market Ally
112	Michael Doody	Clerk	Summer Street	185N	Michael Hayes	Shoemaker	Clare Street
113	James Dooley	Brush Maker	Irishtown	186	Patrick Hartigan	Fisherman	Athlunkard Street
114	Patrick Downey	Baker	Broad Street	187	John Hennessy	Shoemaker	John Street
115N	Myles Egan*	Hatter	Mary Street	188	William Hayes	Shopkeeper	William Street
116N	John Earls	Baker	Broad Street	189	William Hannan	Publican	Upper William Street
117	Timothy Egan	Musician	Dixons Lane	190	John Hayes	Carpenter	Mulgrave Street
118	John Ebrill	Woolbuyer	Thomas Street	191N	Michael Hayes	Engine Driver	Clonglong
119	Thomas Egan	Musician	Dixons Lane	192N	James Ives	Tailor	Nelson Street
120	John Egan	Clerk	Military Walk	193	James Jackson	Baker	Edward Street
121	John Egan	Cardriver	Denmark Street	194	John Kelly	Butcher	Thomas Street
122	Robert Edwards	Slater	Cabbage Market	195	Edward Kelly	Butcher	Bedford Row
123	Thomas Egan	Shoemaker	Mary Street	196	John Kennedy	Pigbuyer	Mungret Street
124N	Mick Frawley	Publican	Athlunkard Street	197	James Kearney	Pawnbroker	Nicholas Street
125	John Fennessy	Shoemaker	John Street	198	John Kelly	Shoemaker	Garryowen
126	James Farrell	Tailor	Careys Road	199	Patrick Keys	Pilot	Welesley Bridge
127	John Fitzgerald	Tailor	Athlunkard Street	200	Morty King	Smith	Whitewine Lane
128	Michael Fitzgibbon	Clerk	Mount Kennett	201	Michael Kavanagh	Painter	Bridge Street
129	Patrick Fitzgerald	Tailor	Athlunkard Street	202	John Kelly	Shoemaker	Garveys Lane
130	Francis Fleming	Umbrella Maker	Anne Street	203	Patrick Kelly	Shoemaker	Garveys Lane
131	Joseph Fleming	Umbrella Maker	Anne Street	204	Patrick Kelly	Publican	Thomond Row
132	Patrick Farrell	Store Man	Mulgrave Street	205	Joseph Kelly	Publican's Son	Thomond Row
133	Patrick Feathers	Cardriver	Broad Street	206	John Kelly	Butcher	Charlotts Quay
134N	Austin Fitzgerald	Clerk	Boherbuoy	207N	Michael Kelly	Sec. to Teetotal Society	Cunninghams Lane
135	James Farrell	Drapers Assistant	George Street	208	Edward Kirby	Printer & Stationer	Patrick Street
136	John Frost	Shoemaker	High Street	209	Charles Kirby	Printer	Patrick Street
137	James Fitzgibbon	Tailor	Colloney Street	210	Patrick Kelly	Butcher	Thomas Street
138	Patrick Fleming	Umbrella Maker	Anne Street	211	James Killen	Gasfitter	Roches Street
139	John Farrell	Laborer	Mulgrave Street	212	Patrick Kennedy	Carpenter	Clare Street
140	Joseph Gallagher	Clerk	Mary Street	213	Timothy Leacy	Pigbuyer	The Abbey
141	Joseph Godsill	Baker	Careys Road	214	George Leddy	Fisherman	The Abbey
142	Patrick Gleeson	Pigbuyer	Nicholas Street	215	James Leddy	Fisherman	The Abbey
143N	William Gleeson	None	Thomas Street	216	Edward Long	Sailor	Windmill Street
144	Michael Gleeson	Smith	Cornwalles Street	217	William Lysaght	Shoemaker	Back Clare Street
145	John Gully	Mason	Gully Lane	218N	Cornelius Lyons	Tailor	Coloney Street
146	Michael Gilligan	Pigbuyer	Athlunkard Street	219	Thomas Lunney	Tailor	Summer Street
147	John Gilligan	Pigbuyer	Island Road	220	Francis Lally	Billiard Marker	Catherine Street
148	John Goggin	Draper	Thomond Gate	221	James Leary	Porter	Irishtown
149N	James Gavin	Painter	High Road	222	William Lane	Butcher	Roches Street
150	Maurice Galvin	Draper	William Street	223	John Looney	Tailor	Summer Street
151	Michael Gleeson	Pigbuyer	Nicholas Street	224	James Leonard	Cork Cutter	The Green
152	John Gready	Drapers Assistant	George Street	225N	James Murphy*	Leather Cutter	William Street
153	Patrick Green	Draper	William Street	226N	Michael Morrison	Draper & c	William Street
154	Daniel Gleeson	Cooper	Chapel Street	227N	Martin Murphy*	Sawyer	Mungret Street
155	Andrew Griffin	Bacon Cutter	The Green	228N	James McDonnell*	Porter	Bridge Street
156	Michael Griffin	Clerk	Denmark Street	229	John Meade	Clerk	Upper William Street
157	Cornelius Hogan	Pigbuyer	Nicholas Street	230	John Malley	Carpenter	Catherine Street
158	Peter Hartney	Pigbuyer	The Abbey	231	Patrick Mack	Fisherman	The Abbey
159	Martin Hartigan	Fisherman	The Abbey	232	Patrick Meehan	Fisherman	The Abbey
160	James Hayes	Baker	The Abbey	233	Patrick McMahon Sr.	Mason	Nicholas Street
161N	Thomas Hogan*	Baker	Henry Street	234	Patrick McMahon Jr.	Mason	Nicholas Street
162	Michael Hehir	Shoemaker	Nicholas Street	235	Patrick McKerins	Shoemaker	Thomond Gate
163	John Hinchy	Porter	Watergate	236	Patrick McNamara	Builder	Thomond Gate
164	Michael Hanifin	Carpenter	Newcastle, Co. Limerick	237	Michael McAdams	Cooper	Summer Street
165	William Hill	Tailor	Edward Street	238N	Peter Meehan	Cabinet Maker	Creagh Lane
166	Michael Hanrahan	Broker	Sexton Street	239	Maurice McCarthy	Marine Str. Keeper	Mungret Street
167	Thomas Hayes	Carman	Dixons Lane	240	John Meade	Mason	Garryowen
168	Michael Hilliard	Carman	Curry Lane	241	John McInerney	Sawyer	Clare Street
169	Daniel Hourigan	Photographer	Limerick	242	John Meany	Shopkeeper	Broad Street
170N	Michael Hayes	Slater	Flag Lane	243	John Murphy	Pawnbrokers Clerk	Georges Quay
171	Jeremiah Heffernan	Clerk	Blackboy	244	Nicholas Meehan	Pawnbrokers Clerk	Georges Quay
172	Robert Hanly	Clerk	Nicholas Street	245	John Maley	Carpenter	Vises Fields
173	John Hill	Tailor	Edward Street	246	Charles Maguire	Carman	Edward Street



The Manchester Martyrs' memorial at Mount St. Laurence Cemetery.

No.	Names	Occupation	Place of Residence
247	Bryan McDonagh	Shopboy	Clare Street
248	John McMahon	Mason	Nicholas Street
249N	Thomas Moloney	Broker	Cornwallis Street
250	Martin McNamara	Tailor	Edward Street
251	Mathew McNamara	Tailor	Ballally Lane
252	Anthony McDonagh	None	Clare Street
253	Thomas McCormack	Butcher	Roches Street
254	Michael Moloney	Pigbuyer	Nelson Street
255	Patrick McDonnell	Laborer	Bridge Street
256	John McDonnell	Shopkeeper	Mungret Street
257	Patrick Moroney	Carpenter	Island Road
258	Thomas McCormack	Laborer	Mary Street
259	Cornelius Madden	Painter	Kilkee, County Clare
260N	Patrick McDonnell	Porter	Bridge Street
261N	John Mulchair	Medical Student	Henry Street
262	James McNamara	Cork Cutter	Thomond Gate
263	Denis McCormack	Cooper	High Street
264N	Michael McMahon	Engineer	Thomond Row
265	Duke McNamara	Shoemaker	High Road
266	Michael McNamara	Printer	New Road
267	Michael McMahon	Mason	Nicholas Street
268	Francis McMahon	Provision Merchant	Nicholas Street
269	William McMahon	Clerk	Ellen Street
270	William Morrison	Draper	William Street
271	Patrick McMahon	Mason	High Road
272N	James Manning	Tailor	Edward Street
273	Henry Mathews	Tailor	Mungret Street
274	Timothy Murnane	Laborer	Cahirconlish, County Limerick
275	Edward Mullins	Timber Merchant	Carr Street
276	William Murphy	Tobacco Spinner	Boherbuoy
277N	George Mannix	Billiard Marker	Market Ally
278	William McCoy	Grocers Clerk	William Street
279	James Murphy	Clerk	Georges Quay
280	Owen McCarthy	Marine Str. Keeper	Mungret Street
281N	James Mara	Bacon Merchant	Roches Street
282	William Murphy	Clerk	The Mall

No.	Names	Occupation	Place of Residence
283	Patrick Mulcahy	Carpenter	Roxboro Road
284	Berd McSweeney	Shoemaker	Nelson Street
285	Patrick Mullins	Cardriver	Careys Road
286	Edward Mullins	Clerk	Dixons Lane
287	John McDonagh	Publican	Catherine Street
288	Richard Morrison	Carver	Rutland Street
289	Michael Murphy	Sawyer	Broad Street
290	Patrick Mannix	Billiard Maker	Market Ally
291	Richard McMahon	Farmer	Mountpelier, Co. Limerick
292	Thomas Molowney	Hostler	Brunswick Street
293	J.F. Molony	Telegraph Clerk	Mary Street
294	Patrick McCarthy	Tailor	Boherbuoy
295	Michael Moriarty	Laborer	Wickham Street
296N	Thadeus Molony	Telegraph Clerk	Mary Street
297N	John Maher	Carpenter	Limerick
298	John McCarthy	Ropemaker	The Green
299	William McCoy	Farmer	Loughill, Co. Limerick
300	John Mulcaire	Farmer	Shanagolden, Co. Limerick
301	Jeremiah Mulcaire	Farmer	Shanagolden, Co. Limerick
302	John Nestor	Cutler	George Street
303	William Newman	Talor	Thomas Street
304	Thomas Newman	Tailor	Roden Street
305	William Neylan	Painter	Ballally Lane
306N	John Nash	Lettercarrier	Edward Street
307	Joseph Nestor	Cutler	Georges St.
308	Mathew Nevil	Shoemaker	New Road
309	Michael Nash	Carpenter	Irishtown
310	Frederick Newman	Tailor	Military Walk
311	John Nash	Carpenter	Henry Street
312	Thomas Noonan	Fitter	Catherine Street
313N	John O'Brien*	Baker	Mary Street
314	Thomas O'Brien	Flour Dealer	Mary Street
315	John O'Brien	Clothier	Mary Street
316	Edward O'Doud	Shoemaker	Mary Street
317	Thomas O'Neill	Grocer	Chapel Street
318	John O'Brien	Pigbuyer	The Abbey
319N	John Organ	Clerk	Anne Street
320	Thomas O'Connor	Pigbuyer	Sandmall
321	Charles O'Connor	Pigbuyer	Sandmall
322	Thomas O'Connor	Publican	Athlunkard Street
323	Michael O'Brien	Laborer	Newcastle, Co. Limerick
324	John O'Donnell	Presser	Edward Street
325	Michael O'Donnell	Mason	Coloney Street
326	Jeremiah O'Donnell	Clerk	Ellen Street
327	John O'Brien	Pigbuyer	Cornwallis Street
328N	Andrew O'Meara	Bacon Merchant	Roches Street
329	John O'Brien	Clerk	Cunninghams Lane
330	John O'Brien	Drapers Assistant	New Road
331	Michael O'Brien	Pigbuyer	The Abbey
332	John O'Brien	Butter Buyer	Cornwallis Street
333	Nicholas O'Donohue	Clerk	Queen Street
334	James O'Brien	Clerk	Dixons Lane
335	Owen O'Malley	Shoemaker	Clare Street
336	James O'Brien	Timber Merchant	Robert Street
337	John O'Keeffe	Shopkeeper	Francis Street
338	John O'Sullivan	Clerk	William Street
339	James O'Connor	Shopkeeper	William Street
340	Thomas O'Keeffe	Mason	Gouldavoher, Co. Limerick
341	Mathew O'Brien	Tailor	Ballyneety, Co. Limerick
342	Denis O'Leary	Porter	Flag Lane
343N	John Pender	Pawnbrokers Clerk	Bridge Street
344	Richard Punch	Pigbuyer	The Abbey
345	Edward Power	Fisherman	Market Ally
346N	Edward Pender	Baker	Mungret Street
347	Michael Punch	Publican	New Street
348N	Thomas Parker	Newsvender	Limerick
349	William Purtill	Pigbuyer	Island Road
350	Austin Purcell	Carpenter	Boherbuoy
351N	James Power	Clerk	Mulgrave Street
352	William Power	Clerk	William Street



Rosettes worn during the procession.

No.	Names	Occupation	Place of Residence
353	Patrick Punch	Pigbuyer	Athlunkard Street
354	Thomas Power	Clerk	Denmark Street
355	Lawrence Patterson	Clerk	Wickham Street
356	Thomas Perce	Shoemaker	Arthurs Quay
357	Patrick Phelan	Laborer	Irishtown
358	William Power	Cooper	Kellys Range
359	Maurice Power	Cooper	Kellys Range
360	Patrick Quilty	Signal Man	Clonlong
361	William Quigley	Clerk	Bank Place
362	John Quilty	Railway Porter	Sexton Street
363	Edward Quinn	Cooper & Publican	New Road
364	Edward Quinlevan	Draper	Georges Street
365	Denis Quintan	Publican	Playhouse Lane
366	Thomas Ryan	Publican	Broadstreet
367	John Ryan	Tobacco Spinner	Creagh Lane
368	John Ryan	Bill Poster	Creagh Lane
369	John Ryan	Clothier	Charlotts Quay
370	James Redden	Carpenter	Careys Road
371	Timothy Rourke	Carman	Rosbrien, Co. Limerick
372	Michael Ryan	Sawyer	Nelson Street
373	James Ryan	Bookbinder	New Street
374	Edward Redmond	Clerk	Ellen Street
375	Michael Ryan	Clothier	Charlotts Quay
376	Denis Ryan	Draper	Chapel Street
377	Michael Ryan	Clothier	William Street
378	Edward Ryan	Printer	Denmark Street
379	Michael Roberts	None	Roches Street
380N	Thomas Ryan	Bill Poster	Francis Street
381	James Ryan	Printer	Denmark Street
382	William Ryan	Publican	Upper William Street
383	John Rourke	Butcher	Denmark Street
384	James Redden	Carpenter	Boherbuoy
385	John Rourke	Cardriver	Rosbrien, Co. Limerick
386	Thomas Ryan	Cooper	Denmark Street
387	John Sheehy	Publican	John Street
388	Stephen Scanlan	Butcher	Nicholas Street
389	John Sheehan	Pigbuyer	Nicholas Street
390	John Sheehan	Basket Maker	Georges Quay
391	Jeremiah Sullivan	Glazier	Windmill Lane
392	Michael Sullivan	Plumber	Windmill Lane
393	John Slattery	Laborer	Mungret Street
394	William Sullivan	Laborer	Halls Lane
395	John Sheehan	Butcher	Nelson Street
396N	William Sheehan	Pigbuyer	Saint Mary's Place
397N	Daniel Synan	Medical Student	Georges Street
398	Barthw Stackpool	Clerk at Chapel	North Strand
399	James Shaughnessy	Sailor	North Strand
400	John Shaughnessy	Sailor	North Strand
401N	Michael Sheahan	Pigbuyer	Nelson Street
402	Michael Sugrue	Draper	William Street
403	Timothy Sugrue	Draper	William Street
404	Michael Sheehy	Grocer	Athlunkard Street
405	John Sergeant	Taylor	Ellen Street
406N	Denis Sullivan	Shoemaker	Cornwalles Street

No.	Names	Occupation	Place of Residence
407	George Seymour	Nailor	Nelson Street
408	Daniel Scanlan	Draper	William Street
409	William Slattery	Pigbuyer	Mulgrave Street
410	Michael Toohy	Draper	Georges Street
411	Edward Tobin	Shop Assistant	William Street
412	John Torpy	Waiter	Georges Street
413	John Tompkins	Shoemaker	Patrick Street
414	William Taylor	Tailor	Boherboy
415	Richard Taylor	Tailor	Lady Lane
416	John Thorpy	Porter	Myles Lane
417	James Terry	Painter	Anne Street
418	John Upton	Painter	Clare Street
419	Patrick White	Carpenter	Broad Street
420	John Warren	Carpenter	Broad Street
421	Michael Walsh	Grocers Assistant	Broad Street
422	John Warren	Sivemaker	Mungret Street
423	Michael Walsh	Shoemaker	Windmill Lane
424	John Wall	None	Nicholas Street
425	John White	Tailor	Whites Lane
426	John White	Carpenter	Broad Street
427	Martin White	Smith	Boherbuoy
428	Cornelius O'Brien	Cooper	High Street
429	Patrick Kissane	Shoemaker	Clare Street
430	James Bourke	Carpenter	Reeves Path
431	Patrick Reordan	Shopkeeper	William Street
432	James Keane	Tailor	Frederick Street
433	Joseph Banks	Mason	New Road
434	Daird (?David) Birkley	Grocers Assistant	William Street
435	James O'Donnell	Grocers Assistant	Patrick Street
436	Michael Donohue	Clerk	Playhouse Lane
437	Thomas Quinlivan	Smith	Mountpelier, Co. Limerick

W. KELLY
1 Sub-Inspector
Limerick 20 December 1867

EDWARD HILL, Esq
Co. Insp.

ANALYSIS

As the number of processionists identified by the police was comparatively small (representing about 14.6% of the approximate total of 3000 or possibly about 1/3 of the city contingent) it would not be wise to attach too much importance to any analysis made of the information in the return. With that cautionary proviso accepted, an analysis was made of:

- 1) the number of Fenians among the persons identified;
- 2) the occupations of persons identified; and
- 3) the geographical distribution or addresses of persons identified.

The results are given below and also some tentative conclusions drawn.

NUMBER OF FENIANS

Total number of processionists identified by police	437
Number the police thought were of worst Fenian character*	12
Number the police thought were of strong Fenian sympathies	18
Others now identifiable as Fenians	5
Total	35 (8%)
Total of all persons with Fenian connection as shown in Identification Notes (see pp. 41-43)	41 (9.4%)
Total number of procession leaders identified by police	10
Total number of these Fenians numbered	8
Total number of persons of worst Fenian character' only 1 was a leader	1

Tentative conclusion: though probably a minority in the total number of processionists, the Fenians had a large share (if not a controlling share) in leading the demonstration in Limerick.

OCCUPATIONS

The most numerous occupations among those identified by the police were:-

clerks	46
shoemakers	33
tailors	28
pigbuyers	25
masons	18
carpenters	17
drapers or drapers' assistants	16
publicans	14
butchers	14
coopers	12
labourers	13
fishermen	10
bakers	10

Occupations of procession leaders

bakers
a butterbuyer, a corkcutter, a hatter, a leathercutter, a porter, a sawyer, a schoolmaster, and a tobacco-spinner.

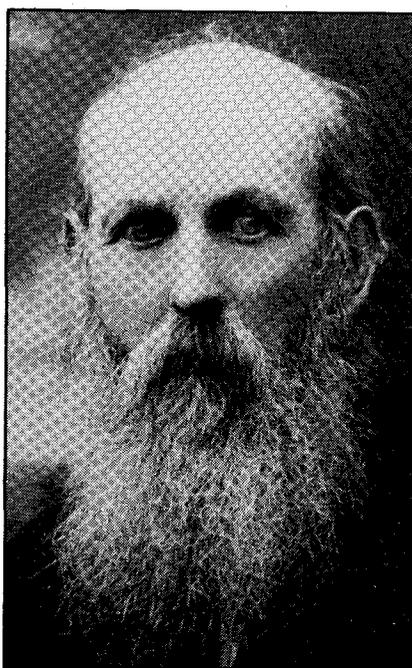
Occupations of persons 'of worst Fenian character'

baker 3
tailors 3
a clerk, a draper, an engineer, a letter-carrier, a mason and a porter.

Occupations of identified persons living outside the City

farmers 6
labourers 3
carman or cardriver 2
a carpenter, a mason, a painter, a pawnbroker's assistant, a parish priest, a railway porter, a smith and a tailor.

Tentative conclusions: The vast majority of the identified persons were clerks, shop people and men in a wide variety of trades and callings. With the exception of the tailors and to a lesser extent the bakers, the leaders of the procession did not represent the most numerous trades or occupations and were probably more representative of Fenian circles than of the trades concerned. Those from the country were mostly farmers or labourers but in their case presence at the procession was due solely to political outlook.



The Fenian, John Daly.

Nos. by streets (most numerous)

William Street	29
Mary Street	16
Nicholas Street	16
The Abbey	15
Athlunkard Street	14
Clare Street	12
Mungret Street	11
Edward Street	10
Boherbuoy	10
Cornwallis Street	10

Comment: Of the procession leaders 3 lived in Mary Street and one in Anne Street, Ridge Street, Boherbuoy, Ellen Street, Henry Street, Mungret Street and William Street. Of the 12 persons 'of worst Fenian character' only 2 lived in the same street (Edward Street) but 1 is found in each of the following streets in which procession leaders lived: Mary, Mungret and William Streets and Boherbuoy.

Tentative conclusions: The majority of the processionists came from places outside the city and the local police were able to recognise very few of them - 19 in all. Of the city streets and places, William Street, Mary Street and Boherbuoy seem to have contributed most in men and leaders.

IDENTIFICATION NOTES GENERAL PURPOSE: IDENTIFICATION OF FENIANS

The 437 names in the police return were examined in order to determine the extent to which Fenians participated in the procession in honour of the Manchester Martyrs in Limerick City on 8 December 1867.

Using the state papers and to a limited extent printed sources, some identification details were found for 57 persons in the return and with little or no doubt 34 of them may be taken to be Fenians. For the purposes of this article it was not deemed necessary to attempt an exhaustive search into the remaining 380 names. Such a search would more properly fall within the province of the local historian whose knowledge of families and addresses in 1867 Limerick could be used to great advantage.

One problem for the 'stranger' which the local historian might solve with less difficulty may be stated. In the return, persons with addresses in Limerick City (and some outside it) have the same surnames as persons in the county who were either suspected generally of Fenianism or more particularly of participation in the events of 5-6 March 1867. A few examples may be given to illustrate the point:

Thomas Bridgeman, Foynes, No. 26 in the return - a 'small Bridgeman' was thought to have taken part in the attack on Ardagh police barrack.

John Upton, No. 418 - William Upton, concerned in the same attack.

Thomas Quinlivan, No. 437 - Daniel Quinlivan, Ashgrove, blacksmith, was committed to Limerick county goal on 15 March 1867.

William Purtill, No. 349 - Edward Purtill, Castleconnell, returned from Liverpool 'quite a stranger, no money'.

The problem is to determine the relationship, if any, in these cases of similarity in the surname. In cases where the relationship was beyond doubt the details are included in the notes below.

It is hoped that the details given in these notes may be of assistance to historians of Fenianism in Limerick City and County and that further studies into the unidentified names may be undertaken.



An armband worn during the procession.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

Persons identified who lived outside Limerick City	19
Persons identified who lived in Limerick County	16
Persons identified who lived in Co. Clare	2
Persons identified who lived in Co. Tipperary	1
Persons identified who lived in Limerick City	18

ABBREVIATIONS

A A person 'of the worst Fenian character.' (See note 81 for fuller explanation).

X Persons in the return about whom the attorney-general requested a report. (Fuller explanation given on p. 32).

CSO registered papers. The correspondence and papers received day by day in the Chief Secretary's Office, Dublin Castle, were entered into the register for the year (or portion of the year) and were given the numbers allotted to them in the register – hence the name and method of citation (year/number). In this, the largest record group in the State Paper Office, there are registers, indexes to the registers, and registered papers for the years 1818-1924.

F.P. F Papers, 1866-74, State Paper Office, volume = 14 cartons or about 9 cubic feet. These papers are part of Fenian Papers 1857-83; for details see the State Paper Office inventory to *Police and Crime Records, 1848-1920*.

HCSA Abstracts of cases under Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, 3 MS vols., (pages numbered 1-577 in vol. i; 1-653 in vol. ii; 1-67 in vol. iii). Arranged alphabetically under the names of the persons arrested or for whom warrants under the act were issued; each volume has its own index to these names. See also the final sentence under the abbreviation *Index*.

Index A MS volume in the State Paper Office entitled *Fenianism, Index of names*, circa 1865-71 in which the names of persons arrested or suspected of Fenianism are given in semi-dictionary order; it contains 910 pages and about 5,000 names.

This volume and the 3 HCSA vols. are part of *Irish Crimes Records 1848-1920*, details of which are to be found in the State Paper Office inventory to *Police and Crime Records, 1848-1920*.

JD Recollections of John Daly (see note 85), published in *Irish Freedom*, commencing in February 1912.

Táim buíoch d'Éamonn de hÓir, Coimisiún na Logainneacha, a chuir ar fáil dom as a chuid nótaí féin na tagairtí i dtaobh mhuintir Uí Dhá' a'gh agus daoine eile i Luimneach a bhfuil an nod JD ag gabhá 1 leo.

MM Reference is made to the person in *Mourning the Martyrs*, pp. 29-36.

NOTES

1. 'Marched at the head of the procession and spoke ... at the cemetery, he made himself specially conspicuous, his acts can be fully proved' – F.P. 1566 R. MM.
2. Arrested in Limerick on 25 January 1868 and lodged in Limerick county gaol. Transferred to Mountjoy prison on 13 April and to Kilmainham gaol on 4 June. Released on his own recognizance, 22 June 1868. Reporting his arrest the sub-inspector, R.I.C., at Limerick said: that he had an appeal written by himself to the trades of Limerick for money for the families of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien; that he had been imprisoned for six months for tampering with soldiers; that 'he is a schoolmaster and has no employment for some time'; that he had taken 'a prominent position in the late funeral procession and is an active agent' – Account based on HCSA, iii, p. 5 and F.P. 1566 R. Marked X in return. MM.
3. 'Continually in company with reputed Fenians; has been closely watched by the constabulary but has escaped detection' – F.P. 1566 R. Marked X in return. MM.
4. 'Has been long looked upon as a Fenian; he was arrested upon an information of having been

engaged in making ball cartridges etc., and was in gaol under Lord Lieutenant's warrant' – F.P. 1966 R. Head of the Fenians there (Limerick), gone to Dublin to be book-keeper to Mr. James Murray (of Limerick) at 137 Thomas St., Oct. 1871 ... is in boot department Todd Burns & Co.'s, Oct. 1871 – Index, p. 40. HCSA, i, p. 67 has Matt Brazill, Kilfinnane, land surveyor, an active member of the Fenian Society in 1866 who was seen driving about the country with other suspected Fenians at night and with Capt. Dunne and other reputed Fenians about Kilmallock. JD says he worked in Kilmallock but moved to the city when the arrests (probably under HCSA) began, lived with his brother Patrick (then a manager in O'Callaghan's Tannery), helped in the arsenal committee in Limerick circa 1865-66, fled to America after the rising but returned after the amnesty. JD also says that Patrick B. played a large part in the Fenian reorganisation in Limerick, 1869. Marked X in return.

8. 'Information was had against him for collecting money for Fenian purposes – we have every reason to believe he is actively engaged in the conspiracy' – F.P. 1566 R. 'Supposed active agent, B, 30 Nov. 1866' Index, p. 32. Surname and occupation given as Burke, a market clerk, in F.P. 1566 R. Marked X in return.
17. Arrested in Limerick and lodged in Limerick county gaol on 20 Feb. 1866; released on 9 April on substantial bail. Reporting his arrest the county inspector said that he was the centre for Annacotty (Castleconnell district) and that several well-known Fenians were wont to meet at his house. He is described as a publican – Account based on HCSA, i, p. 72. Prominent Fenians who met in his house were 'Luby, James O'Connor (*Irish People*), David Murphy (head centre for Limerick) and others' – F. 349 on F.P. 1615 R. JD mentions Matt Brennan, Patrick St., grocer, as a Fenian in 1869, a splendid fellow, arrested 1865/66. For a memorial signed by Brennan and, amongst others, by the mayor, several J.P.'s, town commissioners and two parish priests, see CSO registered paper 1866/15835.
22. 'Brother of John Burke, man of like character and Fenian habits, recently returned from America' – F.P. 1566 R. 'Keeps company of active members' – Index, p. 33. Marked X in return.
23. 'Was not till recently supposed to be a Fenian' – F.P. 1566 R. Marked X in return.
29. Warrant, issued 15 Jan. 1868, addressed to sub-inspector Kelly and governor, Limerick county gaol. Arrested 18 Jan. Transferred to Mountjoy prison on 5 Feb. and released on 13 Mar. Kelly reported that he was a known dangerous Fenian travelling about buying butter and promoting Fenianism and had been disaffected for the last twenty years. County inspector Hill reported that Carmody was the principal speaker at a meeting held for the purpose of arranging about the funeral procession of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien and spoke 'violently' – Account based on HCSA, iii, p. 8. Marked X in return. MM.
35. 'Took a leading part in the procession tho' not previously suspected to be of Fenian propensities' – F.P. 1566 R. Sub-inspector William Kelly may have forgotten or may have failed to see the relevance of the report of an outrage submitted to the resident magistrate at Limerick on 22 Sept. 1867. The previous night, he reported, 'a party of the 74th Regiment, stationed at the Castle Barracks, attacked some civilians who were sauntering about the corners in Bridge St., who fled in every direction pursued by the soldiers ... the party of the 74th consisted of about 20 men ... the soldiers rushed into some of the public houses where they assaulted

some ... persons and broke some windows' – CSO registered paper 1867/18054. Among those injured by the soldiers was Thomas Childerhouse, who received a severe cut on the head. (The names of the others injured may be of interest; they were William Lahiff, a barber, John Merner or? Werner, a carman, Richard Johnston, a bailiff, and Edward Keating, a labourer). The military authorities in Limerick contended that the collision 'arose with the people themselves, and not with the soldiers' and in the spring 1867 the officer commanding the 74th Highlanders at Limerick pointed out that 'the lower orders of the town who are deeply tinged with Fenianism were very much indisposed against the 74th Highlanders because they are chiefly composed of Scotchmen, of whose hostility to their evil designs they felt assured'. The outcome of the incident was the removal of the regiment from Limerick to Dublin, 26 Sept. 1867. Childerhouse marked X in return. MM.

50. This man may be the John Clanchy, Limerick, labourer, arrested and lodged in the county gaol, 16 Mar. 1867 and released on 23 March – Index, p. 115.
55. 'Marched with the procession but wore no emblems' – F.P. 1566 R. Marked X in return.
70. Index, p. 97 has a William Carroll, Kilmallock, who became a crown witness in 1867.
75. A man of this name described as a whitesmith or locksmith from Rathkeale was arrested on 27 Feb. 1866, lodged in Limerick gaol and released on 20 June. The sub-inspector at Rathkeale reported: 'he is a prominent Fenian and a very handy smith etc.; he is 20 years of age, of a smooth face and no whiskers.' – Account based on HCSA, i, p. 147.
81. He was a person 'of the worst Fenian character and actively engaged in promoting the conspiracy' – sub-inspector William Kelly to county inspector E. Hill, Limerick, 27 Dec. 1867. Persons to whom Kelly thought this description applied are marked A in the return; they are nos. 81, 98, 116, 134, 192, 208 (recte 218), 226, 264, 272, 306, 313, and 346 – F.P. 1566 R.
84. Index, p. 199 has Edward Daly, Hammond (*sic*) Gate, lathsplitter, committed to Limerick county gaol on 12 Mar. and discharged on 23 Mar. 1867. Apparently no. 84 – (i) the father of Edward Daly who was executed in 1916 and (ii) the brother of John Daly (no. 85 q.v.) – nota le hÉamonn de hÓir. MM.
85. Index, p. 194 has 'James and John Daly, lathsplitters, Limerick, leaders in putting down Tenant Right meeting in Limerick, 1 Nov. 1869.' JD, uncle of Edward Daly 1916, was a lathsplitter and lived in Pennywell. His account is summarised here – with a party of 30 or 40 from Limerick set out to take part in the rising at Kilmallock, began walking there when the cars to take them failed to turn up, were late for the fighting, spent several days on the Limerick-Tipperary border, JD returned to the city and went into hiding, escaped in a ship bound for Liverpool and from London sailed to America where he arrived in June 1867, remained there until after the amnesty in 1869. (Subsequently JD was in prison, 1884-96, was on supreme council of I.R.B., elected M.P. for Limerick while in prison and later mayor of Limerick. He died in 1916).
If JD's account is correct, he was in America at the time of the procession. His dating might be due to faulty memory or his inclusion in the return may be due to mistaken identity on the part of the police. Cf. James Daly, no. 90. (See also note 225 for Nicholas Corbett who admitted JD into the organisation, *Irish Freedom*, Feb. 1912, p. 5) MM.
94. Arrested 20 Feb. 1866, lodged in Limerick county gaol, transferred to Mountjoy prison and discharged on bail 24 Aug. 1866. The county inspector reported that he was a publican and mechanic in the employment of

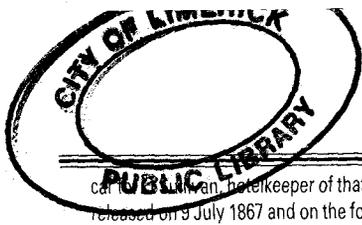
- Messrs. Russell, was a centre in the Confederacy, several meetings were held in his house which were attended by Colonel Byron, and harboured Capt. Dunne, Col. Byron and Cleary. While in Limerick gaol he had on the night of 25 Mar. a conversation with John Lysaght who was in an adjoining cell. The conversation was overheard by the governor and one of his officers and the county inspector was satisfied it went far to confirm that Donnellan 'was at the time of his arrest a most active member of the Fenian Confederacy'. The county inspector recalled that his public house, which is situated in the suburbs of the city, was the great rendezvous of Col. Byron and the Fenian Brotherhood when they were no longer able to meet in the city unobserved. Both Donnellan and his brother-in-law Michael Hasset, also in prison, were most dangerous men - Account based on HCSA, u, p. 300; CSO registered paper 1866/15835; and F.P. 1566R and 1615R. Marked X in return. MM.
98. Marked A in return - see note on no. 81.
102. This may be Cornelius Daily, shopman, who was arrested on 20 Feb. 1866, lodged in Limerick county gaol and discharged on bail on 28 July 1866. The county inspector at Limerick reported that he was a clerk in a hardware shop, was a centre and a very active member of the Confederacy who attended all the important meetings in the city and was present in O'Brien's where cartridge making was taught - Account based on HCSA, i, p. 259. In the Index, p. 193, he is described as a 'B' and a book-keeper. In F.P. 1615R he is given as Cornelius Daly, William St., clerk in a hardware shop.
115. 'Is a reputed Fenian and supposed to be very busy in the propagation of Fenianism: he does not work at any trade and is continually in Fenian company' - F.P. 1566R (surname given as Eagan). Marked X in return. MM.
116. Marked A in return - see note on no. 81.
124. 'Marched in procession but not a reputed Fenian' - F.P. 1566R. Marked X in return.
134. Marked A in return - see note on no. 81. JD refers to a Gus Fitzgerald who was employed in Todd's Counting House and was very active after the rising.
143. 'Is son of the city coroner, is a dissipated young man, addicted to drink and keeps Fenian company, he wore crape and green ribbon in the procession' - F.P. 1566R. Marked X in return.
149. Index, p. 315, has a Michael Gavan, Limerick, house painter, arrested for Fenianism.
161. 'Marshal'd the procession and was specially active in promoting it' - F.P. 1566R. Marked X in return. MM.
170. 174, 185, 191 F.P., F. 2470, refers to Michael Hayes, Limerick, bakerley(?) trade, as 'one of most prominent Fenians in City'.
192. Marked A in return - see note on no. 81.
207. 'Not known as a reputed Fenian' - F.P. 1566 R. Marked X in return.
208. (recte 218) Cornelius Lyons. Marked A in return - see note on no. 81.
225. 'Is an active Fenian and used every means here and in Cork some time ago to collect money for the Brotherhood' - F.P. 1566 R. Index, p. 572, has 'boasts of being a Fenian, query, same was employed at Fenian Headquarters in New York'. Mentioned by JD as a leather merchant, very active in the Fenians before the rising and prominent after it.
- Nicholas Corbett, Newtown Mahon, and Murphy were reported on 2 July 1867 to be 'continually together traversing this City and its suburbs soliciting parties for money in aid of the Fenian movement and for the support of Fenian families. From their general movements they are looked upon by the Constabulary as being leaders of Fenianism' - F.P. 1615R. Marked X in return. MM.
226. Marked A in return - see note on no. 81.
227. A foreman sawyer, arrested and lodged in Limerick county gaol on 11 Dec. 1866 and discharged on bail on

- 18 Jan. 1867. The sub-inspector at Limerick reported on 30 Nov. 1866 that he was employed in an extensive concern and had 'a good many men under him and is an active agent in the conspiracy. All the men employed along with Murphy are under his control and has plenty of money at his disposal. He was seen in the company with reputed Fenians. While in prison the Trades of Limerick submitted a memorial praying for his release which was forwarded by the lord mayor, 17 Jan. 1867 - Account based on HCSA, ii, p. 214B. At a meeting prior to the procession he was its chairman - F.P. 1566 R. Marked X in return. MM.
228. 'Is a very active agent, busily engaged at present, he is a specially dangerous character, he was suspected to have been one of those who attacked the Constabulary barrack at Emly, he is believed to be a Fenian messenger'. - F.P. 1566 R. JD (*Irish Freedom*, (Feb. 1912) says he was the 'nephew of a very popular old British magistrate who was father of the present William McDonnell, the Conservative margarine manufacturer in the city of Limerick'. Marked X in return. MM.
238. A Peter Meehan was convicted for an assault on two soldiers of the 74th Regiment at Mathew Bridge on 20 Sept. 1867 and was sentenced to 14 days at hard labour. On Meehan's conviction both soldiers were hooted by the crowd outside the court - CSO registered paper 1867/18054.
249. This may be Thomas Moloney, ships chandler and iron-monger's assistant, Dublin, arrested and lodged in Mountjoy prison on 30 Nov. 1866 (for whom a memorial signed by a number of R.C. clergymen and others of Limerick was sent to Lord Naas by Wm. Monsell, M.P., Limerick Co., on 14 April 1867), discharged on bail 15 May. He was probably the Thos. Moloney, late of Limerick, who had been a clerk in a pawnbroker's establishment there and was described as a well-known Fenian staying in Dublin with the son of Haltigan (? = the printer of the *Irish People*) - Account based on HCSA, ii, pp. 175 and 177.
260. This may be Patrick McDonnell, Limerick, porter, who 'has attended meetings, supposed head centre, committed to Co. Limerick gaol 23 March and discharged 4 April 1867' - Index, p. 609.
261. 'recently returned from America, is a reputed Fenian continually seen in company with them'; he 'wore green ribbon only in procession'. F.P. 1566 R. Marked X in return.
264. Marked A in return - see note on no. 81. Arrested and lodged in Limerick county gaol in 15 Feb. 1867 and discharged 15 May 1867. In his house were found some newspapers of extreme views and a book containing photographs of the Fenian leaders. He was said to be a maker of the Greek fire. His wife was 'receiving a weekly allowance out of the funds raised among them for the support of Fenian prisoners' - Account based on HCSA, ii, p. 296.
272. Marked A in return - see note on no. 81.
277. In F.P. 1615R there is a George Mannix, Military Walk, Limerick, publican and attorney's clerk, who was suspected of treasonable practices and arrested on 20 Feb. 1866; he was reported as having drilled Fenians behind his house and having been in the Pope's Brigade (i.e. in Italy, 1860). Though the details of address and occupation are different, the identity in name and surname prompt the question is this one and the same person.
281. Grandfather of James O'Mara, 1873-1948, Sinn Féin director of elections in 1918, whose family had a bacon factory in Roche's Street. JD mentions James O'Mara, provision merchant, who served on a committee to collect money for relatives of political prisoners circa 1870.
296. 'was continually in company with known Fenians before being employed in the telegraph office in Cork' and 'wore crape and green ribbon' in the procession. Marked X in return.
297. A John Maher was chairman of the Mechanics' Institute

- meeting, Limerick, 6 Dec. 1867, to arrange for the funeral procession on the following Sunday. MM.
306. Marked A in return - see note on no. 81.
313. Marked A in return - see note on no. 81. Arrested and lodged in Limerick county gaol on 11 Dec. 1866, he was discharged on bail on 18 Jan. 1867. The sub-inspector at Limerick reported that he was actively engaged in organising the conspiracy and was arrested for tearing down a proclamation - Account based on HCSA, ii, p. 344B. MM.
319. 'brother [?] religious], conspicuous leader in putting down Tenant Right meeting, Limerick, 1 Nov. 1869' - Index, p. 735.
328. 'not known as a Fenian, though he marched in the procession, keeps a large bacon shop and yard' - F.P. 1566 R. MM. (This man was not a relative of James O'Mara, no. 281 - ED.).
343. Arrested and lodged in Limerick county gaol on 11 Dec. 1866, discharged 8 Feb. 1867. The sub-inspector at Limerick reported that he was a very active agent and supposed to be head centre (*sic*) of a circle - Account based on HCSA, ii, p. 438B.
346. Marked A in return - see note on no. 81.
348. 'not suspected as a Fenian and may have been in the procession to gain popularity' and 'wore crape and green ribbon' - F.P. 1566 R. Marked X in return.
351. Arrested and lodged in Limerick county gaol on 20 Feb. 1866 and discharged on 7 July 1866. The county inspector reported that he attended all Fenian meetings of importance held in the City and lectures at O'Brien's public house where cartridge making was taught - Account based on HCSA, ii, p. 441.
380. JD mentions him as a Fenian in Limerick after the rising.
396. JD mentions William Sheehan, a large cattle dealer, who served on a committee in 1870 to collect money for relatives of political prisoners.
397. 'Was arrested at Tallaght on 6 March last. There is no doubt but he is promoting Fenianism, he is almost constantly out at night through the City' - F.P. 1566 R. At the Dublin special commission in April 1867 Constable John McIlwaine's sworn informations were produced in which he attested that Daniel J. Synam (*sic* in one but Synon in another information) was one of the party which attacked the Stepside police barrack on the morning of the sixth of March and that he marched along with the insurgents. Marked X in return. MM.
401. and 406 On 17 Sept. 1867 Michael Skeahan and Denis Sullivan were convicted of an assault on soldiers of the 74th Regiment and sentenced to two months at hard labour (CSO registered paper 1867/18054); these may be the persons in the return.

FOOTNOTES

1. Among these were: on 15th Feb. Michael and Thomas McMahon, John J. Healy, Henry St., cigar-maker, Joseph H. Lawlor and Michael Murphy (the last three having come from America); on 4 March Michael Hayes and James McDonnell (not person mentioned on p.38). According to J.W. Channer, sub-inspector of constabulary who died 20 April 1867, the six most prominent Fenians in the city on 19 Feb. were: Denis Grimes (son to a tobacconist in William St.), James McDonnell (clerk to the Market Trustees), John Murray (shoemaker, Thomas St.), Thomas Fitzgerald (clerk to Market Trustees), Timothy Donnellan (carder at Russell's factory) and Michael Hayes (bakerley? trade).
2. Lyddy is described as formerly a reputed centre for Limerick, returned from America, who on release sailed for America, 13 March 1868 - HCSA, ii, p. 116B (for explanation of HCSA see abbreviations on p. 00). Donegan is described as driver of the Kilmallock



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- can be an hotelkeeper of that place. He was released on 9 July 1867 and on the following day all the houses in the town were decorated with evergreens and an arch of green boughs erected across the street at the Old Castle – HCSA, i, p. 298B. The connection between the city Fenians and the rising in Kilmallock is obvious.
3. For the names of the people arrested and charged in connection with these events see elsewhere in this article (pp. 31-33).
 4. F.P. 1615R (for explanation of F.P. see abbreviations on p. 37). Corbett had been eight months in prison in 1866 and for some months before his second arrest, on 11 July 1867, he had 'been acting somewhat in the capacity of centre for Limerick'. He was released on 19 March 1868. For Murphy, see *Identification Notes* (pp. 41-43) entry no. 225.
 5. CSO registered paper 1867/18054 (for explanation of CSO see abbreviations on p. 37). The resident magistrate was Oliver Moriarty (brother of the famed anti-Fenian bishop, said John Daly), appointed 14 Oct. 1857.
 6. See *Identification Notes*, entry no. 35.
 7. Source as in footnote 5. The names are: Joseph Flahavan, Michael Conway, Denis Frealey? Michael Skeahan, Thomas Burns?, Denis Sullivan and Peter Meehan. John and James Irwin were convicted for an assault on a soldier on 2 June 1867.
 8. 22 Sept. – CSO registered paper 1867/18054 (16661).
 9. They fared little better after their transfer: by Oct. 2 they were complaining that they had already suffered a systematic series of insults and even assaults by the people of Dublin – CSO registered paper 1867/21655.
 10. CSO registered paper 1867/21910.
 11. There may have been a number of reasons for this. The members of the IRB in Limerick, as elsewhere, were divided in their allegiance to the rival leaders (Col. Thomas Kelly and James Stephens; Presidents Roberts and Savage of the Fenian Brotherhood in the USA). If the emissary had come to win the local men over to a re-acceptance of David Murphy as head centre, he would have met considerable opposition.
 12. F.P. 1615R.
 13. 26 Nov. 1867. In this paper the shorter title *Limerick Reporter* and in the footnotes the abbreviation LR (denoting the issue of 10 Dec. 1867, if no other date is given) are used.
 14. Probably on Wednesday, 4 Dec.
 15. Abbreviation LC is used in the footnotes (denoting the issue of 10 Dec., if no other date is given).
 16. LR, 6 Dec. 1867.
 17. F.P. F 5030 (CSO registered paper 1867/22213).
 18. Lord Naas, created Earl of Mayo, 1867, appointed (for 3rd time in post) chief secretary 10 July 1866 – J.L.J. Hughes, "The Chief Secretaries in Ireland", *Jr. Hist. Studies*, viii, no. 29 (March 1952). He read Moriarty's letter on 7 Dec.
 19. *Munster News*, 7 Dec. 1867. Martin Murphy (see p. 121, entry no. 227) may have been chairman of meeting on 5 Dec.
 20. LR, 7 Dec. 1867. The attitude of the paper can be seen clearly in the reporting, e.g. for *distributed* the paper has *hawked*.
 21. Four accounts – in *Munster News*, LR, LC, and in a letter, Moriarty to under-secretary, Dublin Castle, 7 Dec. 1867 F.P. 5030 (CSO registered paper 1867/21448).
 23. LR.
 24. See Return (pp. 37-40), entry no. 418.
 25. *Ibid.*, entry no. 29.
 26. *Ibid.*, possibly = entry no. 337.
 27. LC, 7 Dec. 1867.
 28. Probably a reference to the rising of 5-6 March.
 29. In the Return three persons are so surnamed – nos. 31, 49, & 57.
 30. F.P. 1566R (F 4897), county inspector Edward Hill to the inspector general, Col. J. Stewart Wood (appointed 8 May 1865), 10 Dec. 1867. For Hill's career see footnote 48.
 31. LC, 7 Dec. 1867. A different version appeared in the *Munster News* (same date): 'And if the opportunity arose, let them have fixity of purpose, one resolve, one idea, and let them emancipate entirely or totally destroy (continued cheering).'
 32. *Munster News*, 7 Dec. In LC, 7 Dec., his words were reported as follows: 'They would show by their demeanour the sacredness of the cause in which they were assembled and by their conduct show their determination that instead of three there were three thousand men to follow in their footsteps'.
 33. F.P. 2903R. William Kelly, sub-inspector, to E. Hill, county inspector, 25 Jan. 1868 (735R). For their careers see footnote 48.
 34. F.P. F 5030 (CSO registered paper 1867/21360). Submitted to chief secretary on Dec. 8 (note – he worked on Sunday).
 35. *Ibid.* (CSO registered paper 1867/214448).
 36. LR.
 37. F.P. F 5030 – a printed placard is annexed to the report.
 38. LC, 7 Dec. 1867.
 39. LR.
 40. *Ibid.*
 41. F.P. F 5030 (F 4874, report of county inspector) and LR.
 42. Nos. from report mentioned in footnote 41.
 43. Nos. from LR & LC. Total = 3,910 (see also footnote 44). Of the saddlers, butchers, victuallers and provision dealers, LR says 'another body of trades who do not belong to the Mechanics' Institute.'
 44. Nos. from report mentioned in footnote 41. Total = 4,100, which agrees generally with total in footnote 43.
 45. According to LR the route (variations from notice in F.P., F, 5030 are given in parenthesis) was: Bank Place, Rutland St., Patrick St., George St., Military Rd. (Crescent), Colooney St., Boherbuoy, Wickham St., High St., Mungret St., Broad St., The Englishtown (Mary St.), over Thomond Bridge (by the Treaty Stone), N. Strand, Wellesley Bridge, William St., and St. Lawrence's Cemetery (New Cemetery).
 46. Report of county inspector mentioned in footnote 41. Lord Mayo wrote *right* opposite this observation. For names see return, pp. 37-40.
 47. F.P. 5030 (report 11 Dec., CSO registered paper 1867/21495).
 48. Report mentioned in footnote 41. Edward Hill entered the constabulary service in 1835 and was promoted sub-inspector (1st) in 1848) and county inspector (1st) 1 April 1865. William Kelly was appointed sub-inspector (1st) in 1824.
 49. Three reports of his words (LR, LC and county inspector's report already quoted) were examined. This 'speech' was reconstructed from the words and ideas common to them.
 50. LR.
 51. Report mentioned in footnote 41.
 52. In same issue the editorial pointed out: 'We are not Fenians, nor anything like it, but we feel and think like others who have witnessed these new movements.'
 53. LR.
 54. For these figures and others quoted here see *Analysis*, pp. 40-41 and *Identification Notes*, pp. 41-43.
 55. See *Identification Notes*, entries nos. 84-85.
 56. Jonathan Allen (p. 200) was another. For case of F. Donnellan, see CSO registered paper 1866/15835.
 57. See ante p. 174 and *Identification Notes*, entry no. 35.
 58. F.P. 1566R (F 5118, Wm. Kelly, sub-inspector, to E. Hill, county inspector, 27 Dec. 1867).
 59. LR.
 60. That there may have been a 'take-over' is supported to a limited extent by the numbers given in the *Analysis*, pp. 40-41, where it can be seen that the procession leaders did not come, with two possible exceptions, from the trades most prominent among the identified persons.
 61. F.P. F5030 is the general source for documents used in writing this paragraph, except the quotation (see footnote 62).
 62. F.P. 1566R (F. 4897, report to inspector general).
 63. F.P. F 5030. Manuscript, 9 pp., foolscap size.
 64. Report R. Warren.
 65. 17 Dec. 1867.
 66. LR, 24 Dec. 1867, reported a month's mind Mass at Newcastle West at which Very Rev. Dr. Synan, P.P., V.F., presided (cf. Daniel Synan, Return, no. 397) and also a long and interesting Declaration of the Roman Catholic Clergy (3 cols.).
 67. In the return they are nos. 1, 2, 5, 7-8, 22-23, 29, 35, 55, 94, 115, 124, 143, 161, 207, 225, 227-228, 261, 296, 328, 348, & 397. Kelly's report is F.P. 1566R (F5118).
 68. *Ibid.*, nos. 55, 261, 296 & 348 (q.v. for details).
 69. This had to be discussed as part of a larger matter, there having been other processions on 1 Dec. and 8 Dec. (John Martin was prosecuted after the Dublin procession), and others were planned for later in the month which were not successful due to government action and possibly to the dampening effect of the Clerkenwell explosion.
 70. F.P. 1566R (CSO registered paper 1868/252, dated 8 Jan.).
 71. *Ibid.*, 10 Jan.
 72. This was standard official practice for treating persons suspected of Fenianism and arrested under the provisions of the Habeas Corpus Suspension (Ireland) Act, i.e. get them to go to England or America, particularly in cases where the person had been there.
 73. Written on the correspondence paper of The Limerick Club, registered in CSO on 15 Jan.
 74. F.P. 2903R, Kelly to Hill, 25 Jan. 1868.
 75. 31 Jan. 1868.
 76. F.P. 2903R. (905R.).
 77. F.P. 1566R, received in CSO 30 Jan. Moriarty had been only a short time in Limerick City and would be a 'stranger' in Spaight's book. Note that there is a modern business firm, Francis Spaight & Sons Ltd., timber and hardware merchants, at Henry St. and Bedford Row, Limerick.
 78. 22 Feb. 1868.
 79. F.P. 1566R. J. Young, medical officer at Mountjoy prisons. The file was passed through Samuel Lee Anderson to the under-secretary, 26 Feb.
 80. *Munster News*, 29 Feb. 1868.
 81. F.P. 1566R (Kelly to Moriarty, 1 Mar. 1868).
 82. *Ibid.*, 2 March.
 83. F.P. 2903R.
 84. LR.

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