

NOTES ON A FORMIDABLE POLICEMAN

JOHN MALLON

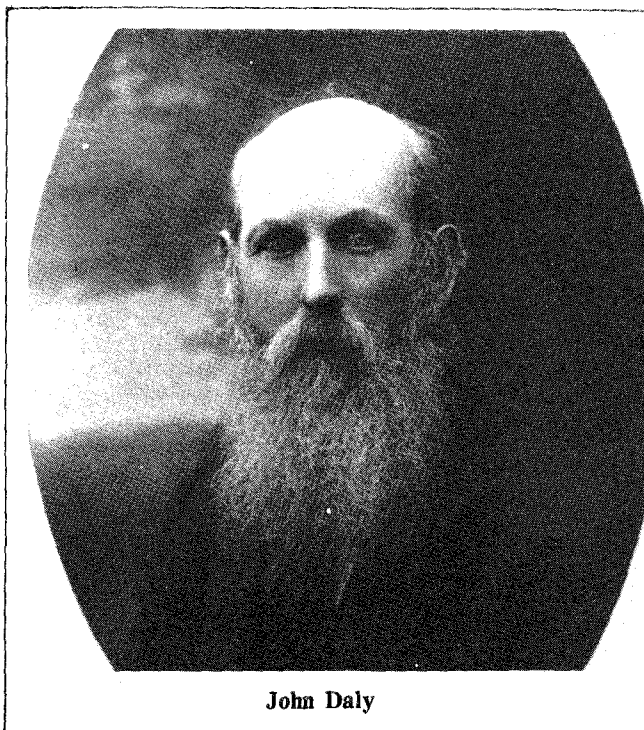
by Pat Feeley

John Mallon was born in 1839 in Meigh, Co. Armagh and was educated at Newry Model School. He served an apprenticeship with a drapery firm in the same town, was rejected for admission into the Royal Engineers and joined the Dublin Metropolitan Police in 1859 at the age of 19. Mallon proved to be an outstanding policeman. He worked under Superintendent Daniel Ryan, and later headed the detective force himself, specialising in politics - keeping all the anti-establishment groups under observation and investigating political conspiracies and crimes. He was the outstanding expert on the underground societies of the late nineteenth century, having an intimate knowledge of the workings of most of them and a large number of reliable contacts from whom he collected information. (1) His worth was recognised. Earl Spencer the Lord-Lieutenant said: 'We depend in Dublin on one man, Mallon; were he to die or be killed we have no one worth a row of pins.' (2)

In November 1881 Mallon was warned by 'a gentleman above the middle class, a sensible well-to-do business man' of the possibility of political assassinations. The man who gave the information to Mallon did so out of a fear of being implicated himself through his Land League associations. He told him that Patrick Egan and Thomas J. Brennan, the League's treasurer and secretary, had linked up with Dublin Fenians and were plotting mischief. Mallon knew Egan to be a dangerous political extremist then living in Paris. Monies collected by nationalists and republicans in America were sent to him and it was left to his discretion to fund the organisations and groups which he considered most worthy of support. The grand plan was to assassinate Gladstone, the Prime Minister, Harcourt, the Home Secretary and Forster, the Chief Secretary. Mallon passed on the information to George Talbot, the Chief Commissioner of the DMP, who in turn informed the Under Secretary Thomas Henry Burke. The warnings, however, were to no avail.

On 6 May 1881 in the Phoenix Park the Irish National Invincibles, a small group of Dublin artisans, assassinated T.H. Bourke and Lord Frederick Cavendish, with surgical knives. Cavendish had taken over from Forster as Chief Secretary on the very day of his murder. Mallon's information, his intimate knowledge of the political underworld, and his sharp instincts, led him to mark out Egan and Brennan as the likely principal organisers. Subsequently he unearthed other organisers of the Invincibles: Frank Byrne, the secretary of the Land League of Great Britain, who supplied the knives for the Phoenix Park killings, John Walsh, a member of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., P.J. Sheridan, a Land League organiser, and P.J.P. Tynan, who years later wrote a book about the society. He drew up a list of men which he divided into two categories, organisers and executionists. In his search for the actual perpetrators he concentrated attention on Mullet's pub in Lower Bridge Street which was a popular rendezvous for a large number of extremists.

James Mullett was in Kilmainham Gaol at the time of the killings and gave Mallon the names of six men who he believed had participated in the double murder. Using informers, threats and bribery, Mallon broke the Invincibles. In Kilmainham courthouse on February 3, 1883



John Daly

James Carey, Joseph Brady, Mullett and six others were charged with the murders. After Carey had turned informer, five of the accused were found guilty and executed. Eight men, including Mullett and James "Skin the Goat" Fitzharris, the cab-driver who was convicted of aiding and abetting the perpetrators by conveying them to and from the Phoenix Park, were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. But in spite of extradition moves, Mallon failed to bring the leaders who plotted the crime before the courts. The overall success of his achievement, however, could not be questioned, and some years later he was promoted to the rank of Assistant Commissioner.

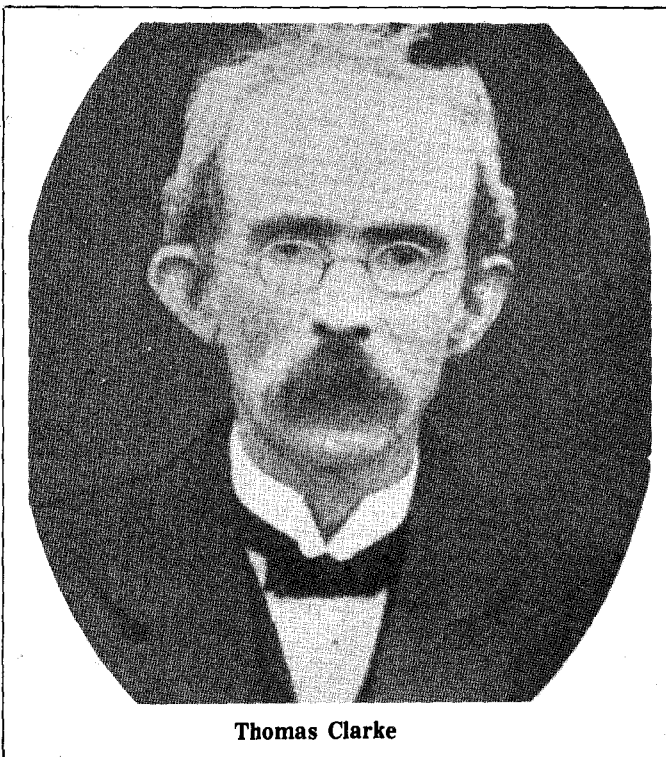
Mallon had one flaw in his make-up. As with other policemen before and after him, familiarity sometimes bred contempt for the lawbreakers, and he eventually became dismissive and contemptuous of the secret societies, their members and activities. For instance, in October 1892 he was to claim that he knew only fifty active I.R.B. men and that he could put his hands on every one of them. (3) A couple of years later, however, he was to put the membership between 200 and 300. Nevertheless, his detailed knowledge was remarkable: in 1891 he was able to give the names of all the officers of the Supreme Council and of the Dublin Directory of the I.R.B. (4). This information was accurate, allowing for a number of changes and replacements.

In December 1892 a bomb exploded in Exchange Court close to Dublin Castle and a constable was killed. Mallon was placed in charge of the investigation. He came to believe that it was the work 'of the very low stratum' of the I.R.B. and his suspicions centred on two members of the Nally Club, Jackie Nolan and Pat Reid. Reid was murdered sometime afterwards on suspicion of informing and Nolan and another member of the Nally Club,

John Merna, were charged with the crime. The prosecution, however, failed to establish their guilt and they were both released. Later it was said that they had supplied the gun for the killing but had not taken part in it themselves. They left for America after the trial where they were said to have received further instructions in bomb-making and dynamiting. Both returned to Ireland after some months and got jobs with the **Irish Daily Independent**.

Nolan was regarded by the authorities as a very dangerous man. He was described in a report to the police as 'an awtully, bold, forward and half-mad sort of fellow' who was capable of any act for which he was paid. (5). It was believed that both men were in the pay of the Irish-American extremist and promoter of violence, William Lyman. In 1899 Nolan and Merna left again for America. It was probably a relief to Mallon and the police. Nolan, with two others, was later sentenced to penal servitude for life when convicted of an attempt to blow up a canal gate in Canada. Merna, whose mental health was poor, committed suicide before the Canadian border crossing was reached. In 1915, on his release from gaol, Nolan returned to Dublin a wizened old man. He died five years later and was given a big I.R.B. funeral. (6).

In the final two decades of the nineteenth century there were frequent reports from the police agents of further planned outrages and assassinations. James Mullett, who served ten years for the Phoenix Park murders, returned to his pub in Bridge Street on his release, and although some saw him as a traitor, others did not, and the police regarded him as a desperado deeply involved in plots and conspiracies. Mullett, together with three other ex-convicts and former Invincibles, revived the secret society. They were known to be in contact with the Irish National Alliance (I.N.A.), also known as the Irish National Brotherhood (I.N.B.) This was a breakaway group from the I.R.B., led by William Lyman, in America. Dr. Mark Ryan was then the recognised leader of the I.N.B. in Britain and Ireland.



Thomas Clarke

In May 1895 sufficient numbers had been recruited to formally launch the organisation. This was done at a meeting in Blessington Street which was attended by Dr. Mark Ryan and Pat O'Brien M.P. Even though the I.N.B.

had been formed by hardliners in opposition to what they saw as a reformist and constitutional tendency within the I.R.B., Mallon regarded it as the less extremist of the two organisations. He commented that the I.N.B. men in Dublin were not those who seemed to support or 'commit outrage'. While the I.R.B. men who were in opposition to them 'do favour outrage, and they embrace all the men who are reputed to have taken part in every outrage that has been committed in Dublin for the past thirty years'. (7). The American and Irish sections were divided. Lyman and the Americans supported dynamiting and acts of violence but the Irish leadership did not.

The formation of the new movement saw a coming together and a healing of rifts in the I.R.B. and a determination to resist the challenge posed by the new grouping. The I.N.B. signalled out Fred Allan, secretary of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. and manager of the Independent newspaper group, as the prime target for attacks and abuse in its paper, the **Irish Republic**.

Allan was regarded by Mallon as an important figure in the I.R.B. and influential both with the constitutionists and the physical force element. He was the son of a Board of Works's official and had been a clerk with the Great Northern Railway before joining the **Evening Telegraph** as a journalist. A Methodist, with an interest in theosophy, he contributed to socialist and anarchist journals in London and New York. It was said that in 1883, the year after the Phoenix Park murders, he and others had formed a secret society called the Avengers. He was arrested in 1884 on a treason-felony charge but the case collapsed when a key prosecution witness failed to appear. He became manager of the **Irish Daily Independent** and had an office built for himself where I.R.B. men and others came to meet him and discuss politics and tactics. There were contradictory elements in his character.

For Mallon and the police Allan remained a puzzling, enigmatic figure. He was described as gentle in manner and devout in religion. Yet he was the effective head of the I.R.B. and believed to be capable of murder in forwarding its aims. He was a close and influential friend of John Redmond, the leader of the Irish Party in Westminster. On the other hand it was Allan who organised a defence fund for Nolan and Merna when they were charged with the Reid murder. And it was strongly rumoured in I.R.B. circles that the gun used to kill Reid was in Allan's safe when Mallon came to question him. The story went that when Mallon asked him if the gun was in his safe, Allan pulled out the keys and said: "If what you say is true, here are the keys of the safe - go and find the revolver". (8). Mallon did not take the keys. The bluff worked. It was Allan who got the jobs for Nolan and Merna with **Independent** newspapers. He also brought in as many other I.R.B. men as he could, such as J.J. O'Kelly, John O'Mahoney, J.W. O'Beirne and Michael Manning.

Allan was active in the movement for an amnesty for political prisoners. He wrote articles describing conditions in prisons and outling individual cases. He visited Portland prison where Tom Clarke was serving time. Clarke acknowledged Allan's sympathetic interest in his case. It was Allan who presided over a meeting in Dublin to welcome home the old Fenian O'Donovan Rossa after his many years of exile. During all this time he was under constant surveillance by the police. It was noted in July 1896 that as president of the Nally Club he marched at the head of about the hundred 'of the worst types in Dublin'. The Nally Club was marching again in August with Allan to the fore to welcome the release from prison of John Daly, the Limerick Fenian.

In 1899 Allan lost his job with the newspaper group. He opened a press agency in Dame Street which soon failed. He worked in London for a while, returned to take a job on the commercial side of the **Freeman's Journal**, and surprised everyone a few months later when he became

private secretary to Thomas Pile, the newly elected Lord Mayor of Dublin. This caused him to be accused of selling out and of reneging on his republicanism.

The split in the I.R.B. which led to the setting up of the I.N.B., though based on political and tactical disagreements and a belief amongst some that the I.R.B. had tailed as an organisation, was sparked off by the murder of Dr. Cronin in Chicago, the culmination of a vicious internal row in Clan na Gael in which there were allegations of corruption, embezzlement and treachery. John Devoy condemned the assassination of Cronin and laid the murder at the doorstep of Alexander Sullivan, president of the Clan. Lyman, one of Sullivan's proteges took the anti-Croninite side and supported the killing. He and those who joined the 'new movement', the I.N.B., or I.N.A. as it was also called, believed that Dr. Cronin was a spy and had only got what he deserved.

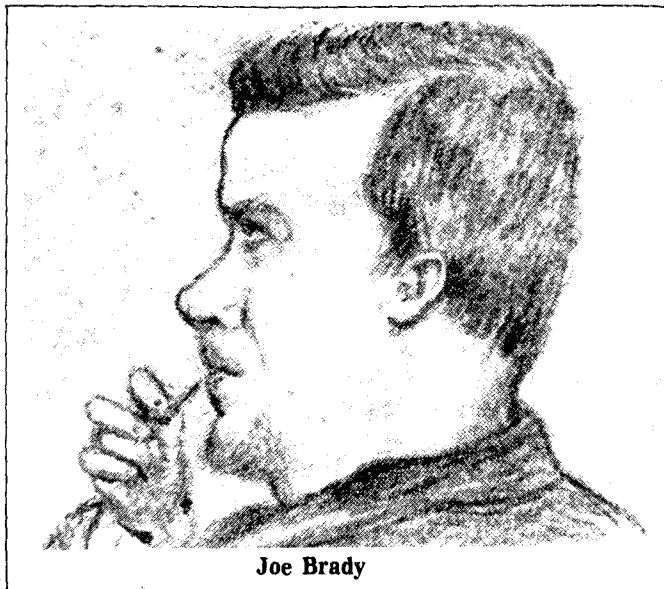
James F. Egan was appointed organiser for the I.N.B. Allan formed a vigilance committee headed by Jackie Nolan, to keep him under surveillance. The police feared that his assassination was planned and that Dr. Mark Ryan would also be killed. While the two organisations were strongly opposed, the source of the really black animosity was in the United States where the Cronin murder had led to vicious divisions amongst the Clan and other groups of Irish nationalists. When the national committee was set up to co-ordinate the activities of the '98 centenary celebrations the I.R.B. and the I.N.B. were both represented on it and worked together. The I.R.B., led by Allan, was the predominant group.

Lyman laid plans for the sending to England of a large group of dynamiters. The American section of the I.N.B. had, however, been penetrated by British spies and those who came to England to organise the campaign were either arrested or had to flee the country. The case against the accused was dropped because of an agent provocateur element but the bungling of the proposed dynamiting campaign damaged the standing of the I.N.B. Outside of Dublin, the organisation had made little headway. Dr. Mark Ryan sent Lyman a document giving the total membership in Great Britain and Ireland as 12,000, of whom there were 300 in Britain. The Irish membership, according to Ryan, were distributed as follows 6,000 in Dublin, 1,800 in Cork, 1,800 in Belfast, 800 in other parts of Ulster and the rest-1,100-throughout the southern part of the country. A British spy, relayed the contents of the document to the Home Office and passed it on to Mallon. He knew that these figures were a gross exaggeration, that there were not five hundred I.N.B. men in Dublin, and that Dr. Ryan was in fact thinking of leaving the organisation. (9).

Egan, the I.N.B. organiser, who himself had been in the I.R.B. from the age of 21, tried to recruit John Daly and Tom Clarke, alias H.H. Wilson, both of whom had at the time just been released from prison into the new movement. They refused to join. Mallon undoubtedly saw the advantage to the authorities of warring factions and foresaw that the I.N.B. would have a short and rather insignificant existence.

The extremist nationalist organisations were not the only groups under police surveillance. The activities of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Irish National League, the Irish National Federation, the Independent National Club, the National Society, the Army of Independence and the Knights of the Plough were also observed and noted. Even the Gaelic League, which was conceived and founded as a society for the appreciation and revival of the Irish language, came under Special Branch attention. And there were other stirrings.

The first meeting of the Irish Socialist Republican Party was held on 29 May 1896. As this was a revolutionary socialist group, it was inevitable that it would attract the attention of Mallon and the political police. Because it was a small group, it escaped notice



Joe Brady

for some time after its foundation.

In a report to the Chief Commissioner on 13 November 1896 Mallon stated that James Connolly had lectured to the Dublin Literary Society. He also noted that W. O'Leary-Curtis, secretary of the National Literary Society had presided at an I.N.A. meeting in Dublin in the same month. (10). There was a report of this meeting, which took place in Costigan's Hotel, Sackville Street in the *Evening Telegraph* of 11 November.

The title of Connolly's paper was 'Irish Revolution Utopian and Scientific'. The two Lyng brothers and E.W. Stewart were present and the meeting was chaired by Fred Ryan. In a wide ranging talk Connolly was reported as saying that 'Ireland should not wish to become an industrial hell like England'. Ireland should 'feed her own people first' and then exchange the surplus food for other necessities 'which she required'. Connolly also stated that food was being exported while there were people starving. (11).

In a report to the Chief Commissioner on 21 June 1897 Mallon drew his attention to an address which Maud Gonne MacBride was scheduled to make at a meeting of the I.S.R.P. in Foster Place, Dublin, on that night. He noted that the venue was in 'unpleasant proximity to the Bank of Ireland to which she makes very pointed allusions in her letter to the paper'. Mallon noted that 'the coal porters, many of whom are of the I.S. Republican party', were talking of marching in procession and displaying black flags. Mallon titled his report 'a proposed disloyal demonstration'. He commented on possible flashpoints where counter-demonstrations of royalists and unionists were likely to take place, and noted that the pubs were expected to close from 9 p.m. (12).

On the following day he filed another report to the Commissioner which told of the clashes of the rival forces. At 6.05 he had heard that Trinity College students intended to attempt to prevent Maud Gonne from having her anti-Jubilee meeting. He ordered a force of police under an inspector and a superintendent to station themselves in the vicinity of the college. At a few minutes past eight, members of the I.S.R.P. were observed at College Green and Foster Place but there was no sign of a meeting taking place. Students from the college marched to Foster Place some time afterwards and, although they did not molest anyone and returned to the college almost immediately, 'their expressions of loyalty were not acceptable to the crowd'.

Philip Callan an ex-M.P. made himself prominent in 'hustling in amongst the students'. He was hit on the head for his trouble and the police forced the students back to the college and extricated Callan, 'who was bleeding

profusely'. This signalled the outbreak of hostilities. Missiles were thrown, windows were broken and some people were injured, though not seriously. With the help of some college officials, the police succeeded in breaking up the opposing factions. Maud Gonne and the socialists held their meeting and went to the City Hall afterwards where a meeting of the '98 Centenary Committee meeting was being held. (13).

The Daily Independent of 22 June carried a report of the meeting in which the students behind the college railings were said to be like 'savage beasts' in the zoo and howling 'like wild animals'. Connolly was reported as saying that no one living on the plunder exacted from the labour of the Irish people should interfere with people holding a meeting or insult them in their capital city. He was cheered. E.W. Stewart proposed a resolution which was carried. Maud Gonne, accompanied by W.B. Yeats, arrived late.

On 17 June 1897 Mallon was warned that windows would be broken and the gas lights would be extinguished in the Jubilee Day protests. He was correct in his forecast. The Daily Independent 23 June 1897 reported 'broken noses, bleeding faces and cut heads' in the aftermath of Jubilee Day. This paper blamed the police for attacking a crowd watching a magic lantern display in the National Club. The disturbances broke out when a number of I.S.R.P. members arrived in Rutland Square carrying a number of black flags with inscriptions and a mock coffin. The police seized the flags and one officer was seen to hand one to a crowd of counter-demonstrators at the Orange Hall which adjourned the National Club. Violence erupted. Police batoned the nationalists. Missiles were thrown and windows broken. Shots were said to have been fired from the Orange Hall. An old woman was killed in the melee. The anti-Jubilarians blamed the police. The police said she was trampled by the crowd. (14).

John Jones, Chief Commissioner, in his report to the Under Secretary was of the opinion that nothing of a very serious nature had taken place and that the celebrations could be considered a success. The regrettable incidents were the window-breaking, carried out by organised groups, he believed, and the riot in Rutland Square, which he blamed on the proximity of the National Club and the Orange Hall, 'both full of the most ardent adherents of each party'. He blamed the nationalists for the disturbances, stating that the 'outside crowd stoned the Orange Hall and the police had to then charge them' which they did 'several times'. The total number of arrests was given as 51. (15).

A report dated 6/5/1897 had noted that 'Messrs Richardson, Simmons, Shelley and Nanetti who attended the 'Labour Day' demonstration in Drogheda had no connection with secret societies, that Canty who attended is a socialist pure and simple and is Secretary of the Coal Labourers Union, that James Connolly who also attended from Dublin, and who is author of the socialist pamphlet 'Erin's Hope' and a canvasser for a sewing machine company is one of the principals of the Irish Socialist Republican Party - a body that is not strong by any means but there are secret society men among its ranks.' (16).

Elsewhere it is noted that the brothers "T.J. and Murtagh Lyng are Irish socialists who attend meetings of the Dublin Literary Society". It is also observed that meetings were held at the Custom House on Sundays. (17).

Mallon sent in a report to the Chief Commissioner on August 16, 1897. It read:
Chief Commissioner,

On last evening James Connolly held forth at the usual place near Royal Bank from about 7.30 p.m.

Connolly had not a large or appreciative audience but all the same his observations were mischievous. It was the usual twaddle that can be heard any Sunday in Hyde

Park or in the Green in Glasgow.

There is the difference in the effect. In London or Glasgow the audience would take no serious notice of what was said, but unfortunately in Dublin the disaffected associate what is said with treason and disloyalty.

Mallon then goes on to say that Connolly made very pointed allusions to the royal visit. (18). Consequent to their prominence in the Jubilee demonstrations Mallon kept a close eye on the I.R.S.P. before the Irish visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of York. A report on the 19 August flagged the Chief Commissioner that Connolly was preparing an anti-royalist demonstration to judge from remarks he had made at Foster Place when he promised a crowd that 'they would have something to do in the near future'. (19).

In a subsequent report 14 August 1897 Mallon had more detailed information on the plans of the I.S.R.P. He wrote that it was certain that they were planning 'to demonstrate on the 18th'. It was quite well known in Dublin, he stated, that they intended to 'display black flags with very offensive inscriptions'. He enclosed a newspaper account of an I.S.R.P. meeting which said that the party had planned a demonstration to coincide with the royal visit. (20).

On 23 August 1897 Mallon sent a report to the Chief Commissioner which was read by the Under Secretary and the Chief Secretary. The report stated that 'between 12 and 10 o'clock on the 18th the Socialists drove in a wagonette to 67, Abbey St. evidently with the intention of bringing out black flags. They found they could not do so without being observed and they gave it up'.

Mallon went on to write that on the same evening they went to Foster Place with the intention of holding a meeting at which they intended to pass some 'offensive resolution'. When the police did not allow this meeting to take place they retired to their rooms in Abbey Street. One of them spoke from a window and a black flag was displayed which was 'torn down' and confiscated by the police.

On 22 August they had a meeting in the Phoenix Park at 3 p.m. and, according to Mallon, 'talked their usual nonsense for nearly an hour' indulging in all-round abuse on the police. They invited their audience to come to their thousands to Foster Place that evening to carry out what they had been prevented from doing on the previous Wednesday evening. That evening there were several thousands about College Green. Between 7 and 8 p.m. James Connolly, D. O'Brien T.J. O'Brien, T. Lyng, Michael Lyng, Stewart McDonald and another man came to Foster Place, and unfurled a red banner bearing the inscription, 'Socialist Irish Republic' with the figure of a tottering crown penetrated by a '98 'pick' (sic), and the Latin words *Finis Tyranne* (sic). (The Latin is incorrect. The inscription probably was *Finis Tyranniae* - The end of tyranny or *Finis Tyranni* - The end of the tyrant). Mallon noted that a green banner with Irish inscriptions on it was unfurled but the police took both of these from them and hustled them out of the place.

He went on to say that the socialists kept moving around College Green where they were followed by a large crowd and made several attempts to form a procession. They then went to Abbey Street where they were met by police. From there they went to the Custom House where they were again confronted by the police. Here the crowd booed and hissed them, and they were obliged to get off the streets. Mallon concluded by saying that no one was arrested and the people in the streets 'hissed and hooted the Socialists for whom there appears to be little sympathy'. (21).

On the appearance of the edition of the I.R.S.P.'s paper, the first *Workers' Republic*, he commented in a report dated 13 August 1898: 'It may live for 6 months and is likely to have a limited circulation. (22). In fact, it only

lasted until October but it was revived again in the following year (23).

In a letter to the Under Secretary Mallon stated: 'The movements of these men are under close observation'. He commented that as a rule they did not associate with members of other secret societies and that 'Fred Allan and the *Daily Independent* are rather hard on them. Two of them viz W.R. Stewart and E.J. Bradshaw (tailors) would commit an outrage as they are true anarchists. He had asked that snap-shots be taken of them. He noted that newspaper correspondence on socialism was on the increase. An anonymous letter to the *Daily Nation* said 'today it is socialism, tomorrow it will be anarchy' and advocated that the 'Socialist scum be driven off the streets', and contained, in Mallon's opinion, the 'views of the Dublin public in regard to anarchy'.

A police report on secret societies was prepared in August 1898. On the tenth of the same month Mallon reported that the Wolfe Tone centenary demonstration was 'the largest which passed through Dublin in recent years' that 'about 30,000 including spectators' took part and that the bulk of those were members of '98 clubs and country contingents. Mallon noted that the Nally Club, which he believed contained some of the most dangerous conspirators in the city, was prominent, led by Fred Allan. The I.N.A. (I.N.B.) took very little part in the proceedings and he stated that 'the general impression is that the I.R.B or Revolutionary Party will absorb all secret societies and ultimately shape the policy of the Constitutionalist'.

A report dated 5 December 1900 stated: 'The Irish Republican Socialists are a bad lot supported from London and the continent to propagate Socialism. They are not numerous and are not progressing in Dublin'. (25).

On 30 October 1901 there was a further note on the secret societies in Dublin. The Chief Commissioner of the D.M.P. commented that, with the exception of a few clubs, there was little activity in secret society circles, principally due to lack of funds. He listed what he considered to be the most dangerous clubs and associations in Dublin.

The Transvaal Committee held meetings at 32 Lower Abbey Street twice weekly and these were 'all Secret Society men and connected with the Celtic Literary Society and Daughters of Erin. The Mayor MacBride club met at 18 High Street and was 'a good revolutionary ground for the I.R.B.' The Foresters' Hall at 41 Rutland Square was given as the chief resort of Secret Society men. Finally, he mentioned 'the Irish Socialists Republicans who meet at 138, Uppr. Abbey St. the most prominent of whom are J. Connolly, J. Stewart, D. O'Brien, T.J. Lyng and M. Lyng. This is not a Secret Society but is a most disloyal one, and its members have associated themselves with I.R.B. men in causing disturbances and promoting disloyalty'.

On 4 January 1902 the Chief Commissioner of the D.M.P. reported that: 'Thomas O'Brien who was a member of the Socialist Party here, also of the Transvaal Committee and who obtained employment as a clerk at the War Office is said to have been dismissed for misconduct'. (26). In June 1902 it was noted that the I.S.R.P. was represented at Bodenstown. (27).

In August of 1902 there was a report of Connolly's proposed trip to America: 'Connolly was an active participator in the Black Flag displays during the 1897 Jubilee celebrations and a most willing agent in carrying out the behests of Maud Gonne'. (28). An earlier report had put forward the suggestion that Maud Gonne was one of the financial backers of the Workers' Republic.

It is of course notable that in all these reports the police are seen to be on top and to emerge victorious in their encounters with the socialists. This is understandable because they were written by policemen about their

colleagues whom they naturally wanted to present in a good light to the authorities. Mallon in his report of 23 August 1897 on the demonstrations surrounding the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York neglects to mention that the police batoned and injured some of the demonstrators. The socialists on the other hand tended to exaggerate the importance of these demonstrations. The *Freeman's Journal* of 19 August 1897, writing of the 'royal entry' (as it was called) probably got the perspective right, it referred to a 'slight diversion in Middle Abbey St.' on the previous evening and that a crowd gathered and were addressed by some members of the Socialist Republican Party from an open window but the demonstration did not last long and the people dispersed after a couple of speeches'. (29).

Mallon retired from the police in 1901. He was without a doubt the most formidable opponent of the revolutionaries and political extremists from 1874 to 1901. He harried and hunted Fenians, Invincibles, I.R.B., and I.N.B. men, socialists and all others whom he considered enemies of the state. His greatest weakness was that his contempt for his opponents prevented him from seeing that the proliferation of political clubs and the more or less continuous agitation were not a passing phase but were signalling the rising storm of rebellion. The 1916 Rising showed that his keen interest in the I.R.B. was not misplaced and that James Connolly and the I.S.R.P. were also worthy of his attention, though as a nationalist rather than a socialist force.

SOURCES

- (1) Leon O Broin, *Revolutionary Underground*, Gill and Macmillan, 1976, P. 26.
- (2) Richard, Hawkins in Desmond Williams (ed.), *Secret Societies in Ireland*, P. 101.
- (3) Leon O Broin, *Revolutionary Underground*, Gill and Macmillan, 1976, P. 49.
- (4) *Ibid.*, P. 49.
- (5) 107 12/S.
- (6) Leon O Broin, *Revolutionary Underground*, Gill and Macmillan, P. 107.
- (7) 9204 /S.
- (8) Leon O Broin, *Revolutionary Underground*, Gill and Macmillan, 1976, P. 54.
- (9) 16160 /S.
- (10) C.B.X. 12730/S.
- (11) *Evening Telegraph* 11/11/96.
- (12) S.P.O. C.B.S. 13806/S.
- (13) *Irish Daily Independent*, 23 June, 1897.
- (14) C.B.S. 13807/S.
- (15) S.P.O. C.B.S. 13760/S.
- (16) C.B.S. 2843/S.
- (17) C.B.S. 14068/S.
- (18) 14027/S.
- (19) C.B.S. 14066/S.
- (20) S.P.O. C.B.S. 14093/S.
- (21) S.P.O. C.B.S. 17005/S.
- (22) 17560/S.
- (23) S.P.O. C.B.S. 17295/S.
- (24) B.S. 23504/S.
- (25) B.S. 26275/S.
- (26) C.B.S. 27205/S.
- (27) 27583/S.
- (28) *The Freeman's Journal*, 18 August 1897.

The writer wishes to acknowledge the assistance given by Fintan Cronin, of Dublin, who made available a large number of research papers relating to the Irish Socialist Republican Party.