Good Friday 1916
The Road to Ballykissane Revisited

by Barbara McEvoy

Introduction

On a wet Good Friday night almost a hundred years ago two cars set out from Killarney on a secret mission to seize wireless equipment from the Atlantic Wireless College, Caherciveen, County Kerry. No ordinary mission, it was personally planned by Seán MacDermott and Michael Collins and seen as integral to the plot to land and distribute the shipment of arms, secured by Sir Roger Casement from the German Government. However, by midnight the mission had failed, one car lay at the bottom of the River Laune, at Ballykissane Pier, County Kerry, three Volunteers dead and one close to arrest. The plot to land arms had also failed. The Aed,2 carrying the German arms shipment had been captured as too had Sir Roger Casement, who would later be convicted and hanged for treason for his involvement in this plot.

Some have since contended that the failure of this mission caused or contributed to the failure of the plot to land arms, the capture of the Aed and of Casement but in reality its failure made no difference whatsoever. Even before the party set out from Killarney on that Good Friday night the entire plot had unravelled, as British War Ships were closing in on the Aed and Casement had been captured. Furthermore, it is well documented that the Aed had no wireless equipment on board, so even if the Volunteers got the transmitter and set it up they would not have been able to contact the ship. Dublin Leaders' plans to land and distribute arms, via a hijacked train, to Volunteers across the western counties had unravelled much earlier, principally due to the fact that they had pushed out the date on which the Aed should arrive to Easter Sunday and were making arrangements for a Sunday landing. The Aed, not aware of this change of plan, arrived in Tralee Bay on Holy Thursday evening in accordance with the original instructions. Meanwhile British Intelligence had discovered that Germany was to send a shipment of arms in support of an insurrection and had put extra patrols in place around the west coast of Ireland to intercept any suspicious vessels. From Thursday evening the Aed waited in Tralee Bay for a Volunteer pilot boat and in doing so aroused suspicion. British Navy patrol boats were alerted and on Friday morning the captain of the Aed, realising that the plan had been compromised aborted the landing, leaving Tralee Bay at full steam with a British Navy patrol boat in pursuit.

Less well understood and often misreported is the mission to seize the wireless equipment itself (the 'Mission') and the circumstances leading to the tragic events at Ballykissane Pier. However, in recent years, sworn testimony and police records of the time as well as the later Bureau of Military History Witness Statements of those who took part or witnessed these events first hand, have become available and which probably provide the most definitive account of the Mission. Using these first-hand accounts, this is the story of the Mission and the aftermath for Tommy McInerney, Mid Limerick Brigade, one of the drivers on that fateful night.

The Mission

Padraig Pearse was clear that secrecy and surprise were critical to successfully landing the German arms shipment. Alfred Cotton, IRB Organiser, recalled that when he and Austin Stack met with Pearse in connection with the plot to land arms that "Pearse was insistent that there must be the utmost secrecy in all our preparations. Only the very minimum of information considered necessary to be given to men selected for any special work, and these men were to be carefully selected for their particular jobs. Secrecy was to be preserved to the last minute."7

The purpose of the Mission was to seize a wireless transmitting and receiving set from the Atlantic College, Caherciveen so that wireless contact could be made with the Aed, which was expected at Fenit on Easter Sunday.9 Consistent with Pearse's instructions, the Mission was planned by Seán MacDermott and Michael Collins together with a small and carefully selected group of men in the week running up to Good Friday, namely: Denis Daly (Caherciveen), Con Keating (Caherciveen) and Donal Sheehan (Newcastle West)11. Daly was a senior IRB man with a detailed knowledge of the local Kerry area and Keating a wireless operator who had recently trained at the Atlantic College in Caherciveen.13

Seán MacDermott gave the final instructions on Holy Thursday night. Daly was to be in charge of the Mission and would take the train from Dublin to Killarney, the next day (Good Friday) with Keating, Sheehan and two other Volunteers, Colm O'Loughlin (Dublin) and Charles Monahan (Belfast). In Killarney they would be met by two motor cars with drivers who

Captain Thomas (Tommy) McInerney – Transport Officer, Mid Limerick Brigade
would have come from Limerick. They would then proceed in the two cars, via Killorglin, to Caherciveen, force an entrance to the Wireless College there and as quickly as possible, remove the necessary equipment to the cars and take it to a point on the Castlemaine-Tralee road where a party of Tralee Volunteers were to meet it over. The Tralee men would set up the equipment and make contact with the Aud.

Consistent with Pearse’s instructions secrecy was maintained to the last minute and only the minimum information considered necessary was given to the men involved. Colm O’Lochlainn, a Captain on the special staff of Joseph Plunkett, Director of Intelligence, recalled that he was only told on Holy Thursday night that he was to dismantle a wireless station the following day and knew nothing of the expected landing of arms.

Limerick’s Role

Limerick’s part in the Mission was to have two motor cars with drivers outside Killarney Train Station at 8pm on Good Friday night, to meet the party of Volunteers travelling from Dublin. As the Dublin and Limerick parties did not know each other they would identify themselves using a pre-arranged pass-code.

Cars and drivers were not plentiful in 1916; Tommy McInerney, aged 24, and Sam Windrim, aged 26, were chosen for the Mission. McInerney, owning a Maxwell car and garage business in Catherine Street, Limerick, was also a skilled mechanic. Deeply loyal to the rebel cause, McInerney served as Captain and Transport Officer of the Mid Limerick Brigade. He was a trusted and experienced driver who regularly drove IRB and Volunteers to and from late night meetings across the county.

Given the secrecy involved it is likely that McInerney was told only on Holy Thursday that he was to pick up a party of men in Killarney the next day where he would receive further instructions. Windrim came into the Mission as a last minute substitute for John Quilty, who was unavailable to travel. At midday on Good Friday, with practically no information other than that he was being asked to drive a car on a life and death mission, Windrim bravely accepted and was hastily sworn into the IRB, taking the oath of secrecy.

soon continued on their way. Though the Mission was not aborted at this stage, it was now obvious that the RIC were on high alert for rebel activity. At the same time Casement was being held by the RIC and the Aud was steaming as fast as it could away from Royal Navy patrol boats, so unknown to the Volunteers the plot to land arms had already failed.

After Abbeyfeale, they were stopped again and questioned by the RIC, with the men giving the same cover story. The remainder of their journey was uneventful, driving slowly so as not to arrive in Killarney too early. On reaching Killarney, McInerney and Windrim walked to the train station scouting out the surrounding area in case they needed to make a quick getaway.

Rendezvous in Killarney

At 8 pm, outside Killarney Station, McInerney and Windrim were approached by one of the Dublin party who O’Lochlainn, in his statement, confirms to have been Keating. With pass-codes exchanged Keating took charge, giving the Limerick men a new cover story in the event of being stopped by the RIC. Windrim recalled that both he and McInerney were very reluctant to agree to this new cover story pointing out that the RIC in Newcastle West had probably already guessed the Warren arrangement. Windrim recalled that “this man insisted on having his way on this point, we now began to feel that we were instantly under his orders and had no alternative but to carry out his instructions, so we left the matters entirely in his hands.”

Getting into Windrim’s car Keating told them to drive out of Killarney where they would pick up the rest of the party. Windrim recalled that just out of the town “this man began to study a map with the aid of a flash lamp” so that he could locate the position of the rest of his men. Windrim began to feel that Keating was not totally confident of his knowledge of the area. Two miles outside the town they saw four men walking with suitcases; this was the rest of the party. Daly and O’Lochlainn got into the back of the car Windrim was driving, with Monahan and Sheehan getting in with McInerney, who had been following behind in the Briscoe.
The Road to Ballykissane Pier

With the party now complete, Daly, who was in overall charge of the Mission, then took command. Again it is apparent from Windrim's statement that, as in the planning, utmost secrecy was continued to be observed and only the minimum of information was disclosed across the course of the night. It was that, only at this point Daly disclosed that Caherciveen was the next destination. Information other than this was not given, so Windrim would be kept in the dark for the rest of the night. The passengers disclosed neither their names nor their plans and engaged in practically no conversation with him.

On hearing that Caherciveen was the next destination Windrim asked if any of them could show him the road "without the aid of a map and flashlight". Daly said that he could take him blindfolded and with that ordered Keating into McNerney's car. Daly in his statement confirms that he "decided that O'Loughlin and I would travel in the leading car, going at a comparatively slow pace as we had ample time to reach our destination, that the other car would follow us and that we would keep our tail-lights and headlights in view. It was never intended that we were to separate".

Before reaching Killorglin, Daly gave Windrim a choice of roads. After that the lead car then lost sight of the lights of McNerney's car following behind them. Daly, Windrim and O'Loughlin are all consistent on this point, each confirming in their statement that they then left sight of the second car behind them before they entered Killorglin. Perhaps Daly concluded that Keating, also being from Caherciveen, was familiar with the way from there on. In any event, the two cars were now travelling separately.

McNerney, Keating, Monahan and Sheehan, travelling in the Briscoe, had been left behind as it appears that they had to stop the car twice due to mechanical problems. On entering Killorglin, Monahan got out of the car and went into a house and asked for directions. Monahan spoke with a Lillie Taylor, aged 17, daughter of the owner. In her evidence on oath a few days later, Taylor confirmed that having given Monahan the directions to Caragh Lake, Monahan left and sat with the driver in the front of the car after leaving my mother's house. The car went in the direction I mentioned. However within a minute of setting off they missed a sharp turn to the left and continued straight on a road which ends at Ballykissane Pier. It was a very dark night and even by 1916 standards the Briscoe, with its single mounted headlight, would have provided limited road visibility.

Máirtín Cregan, who spoke with McNerney in the hours after the accident, recounts that "After a few hundred yards [McNerney] questioned whether they were on the right road. Keating assured him that they were and pointed to 'all the lighted houses' ahead. But these were houses on the far side of the River Laune. Next McNerney remarked that this was 'a shingly sort of road' and in ten seconds his lights flashed on the water. He jammed on his brakes and held the car balanced on the coping stone, the front wheels over and the back wheels on the pier. McNerney opened the door. The men behind tried to get out and in doing so shook the car and it toppled into about 16 feet of water".

The car, with all four men inside, was submerged into the blackness of the river Laune. Heavy overcoats and pockets filled with guns and ammunition would have weighed the men down. Underwater McNerney caught his leg in the car but managed to wrench himself free and swim to the surface. It is believed that Keating also reached the surface and swam for a while but was swept away by a strong current running with the ebbing tide. McNerney was a strong swimmer and in the darkness made for the only lights he could see, which were across the river. Timothy Sullivan a local farmer who lived near the pier had heard the car passing and went out to the pier; he could see nothing but heard splashing in the water and cries for help. Realising what had happened he lit a piece of candle and shading it inside his hat rushed out shouting "Come this way". McNerney was drifting with the tide and when Sullivan reached the rough beach he found McNerney still "swimming" through the gravel with bleeding hands and knees. He had drifted 60 or 80 yards from the pier.

Out of breath and unable to stand, McNerney told him that there were three men with him. They remained on the pier for a few minutes listening and looking round but heard nothing. Sullivan took McNerney to the police barracks to report the incident and get help. With a change of clothes McNerney went back to the pier.

News of the car accident spread quickly around the town to Máirtín Cregan, a teacher from Dublin for the holidays. Cregan, also an active supporter of the Volunteers, had the previous day (Hely Thursday) been sent by Séan MacDermott to Tralee with guns, ammunition and a message for Austin Stack. Cregan immediately went to the pier and managed to get hold of McNerney. Cregan states that she took him aside but he kept saying he didn't know anything. "In desperation she told him her own secret: that she had been sent by Séan MacDermott to Austin Stack, that she had only just come from Tralee where things had gone badly etc etc. She begged him to trust her and hand her over any papers or other articles he might want to get rid of. In the end and very reluctantly he took her about half-way into his confidence. It was enough. She got him to a house where the injury to his leg was dressed.
He remained up all night dozing occasionally and rather shocked but on the whole bluffing his way through police inquiries very well.  

At about 9am Saturday morning the tide was full out. Boats with nets were launched and soon afterwards the bodies of Donal Sheehan and Con Keating were recovered. The RIC found revolvers, ammunition and Sinn Féin Badges in their pockets. Despite extensive searches Monahan's remains were not recovered until October, 1916.  

On Saturday McInerney was arrested, charged and taken to Tralee Prison. McInerney never spoke a word to confirm or deny anything of the Mission, maintaining his oath of secrecy and no doubt shocked by the tragic loss of life. At the Court hearing, when asked if he knew why he had been brought before the judge, he simply said "because I am alive". For his part in the Mission McInerney was interned in Frongoch, Wales until December, 1916, when he was released as part of the general amnesty. On release from Frongoch, McInerney re-joined the Mid Limerick Brigade and fought in the War of Independence and was interned on a number of occasions. McInerney went on to successfully complete several dangerous missions including that of driving Dan Breen and Seán Hogan from North Tipperary through a cordon of British Military to a place of safety in West Limerick.  

Analysis of the Mission  

First-hand accounts of those who planned, executed or witnessed the Mission, particularly those of Daly, Windrim, O'Lolhain and Taylor, provide a reliable explanation as to how the second car arrived at Ballykissane Pier. Analysis of these witness statements clearly shows that it was not simply a case of a missed turn on a road, but rather it was the result of failings by the Dublin based party in their planning of the Mission and a series of decisions taken on the night.  

The need for meticulous planning was even greater given the overriding requirement that secrecy was to be preserved to the last minute; and that only the minimum information considered necessary was to be given to the men for their selected jobs. No doubt the Mission must have been only one of many missions being planned by MacDermott, Collins and Joseph Plunkett's team in advance of the Rising, which perhaps goes to explain why critical details were overlooked in its planning. That said, reasonably foreseeable risks that may arise during the journey were not addressed or not adequately addressed, further exposing the Mission to chance.  

In particular the route to be taken from Kilgarry to Caherciveen appears not to have been agreed in advance. Daly, in charge of the Mission and in the lead car was the only one who knew the local area intimately and, as Keating was apparently not confident of his knowledge of the area, the journey to Caherciveen depended on the two cars not separating. An appropriate course of action was not agreed in advance in the event of the cars separating or of the second car having to stop, due to a breakdown or otherwise. When the lead car lost sight of the second car before reaching Killorglin they did not go back for the second car. This left the second car and its occupants exposed.  

In the circumstances which the occupants of the second car then found themselves, they acted reasonably and cautiously. In Killorglin, it was Monahan who went into a house to ask for directions. Monahan, being from Belfast, was least likely to attract suspicion in asking for directions. McInerney, travelling on a very dark night with a single poor headlight on a road he didn't know, but led to believe was correct, did well to see the river and stop the car on the edge of Ballykissane Pier. A successful evacuation, which required balancing the weight of the car on the quay side, is perhaps more than can be expected from young Volunteers in unfamiliar company, surroundings and circumstances.  

Post 1916 and the McInerney Family from Limerick  

The Mission marked the start of a chain of traumatic and devastating events for Tommy McInerney and his family. Tommy was the youngest child of Patrick and Mary Anne McInerney, 9 and 10 Lock Quay, Limerick, a prominent business family in the Limerick fishing industry. Tommy's father Patrick was the Manager of the Lax Weir Fishing Company, a member of the Limerick Board of Fish Conservators and of the Limerick Board of Guardians. The family were leading salmon exporters in the south...
British Official Reprisals

Prominently identified with the volunteer movement the McInerney family was often targeted by British Forces, Black and Tans and Auxiliaries. Tommy and James were interned in prison on many occasions in Ireland and Britain (including Frongoch, Spike Island and Ballykinlar). Having lost her eldest son Michael, in 1918 to the flu epidemic and her husband Patrick in 1920, Mary Anne had to witness the blowing up of her home and licensed premises at Lock Quay by British Crown forces as part of Official reprisals in April, 1921. The reprisals targeted a number of families of prominent IRA officers then in prison. The account contained in Limerick’s Fighting Story presents a strikingly vivid picture of the reprisals:

“All residents of the particular streets in which these houses where situate were promptly ordered out. Then began a parade of refugees, as distressed women and children marched along the streets... The whole area in and about McInerney’s public house at 9 & 10 Lock Quay was cleared, even the occupants of the houses opposite on Sand Mall across the river were ordered out. All preparations having been completed the fuses were laid and at a signal from an officer, an explosion took place which shook half the city. The entire frontage of McInerney’s seemed to float en masse through space, and deposit itself at the base of the wall across the river on the Sand Mall side. The remainder of the building crumpled and collapsed, leaving but a smouldering ruin, the skeleton of what was a fine business premises a few minutes earlier....

After crown forces left, neighbours braving the curfew-risked life and limb as they worked heroically amidst tottering and crumbling walls and masonry to save what they could of belongings and property of a family for which they had the greatest admiration, and
full sympathy. Drink which was available in the ruins of the shop, was left untouched. At the height of the salvage operation, a Crossley tender, laden with Black and Tans, appeared on the scene and a Sergeant of the Royal Irish Constabulary, who already bore an unenviable name, added to his notorious reputation by mercilessly lashing old women and girls with a horse whip, as though he were driving cattle before him.

Later squads of soldiers, off duty, visited the scene of the day's operations, and the opportunity to indulge in an orgy of free drinking amidst the ruins of the wrecked public house, was indulged to the fullest by the men. The drunken soldiers then carried on a concert amidst the ruins of McInerney's premises, and in the early hours of the morning they terminated proceedings by setting the place on fire. 72

A year later in May, 1922, Tommy was accidentally wounded while in the New Barracks, Limerick. In the shadow of the remains of her Lock Quay home, Mary Anne watched over her son for three weeks, as he lay dying in Barrington's Hospital of a bullet wound to his spine. Tommy died on 26 May, 1922. Such was the affection and regard with which he was held that work in the city stopped: businesses, public offices, banks closed and the County Court sessions adjourned until the funeral was over. Huge crowds lined the route of the funeral procession to pay their last respects. 73 James would die three years later, in 1925, and Mary Anne in 1941.

Mary Anne and the McInerney family displayed remarkable courage and strength of character in the face of events and circumstances few of us will ever encounter in our lives; a stalwart family who played a significant part in Limerick's Anglo Irish struggle.

Conclusion

By midnight on a cold Good Friday, 1916 all was lost. Whilst the Mission had failed even before it had started, with hindsight it is now clear that secrecy and planning errors combined to turn it into a terrible tragedy. Three brave volunteers lost their lives trying to fulfil this Mission, the first fatalities of the 1916 Rising and later Tommy McInerney's life also ended tragically. A hundred years on the words of Joseph Plunkett resound as a fitting tribute to these three men, to Tommy and to the McInerney family and so many other families who actively participated in the independence movement:

"The hands that fought, the hearts that broke, In old immortal tragedies, these have not failed beneath the skies"

'Our Heritage'
Joseph Mary Plunkett

Photograph of the Briscoe car (1915 Model B, 4 Door Open Touring car), after it was recovered from the River Laune off Ballykissane Pier. Briscoe automobiles were manufactured by Benjamin Briscoe (1869-1945) in Jackson, Michigan, USA between 1914 and 1921. The 1914 and 1915 Briscoe models had a single 'Cyclops' headlight set in the radiator shell, as can be seen in the photograph. This design although creative was changed over to the double headlight design in the 1916 models, since it was illegal to have the single headlight in some US states. (Photograph courtesy of the Military Archives, Bureau of Military History Collection)

Acknowledgments:
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- Limerick Museum
- Limerick Municipal Elections, 1841-2009, Compiled by John Cassick and Liam Hanley
- Military Archives, Bureau of Military History Collection: Witness Statements and Pension Services Applications
- Tulse Prison Records.  

Military Archives, Bureau of Military History Collection

Witness Statements: W/S 939 Ernest Blyth, IRB and Volunteer Organiser; W/S 1068 Michael Brennan, General Officer Clare Brigade; W/S 184 Alfred Cotone IRB Organiser and Training Officer; W/S 110 Denis Daly, IRB member and Section Commander, Kinnagoe Garrison, who planned and was in charge of the Mission; W/S 752 Liam Forde, in 1916 Captain Mid Limerick Brigade; W/S 416 Cregan, Máirín (Mrs James Ryan), Volunteer activist and witness; W/S 130
Sean Fitzgibbon travelled to Limerick with a dispatch from Padraig Pearse, Holy Week 1916; W/S 1415 Michael Hartney, Limerick Volunteers; W/S 456 Witness Statement of W.P. Manahan; W/S 801 William Mullins, Quarter Master, Kerry 1 Brigade; W/S 998 Diarmuid O’Connell, Irish Volunteers, Caherciveen; W/S 765 Seamus O’Goibhin, Lieutenant, Limerick City Regiment; W/S 351 Fergus O’Kelly, 2nd Battalion Dublin Brigade, Signalling Company; W/S 107 Mortimer O’Leary, Castletregan Company IV assigned to pilot the Aoil into Fenit Pier; W/S Colin O’Loughlin, Captain on the staff of the Director of Intelligence, Mission participant, travelling in the lead car; W/S 516 John Quilty, Irish Volunteers, Limerick owner of the Brioose car; W/S 349, Bernard Reilly, RIC Constable, Ardfer, Co. Kerry, executed Casement at Ardfert RIC Station, Good Friday, 1916; W/S 1286 James Roche, Captain West Limerick Brigade; W/S 510, Frank Thornton, IRB member and Volunteer Organiser; W/S 765 Appendix Samuel Windrim, IRB, driver of the lead car; W/S 420 Charles Wyse Power, Irish Volunteer, Courrier to Limerick, Holy Week, 1916; W/S 1420 Patrick Whelan, Limerick Brigade Engineer.

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Newspapers

Books and Journals
- Dan Breen, My Fight for Irish Freedom. (Cork, 2010).
- Sean O’Malony, Fergon University of Revolution, Dublin (1987).

(Endnotes)
2. German steamship Libau, masquerading as the Norwegian registered SS Aud.
5. Displaying the agreed signal by day one of the crew throwing a green lantern and at night two green lanterns thrown intermittently, Xavier Clayton, Aud (2007), p. 55.
7. W/S 184 Witness Statement of Alfred Cotton (Bureau of Military History) p.11, Cotton and Austin Stack, met with Padraig Pearse who charged them with planning the activities assigned to the Kerry Bridge in connection with the arms landing.
8. W/S 110 Witness Statement of Denis Daly (Bureau of Military History) p.1, Daly planned and was in charge of the Mission on Good Friday.
9. W/S 110 Witness Statement of Denis Daly (Bureau of Military History) p.1, Daly was a close friend of Michael Collins. In 1916 Daly was a Section Commander in the Kinmage Garrison. (Endnotes)
10. MS 41,655 National library of Ireland, Keating had moved to Dublin from Caherciveen in January, 1916 Jeremiah Keating, father of Col Keating, in his evidence on Oath to the Coroners Inquest held on 24 April, 1916, told Collin O’Kelly, W/S 351 Witness Statement of Fergus O’Kelly, 2nd Battalion, Dublin Brigade, Signalling Coy (Bureau of Military History), p.1, Keating was assisting Joseph and George Plunkett in their attempts to set up a homemade wireless receiving set in the hope of being able to receive messages from the Aud or the U Boat with Casement on board.
11. Captain on the special staff of Joseph Plunkett, Director of Intelligence.
18. The first communication from Volunteer HC to the Limerick Area Command relating to an insurrection was Tuesday of Holy Week, with the arrival of two conflicting messages, one from Padraig Pearse and another from Sean MacDermott. Michael Colivet, Area Commander Limerick took the first train from Dublin the next day (Wednesday), meeting both MacDermott and Pearse to get clear and definite instructions. Colivet returned to Limerick on either Wednesday or Thursday and he recited his plans in accordance with Pearse’s directive. On Holy Thursday night Colivet gave his officers instructions for the mobilisation on Easter Sunday. Limerick Area Command forces were to be deployed across the area to ensure the distribution and safe passage of arms which were to be moved by hijacked trains on Easter Sunday from Fermi Co. Kerry through the Limerick area and on to Galway, Thomas Toomey, The War of Independence in Limerick 1912-1921 (2010) p.129.
22. It had been in for repairs earlier that morning in the Central Motor Garage, William Street, Xavier Clayton, Aud (2007) p.259, Quilty’s statement to police.
27. CO 904/195 Casement Files, The National Archives, Kew, England, RIC Chief Inspector’s report ‘attempted Rising of Sinn Feiners in the County Kerry’, Crime Special 11362, dated 11 May, 1916, p.10, Extra troops from Cork and extra police from Kerry arrived in Kerry, W/S 751 Witness Statement of Colm O’Lochlainn (Bureau of Military History) p.4. The lead car was stopped by the RIC outside Caherciveen on Good Friday night. O’Lochlainn spoke with the RIC who let slip that “a platoon of soldiers had come to guard the (Wireless) college in Caherciveen and that all police units were on patrol”
28. Roger Casement was being held in Ardfert RIC Barracks at 1pm, Friday, 21 April, 1916 and from there was taken to Tralee RIC Barracks - W/S 349 Witness Statement of Bernard Reilly, Constable RIC, Ardfert, Co. Kerry, 1916, (Bureau of Military History) p.5, The Aud had been pursued by British Naval Patrols since midday on Good Friday, Xavier Clayton, Aud (2007) pages 108 & 111.
30. W/S 751 Witness Statement of Sam Windrim (Bureau of Military History) p.3. O’Lochlainn identifies Colivet as being the man who approached the two Limerick men at Killeney Station.
32. W/S 765 Witness Statement of Sam Windrim (Bureau of Military History) Appendix p. 1. "I began to feel that this man had a very poor knowledge of the locality, seeing that he should have recourse to a map only about half a mile outside the town."


34. Windrim does not refer to the names of any of the Dublin party in his Bureau of Military History Witness Statement. However taking Windrim's witness statement (ibid at p 4-5) together with that of Daly (ibid at p20 and O'Loughlin at p38) we know that Daly and O'Loughlin got into the car Windrim was driving and remained in the car throughout the course of the night.

35. W/S 765 Witness Statement of Sam Windrim (Bureau of Military History). Appendix. At p5 Windrim states that having picked up the two men outside Killarney that "I asked my new leader if he could give me any idea of the distance we had to cover and the time allowed for doing it."

36. W/S 765 Witness Statement of Sam Windrim (Bureau of Military History). Appendix at p6, having left Killarney with Daly and O'Loughlin, Windrim says at p6 "Although we were about an hour and a half at this point I had practically no conversation with the two men, and naturally I was left to feel that they had no confidence in me when they did not disclose their plans. On the other hand I did not question them since I felt it was up to them to put their cards on the table as we were all in the same boat.


40. W/S 110 Witness Statement of Denis Daly (Bureau of Military History) p2. W/S 751 Witness Statement of Caim O'Loughlin (Bureau of Military History) p3. W/S 763 Witness Statement of Sam Windrim (Bureau of Military History) Appendix p. 5. Daly, Windrim and O'Loughlin are all consistent on this point that it was before reaching Killorglin that they lost sight of the second car behind them. Daly ordered Windrim to stop and wait for the McMeney in the second car, but the three men differ as to whether they should stop at Killorglin or wait for the second car. At p28 & 3) says they waited before Killorglin. While Windrim and O'Loughlin say that they stopped to wait after having passed through Killorglin (Windrim at page 6 and O'Loughlin at page 4).

41. There is no reference made by Windrim, Daly or O'Loughlin, in their Bureau of Military History Witness Statements, that they turned back to look for the second car. Whilst each man confirms what they waited for the second car to catch up as to where they waited. W/S 110 Witness Statement of Denis Daly (Bureau of Military History) p2 Daly says that "About three miles on the Killorglin side of Killorogin. I observed that the second car was not following us, and stopped. We waited for about three quarters of an hour, and as the car did not arrive, we concluded that it was possible that they had taken the Beaufort road if they had come they would have come into the town of Killorgin by a different road to the one we were on, and as we had waited so long they could have passed through the town of Killorgin."


43. Witness Statement of Timothy Sullivan, to the Inquest into the death of Con Keating, ibid.

44. Witness Statement of Lillie Talyor to the Inquest into the death of Con Keating held 24 April, 1916, National Library of Ireland MS 41,655. Analysis of Taylor's sworn statement made on 24 April, 1916, together with the fact that the remains of Monahan were not recovered until October, 1916, confirm that it was Monahan who came into her mother's house to ask for directions. Taylor confirmed on 24 April, 1916, that having seen the car of the two men then recovered from the River Laune (which we know to be that of Seeahan and Keating), "neither is that of the man who came into my mother's house." The man that came in sat with the driver of the car after leaving my mother's house."

45. Witness Statement of Lillie Talyor to the Inquest into the death of Con Keating held 24 April, 1916, National Library of Ireland MS 41,655. Windrim in his Witness Statement also confirms that the sky was very black and likely to downpour at any moment (at p5). Cragan also confirms in her statement that the night was "utterly cloudy and dark," W/S 416 Witness Statement of Maire Cregan (Bureau of Military History) at Appendix C.

46. Broscoi automobiles were manufactured by Benjamin Broscoi (1866-1945) in Jackson, Michigan between 1914 and 1921. The 1914 and 1915 Broscoi models had a single "Cyclops" headlight set in the radiator shell as you can see in the photograph. This design was changed over to the double headlight design in the 1916 models, since it was illegal to have the single headlight in some US States. See also https://www.sws.org/help/76.shtml.

47. W/S 416 Witness Statement of Maire Cregan (Bureau of Military History) at Appendix C.


49. Witness Statement of Timothy Sullivan, to the Inquest into the death of Con Keating, ibid.

50. Witness Statement of Timothy Sullivan, to the Inquest into the death of Con Keating, ibid.

51. Witness Statement of Timothy Sullivan, to the Inquest into the death of Con Keating, ibid.

52. Witness Statement of Timothy Sullivan, to the Inquest into the death of Con Keating, ibid.

53. Witness Statement of Timothy Sullivan, to the Inquest into the death of Con Keating, ibid.

54. Witness Statement of Timothy Sullivan, to the Inquest into the death of Con Keating, ibid.

55. W/S 416 Witness Statement of Mairin Cregan (Bureau of Military History) at Appendix C.

56. W/S 416 Witness Statement of Mairin Cregan (Bureau of Military History) at Appendix C.

57. W/S 416 Witness Statement of Mairin Cregan (Bureau of Military History) at Appendix C.

58. W/S 416 Witness Statement of Mairin Cregan (Bureau of Military History) at Appendix C.


63. W/S 765 Witness Statement of Sam Windrim (Bureau of Military History) Appendix p. 5. Daly gave Windrim a choice of roads and shortly thereafter the car lost sight of the second car.

64. Limerick Chronicle 6 April, 1920.

65. Also a member of the Limerick Harbour Board in 1922. Limerick Chronicle 30 May, 1922.


68. Following Eoin MacNeill's countermanding order, James attended a number of Limerick Irish Volunteer Brigade Staff meetings at which he and other leaders, including Sean O'Muirthe, Michael Brennan and Johnny Sweeney attempted unsuccessfully to persuade Limerick Irish Volunteer leadership to either fight or give their arms to those wanting to fight. Military Service Pensions Collection (Bureau of Military History) application of Michael Brennan, File Ref 2MS9395. W/S 1068 Witness Statement of Michael Brennan (Bureau of Military History) W/S 1415 Michael Hartney (Bureau of Military History) p4.


70. Limerick Chronicle, 14 April, 1921. The House of P. Burke and Mrs Nealon; and the furniture of Mrs M Daly, all of Limerick city, were likewise destroyed in the official reprisals. Reprisal was, in response to an attack on a party of RIC at John's Street in previous day, in which RIC Constable Wiggins was killed. See also The National Archives CO 90/131.


72. Limerick's Fighting Story (2009) p.339; Also reported in the Limerick Leader, 11 April, 1921, and the Limerick Chronicle 12 April, 1921.

73. Limerick Chronicle 30 May, 1922. Limerick Leader 29 May, 1922.