



# THEY DREAMED AND ARE DEAD LIMERICK 1916

*John Dal Kathleen. etc.*

By Dr Matthew Potter | William O'Neill | Brian Hodkinson | Edited by Jacqui Hayes

Too long a sacrifice  
Can make a stone of the heart  
O when may it suffice?  
That is Heaven's part, our part  
To murmur name upon name,  
As a mother names her child  
When sleep at last has come  
On limbs that had run wild.  
What is it but nightfall?  
No, no, not night but death;  
Was it needless death after all?  
For England may keep faith  
For all that is done and said.  
We know their dream; enough  
To know they dreamed and are dead;  
And what if excess of love  
Bewildered them till they died?  
I write it out in a verse-  
MacDonagh and MacBride  
And Connolly and Pearse  
Now and in time to be,  
Wherever green is worn,  
Are changed, changed utterly:  
A terrible beauty is born.

W B Yeats  
Easter 1916







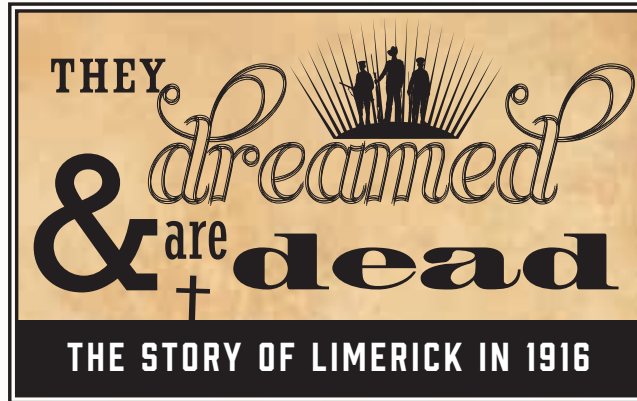
A Christian Brothers classroom, where nationalism and Catholicism blended seamlessly under the stern discipline of the teachers (Limerick Museum).

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This publication forms part of Limerick Museum and Archives programme commemorating the 1916 Rising. It acts as a partner to an exhibition of the same name.

As part of our research we were lucky to have the support of experts in this period and we would like to gratefully acknowledge their generous support and enthusiasm; Dr Angus Mitchell, Fr Brian Murphy and Tom Toomey.

We would also like to thank the families of those who shared their images and recollections with us at a number of roadshows as part of the process of gathering information. Carmel Healy Hennigan, James Hennessy, Martina Breen, Mary Wall, Michael O'Halloran, Charlotte Gleeson, Sam McCarthy, Sean Collins, Noelle Sheedy, Thomas Riordan, John Collins, John McCormack, John Power, Pat McSweeney, Paul Barrett, Timothy Hunt, Sam Windrim, the Slattery family, Joe Quilty, Dan Neville, Breda Howlett, Pat Dargan, Michael Conway, the Cregan, Colivet and O'Loughlin families.

We would like to thank the contributors to the commemorative edition of the Old Limerick Journal who have researched key aspects of Limerick in 1916 and facilitated access to their research; Tom Toomey for his work on the GAA in Limerick and on Robert Monteith's time as a fugitive on a Limerick farm; Dr Angus Mitchell for his work on Roger Casement and Limerick's role in the planned Rising; Denis O'Shaughnessy who charted the initial horrified press reaction to the Rising;







Jennifer M Levey for her work on Limerick's economic difficulties in 1916 due to the First World War and also her work on changes to time keeping in 1916; John Harrold for his work on Fr Eugene Sheehy and Helen Litton for her work on Eamonn Dore and Cumann na mBan. Sincere thanks to Tom Donovan editor of the Old Limerick Journal for his generosity and courtesy in facilitating access to this research presented in detailed articles.

Thanks to: Ken Bergin, Special Collections in UL for access to the wonderful Daly papers, to Catriona Crowe of Limerick Genealogy, Helen Litton and the O'Sullivan family for their courtesy in sharing images of the Daly family, to Alan English editor of the Limerick Leader and Grainne Keays for facilitating access to the original copies of the Limerick Leader and Chronicle, to Sharon Slater and Des Long for providing images, to the institutions who provided images: the National Library, the Irish Jesuit Archives, the Imperial War Museum, the South Dublin Library, the Digital Repository of Ireland (DRI), the National Archives, the Irish Military Archives and the Royal Irish Academy.

Thanks to the Limerick 1916 Commemoration committee, Damien Brady, Tony Storan, Tom Cassidy, Paul Foley and Padraig Power for their support, to Martina Burke, MA in History, UL placement student for her work on this project; to Ruairi Walsh of St Paul's National School for his advice and to the Umbrella Project for their ongoing support for the Museum.



# INTRODUCTION

Independent Ireland was born in the Easter Rising and the 1916 Proclamation is its birth certificate. The Rising set in motion the series of events that resulted in the creation of the Irish Free State in 1922 and the declaration of an Irish Republic in 1949. The story of this great national drama has often been told elsewhere. The story of the major role that Limerick played in 1916 is told in these pages.



Limerick had a much more important role in the Rising than is often realised. The original plans envisaged the city and county playing a central role in both the fighting and the distribution of the German arms shipment. Limerick had a

vibrant republican tradition represented by the veteran Fenian John Daly and his large, warm but formidable family of eight nieces and one nephew. Before 1916, the Dalys played a major part in promoting and funding republicanism, without which the Rising might never have been possible. Of the six major rebel strongholds in Dublin, one was commanded by a Limerick city man, Ned Daly and another by Eamon de Valera, who grew up in County Limerick. Another County Limerick man, Con Colbert from Athea commanded one of the lesser rebel strongholds. Many other Limerick people fought in the Rising and their contribution is highlighted in this book. Two

of the fifteen leaders executed in the aftermath were Limerick men; Ned Daly and Con Colbert.



Irish nationalism was part of an international movement that swept all of Europe, affecting numerous nations such as the Finns, Poles, Czechs, Croats and Ukrainians. Although situated on the Western edge of Europe, Limerick was very much swept up in this great revival of the continent's submerged peoples.



This book paints a portrait of Limerick in 1916, a dynamic place, situated in a fast-chang-



ing world. Modern inventions such as the motor car, electric light, radio, the aeroplane, cinema, plastic, even the zip-fastener had only recently appeared. Education had spread to all sections of society. The local newspapers were full of the First World War, and everyone knew someone fighting. While some sections of the community were prospering, the poor were suffering from wartime high prices and shortages. Even women's clothes were taking on their modern form.

W B Yeats wrote of the Rising leaders that:

## **'THEY DREAMED AND ARE DEAD'**

Many others also dreamed and a lot died at this time in the nation's history: the Irish Volunteers who fought the British Empire on the streets of Dublin; the thousands of Irish who fought in the armed forces of Britain and other allied armies in the Great War; the RIC constables who found themselves transformed from everyday policemen to hate figures; those who manned the home front in the factory, the farm, the schoolroom and the workshop.

All of them are remembered in this book, as in remembering them we commemorate them.

# Diary of Events in West Limerick

1913 - 1922

By Ex-Commandant J.V.

Charles Wall

Dunmoreghis a small town on the Limerick -  
Cork border, has the distinction of  
being the second best place outside  
of Dublin, to organize a volunteer corps.  
Athlone was the first. In November 1913  
Lt J. Wall etc. who was then the local  
curate, called the young men of the  
town and parish to a meeting where  
the aims and ideals of the volunteers  
were explained. A story which was  
told by a local merchant, Gabriel Brennan,  
was related. That same story was the  
scene of the terrible cinema tragedy of 1926.  
An ex-British soldier, Maurice Kelly, who  
was appointed drill instructor and about  
40 men were enrolled and about  
4 nights a week the volunteers learned  
the usual parade ground foot and



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Moore Street, Cappamore

2

A Portrait  
of Limerick in 1916

This portrait of Limerick sets the scene for Limerick's role in the Irish Revolution. In 1916 Limerick was a semi-industrial city. Some major industries provided work for generations of families, but there was also a lot of unemployment and under-employment. Social welfare was limited to outdoor relief under the hated Poor Law system and a lack of employment brought families close to poverty quickly.<sup>1</sup>

## **DISEASE AND DEATHS IN UNSANITARY STREETS**

One third of people in Limerick city lived in dirty and overcrowded conditions - mainly in the Englishtown, Irishtown and Carey's Road area of the city. Most of these lived in dwellings with no running water or sewerage systems.



Michael S McGrath, Medical Superintendent Officer of Health reported that 'Limerick was very much behind the times as regards the provision of sanitary accommodation'. He was very concerned about the resulting spread of diseases from human waste deposited on the streets and lanes warning that, until the problem was eradicated:

**'it will be utterly impossible to have a healthy city.'**

In 1915, there were three cases of diphtheria, twenty-three of scarlatina, fourteen of typhoid and four of continued fever in Limerick. Tuberculosis was a major killer, with 119 fatalities in 1915.<sup>2</sup> McGrath described how experiments in disposing of human waste using buckets first and then night carts was unsuccessful and 'another trial is about to be given to the use of the bins.'

In 1916, Limerick city had a high rate of infant mortality, with 100 children under the age of one year dying the previous year.<sup>3</sup> Better diet had increased people's resistance to illness however and by 1910 those who survived childhood and reached the age of fifteen could expect to live until the age of sixty-four.<sup>4</sup> The standard of living was also improving and the average Irish person was one and a half times better off in 1913 than they had been in 1870. In 1916, Irish people were better off than Spaniards, Portuguese and Greeks and had roughly the same standard of living as Italians and Norwegians.<sup>5</sup>

Limerick was far more rural in 1916 than nowadays, as 75 per cent of the population lived in country areas (in 2016 it was 50 per cent).<sup>6</sup> Agriculture was the biggest industry employing nearly 60 per cent of the workforce while 75 per cent of farmers had farms of less than fifty acres.<sup>7</sup>





## A TALE OF TWO CITIES

In 1916, housing played a major role in the the quality of Limerick citizens' lives.<sup>8</sup> Limerick was a tale of two cities and by 1916 many upper and middle class people had moved out of the city centre to fine houses on the North Circular Road, South Circular Road, O'Connell Avenue, Corbally and Ennis Road. While many business people continued to live over the shop in the city centre, some of the Georgian houses near Arthur's Quay and Irishtown had become tenements.<sup>9</sup>

Conditions in the poorer areas of Limerick city, where the average number of children per family was seven, were grim.<sup>10</sup> In some homes, the same pot was often used to cook and wash clothes.<sup>11</sup> In 1911, it was claimed that there was nowhere in Ireland 'with worse slum dwellings than Limerick or where proper houses for the poor are more necessary.'<sup>12</sup> In 1913, 20 per cent of the city's housing stock consisted of 1,050 tenement houses, and another 15 per cent were one-room flats.<sup>13</sup>

In 1885, former Mayor William Spillane had stated that 'scarcely any of the tenement houses have back yards... a great many are without closets [toilets].. they throw the refuse out of doors... the floors are very bad... earthen floors; all the basements are full of holes, nothing could be worse; roofs also are often broken. He described how he had seen 'two families living in a cellar with eight people living in it' and instances of where 'there was no furniture at all and people sleep on the floor.' Concerning Limerick city's high death rate, Spillane maintained that 'the want of

water and the filthy houses must contribute largely to it' and that 'the houses there are to be seen in a state of **squalor** and filth such as you would scarcely believe.'<sup>14</sup>

Nevertheless by 1916 the position in the city was slowly improving. The number of families living in tenements and one-room flats had dropped from 60 per cent in 1871 to 33 per cent in 1911.<sup>15</sup>

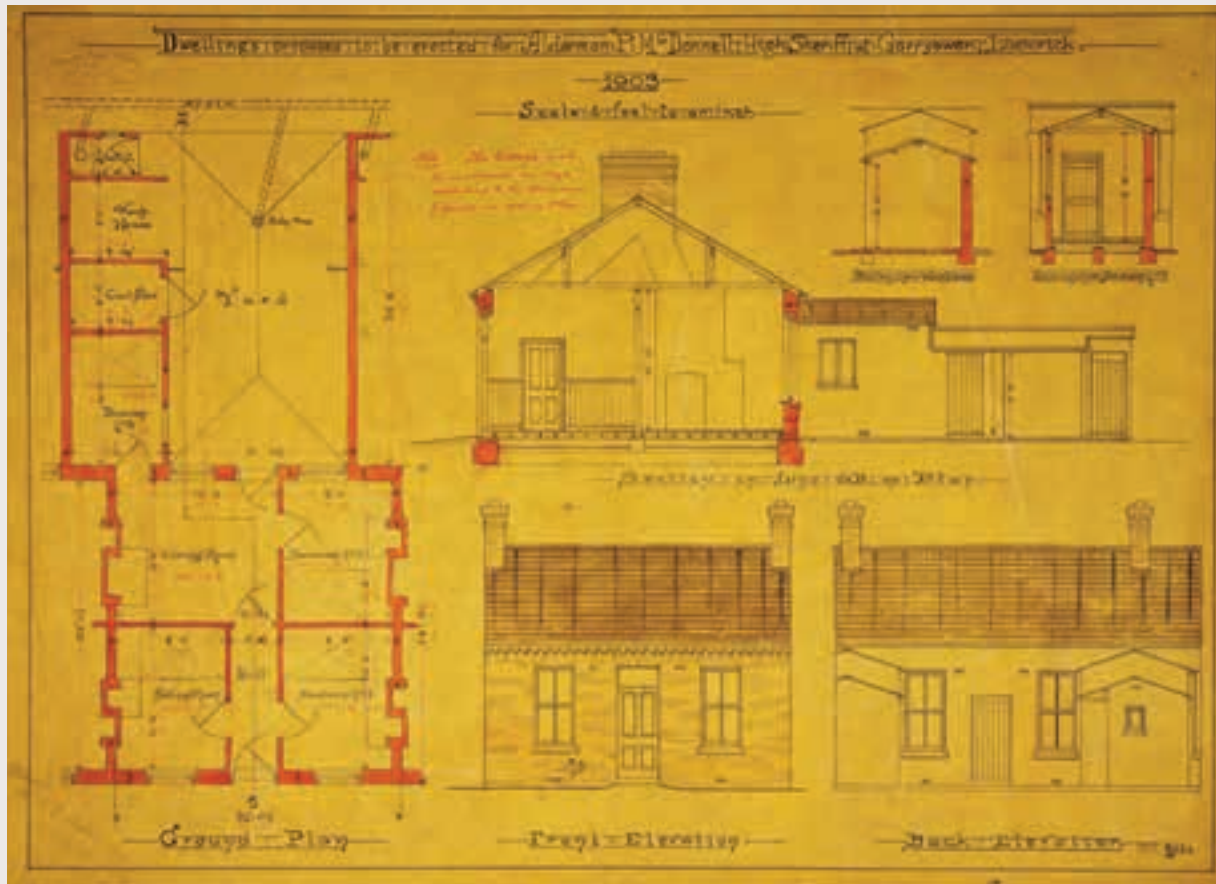
By 1914 Limerick Corporation and private charitable companies had built 253 fine artisans dwellings, but this was too little to supply the major demand. These houses were not available to the poorest families as rents were relatively high.



## Housing in County Limerick

Conditions were also slowly improving in the county, though at a faster rate than in the city. In the thirty years prior to 1916 hundreds of good





quality labourers' cottages had been built by the Boards of Guardians under the Labourers' Acts. In 1885, the Coll family of Bruree moved from a one-roomed thatched cottage to a 'new slate-roofed three-roomed labourers' cottage nearby.' The family consisted of Mrs Coll, her two adult sons and adult daughter, plus a

three-year old grandson 'Eddie' (later Eamon) de Valera.<sup>16</sup>

The number of people living in one-room mud cabins in Limerick city and county dropped from one in three families in 1871 to one in twenty families in 1911. Between 1871 and 1911, the number of Limerick families

whose accommodation consisted of ten or more rooms doubled.<sup>17</sup>

Nevertheless, housing in County Limerick was still poor. In 1910, the *Limerick Leader* described a house in Rathkeale as being 'situated in filthy surroundings' and as being 'a specimen of the wretched



hovels that are to be found in some of the congested areas.' It was fifteen or sixteen feet long and ten feet high, with a door that 'the average sized person would find difficult to enter without stooping.' The roof 'was thatched and in a state of decay.'<sup>18</sup> In 1913, the *Leader* carried another report, referring to 'deserving poor people' in rural areas living in 'hovels that... a respectable pig would not live in.'<sup>19</sup> The Irish Land and Labourers Association was set up in 1894 to fight for the rights of small farmers and agricultural labourers. One of its main policy aims was to provide more cottages for labourers.<sup>20</sup>

Few houses had bathrooms, so people washed in large tin baths in the bedroom or in wash hand basins. Mass-produced bars of soap were widely available. Toothpaste had become popular since its introduction almost sixteen years previously. Toothbrushes were usually made of bristles taken from pigs' necks.

## A SEMI INDUSTRIAL CITY

Limerick had four bacon factories which were world famous for their bacon and used the most advanced technology of the time: Matterson's, Shaw's, O'Mara's and Denny's. It was the proud boast of the Limerick bacon industry that when pigs entered the production line, 'nothing was wasted except the squeal.'<sup>21</sup> In 1892, Shaws had an advanced telephone system (only sixteen years after the telephone was invented), with lifts to every floor.<sup>22</sup>

The Limerick Clothing Factory at Lord Edward Street was working at full capacity during 1916, making military uniforms for the British Army and commercial suits. In 1915 the workers received a war bonus as they were doing so much overtime. Set up in 1850 by Sir Peter Tait, it was a pioneer of

the assembly line system and was the largest clothing factory in Ireland.<sup>23</sup>

The flour milling industry was flourishing in 1916 supplying flour for the war in Europe. Milling was one of Limerick's oldest industries. By 1916 Goodbodys were the leading millers, having taken over Bannatyne's Mills and Russell's Mills. The Harris family had a mill on Henry Street while the Maguire family ran a mill on Francis Street as well as Curraghower Mill in Croom. Many young boys followed their fathers or uncles into the mills at fourteen years of age. These were often paid low wages as 'boys' for many years into adulthood.<sup>24</sup>

In 1916, Cleaves Condensed Milk Company was thriving with over 3,000 employed in nineteen factories throughout Munster. These produced butter, condensed milk, toffee, cocoa, milk and sweets.



A poster showing the wide range of produce available from Matterson's Bacon Factory (Limerick Museum).





Limerick dockworkers made a difficult living and were typical of the under-employment and casual labour of the time.<sup>25</sup> Dock labourers had no contracts and were employed as needed when a ship docked. They worked outdoors unloading and loading ships at all hours in all sorts of weather, carrying enormous loads and handling hazardous materials such as fertilisers, chemicals and oil. In 1863, the Limerick Dock Labourers Union was formed to fight for dockers' rights. To join, 'a man had to have a close relative, most often his father, who was a member of the Society.'<sup>26</sup>

## **WOMEN AT WORK**

According to the 1911 census, the female proportion of the workforce was 29 per cent in Limerick city and 20 per cent in County Limerick.<sup>27</sup> However, the number of women in the workforce was underestimated as women working

at home were often not included. Many women were badly paid. Their wages were only half those of a male wage labourer and only around one-sixth of a skilled male worker. By far the biggest category of working women were domestic servants. Without electricity, running water and modern appliances, housework took a great deal of time and effort and many ordinary farms and households had domestic servants.<sup>28</sup>

In 1916 some Limerick women were very successful business people. Madge Daly managed the Daly family bakery for many years and also built up a large property portfolio all over Limerick. Florence Vere O'Brien and Maude Kearney ran thriving Limerick lace making enterprises. Women in the religious life were also powerful and influential, as school principals, hospital matrons and philanthropists. Limerick-born Sister Paul Quinlan the founding principal

of Mary Immaculate College, had established the college in 1898 and was still running it in 1916.<sup>29</sup>

## **THE RISE OF LITERACY**

In 1916, the national school system had been providing free education to all primary school children since 1831 and had an impressive record.<sup>30</sup> National literacy levels rose from 33 percent in 1851 to 84 per cent in 1911.<sup>31</sup> In 1911 93 per cent of Limerick people could read and write.<sup>32</sup> An increasingly confident and educated population became involved in nationalist organisations such as the GAA, Gaelic League, Irish Volunteers and Cumann na mBan.





## PRIMARY SCHOOLS

In 1916, there were 276 primary schools in Limerick with 104 boys' schools, 75 girls' schools and 97 mixed. Mixed schools usually had separate playgrounds, one each for boys and girls.<sup>33</sup> Ned Daly attended Leamy's on Hartstonge street where he learned book-keeping. The school had an enrolment figure of 520, but attendance was poor as an average of 410 were generally present on a daily basis.<sup>34</sup>

Teachers were poorly paid and in winter, schools were often cold, with large rooms heated by an open fire near the teacher's desk. Toilets were outdoors, discipline was strict and corporal punishment was common.

Subjects taught included English, History, Geography and



Ballyorgan Boys School, eight miles from Kilmallock, County Limerick (Limerick Museum).



**IN 1911, 93 PER CENT OF  
LIMERICK PEOPLE COULD  
READ AND WRITE.**





A boys primary school c. 1910 (Limerick Museum).





Mungret's best hurling team 1917-18. Fitzgerald, Quigley, Delany, Lawless, Sharkey, Wynne, English, Hayes, FitzPatrick, Murphy, Hogan, O'Connell, Lawless, Ryan, Po



Science. Irish had been recently added to the curriculum as a result of a campaign led by the Gaelic League.<sup>35</sup>

In 1916, most Limerick children left school around the age of fourteen to get a job and support their families.

## THE MURDER MACHINE

There were sixteen secondary schools in Limerick city and county. Only four of these had both male and female pupils, of which Villiers School, run by the Church of Ireland, was the largest.<sup>36</sup> The school curriculum was dominated by the annual state examinations as results determined the amount of grant aid paid to each school.<sup>37</sup> Greek, Latin, mathematics, history and geography were seen as the essential subjects for professional jobs, while science and technical

subjects were regarded as inferior. Padraig Pearse, an educationalist as well as a political activist, described Irish secondary education as 'the Murder Machine.' He said that it was

'a lifeless thing without  
a soul'

which treated education like

'some sort of  
manufacturing process.'<sup>38</sup>

The Christian Brothers played a major role in promoting nationalism among their pupils. In Limerick city, Sexton Street CBS, which was both a national and secondary school, was the most popular school with as many as 2,000 students enrolled. Among its past pupils were John and Ned Daly while Con Colbert, Sean Heuston and Eamon de Valera all attended CBS Schools.<sup>39</sup> Other important secondary schools were Laurel Hill, run by the Faithful Companions of Jesus (FCJ) nuns and Mungret

College run by the Jesuits.<sup>40</sup>

Limerick was a pioneer in technical education as its Municipal Technical Institute was one of the oldest in the country, having opened in 1893. By 1916 it was housed in a magnificent red brick building on O'Connell Avenue. However, 'the Tech' was not popular with middle class families who avoided sending their children there.<sup>41</sup> The Limerick School of Art and Design had been established in 1852 and since 1911 was housed in the Municipal Technical Institute.<sup>42</sup>

Less than 5 per cent of children progressed to secondary education.<sup>43</sup> Nearly all secondary schools were fee paying. Eamon de Valera walked fifteen miles a day from Bruree to the CBS school in Charleville before winning a scholarship to the elite Blackrock College.<sup>44</sup>





Limerick was one of the few urban areas in Ireland with third-level institutions. In 1898, Mary Immaculate College had been founded by the Sisters of Mercy as a teacher training college for girls. By 1916, it had around 100 students.<sup>45</sup>

Ireland's expanding education system provided a large number of clerks for a growing bureaucracy. The executed 1916 leader Sean Heuston was a clerk with the Great

Southern and Western Railways and moved from his native Dublin to work in Limerick Railway Station. Ned Daly and Con Colbert both moved to Dublin where they worked as clerks, Daly with a builders providers and then a wholesale chemist and Colbert with a bakery.<sup>46</sup>

## A TECHNOLOGICAL WORLD

By 1916 the world had undergone a technological

revolution. Aeroplanes, railways, telephones, typewriters and electric light had all become cornerstones of modern society. The radio was invented in 1901 and the aeroplane in 1903. Huge advances had been made in medicine with the introduction of modern anaesthetics (1846), antiseptic surgery (1869), and x-rays (1895).<sup>47</sup>

The First World War saw a rush of new inventions that made life at home and on the battlefield easier. The United States army put zip fasteners on their uniforms for the first time.<sup>48</sup> Wristwatches, which had been invented in 1868, had become very fashionable and were very useful on the battlefield to time attacks.





*Golfing, Lahinch, Co. Clare.*



## MOTOR CAR

The first motor car was registered in Limerick in 1904. Trains, bicycles and cars all played a major role in the planning and implementation of the 1916 Rising.

## Sport & Leisure

In 1916, people worked sixty hours a week with only Sunday off leaving very little free time. However, this was an improvement on the eighty hour week of previous decades, which meant that working class people had some limited time for leisure activities.<sup>49</sup> Golf, horse racing, athletics, hockey, bowling, Gaelic games, rugby and rowing were all popular activities in 1916. Despite the war, the music hall, theatre and cinemas were all booming.

**THEATRE ROYAL,**  
LIMERICK.

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THE LIMERICK OPERATIC SOCIETY  
- IN -  
GILBERT AND SULLIVAN'S COMIC OPERA-

# PATIENCE

Or, Bunthorne's Bride,  
BY PERFORMING AT 6. DUTCH LANE, AND DAVY'S THEATRE, LIMERICK.

(In aid of the Poor of the City and Lady Shaw's Fund for Comforts for the  
Royal Munster Fusiliers).

UNDER DISTINGUISHED PATRONAGE  
WEEK COMMENCING  
**MONDAY, 24<sup>th</sup> JAN., 1916,**  
FOR SIX NIGHTS AT 8 P.M.  
**MATINEE SATURDAY, JAN. 29<sup>th</sup>,**  
AT 3 P.M.





LADIES HURLING MATCH AT SENAGH.  
ON SUNDAY WEEK LAST.

(From 'The Sporting World' Vol. 10, 'Sporting News'.)

(PHOTOGRAPHED BY MR. J. J. O'NEILL.)







This was a golden era for Limerick athletics with success in a series of Olympic games. In the 1908 Olympics held in London, Limerick athletes won two gold medals: Timothy Ahearne in the triple jump and John Flanagan in the hammer as well as one silver medal: Con Leahy in the high jump (Limerick Museum).



Three-year old Mary Ita Larkin from Reen's Pike, Ardagh, County Limerick, on holidays in Ballybunion c. 1918. Increasing leisure time enabled more people to enjoy vacations by the sea, though only the very rich could afford foreign holidays (Courtesy Healy family).



The Theatre Royal on Henry Street was one of the leading theatres in Ireland and could hold 1,300 people. 'The stage was spacious and the theatre was so constructed that no matter what part of the house one was in, the stage never appeared far away.' Charles Dickens, Harry Houdini, Limerick opera singer Joseph O'Mara and English opera star Dame Clara Butt all performed there.<sup>50</sup>

In 1916 cinema was new and already popular. The first cinema in Ireland had opened in Dublin in 1909 and in 1910 'The Rink' opened in Limerick at Clontarf Place.<sup>51</sup> By 1916 there were four cinemas in Limerick. Charlie Chaplin, Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks were the stars of the day.<sup>52</sup> Films were still silent so they were accompanied by an orchestra or a piano.

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Shortly after the Easter Rising, on 5 October 1916, Limerick Museum opened its doors to the public for the first time in Pery Square.<sup>53</sup>



Limerick Museum opened in 1916 and soon began to attract visitors of all ages (Limerick Museum).

In 1916, Charlie Chaplin was already a household name for Limerick cinemagoers (Limerick Leader).



In 1916 Limerick had a large network of libraries. Limerick City Library was in Pery Square while Rathkeale, Ballyhahill, Ballysteen, Croagh, Kildimo, Kilcolman, Pallaskenry and Shanagolden all had libraries mainly funded by the famous philanthropist Andrew Carnegie.<sup>54</sup>

## RUGBY

Limerick was the only place in Ireland where rugby was played by all classes. In the 1890s, rugby's rise was assisted by the temporary

decline of the GAA, which was caused by the Parnell split, and quarrels between the Catholic clergy and the Fenians.<sup>55</sup>

The middle classes had introduced rugby to the city and it later spread to the working classes in order to have sufficient numbers.<sup>56</sup> Limerick had a tradition of strong men who worked at hard physical manual labour in the milling, bacon and other industries and were drawn to rugby.<sup>57</sup> The first recorded rugby club in Limerick was founded in Rathkeale in 1874, followed by Limerick County

in 1876.<sup>58</sup> Garryowen and Shannon Clubs were both founded in 1884 and Young Munster was founded in 1895. Later, the city developed 'a culture of parish-based junior rugby.'<sup>59</sup>

## ROWING

Limerick's location on the longest river in Ireland meant that the Shannon played an important role in city life. In 1916 the city had five rowing clubs. Shannon had been founded in 1866 by clothing manufacturer Sir Peter Tait.





Limerick rugby derived its flourishing tradition and mass appeal to pioneering sportsmen such as William Lamb Stokes of Barrington Street and Charles Barrington of Glenstal Castle (Limerick Museum).

Limerick Rowing Club was set up in 1870, Athlunkard in 1898, St Michael's in 1901 and St John's, later Curraghower, in 1914.<sup>60</sup>

Rowing and rugby fitted together very well into the social life of Limerick as many played rugby in the winter and rowed during the summer. In St Mary's Parish, men played rugby with Shannon and rowed with Athlunkard.<sup>61</sup>

John Daly, who though an IRB activist, was also a prosperous baker, was angry when his application to join Shannon Rowing Club was refused due to his Fenian background and prison record. As a respectable businessman, he regarded this as an unwarranted snub. Instead, the local nationalists presented him with his own rowing boat, which was handed over to him in a colourful ceremony.<sup>62</sup>

## Monster Houses

In Limerick city, large department stores known as 'monster houses' such as Todd's, McBirney's and Cannock's employed hundreds of people and many of the staff lived in-house under the strict supervision of their managers. Most shopkeepers had young apprentices who received on the job training for seven years and received a small annual wage of around £10.<sup>63</sup>

\*\*\*\*\*

Shopkeepers were the backbone of Limerick city and every town in the county. Many lived over their premises often with their staff and apprentices

On the eve of the Easter Rising in 1916 the centre of Limerick city and Limerick towns and villages looked very similar to

today. By 1850, the main streets of Adare, Rathkeale, Newcastlewest and Abbeyfeale had all taken on their current appearance.<sup>64</sup>

## MUD OR DUST

Street and road surfaces were poor as tarmacadaming was not to be introduced in Limerick until the 1920s.<sup>65</sup> The road surface used in 1916 was soft limestone chip which quickly turned to mud or dust, depending on the weather conditions. 'During the winter months, our city thoroughfares are practically rivers of slimy mud... while in summer they are in an almost equally objectionable state by reason of the blinding suffocating dust with which they were covered.'<sup>66</sup>







Patrick and Rutland Streets, Limerick. In 1916, many business people lived over the shop, although the wealthiest merchants tended to live in the suburbs (Limerick Museum).



# RISING HEMLINES

In 1916, hemlines were rising—the most radical change in women’s fashions for over 2,500 years. Because so many men had joined the armed forces, more women were working in factories, banks and post offices, as fire-fighters and as bus conductors and they needed to wear more practical clothes. Corsets were less restrictive and skirts were calf-length and narrow, often worn with a matching coat. Lace went completely out of fashion, with serious consequences for the Limerick lace industry. Hair was worn pinned up. Hats had shrunk from their Edwardian splendour.<sup>67</sup>

Many older and less well-off women in both town and country still wore black shawls, particularly widows. By 1916 the shawl had become

deeply unfashionable and its wearers were sometimes called ‘shawlies.’ Young Ned Daly was so embarrassed at being brought to school by a maid wearing a shawl that he used to throw stones at her.<sup>68</sup>

Men wore three-piece suits with shirts and ties. Moustaches were popular with young men while older men still wore the beards that had been fashionable in the late nineteenth century. All men wore boots and a hat or a cap when outdoors. Upper and middle class men wore either homburg or bowler hats for everyday wear, and top hats on formal occasions. Working class men and boys from all classes wore flat caps with large peaks on them.

Boys wore knee length trousers, long socks, short buttoned jackets, caps and boots. Girls wore smocks or pinafores over calf length dresses.<sup>69</sup>



Women’s underwear had only recently become known as ‘lingerie.’ It usually comprised a pair of knickers that reached below the knees, a loose, shirt-like chemise and a petticoat or underskirt. Men’s underwear consisted of a one piece garment made up of a vest and close fitting ankle-length trousers, known as long johns.<sup>70</sup> Pyjamas, a fashion brought from India, became increasingly popular for sleepwear, but many continued to favour the old-fashioned night shirt.<sup>71</sup>







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People rarely bought clothes ready-made in shops. Instead they chose their material and brought it to a tailor or dressmaker. Many women worked as dressmakers and lace makers. In 1911, there were 634 tailors, 985 milliners/dressmakers and 418 shirtmakers/seamstresses in Limerick city and county.<sup>72</sup> Poorer people bought second-hand clothes, which were only discarded when they were

completely worn out. Clothes were valuable and often passed on to relatives. The dead were buried in shrouds made of cotton or linen as clothes were too valuable to discard.

## CHANGING TIMES

In 1916, Ireland made two changes to its time-keeping system: it adopted Daylight Saving Time (DST) on 21 May

and Greenwich Mean Time (GMT) on 1 October. Before 1916, Ireland had its own time keeping system known as Dublin Mean Time which was twenty-five minutes behind Britain's system of GMT as the sun rises and sets in Dublin just over twenty-five minutes later than it does in London. Much of the country followed local time and cities set their town clock by measuring the position of the sun.





In 1916, DST, was introduced in Britain and Ireland under the Summer Time Act and clocks moved forward an hour from 21 May 1916.<sup>63</sup> Germany had already made the change to save costs and increase production as part of the war effort. In Ireland, farmers' groups raised concerns that the new system would interfere with early morning milking.<sup>74</sup> In October GMT was also introduced to bring Ireland and Great Britain in line for the first time, ironically only months after the Rising.



Mr. Knight, a well known nautical optician suggested the best way to make the alteration was that 'all pendulums should be stopped gently and remain so for 35 minutes. Striking clocks may be set right by moving the hands forward and striking hour by hour the full eleven hours, and stopping short 25 minutes of the full hours.'<sup>75</sup>

Irish time-keeping retained its individuality. Ernie O'Malley, an IRA organiser during the War of Independence, wrote that 'there was a difficulty of three different times for councils and classes. Summer time was kept by cities, some towns and the railway; new time was an increase of 25 minutes on old Irish time to synchronise with English time; as yet punctual time had not come.'<sup>76</sup>



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be laid on the Memorial  
Yours  
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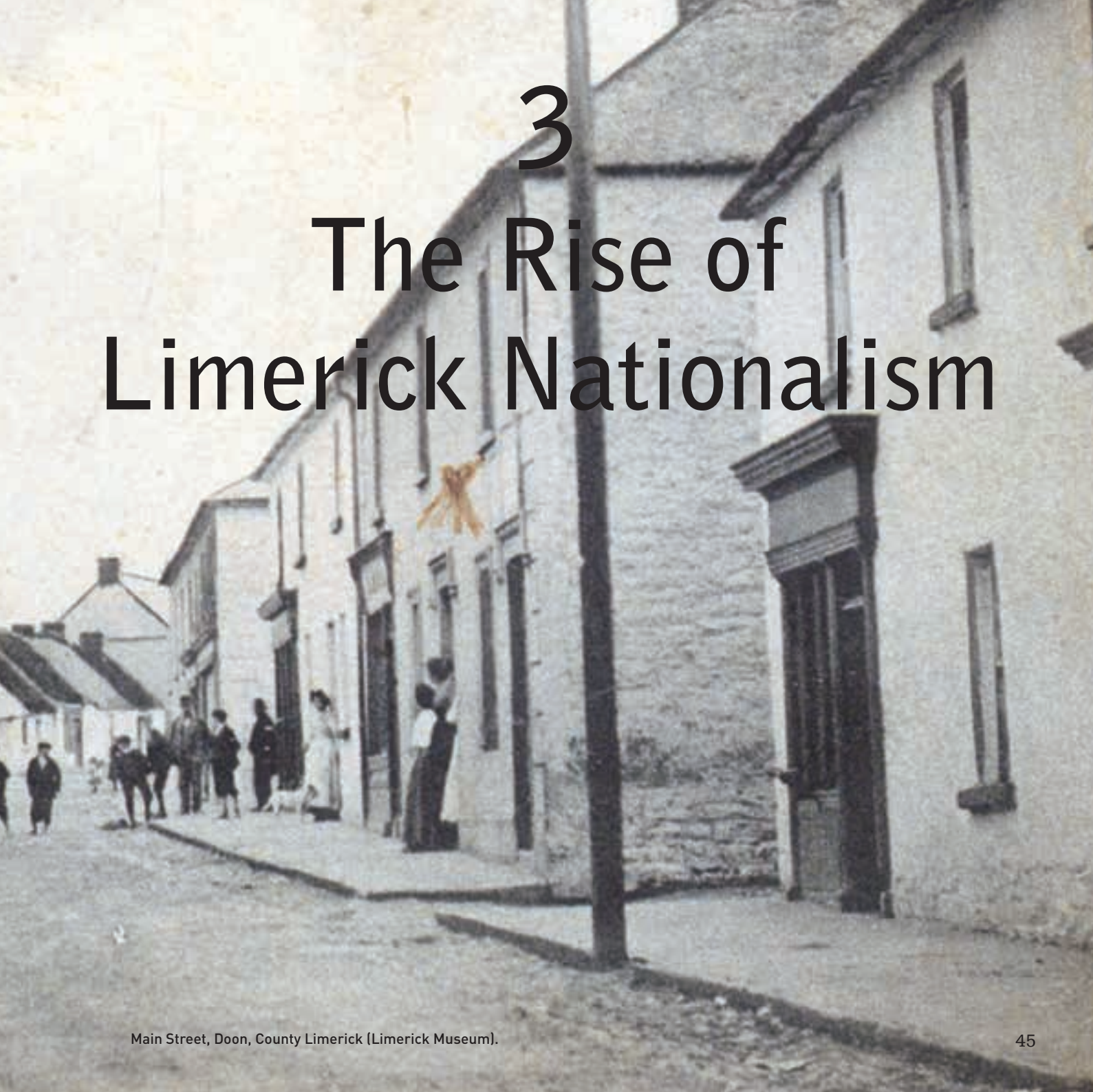




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3

# The Rise of Limerick Nationalism





### THREE STRANDS OF IRISH NATIONALISM

In 1916, parliamentary, physical force and cultural nationalism were all part of the Irish political landscape.<sup>77</sup> The parliamentary tradition, which sought full or partial independence by peaceful means, appeared to be the strongest. By 1914 the Irish Party led by John Redmond seemed to have finally achieved the goal of Home Rule for Ireland and had massive popular support. All of Limerick's parliamentary seats and local authorities were under its control.<sup>78</sup>

Limerick, like the rest of Ireland, was in two minds about where it stood on the national question. On the surface at least, people seemed content with being part of the United Kingdom.<sup>79</sup> Democratically elected county councils had been set up in 1898. The Wyndham Land Act (1903) had transferred most of the land





from landlords to tenants. Education was under church control. Home Rule was promised once the war was over.

At the same time, a strong undercurrent of extremism and anti-English sentiment was widespread, partially due to the legacy of the Land War.<sup>80</sup> Limerick Volunteer Liam Forde later stated that ‘the tales of the evictions and the sufferings endured prior to and during the earlier years of my life were principally responsible in arousing my rebel instincts and in the shaping of my national outlook.’<sup>81</sup>

It was clear that Irish nationalists wanted ‘independence’ but were vague about what form it should take. Few were prepared to fight for it, and were content with Home Rule, a limited form of self-government.

## THE FENIAN FLAME

Home Rule was so strong in

1916 that physical force nationalism, which aimed to gain full independence by force of arms, seemed almost dead. In 1966, Garret Fitzgerald noted that the 1916 Rising had been:

planned by men who feared that without a dramatic gesture of this kind, the sense of national identity that had survived all the hazards of the centuries would flicker out ignominiously within their life time, leaving Ireland

psychologically as well as legally, like Scotland, an integral part of the United Kingdom.<sup>82</sup>

Since 1858, its torchbearers had been the Fenians, officially known as the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB). Republicanism was marked by a series of rebellions: the United Irishmen (1798), Robert Emmet (1803), the Young Irelanders (1848) and the Fenians (1867). These gave rise to the myth of the ‘Pheonix Flame’; that republicanism was always





The above interesting photo was taken by Roe McMahon at the instance of the Pipers' Club, Dublin, immediately after the Union Pipes Competition in the Rotunda on Tuesday, the 2nd July, 1912

Back Row—Stephen Beane (Galway); John Fotts (Dublin); Tom Matthews (Greenanstown, Ballbrigan); Thomas Walsh (Douglaswell); M. Flanagan (Dublin); Pat Ward (Droghda); Nicholas Markov (Teacher, Dublin Pipers' Club); Dan Markov (Castiblancoff); W. H. Mulvey (Mihil); Michael O'Donoghue (Hon. Sec. Dublin Pipers' Club); Edmund O. Foghtina (Chairman O'Rourke's Committee); J. J. O'Farrelly

Middle Row—Seamus Da Caside (Dublin Pipers' Club); John Kenny (Dublin); Hugh Newman (Athboy); Mrs. J. J. Murphy (Limerick); James Byrne (Munster); J. F. Flanagan (Dublin); Edward Mulvey (Mihil); Michael MacGulanev (Mihil)

Front Row—Stanley Mac Aoughan (Dublin Pipers' Club); John O'Reilly (Dunmore, Co., Galway); Edmund Cunniff (Adju-Bicator); Francis J. McPeck (Belfast)

dying and being reborn, as every Irish generation struck a blow for freedom.

After a long period of decline, the IRB was reformed from 1907 by young recruits such as Bulmer Hobson and Sean MacDiarmada, who had the support of Fenian veteran Tom Clarke. Having expelled many elderly, apathetic members, they shaped the IRB into a tightly organised and highly disciplined force. In 1915, it emerged into the open when Pdraig Pearse delivered his famous oration at the funeral of IRB leader Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa in Glasnevin Cemetery. His ringing conclusion, 'the fools, the fools, the fools!- they have left us our Fenian dead, and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace' was a call to arms aimed at the current generation of young Irish people. By 1916 the IRB was well organised, had infiltrated the GAA, Gaelic League and Irish Volunteers and was committed to a rebellion before

the war ended: 'England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity.'<sup>83</sup>

## An Irish Ireland

Cultural nationalism was inspired by Ireland's unique heritage - its language, literature and sports. From the 1880s onwards new movements emerged that aimed to revive and promote Irish culture. The Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), Gaelic League and the Irish Literary Revival all helped to shape a sense of Irish identity.<sup>84</sup>

By 1916, the majority of Limerick people had re-imagined Ireland as a nation with its own history and rich culture in a way that they had not before the 1880s and 1890s. This was largely due to the flourishing state of the GAA and Gaelic League in both city and county.

Timothy O'Neill Lane (1852-1915) from Templeglantine, County Limerick, was a major

cultural nationalist, who produced the first modern English-Irish dictionary (1904).<sup>85</sup>

The Joyce brothers from Ballyorgan, in East Limerick were important contributors to the movement. Patrick Weston Joyce (1827-1914) was a pioneer in Irish place names, traditional music, history and many other fields. His brother Robert Dwyer Joyce (1830-83) wrote many poems and songs, including 'The Boys of Wexford' and 'The Wind that Shakes the Barley' (which gave its name to the 2006 film directed by Ken Loach).<sup>86</sup>



## THE GAA

Founded in 1884, the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) aimed to preserve and revive traditional Irish sports including hurling, football, handball and athletics.<sup>87</sup> Among the first clubs to be established in Limerick were South Liberties, St Patrick's and Commercials in



the city and Murroe, Castleconnell, Ballylanders and Boher in the county. In 1887-88, Limerick, represented by Commercials Club, won the first All-Ireland Football final.<sup>88</sup>

For the first twenty years of its existence, the GAA was divided by bitter disputes, mostly caused by the IRB's efforts to use the GAA for recruits and the Catholic Church's strong

efforts to oppose them.<sup>89</sup> As a result, Limerick GAA went into a steep decline and rugby took hold in Limerick city.<sup>90</sup> After 1900, the GAA underwent a great revival. The City Board was established in 1902 and the number of clubs increased steadily.<sup>91</sup>

The GAA provided many recruits to the Irish Volunteers. In total, 302 of its members (20 per cent of the

total participants) took part in the Easter Rising. However, many GAA members also joined the British armed forces. In 1916, 'there were many more GAA men fighting in British army uniforms in France, than there were in the GPO.' Later it continued 'to engage with the British authorities to safeguard the organisation's sporting operations' going so far as to meet with General Maxwell after he had presided over the executions of the 1916 leaders.' After the Rising, the GAA even issued a statement denying any involvement in the fighting.<sup>92</sup>

On 18 April 1916, only a week before the outbreak of the Easter Rising, the death occurred in Dublin of Frank Dineen (1863-1916), the only person to be both president (1895-98) and secretary (1898-1901) of the GAA. A native of Ballylanders, County Limerick, he had also been responsible for the GAA's acquisition of Croke Park in 1913.<sup>93</sup>



LIMERICK GAELIC LEAGUE		
OFFICIAL COLLECTORS, 1916.		
<p><b>St. John's Parish.</b>            J. Walsh            M. Scallan            William Forde            T. McKernan            P. McSwiney            J. J. O'Donovan, Secretary            Revd. D. O'Kelly</p>	<p><b>Customhouse Ward.</b>            J. Coughlan            J. Purcell, Secretary            A. Kivlehan            R. Healy</p>	<p><b>Gientworth Ward.</b>            Rev. Dr. O'Brien            B. McGan, Junr., Secretary            Maurice Counihan            P. Griffin            Gerald Leaby, Secretary</p>
<p><b>St. Mary's Parish.</b>            F. Geary            J. Gubbins, Secretary            W. O'Sullivan            J. O'Farrell            T. Daly            A. Blake            J. Troy            W. Reahald</p>	<p><b>Dock Ward</b>            NORTH            W. Finerty, Secretary            Richard Hogan            M. Donnellan            SOUTH            P. O'Sullivan            M. O'Sullivan, Secretary            CENTRE            Revd. J. Madden            Rev. J. Dolan            J. Malone            J. J. Hayes</p>	<p><b>Market Ward.</b>            J. O'Dea            J. McMahon, Secretary            J. Griffin            P. McEvoy            W. Madden            R. Duggan</p>
<p><b>St. Munchin's Parish.</b>            M. Brennan            Peter McMahon, Secretary            J. J. O'Kelly            J. Hickey</p>	<p><b>Ballinacurra.</b>            Mrs. O'Donovan</p>	<p><b>Shannon Ward.</b>            S. Ó Muintílle            J. J. Casey, Secretary            J. Wistled            Revd. J. Hayes            R. Slattery</p>

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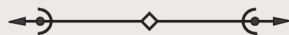
## The Gaelic League in Limerick

The Irish language declined sharply in the nineteenth century, mainly because English was the language of government, economic life and in the eyes of many, of progress. In Bruree County

Limerick, although Eamon de Valera's grandmother was a native Irish speaker, she never spoke Irish with him, and he had to learn it as an adult in the Gaelic League. Founded in 1893 by a group of scholars,

the League was a desperate attempt to preserve and revive the Irish language. By 1916 it had become part of the cultural and social life of Ireland.<sup>94</sup>

Inspired by the centenary of the 1798 rebellion, the first branch in Limerick city was established in 1898. Branches sprang up all over the city and county, as a new generation of men and women took part in the celebration of Irish culture. Travelling teachers called *timirí* held Irish language classes in the city at the Town Hall, CBS Sexton Street and Bridge Street and in the county in Newcastle West and other towns. They also taught Irish music and dancing, creating a new lively social scene for many people. Josephine Vaughan was one of many young girls from Limerick who attended Irish classes and won medals for Irish language proficiency at *feiseanna*, which began to be held regularly at this time.



In 1902 the Limerick City branch of the Gaelic League came up with the idea of making St Patrick's Day a national holiday. As a result of a national campaign, led by two Limerick men, James O'Mara MP, whose family owned one of Limerick's four bacon factories and the fourth Earl of Dunraven, St Patrick's Day became the official national holiday in 1903.<sup>95</sup>

Although Douglas Hyde wanted to keep the League non-political, it encouraged many to regard Ireland as a distinct nation with a separate history and culture, which should therefore be an independent state. Many major figures from Limerick or associated with Limerick, active in the national movement between 1916 and 1921, were involved with the Gaelic League, including Eamon de Valera, Con Colbert, Edward Daly, Sean Wall, Michael O'Callaghan, Kate O'Callaghan, Maire O'Donovan and George Clancy.

Cultural nationalism had deepened and widened a sense of Irish separateness. The growing importance of the Catholic Church with its heritage of persecution during the Penal era also helped create an image of Britain as being anti-Catholic, anti-Irish and alien.



## THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS

While the GAA and Gaelic League developed nationalist sentiment, the Irish Volun-

An official booklet of Irish Volunteers marching songs that once belonged to Commandant Michael Colivet. By 1916, the people of Limerick were accustomed to seeing official and unofficial armies marching in public to the accompaniment of stirring martial music [Limerick Museum].





**IN 1902 THE LIMERICK CITY BRANCH OF THE GAELIC LEAGUE CAME UP WITH THE IDEA OF MAKING ST PATRICK'S DAY A NATIONAL HOLIDAY. AS A RESULT OF A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN, LED BY TWO LIMERICK MEN, JAMES O'MARA MP, WHOSE FAMILY OWNED ONE OF LIMERICK'S FOUR BACON FACTORIES AND THE FOURTH EARL OF DUNRAVEN, ST PATRICK'S DAY BECAME THE OFFICIAL NATIONAL HOLIDAY IN 1903. (LIMERICK MUSEUM)**





A group of Irish Volunteers at Laffan's Field, Killonan, c. May/June 1915 (Courtesy McSweeney family).





teers provided the army with which the IRB were able to finally stage their long-awaited rebellion. However, at the instigation of Eoin MacNeill, the Volunteers were founded in 1913 for entirely different reasons, to oppose the Ulster Volunteer Force and to insist on Home Rule being granted. A Volunteering craze swept the country and 150,000 joined up. The uniform was grey-green in colour, with the harp on both buttons and cap badges, but those who couldn't

afford it wore civilian clothes with a brown belt with 'Irish Volunteers' written on it.<sup>96</sup>

The Limerick branch was launched with great enthusiasm on 25th of January 1914 at a meeting attended by hundreds of people at the Athenaeum Hall on Cecil Street. Among the attendance were Roger Casement, Padraig Pearse, future murdered Mayor of Limerick Michael O'Callaghan and IRB member James Ledden.<sup>97</sup> As part of its

national revival, the Limerick IRB had been reorganised under the leadership of future Mayor of Limerick, George Clancy (who was to be killed by the Black and Tans in 1921) and James Ledden. Due to their efficiency, the Limerick IRB quickly took control of the local Volunteers. When the Irish Volunteers split in 1914 over the question of participation in the war, 7,000 of the Limerick branch supported Redmond and became part of his National Volu-



**GROUP OF VOLUNTEERS OFFICERS, TAKEN ON 26 JULY 1914, BEFORE THE SPLIT IN THE ORGANISATION. ROBERT MONTEITH IS IN UNIFORM ON THE LEFT. NOTICE THAT TWO OF THEM ARE IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES, INCLUDING NED DALY WEARING LIGHT GREY HAT. THE VOLUNTEER UNIFORM WAS GREY-GREEN IN COLOUR, WITH THE HARP ON BOTH BUTTONS AND CAP BADGES. LIMERICK CLOTHING FACTORY PRODUCED THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS UNIFORMS INCLUDING THOSE WORN BY PEARSE, DE VALERA AND NED DALY (Limerick Museum).**

nteers, while 500 opposed him and remained with the Irish Volunteers, who continued to be strongly linked with the IRB.

The first secretary of the Limerick Volunteers was Con Cregan (1880-1966), a native of Newcastle West who was a staunch Redmondite and editor of the *Limerick Leader* from 1910 to 1960.<sup>98</sup>

After the split, the Irish Volunteers in Limerick prospered. Critically, the former mayor John Daly and his family sided with the Irish Volunteers providing their home as a meeting place while his niece Madge Daly, as president of the Limerick branch of Cumann na mBan, raised much funding for the Volunteers.<sup>99</sup> Liam P Manahan later remembered how recruiting agent Robert Monteith:

came to Limerick to take charge of the training and organisation of the Volun-

teers in Limerick City, but we were also to make use of his services in the county, and, on the nights he was not engaged in training with the city Volunteers, he travelled to the outlying towns and villages, beginning with Ballylanders, and Newcastle West and later Galbally. Training revived as a result of Monteith's efforts. Some time later in 1915, we were able to parade over three hundred men in Ballylanders.<sup>100</sup>

The recruiting agent for County Limerick was future cabinet minister Ernest Blythe, who held weekly officer training courses in Ballylanders attended by men from Galbally, Ardpatrick, Kilfinnane and Mitchelstown as well as Ballylanders itself.

Both the general public and the RIC became familiar with the sight of an alternative army openly drilling and parading on a regular basis. As a result, the

Irish Volunteers gained more support, while the security forces were lulled into a false sense of security.<sup>101</sup>

In contrast, the National Volunteers were in decline by 1916, their numbers depleted by recruitment to the British army. Some of its members began to doubt the wisdom of Redmond's commitment to the war effort. James Maloney from Bruff remained a member until after the Rising but recalled that 'somehow his light faded in our minds. We began to question among ourselves his wisdom and to relate his mouthings with what we knew of Ireland's past.'<sup>102</sup>

On one occasion in Ballysimon, a body of well armed Irish Volunteers marching with Monteith at their head passed some National Volunteers, who had just one rifle between them. Disillusioned, the National Volunteers promptly changed sides en masse.<sup>103</sup>



## THE WHIT SUNDAY RIOT (1915)

The Irish Volunteers were deeply disliked by the families of the many Limerick soldiers fighting in the European war. This culminated in an ugly confrontation on Whit Sunday 23 May 1915. The scene was set when Limerick was chosen as the venue for the 1915 Volunteer national rally, in the

mistaken belief that they would receive an enthusiastic welcome similar to that accorded the local branch when they marched through the city on St Patrick's Day, 1914.

Prominent Irish Volunteer leaders from all over Ireland arrived in Limerick by train. These included six of the future 1916 leaders (Padraig Pearse, Willie Pearse, Tom Clarke, Sean MacDiarmada, Thomas McDonagh and Ned

Daly); two future Lord Mayors of Cork who were to die in the War of Independence (Tomás MacCurtain and Terence MacSwiney); a future Mayor of Limerick (George Clancy) and two future anti-Treaty leaders who died in the Civil War (Cathal Brugha and Liam Mellows).<sup>104</sup>

1,100 Volunteers and 220 members of the Fianna took part in the march through the city centre which passed



Some nationalist Jesuits in the Crescent College organised their students into an Irish Volunteer Corps. Here, they are parading in Mungret, outside Limerick city, on St Patrick's Day, 1915 (Jesuit Archives, Dublin).

without incident. However, they were attacked twice, first as they marched through the Irish-town area, and secondly as they approached the railway station. During the riot, bottles and stones were hurled at the marchers. Large numbers of soldiers' families lived in both areas and the wives, sisters and mothers of men serving on the Western Front and Gallipoli were furious at what they regarded as the disrespect to their men shown by the anti-war Volunteers. On the other hand, the Volunteers and their supporters accused the rioters of being 'intoxicated rowdies', drunk with alcohol provided by pro-British elements.<sup>105</sup>



# Fianna Eireann

Although traditionally, the Irish Volunteers have occupied centre stage in the historiography of the Rising, two other organisations in Limerick, Fianna Eireann and Cumann na mBan also played a very important, though often overlooked role.

Fianna Eireann was founded in 1909 by Countess Markievicz and Bulmer Hobson as a sort of Irish nationalist boy scouts on the model of Baden-Powell's recently established scouting movement. They were called after the mythological Irish warriors led by Fionn Mac Cumhaill. The Limerick branch was founded in 1911 and under the direction of Sean Heuston, became the largest and most dynamic in

the country. In May 1912, the RIC reported that it had a membership of 210 and that Limerick was the only centre of significant Fianna activity in the country. The Limerick branch even had its own Fianna Hall in the back garden of the Daly residence on 15 Barrington Street, opened in 1912 which was 'capable of seating some hundreds... [with] additional space for exercises and drill.'<sup>106</sup>

Heuston seems to have been a strict disciplinarian and superb organiser. Madge Daly later recalled that he 'planned each year's Fianna programme in advance, arranging classes, lectures, marches and examinations for the boys. He realised that the success of the Fianna movement depended on keeping the boys fully occupied and interested. Sean himself took charge of drill, signalling and general scout training.'<sup>107</sup> Not surprisingly, Fianna Eireann was thoroughly infiltrated by the IRB, of which Heuston himself was a member.



*A rare photograph of a Fianna meeting c. 1913 with the great Fenian John Daly in the centre, seated. The location was at the rear of the Fianna Eireann Hall in Barrington Street, Limerick. Back row, L. to R. Joe Halpin, Joe Walton, —, Con Colbert, Seán Heuston (both were later executed in 1916), Jack Walton and Ned Fitzgibbon. Front row L. to R. — Whelan, John Daly, Jim Liddan.*





Group of Fianna Éireann taken outside the Fianna Hall, at the back of John Daly's residence, 15 Barrington Street, in 1913. Sean Heuston, who is seated in the centre, holding a walking stick, had moulded the Limerick Fianna into the largest and strongest branch in Ireland (Limerick Museum).





# Robert Monteith (1879–1956)

From Newtownmountkenedy, Co. Wicklow, Robert Monteith served with the British Army (1895-1903) and later the Ordnance Survey Office. A convert to radical nationalism, he came to Limerick with Ernest Blythe and worked at reorganizing and training the Irish Volunteers. Although Monteith had to deal with innuendoes that he was a British spy, he successfully recruited men from Castleconnell, Killoonan, Limerick city and Meelick. Training was usually carried out on the farm of wealthy local farmer Batt Laffan (1878-1947) in Killoonan.<sup>108</sup>

In 1915, Monteith went to Berlin to assist Sir Roger Casement in recruiting an Irish nationalist brigade from among the Irish prisoners of war. However, their plans were changed when they learnt of the impending rebellion in Ireland. Casement and Monteith secured a shipment of arms to be delivered by the *Aud* in County Kerry. They arrived by German submarine and came ashore at Banna Strand. Casement was arrested, but Monteith found his way back to Laffan's farm in County Limerick.<sup>109</sup>

Here, throughout Easter week and for months after when he

was a wanted man, Monteith was hidden by the Laffans in a ditch beside their farmhouse. He was fed and looked after by the family and somehow managed to avoid detection, despite numerous police searches. The growing radicalisation of County Limerick is demonstrated by the manner in which former Redmondite Laffan concealed Monteith for so long and with the knowledge of his family and farm workers. In December 1916 Monteith escaped via Liverpool, to the USA where, except for a brief return to Ireland in the 1950s, he spent the rest of his life.<sup>110</sup>







Robert Monteith in the uniform of a Volunteer officer, 26 July 1914. Note the similarity of the uniform to that of a British army officer (Limerick Museum).

# Mary Spring Rice and the Howth Gun – Running

When the Ulster Volunteers successfully imported arms in April 1914 many had agreed with Pádraig Pearse that ‘the only thing more ridiculous than an Ulsterman with a rifle is a Nationalist without one.’<sup>111</sup> This prompted Limerick woman Mary Spring Rice into suggesting that arms should also be imported for the Irish Volunteers.

Daughter of Lord Monteaigle, Mary Spring Rice (1880-1924) was from Foynes, County Limerick. Her aristocratic family provided one of the most unusual examples of the political and cultural divisions

of the period. Passionately interested in the Irish language, Mary’s friend Erskine Childers, an English author and civil servant sympathetic to Irish independence, encouraged her to become involved in radical nationalism. During the War of Independence, she established a branch of Cumann na mBan in Foynes, sheltered IRA men on the run and organised First Aid classes.<sup>112</sup>

By contrast, her cousin Sir Cecil Spring Rice (1859-1918) was British Ambassador to the USA (1912-18). He was author of the British patriotic hymn ‘I Vow to Thee my Country’ and played a major role in bringing America into the war on the Allied side.<sup>113</sup>

The gun-running was organised and two yachts sailed to Belgium to pick up the arms. On board the *Asgard* were Mary Spring Rice, Childers and his wife Molly

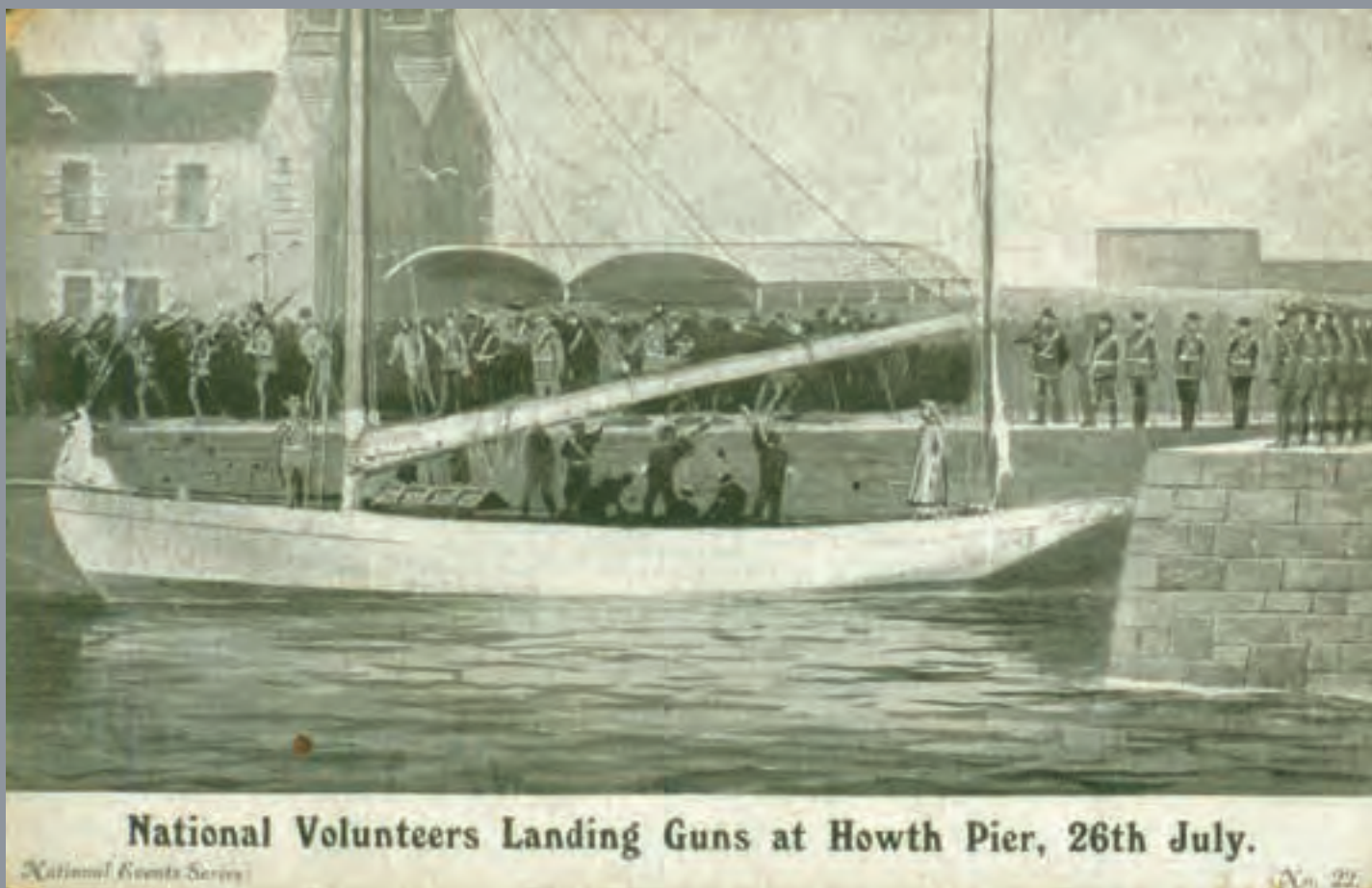
while Mary’s cousins Conor and Kitty O’Brien from Foynes brought their yacht the *Kelpie*.<sup>114</sup> Having taken delivery of the arms off the Belgian coast, they made it safely to Ireland, despite a naval spot-check in Spithead, a brief encounter with the HMS *Forward* and terrible storms. The *Asgard* arrived into Howth Harbour on 26 July, 1914 where they were met by a large party of Volunteers, including Ned Daly. The arms on the *Kelpie* were transferred to another yacht which arrived in Kilcoole, County Wicklow, on 1 August.

In total, 1,500 Mauser rifles and 49,000 rounds of ammunition from a Hamburg-based munitions firm were brought into Ireland, thus proving the vast majority of the arms used in the 1916 Rising. The shipment was a huge coup-militarily and politically.<sup>115</sup>





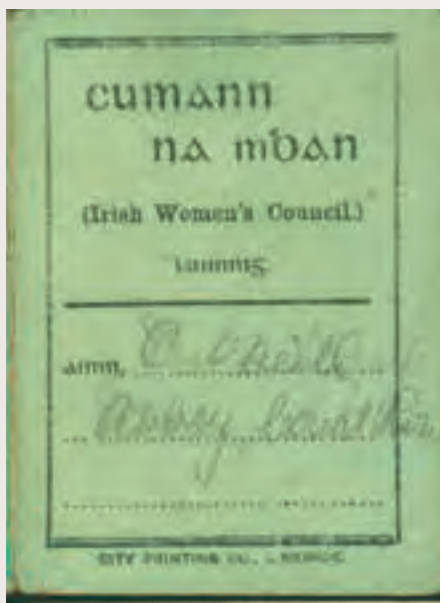




**National Volunteers Landing Guns at Howth Pier, 26th July.**

*National Events Series*

No. 22



## Cumann na mBan

Cumann na mBan's very active part in the nationalist movement was largely forgotten until recently. Once independence was won, they became 'the invisible army' in a state whose women were expected to be wives and mothers.<sup>116</sup>

1628 OBJECTS:	Dues		
	Jan. - Dec. 1914	Jan. - Dec. 1915	Jan. - Dec. 1916
1. To advance the cause of Irish liberty.			
2. To organise Irishwomen in furtherance of this object.			
3. To assist in arming and equipping a body of Irishmen for the defence of Ireland.			
4. To form a Fund for these purposes, to be called "The Defence of Ireland Fund."			
Members will be expected, in addition to their local subscriptions, to support the "Defence of Ireland Fund" by subscription or otherwise.			
Women of Irish birth or descent alone are eligible.			
	July		
	August		
	September		
	October	3	
	November	3	
	December 1915	3	
	January	3	
	February	2	
	March	2	
	April	2	
	May	2	
	June	2	

The Limerick branch of Cumann na mBan was founded on 5 June 1914 in the Gaelic League rooms, 18 Thomas Street, with over 100 women joining. The national organisation had been established two months previously in Dublin. Most of the Limerick Cumann na mBan came from families steeped in the republican tradition, and were related to Volunteers, Sinn Féin activists

or other members of the organisation.<sup>117</sup>

Madge Daly was elected as the first president of the Limerick branch, a post which she was to hold almost continuously until 1924. Other prominent members of the first committee were Maire O'Donovan (vice president), Mollie Killeen (secretary) Annie O'Dwyer (treasurer), Tessie Punch,

Group of Limerick City  
Volunteers and Cumann  
na mBan at Batt  
Laffan's Field, Killonan,  
near Limerick city in  
1915.

Back (left to right):  
Ned O'Toole, James  
O'Driscoll, Alphonsus  
O'Halloran, John Grant,  
James Ledden, Liam  
Forde, George Clancy,  
David Hennessy, James  
Kirby, James McInerney,  
Stephen Dineen,  
Commandant Michael  
Colivet, James Dalton,  
Patrick Walsh, Robert  
Monteith.

Front (left to right):  
Mrs Bermingham, Mary  
Clancy, Miss Downey,  
Mrs McCormack, Eileen  
Crowe, Eileen  
O'Donoghue, Siún  
O'Farrell, Madge Daly,  
Carrie Daly

(Haselbeck Collection).







Maggie Tierney, Una O'Donoghue, Kate O'Callaghan, and Madge's younger sister Laura Daly. Committee meetings were held in the Daly bakery premises on 26 William Street and public events in the Fianna Hall on Barrington Street.<sup>118</sup>

Madge Daly recalled that 'classes were started immediately for first aid, home nursing, drilling, signalling, and instruction in the care and use of arms.' Military training was provided by Robert Monteith, while local doctors and nurses 'gave first aid and nursing lectures voluntarily.' The branch organised Irish dances, concerts and lectures given by a variety of speakers, including Pdraig Pearse, Roger Casement, Terence MacSwiney and Sean MacDiarmada. Madge Daly proudly spoke of the sound business sense of the branch: 'we always charged admission to these functions, and all members, except the Fianna had to pay.' The

proceeds were used to fund the Volunteers, na Fianna and Cumann na mBan themselves.<sup>119</sup>

## PLANNING THE RISING

Having acquired a potential army through infiltrating the Irish Volunteers, the IRB were now in a position to create an opportunity from Britain's current difficulty. In 1915, MacDiarmada and Clarke started planning a potential rebellion, and set up the IRB's Military Council, which was even more secretive than the IRB itself. Later all seven signatories of the 1916 Proclamation were members of the Council. Subsequently, other IRB members on both sides of the Atlantic would be made aware of the plans. To plan the Rising, a series of meetings were held in Dublin and John Daly's home in Limerick.

During this period, the principal centres for IRB activity were Clarke's tobacconist shop at 77 Amiens Street, Dublin and Daly's house at 15 Barrington Street.<sup>120</sup>

By December 1915, the police in Limerick were informed that local republicans were planning to strike a blow for Irish Independence.<sup>121</sup> As the Military Council worked in secret, the actual contents of their plans remain vague even to the present day.<sup>122</sup>

It seems clear that as late as two months before the Rising, a major role for Limerick was envisaged. This was largely due to John Devoy, head of Clan na Gael, the IRB's sister organisation in the USA, which funded Irish separatism before 1916. He favoured landing arms and German troops in Limerick city, both because of its strategic location and as the home of a strong Volunteer organisation.<sup>123</sup>



In 1924, the aged Fenian leader John Devoy (1842-1928) made his first visit to Ireland for forty-five years. A supporter of the Treaty, he is pictured here entering Government Buildings, Dublin to meet W.T. Cosgrave (National Library of Ireland).



From the start, the plan consisted of the seizure of strongholds in Dublin, and the delivery of German arms to the West of Ireland, the distribution of which would lead to a rising throughout the country. In the early stages, the possibility of the German arms and German soldiers arriving in Limerick, was seriously considered. The German troops would distribute the arms and join the Volunteers in the fighting. Limerick would be surrounded by the Limerick, Clare and Kerry Volunteers. In January 1916, Count Johann von Bernstorff, German ambassador to the USA, was informed by Devoy that arms should be delivered to Limerick between 20 and 23 of April. Bernstorff then forwarded a message to Berlin entitled 'Arms to Limerick, West Coast of Ireland.' However, the German Army refused to send troops and changed the location of the arms delivery to Ballyheigue Bay, North Kerry.<sup>124</sup>



The revised plan also envisaged a major role for Limerick. Once the German arms shipment arrived in Kerry, they would be moved via a hijacked train to Limerick, where the local Volunteers were to take delivery of their portion of the arms. The West Limerick battalion would be responsible for arms distribution around Newcastle West. The remainder of the shipment would continue on the same train to Clare and Galway. The Limerick City and Castleconnell battalions were to join the train as it passed through to Galway. Meanwhile, the City Battalion was to assemble at Killonan on Easter Sunday and launch an attack on the military and police barracks in the city. The Galtee Battalion, Tipperary Town Company, units from Doon and Castleconnell and the Clare units were to overpower Crown forces in their respective areas

and join the City Battalion in its attack on the city.<sup>125</sup>

As Roger Casement and Robert Monteith prepared to board the submarine on route to Kerry, Casement was given a flag of Limerick by Thomas St. John Gaffney, a Limerick man of strongly anti-British views, who had been in the US diplomatic corps in Germany. Gaffney 'commissioned him, in the event of the capture of my native city, to raise the flag over King John's Castle.'<sup>126</sup> The flag was seized by the RIC when Monteith and Casement came ashore in Banna Strand and was later produced as evidence at Casements trial for treason in London.<sup>127</sup>





This flag bearing the Limerick city coat of arms was given to Sir Roger Casement by Thomas St John Gaffney before Casement and Robert Monteith left on a submarine for Kerry. The flag was seized when Casement was arrested at Banna Strand. It was presented as evidence at his trial in London and remained in the Imperial War Museum in London since. In 2016, the flag was on loan to Limerick Museum from the Imperial War Museum for the exhibition 'They Dreamed and are Dead - Limerick 1916'.

© Imperial War Museum (FLA 867 (A))

## Madge Daly (1877–1969)

The Daly sisters, whose central role in Irish republicanism at this time is described in chapter 6, were at the heart of Cumann na mBan in Limerick. Madge Daly was the second eldest of the Daly family and like all of them, was a staunch republican. She worked in the millinery (hat) department in Cannock's department store before taking over the daily running of her uncle's bakery on William Street in 1898. A born entrepreneur, Madge turned it into a lucrative business and in 1912, acquired another premises on Sarsfield Street, which she turned into a confectionery shop. She also acquired a great deal of property all over Limerick city. By creating this source of funding for the republican movement, Madge Daly can be truly described as one of the architects of the 1916 Rising.



As president, Madge administered Limerick Cumann na mBan with the same vigour as her businesses, and was admired by many senior republicans, particularly Robert Monteith and Padraig Pearse, who was initially wary of having women trained in military drilling. Robert Monteith regarded Cumann na mBan as vital to the Irish Volunteers in Limerick, stating that:

not only did the women learn to use firearms, but they showed a lead to the men in many ways. They organised an efficient Red Cross service, collected funds, were active recruiters, and relieved the monotony of hard work by social affairs, dances, outings etc. In fact without their help the Volunteer movement could never have been the success it was.<sup>128</sup>

Madge was furious with Michael Colivet and the Limerick City Battalion of the Irish Volunteers (which the Dalys had financed and equipped) for not fighting in 1916. After the Rising, she was involved in setting up and financing a second Limerick City Battalion. She also played a major role in caring for the families of the executed and imprisoned. The Daly family was always under surveillance during the War of Independence and their house was raided by the Black and Tans. During the Civil War, the Dalys took the anti-Treaty side and the bakery was damaged by pro-Treaty forces. Compensation was later paid and the business continued to flourish.

Madge lived for the rest of her life with her mother (who died in 1937) and her sisters Agnes and Carrie who worked with her in the business. They owned one of the first motor cars in Limerick and flew regularly to Germany where Madge underwent treatment for her severe arthritis. All three are buried in Mount Saint Lawrence Cemetery, Limerick.





AUGHAVANAGH,  
AUGHRIM,  
CO. WICKLOW.

Dear Mr. Cregan

I send you a line to thank  
& congratulate you on the great  
success of the dinner with  
Demonstration. The Review  
was most impressive & I  
was very sorry that it was  
necessary to curtail it, in  
order to enable the public  
meeting to be held.

The arrangements were

perfect & I would be glad if  
you would convey to the Committee  
my appreciation of their labours.  
The whole day's proceedings  
were most useful to the National  
Cause. Very truly yr

J. Redmond

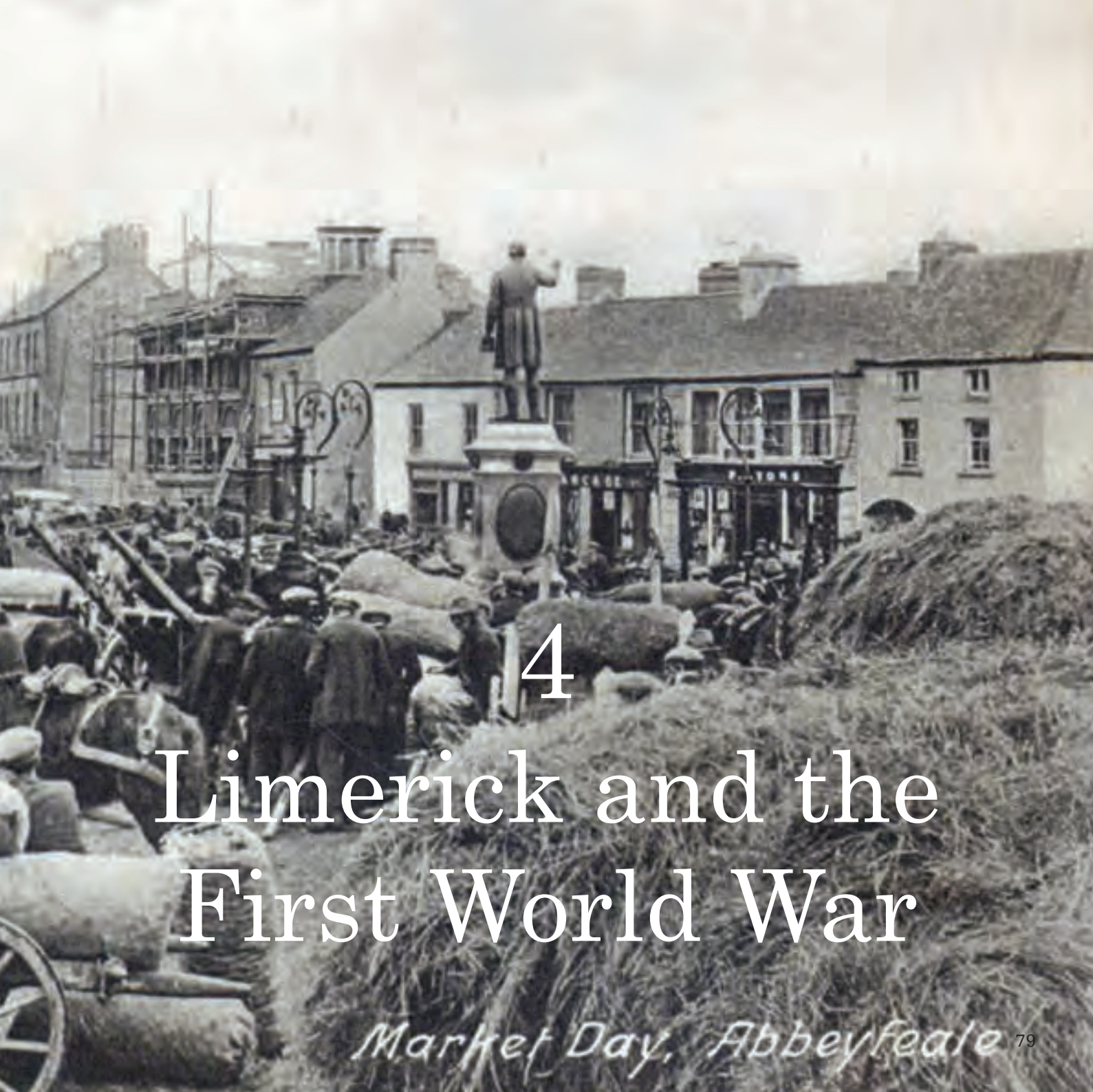
Christine Day  
1897

C. Cregan Esq  
Limerick



Market day in Abbeyfeale, County Limerick, early twentieth century. Note the total absence of motor vehicles (Limerick Museum).





4

# Limerick and the First World War

*Market Day, Abbeyfeale* 79





## LIMERICK AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR

**Somme. The whole history  
of the world cannot contain  
a more ghastly word.**

- Friedrich Steinbrecher

By 1916, the war had changed the world forever and news of its progress filled the local newspapers. Millions had suff-

ered death and injury on an unprecedented scale. Machine guns and artillery dominated the battlefield, so that soldiers advancing unprotected over open ground were mown down. The only solution was to dig in and by 1916 a series of parallel trenches stretched from the Swiss border to the Belgian coast. Any attempt to cross the barbed-wire-filled no-man's land between the trenches resulted in high casu-

alties. Each side tried to break the stalemate by first pounding the enemy trenches with artillery to force a way through and then sending in waves of soldiers to overwhelm them. The result was disastrous, with masses of soldiers cut to pieces in a hail of bullets.<sup>129</sup>

At least 244,000 Irishmen served in the armed forces of the English speaking countries

during the war. In addition to those already serving, 4,000 Limerick men joined up between 1914 and 1918, of whom over 1,000 were killed.<sup>130</sup>



By 1916, Limerick had a strong military tradition. Generations of Limerick men had fought in countless wars on every continent. Limerick was a garrison town with four barracks and a long history of recruitment to the British army. During the First Boer War (1881), John Danagher aged twenty from St Mary's Parish, Limerick,

fought with such bravery that he was later awarded the Victoria Cross, the highest military decoration awarded for valour in the British armed forces. Six of his sons served in the First World War, including Patrick, a sergeant with the Connaught Rangers, who died at Gallipoli (1915).<sup>131</sup> Seven McKnight brothers from Limerick fought in the British Army during the First World War and one was killed.<sup>132</sup>

Sir Charles Barrington (1848-1943) of Glenstal Castle was director of recruiting for

Limerick. Interestingly, his family had established Barrington's Hospital in the city, which treated many wounded Limerick soldiers from the front and later wounded Volunteers in the War of Independence.<sup>133</sup>

## THE WESTERN FRONT

The two great battles of 1916 were Verdun and the Somme. In February the Germans launched an offensive against the French Army to take



Bright and colourful posters were used to drum up enthusiasm for the war (South Dublin Library).

Most recruits to the British armed forces in Ireland came from urban areas. This poster is a vain attempt to redress the balance (Courtesy James Walker, Dublin).

Verdun. In order to relieve pressure on Verdun, the British launched their own offensive against the Germans, on the Somme. July 1<sup>st</sup> 1916, the first day of the Battle of the Somme was the bloodiest day in British military history, but seen from a Limerick perspective September was the grimmest month when the 16<sup>th</sup> Irish Division was put into the front line. Five Limerick men died on the first day of the Somme out of forty-three Limerick men killed in July. September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, and 15<sup>th</sup> saw respectively ten, fourteen and ten Limerick men killed with a monthly total of sixty-four. The battle ended in November.<sup>134</sup>

### **LIMERICK MEN ON THE FORGOTTEN FRONTS OF 1916**

While World War One is usually associated with the carnage of the Western Front,

**5 REASONS**  
Why Irishmen  
**SHOULD JOIN THE ARMY**

1. The Country is engaged in a Just War.
2. We were pledged to defend the sacred rights and liberties of Belgium.
3. Had we not struck a blow for Belgium our name would have been disgraced among the Nations of the World.
4. If the Germans came to Ireland they would be our masters and we should be at their mercy—what that mercy is likely to be can be judged by Germany's treatment of Belgium.
5. During this War thousands of Irish soldiers have upheld the reputation of Ireland as one of the great fighting races of the World. Never have Irish soldiers shown greater devotion, more splendid heroism, or more cheerful courage than they have displayed on the battlefields of Belgium.

**IRISHMEN!**  
MORE MEN ARE WANTED NOW  
**ENLIST TO-DAY**  
SO AS TO BECOME FIT TO JOIN YOUR GALLANT  
COUNTRYMEN IN BELGIUM  
**GOD SAVE THE KING**





twenty-three Limerick men also died on less well known fronts in 1916. In addition, three Limerick sailors drowned. One man died in India and Limerick's last casualty of the Gallipoli campaign died of wounds on 5<sup>th</sup> of January and was buried in Turkey. Lieutenant Lee who died in France on 4<sup>th</sup> July had served in the forces which had taken South-West Africa (now Namibia) from the Germans at the outbreak of the war.<sup>135</sup>

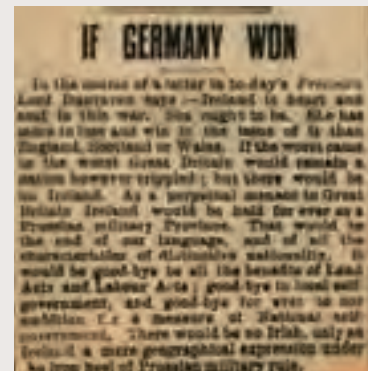
In 1914 the British landed a force at Basra in Mesopotamia

(Iraq) which was engaged in heavy fighting against the Turks for the next four years. Fourteen Limerick men died in this campaign in 1916, nine of whom were serving with the Connaught Rangers.<sup>136</sup>

In October 1915 a joint British and French force landed in Salonika (Greece) to assist Serbia against Austrian and Bulgarian forces. Eight Limerick men, serving in a variety of regiments died on this front in 1916. Disease was as big a killer as the fighting, as none of the men are recorded as

having been killed in action, but three later died of wounds.<sup>137</sup>

Limerickman, Private Thomas O'Brien, died of his wounds on the 9<sup>th</sup> September in the German colony of Tanganyika (modern Tanzania) which was invaded from British Uganda by a large contingent of South African troops. He is remembered on a gravestone in Glin Roman Catholic churchyard as well as on the war memorial in Tanzania.<sup>138</sup>



# JANUARY

- 2nd Private James Pierce,  
Gloucestershire Regiment. KIA  
Newcastlewest
- 3rd Sapper Bernard J. McSweeney,  
Royal Engineers  
St Michaels
- 5th Seaman Michael Doran,  
Royal Naval Reserve, DOW  
Taylor's Row, John St.
- 6th Gunner John Cotter,  
Royal Garrison Artillery  
Donaghmore and Blackboy Pike
- 7th Private Patrick Cronin,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW  
Donnelly's Lane, Carey's Road
- 8th Private William O'Donnell,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Ardpatrick
- 9th Private Christopher Lowe,  
Royal Irish Regiment  
St. Patrick's, Limerick
- 11th Private David Madden,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers,  
died as POW  
Newcastlewest
- 17th Lance Corporal Peter Fitzger  
ald, Royal Munster Fusiliers,  
DOW  
Kilmallock
- 21st Private John Lillis,  
Connaught Rangers, KIA  
Limerick  
  
Sergeant George Piper,  
Connaught Rangers, KIA  
Rathkeale
- 22nd Private George Raphael Gibb,  
Connaught Rangers, DOW  
Island Road Cottages
- 29th Private John Lillis, Connaught  
Rangers, KIA  
Limerick
- 30th Private John Gavin,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Vize's Field, Limerick
- 31st Private James FitzGerald,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Anhid, Croom

# FEBRUARY

- 1st Gunner Patrick Bond,  
Royal Field Artillery  
Cappamore (Coventry)
- 2nd Company Sergeant Major  
William Thomas Vause, DCM,  
Middlesex Regiment, DOW  
Limerick and London
- 4th Private James Bell,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers  
Ellen St.
- 6th Fireman Michael Burke,  
Mercantile Marine, drowned  
Limerick
- 9th Private Michael McCarthy,  
Royal Army Service Corps  
Limerick
- 14th Gunner Thomas O'Connell,  
Royal Garrison Artillery, KIA  
St. Michael's, Limerick
- 15th \*Staff Nurse Elizabeth Grace  
Stewart, Queen Alexandra's  
Imperial Nursing Service  
Limerick
- 16th Private Denis Curtin,  
Irish Guards  
Ballingarry
- 20th Second Lieutenant Thomas  
Richard Beamish Lloyd,  
Royal Army Service Corps  
Cartown, Kildimo
- 23rd Private John Joseph Guinane,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers  
St Michael's Limerick  
  
Corporal Patrick Keane,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
St. Michael's, Limerick
- 25th Captain George Browning,  
Special List  
Carass Court, Croom
- 27th Lance Corporal John Irwin,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Ellen Street, Limerick  
  
Lance Corporal John Nash,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW  
John Street, Limerick

# MARCH

- 5th Private John William Yates,  
Royal Army Medical Corps, KIA  
Limerick
- 7th Private Michael Downes,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW  
Old Francis Street
- 10th Private Joseph Hannan,  
King's Liverpool Regiment, KIA  
Limerick
- 17th Private John Kelly,  
Royal Welsh Fusiliers, DOW  
Prospect Row, Limerick
- 18th Private Patrick Cusack,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers KIA  
Glin
- 20th Private Robert Houlihan,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers  
Roches Road, Rathkeale
- 21st Private Michael Casey,  
Connaught Rangers, KIA  
Ballybricken
- 27th Private William O'Connell,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Nicker, Pallasgreen and Ool
- 28th Lane Corporal George Madeley,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
High Road, Thomondgate

# APRIL

- 3rd Private Timothy Ahern,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW  
Newcastlewest
- 6th Private Patrick Connors,  
Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, KIA  
St. John's
- 7th Seaman William Elligot,  
Royal Naval Reserve, drowned  
Limerick
- 8th Private Patrick Coleman,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW  
Tooreen, Croom
- 9th Private Patrick Healy,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW  
Maiden street, Newcastlewest  
  
Private Mortimer O'Sullivan,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW  
Newcastlewest
- 11th Lance Corporal Patrick  
Meehan, Leinster Regiment, DOW  
Rathkeale
- 12th Private Charles Tuite,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW  
St. John's Limerick
- 13th Private John Ryan,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Limerick
- 18th Private Patrick Cusack,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Glin  
  
Private Patrick Kelly,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW  
Carey's Road, Limerick
- 19th Lance Sergeant Patrick Barry,  
South Lancashire Regiment, KIA  
Knockaderry, Newcastlewest
- 20th Private Michael McNamara,  
Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW  
St. Munchin's  
  
Private Christopher O'Donnell,  
Connaught Rangers  
Garryowen
- 21st Captain Dan Sheehan,  
Irish Volunteers, drowned at  
Ballykissane  
Ballintubrid, Newcastlewest
- 24th Constable James O'Brien,  
Dublin Metropolitan Police,  
shot in Dublin  
Glin

## MAY

24th	Shoeing Smith Charles O'Gorman, 2nd Reserve Regiment of Cavalry, DOW Dublin Limerick	Private George Gardiner, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Taylor's Row, John St.	1st	Private Patrick Leen, 5th (Royal Irish) Lancers, DOW Abbeyfeale
26th	Private John Mooney, Royal Irish Fusiliers, KIA Limerick  Michael O'Connor, civilian, killed during Rising Ballyhahill	29th Private Patrick Greene, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, DOW Doon  Private Patrick O'Grady, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Old Pallas, Pallasgreen  Private Patrick Shea, Irish Guards, KIA Cappamore	2nd	Lance Corporal Patrick Ryan, Irish Guards, KIA Doon
27th	Private John Best, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, KIA Ballyorgan, Kilmallock  Lance Corporal William Burke, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA St. John's  Lance Corporal Timothy Cronin, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, KIA Drumcollogher  Private John Cunneen, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, KIA Watergate  Lance Corporal James Garland, Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) KIA Bruff  Lance Corporal Walter Mills, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, KIA Limerick  Private Edward Storan, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, KIA Castleconnell  Jane Costello, Civilian, killed in rising Kilmallock  Constable Christopher Miller, RIC, killed in rising Ballycahane, Pallaskenry	30th Corporal Michael Enright, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW Ardagh  Captain Cecil Herbert Michael Furnell, Royal Garrison Artillery DOW Ballyclough	3rd	Private Francis Corbett, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA St. Michael's
28th	Lance Corporal Peter Fitzgerald, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW Rockhill, Kilmallock		4th	Edward Daly, Irish Volunteers, executed Frederick (O'Curry) Street Rifleman Arnold Hayden, Royal Irish Rifles, DOW Adare  Private John O'Dea, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Fedamore
			5th	Private James Kennedy, Royal Army Medical Corps Limerick and Scotland  Private Albert O'Callaghan, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW St. Michael's Limerick  Lance Corporal Michael Ryan, Royal Irish Fusiliers, DOW Cappamore
			6th	Private William Kelly, Connaught Rangers, DOW St. Mary's, Limerick  Private Michael Munroe, The King's (Liverpool Regiment), DOW Limerick  Private John Noone, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Brennan's Row  Private Patrick Shine, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Newcastlewest
			8th	Cornelius (Con) Colbert, Irish Volunteers, executed Moanleana, Castlemahon
			9th	Lance Corporal David Best, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Ballyorgan, Kilmallock

# LIMERICK CASUALTIES IN CONTEXT

A total of 288 Limerick people fell during the conflicts of 1916. Nine of these were a result of the Easter Rising while the remaining 279 fell on the various fronts of the war or died of natural causes while in service. It is clear that in 1916 the war had a greater impact on the people of Limerick than the Easter Rising.<sup>139</sup> Many Limerick soldiers also returned suffering from severe wounds, physical and mental, having witnessed the carnage of Gallipoli and the Somme.

Of the nine killed in connection with the Rising, three were Irish Volunteers: Ned Daly and Con Colbert were executed after the Rising. Donal Sheehan was drowned in County Kerry on the way to pick up arms from the *Aud*. Two were in the Royal Irish Constabulary (James O'Brien and Christopher Miller); two were in the British Army (Charles O'Gorman and Patrick Leen); and two were civilians caught in the crossfire (Jane Costello and Michael O'Connor).



## JUNE

- 11th Private Patrick Gallery, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
St. John's Limerick
- 14th Major James FitzGerald  
Bannatyne, 11th (Prince Albert's Own) Hussars, DOW  
Fanningstown Castle
- 16th Lance Corporal Patrick Hogan, Lancashire Fusiliers, KIA  
Limerick
- 19th Private John Goulding, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Ardagh
- 21st Rifleman William Carroll, London Regiment (Post Office Rifles), KIA  
Wolfe Tone Street
- 26th Private Patrick Lillis, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Garvey's Long Lane, Clare Street
- Private William Lynch, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Athea, Ardagh
- Lieutenant Gerald Spring-Rice, Border Regiment, KIA  
Mount Trenchard, Foynes
- 28th Private Patrick O'Gorman, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
St. John's Square, Limerick
- 29th Sergeant Michael Cullinane, Royal Irish Fusiliers  
Abbeyfeale
- Private Daniel Sheehan, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Mountcollins, Abbeyfeale
- 10th Private Terence Neville, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Walsh's Lane, Edward Street
- Private Francis Sheahan, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Market Alley, Limerick
- 11th Private John Moloney, Welsh Regiment, DOW  
Kilmallock
- 16th Private William Harnett, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, KIA  
Newcastlewest
- Captain James Parker, Royal Army Medical Corps  
Limerick
- 17th Lieutenant James St. John Dundon, Royal Army Medical Corps  
Ascot Terrace, O'Connell Avenue
- Private Thomas Hogan, Royal Irish Fusiliers, KIA  
Limerick
- 22nd Sergeant James Murphy, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Fedamore
- Private Patrick Sweeney, Connaught Rangers  
Glue Yard Lane, Sand Mall
- 23rd Private Joseph Conway, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
St Michael's, Limerick
- Lance Corporal Patrick Lynch, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Athlacca
- Lance Corporal Thomas O'Brien, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
St. Mary's, Limerick
- 25th Private Jeremiah McAuliffe, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Chapel Street, Kilfinane
- Corporal John McGrath, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
St Munchin's Limerick
- Second Lieutenant William Brabazon Owens, Royal Engineers  
Hazeldene, Limerick

## JULY

- 26th Private Michael Gleeson, Royal Munster Fusiliers, accident  
New Road, Rathkeale
- 28th Private John Foran, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Killoughteen, Newcastlewest
- Private Thomas Halvey, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW  
Edward St. Limerick
- Sergeant Henry O'Brien, Irish Guards  
Shanagolden
- Private Charles O'Shaughnessy, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
St. Michael's Limerick
- 29th Lance Corporal Patrick Foran, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW  
Josses Lane, Mungret Street
- Private James Hanley, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Newcastlewest
- Corporal Patrick Hogan, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Maiden Street, Newcastlewest
- 30th Private Martin Kennedy, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Punches Lane, Carey's Road, Limerick
- Private Robert Mulcahy, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
St. Michael's, Limerick
- Private Timothy O'Dwyer, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Bowman Street, Limerick
- Private John Williams, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Rathkeale
- 1st Private Edward Hartney, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA  
Duggan's Row, Limerick
- Private James Harvey, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, KIA  
St. Michael's Limerick
- Company Sergeant Major Robert Modler, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers KIA  
Court Matrix, Rathkeale
- Captain John Forrest Rutledge MC, West Yorkshire Regiment, KIA  
Castleconnell
- Sergeant John Smith, Hampshire Regiment, KIA  
Limerick
- 3rd Private George Patrick McNamee, Suffolk Regiment, KIA  
Limerick
- 4th Lieutenant Frederick Henry Norris Lee, Irish Guards, DOW  
Limerick
- Private Francis McDonnell, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW  
River Lane, Mary Street
- 5th Private William Bourke, Connaught Rangers, Drowned  
Garryspillane, Knocklong
- 7th Corporal Thomas Connelly, Leinster Regiment, KIA  
St. John's Limerick
- Private John Tuohey, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW  
Stradbally, Castleconnell
- 8th Major Clement Ignatius Ryan, Essex Regiment, KIA  
Scarteen
- 9th Private Denis Hayes, Leinster Regiment, DOW  
Bulgaden
- Private James H Wilson, Canadian Expeditionary Force, executed  
Limerick
- 10th Private John Byrnes, Royal Munster Fusiliers  
Limerick
- Private James Gammel, Royal Irish Fusiliers, KIA  
Hospital

# AUGUST

11th	Private Robert Alfred, South African Infantry, KIA Graigue, Adare	Private Thomas Gleeson, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Limerick	1st	Private Patrick Scully, Irish Guards Limerick	Sergeant Frederick Roughan, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA West Watergate		
	Private John O'Dwyer, Royal Munster Fusiliers St. John's Limerick	Private Daniel O'Brien, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Chapel Lane Rathkeale	3rd	Bombardier Christopher Magner, Royal Field Artillery Limerick	25th	Private William Hartnett, Australian Infantry, KIA Knockadiveen, Abbeyfeale	
15th	Driver Daniel Golden, Royal Field Artillery, DOW Limerick	Private John O'Connell, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Glenbrohane, Knocklong	4th	Lance Sergeant Daniel Greene, DCM, MM, Northumberland Fusiliers, KIA Kilcolman, Ardagh	28th	Sergeant Major Albert Boucher Heaney, Rifle Brigade Limerick and Rathfarnham	
	Private Michael Guerin, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA St Mary's Limerick	21st	Private Thomas O'Callaghan, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW Herbertstown	6th	Private John Wilbank, Gordon Highlanders, DOW Castletown	30th	Private James Hayes, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW Boherbuoy, Rathkeale
16th	Private John Hannon, Royal Muster Fusiliers, KIA St. John's Limerick	23rd	Private John Kelly, The Loyal North Lancashire Regiment, KIA Kilfinane	14th	Private Michael Butler, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Nicholas Street	31st	Lance Corporal Philip Naughton, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW Shanagolden
	Rev. Jeremiah Austin Hartigan SJ, Army Chaplains' Dept., died of jaundice Croom	24th	Captain Noel Cairns Clery MC, Royal Field Artillery, KIA Ballinahinch House, Knocklong	16th	Private John Corbett, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Ballyneety		
	Private Patrick Reddan, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Doyle's Cottages, Garryowen	25th	Corporal Stephen Supple, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW Castleconnell	18th	Private Thomas Connery, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Kilfinane		
17th	Private Martin McGrath, King's Own Scottish Borderers, KIA Arthur's Quay, Limerick	26th	Private Daniel Merner, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Convent Street, Limerick	20th	Private Thomas Coffey, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Newcastlewest		
	Private John O'Mara, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW Clare street	27th	Corporal William Henry Shilcock, Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry, KIA Limerick		Private Michael Sheehy, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Newcastlewest		
18th	Private John Dillon, Royal Irish Regiment DOW St. Mary's	28th	Donworth, Captain Thomas Francis, Army Veterinary Corps, drowned Bruree	21st	Private Patrick Slattery, Royal Irish Regiment, KIA Stradbally		
	Private Daniel Dineen, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Miltown, Bruff		Private James Ryan, Royal Munster Fusiliers St. Munchin's	22nd	Lieutenant Frank Moran, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Adare		
	Private Michael McMahon, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Askeaton	29th	Private Christopher O'Gorman, Australian Infantry, KIA Francis Street, Limerick	23rd	Private Michael Gallagher, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Cannons Row, John St		
	Private John Sullivan, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA St. John's Limerick	31st	Private Thomas Berkley, Connaught Rangers, KIA St. Michael's, Limerick	24th	Sergeant David Boddy, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Newcastlewest		
19th	Private Patrick Maher, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers Whitewine Lane, Watergate				Lance Corporal Michael Bourke, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Limerick		
20th	Sergeant Michael Ahern, Royal Field Artillery, KIA West Watergate				Private Michael Broderick, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Abbeyfeale		
	Private Michael Boyce, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Limerick				Private Michael Hedderman, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW Fedamore		

# SEPTEMBER

1st	Private Daniel Ahern, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW Castleconnell	4th	Private Michael Hogan, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW St. Michael's, Limerick	Private Patrick White, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW Moore Street, Cappamore	Corporal Martin O'Sullivan, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, KIA Knockainy		
	Private Patrick Edwards, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA St. John's		Private John McCormack, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Donnelly's Lane, Carey's Road	9th	Driver Michael Bray, Royal Field Artillery, KIA Limerick		
	Private Thomas Lawless, Leinster Regiment, KIA St. Michael's, Limerick		Private James O'Brien, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA St. Mary's Place, Athlunkard Street, Limerick		Private William Clancy, Royal Irish Regiment, KIA Oola		
3rd	Acting Bombardier John Coughlan, Royal Field Artillery, DOW Newtown, Bruff		Private Michael Wade, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA St. John's, Limerick		Private Daniel Griffin, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Bulgaden		
	Private John Dunne, Irish Guards Newcastlewest	5th	Private Michael Dee, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Cross of the Tree, Knocklong		Private John Hayes, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Fedamore		
	Private Daniel Galvin, Leinster Regiment, KIA St Johns, Limerick		Private Robert Gabbett, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA O'Curry Street, Limerick		Private John Lillis, The King's (Liverpool Regiment), KIA Boherbuoy		
	Private Edward Godsell, Royal Irish Regiment, KIA Glentworth Street, Limerick	6th	Private Peter Paul Clarke, Leinster Regiment, DOW Dromkeen and Pallasgreen		Lance Corporal John, McNamara, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA St, Mary's Limerick		
	Captain Edward Hegarty MC, Royal Irish Regiment, KIA Limerick and Clonmel		Private Michael O'Connell, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Caherline		Private Daniel Moloney, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Grattan Street, Limerick		
	Private Patrick McMahon, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA George's Quay		Private Michael O'Donovan, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, KIA Boherbuoy		Private William Murphy, Royal Irish Regiment, KIA Co. Limerick		
	Private Patrick McNamara, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA St John's	7th	Rifleman Samuel Adams, Royal Irish Rifles KIA Richmond Terrace, Henry Street		Lance Sergeant Joseph Noonan, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Boherbuoy		
	Private Michael Moore, Connaught Rangers, KIA St. Patrick's, Limerick		Private Cornelius Bennett, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Clare Street		Private Thomas O'Brien, 3rd South African Horse, DOW Fleanmore, Glin		
	Private Denis O'Shaughnessy, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Limerick	8th	Private Patrick Hickey, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA St. Patrick's Limerick		Private James O'Dwyer, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Ballynoe West, Newcastlewest		
	Private Timothy Sheehan, Royal Munster Fusiliers Kilmallock		Private John O'Halloran, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Glin		Private John O'Shea, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Limerick		
	Private Patrick Walsh, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Browne's Place, Edward Street		Private James Roche, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW Walsh's Lane, Carey's Road		11th	Private William Coughlan, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW Palatine Road, Bruff	
						Captain John William WhiteBell, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Cappamore	
						Lance Sergeant Charles, Donoghue, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW Ballywilliam	
						15th	Private Cornelius Cagney, Irish Guards, KIA Banogue, Croom
							Lance Corporal Michael Gilligan, Irish Guards, KIA St. Mary's Limerick
							Rifleman Daniel Hartnett, N.Z. Rifle Brigade, KIA Dromtrasna Collins, Abbeyfeale
							Private Michael Maloney, Irish Guards, KIA Adamstown
							Private Michael Mulcahy MM, Royal Army Medical Corps, KIA Meanus
							Private Martin Mulqueen, Royal Munster Fusiliers St. John's Limerick
							Lance Corporal Daniel Nealon, Irish Guards, KIA Templebraden, Pallasgreen
							Private Patrick Noonan, Irish Guards Limerick
							Private John Ryan, Irish Guards, KIA Mountminnett, Ballybrood



## OCTOBER

	Lance Corporal Edgar Walter Wills, Rifle Brigade, KIA William Street, Limerick	1st	Private John Gaynor, Machine Gun Corps. DOW Mount Kennett
17th	Private Jeremiah Buckley, Irish Guards, DOW Knocklong	3rd	Private John White, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Adare
	Private Denis O'Dwyer, Irish Guards, KIA Oola		Corporal Christopher Brummell, Royal Munster Fusiliers Francis Street
18th	Private Patrick O'Sullivan, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW Newcastlewest	4th	Private John Lyddy, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW St. John's, Limerick
19th	Private John Hall, Canadian Infantry (British Columbia Regt.) KIA Limerick and British Columbia	6th	Rev. Cornelius McAuliffe OFM, Army Chaplain's Department Meenoline North, Templeglantine
25th	Sergeant James Mitchell, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, DOW Limerick		Captain John O'Brien MC, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Richmond House, The Crescent
26th	Private Thomas Byrne, East Yorkshire Regiment Oola	13th	Second Lieutenant Solomon King, Northumberland Fusiliers, KIA Limerick
	Lance Corporal Bartholomew Galvin, Royal Irish Rifles, KIA Limerick	14th	Gunner John O'Brien, Royal Garrison Artillery Capanahana, Lisnagry
27th	Private Arthur Hetherington, Grenadier Guards, KIA Verona Esplanade, Limerick	23rd	Drummer Robert Francis Williams, Seaforth Highlanders, KIA Limerick
	Private Joseph Power, Irish Guards, DOW Mount Vincent, Rosbrien	27th	Captain Heffernan James Considine, MC, Royal Irish Regiment, KIA Derk, Pallasgreen
28th	Private William McCormack, Royal Irish Regiment, KIA Fedamore		
30th	Private Patrick O'Sullivan, Irish Guards, DOW Ballyhahill	28th	Second Lieutenant George Agar Trevor Benson MC, Middlesex Regiment, KIA Castleconnell

## NOVEMBER

3rd	Lieutenant Eyre Frederick Morton Dann, Canadian Infantry (British Columbia Regt.), KIA Kilkeedy and Ontario
7th	Private John O'Gorman MM, Royal Munster Fusiliers, DOW Doon
10th	Private Thomas Alexander, Royal Irish Fusiliers Limerick
14th	Second Lieutenant Charles Paul Close, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, DOW Limerick
15th	Lieutenant Patrick Joseph Fawl, Middlesex Regiment, DOW Emmet Plce, Limerick
18th	Private Patrick McDonnell, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Shanagolden
20th	Private Denis Morrissey, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, DOW Broadford
21st	Driver Joseph Murphy, Royal Army Service Corps Ballingarry and Chester
24th	Private John O'Keefe, Royal Irish Rifles Limerick
25th	Private Philip Comiskey, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, KIA Limerick

## DECEMBER

11th	Private Philip Joseph Cronin, Lancashire Fusiliers, Adare
19th	Private Timothy Carroll, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Island Road
	Private Joseph Griffin, Royal Munster Fusiliers Catherine Place, Limerick
	Private Edmund Higgins, Royal Munster Fusiliers, KIA Knockaineey
23rd	Private Patrick Earls, Royal Munster Fusiliers Margaret's Place, Limerick
24th	Private John Lane, Royal Munster Fusiliers Abbeyfeale

# The Home Front

Letters connected the battle front with the home front. One of seven children from Carey's Road, Limerick, Patrick Browne served with the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion Royal Irish Rifles. On 5 June 1916, he wrote from Fovant Training Camp, Wiltshire:

Dear Mother just a few lines to let you know I received your parcel alright, but I did have a laugh when I see what you send me. I would rather if you would not send so much the next time because it would go to waste.

On the 18 October 1916 a letter arrived at the Browne house containing a second envelope with flowers that Patrick had picked at the front. These still exist and though they have dried out, the poignant sentiments they contain can still be experienced. Patrick Browne was killed in action on 25 October 1917 and is buried in Prowse Point Military Cemetery, Belgium.<sup>140</sup>

Separation allowances were

granted to the wives and families of soldiers who had enlisted. Their purpose was to entice recruits, and to help fund the living expenses of those whose 'bread-winner' had gone to war. A soldier's wife and family received a flat rate, supplemented by an extra sum based on his rank.<sup>141</sup>

Although the Irish economy boomed during the war years, the benefits to Limerick were uneven. Farmers did very well, due to the demand in Britain for Irish agricultural produce, as did the food processing factories, pig-buyers and cattle-dealers of the city, as well as the banks and shops, which benefited from the general prosperity. On the other hand, the increasing price of food, clothing and rent caused enormous hardships for the poor.<sup>142</sup> The war caused a shortage of copper sulphate and carbonate of soda used for spraying potatoes, which resulted in an outbreak of potato blight. Pork production was also affected and food prices reached unprecedented levels, causing unease. At a meeting of Limerick County Committee of Agriculture and

Technical Instruction held early in 1916, Councillor Anthony Mackey referred to the export of oats and drew comparisons with the Famine where Ireland had been 'denuded' of food, men and money. It was suggested that the amount of land under tillage should be increased.<sup>143</sup>

At a public meeting held soon after, it was claimed that the situation for some labouring men and their families was 'approaching famine' and a proposal was made that one quarter to a half of an acre at a reasonable price should be made available to labouring men to keep them from starvation.<sup>144</sup>

By 1916 the war had hit Limerick Port very badly. The activities of German submarines, or U-boats made journeys to Britain far more dangerous than to ports on the East coast. The resulting unemployment caused great hardship for the dockers and their families. Also, the collapse in coal imports resulted in steep increases in coal, gas and electricity prices. This impacted on the entire population which relied on coal and gas for heating and cooking.<sup>145</sup>

# TOWN TOPICS

## NOTES AND NEWS

### In Pictureland

A fine selection of pictures will be shown at the Gaiety Theatre and the Athenæum Picturedrome to night, and each house deserves to be taxed at each nightly performance, at seven and nine.

### Theatre Royal

We again remind our city readers of the excellent programme which will be presented at the Theatre Royal to-night and to-morrow night and full details of which appeared in our last issue.

### Hurling at Markets Field

At the Markets Field yesterday Bruff and Caherline Hurling Clubs crossed camans in a senior championship tie. The game was a very interesting one and Caherline were declared victors by 3 goals to nil for Bruff. Mr James Ryan gave every satisfaction as a referee.

### Help the Poor

The collecting of old and cast-off clothing, hats, boots, etc, for the poor, as relieved by the St Vincent de Paul Society, will be resumed next week by the Special Works Committee of that body. Bags for donations of the above articles will be left in the Ennis Road district, and called for two or three days later. Should any bags previously left have remained un-called for, the holders are requested to kindly drop a card to the Committee, when they will be collected.

### City Technical Committee

# THE WAR

## PROGRESS OF THE STRUGGLE

### Fighting in Western Area

Heavy fighting has been proceeding in France and Belgium during the past couple of days. The British trenches at Pilkem were penetrated, but the Germans were driven out by a bombing attack. The French captured 300 metres of trenches in Champagne, but their first line trench was pierced in Artois. An enemy endeavour to cross the Yser was repelled.

### Russian Successes

In Galicia the Austrians have been making desperate attempts to dislodge the Russians from the heights occupied. All the attacks were repulsed, the enemy suffering enormous losses. The Russian advance in the Caucasus and Persia is maintained.

### French Success in Balkans

The Salonika correspondent of the "Petit Parisien" announces that the French have crossed the Vardar and installed themselves on the right bank of the river, in the region of Yenidje and Verris, an important station on the Monastir-Salonika Railway. This movement, declares another correspondent, puts the French in possession of strong natural positions.

### The Caucasus Front

On the Caucasus front Russian troops, advancing through deep snow near Erzerum, forced inaccessible passes, captured some dozen officers, over 700 men, seven guns, and machine guns, etc. A violent explosion was observed in one of the forts of Erzerum after the





A black and white historical photograph of a busy street in Limerick, Ireland. The street is filled with people, horse-drawn carts, and buildings. The scene is captured from a high angle, looking down the street. The buildings are multi-story, with many windows. The street is paved, and there are people walking and pushing carts. The overall atmosphere is one of a bustling, busy street.

# 5 Limerick and the Rising

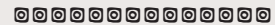
Bridge St., Newcastlewest, Co. Limerick<sup>93</sup>





# The Rising and Limerick

Limerick's role in the Easter Rising is like Sherlock Holmes' 'dog that didn't bark.'<sup>149</sup> Because Limerick did not rise, it is sometimes assumed that the city and county contributed little or nothing to the Rising. In reality, Limerick men and women were heavily involved in both the preparations and the fighting. Also, the plans for the Rising envisaged Limerick taking a major role in the fighting. Although in the end Limerick did not rise, this was mainly due to the loss of the *Aud* and the conflicting orders emanating from Dublin, rather than any failure on the part of the local Volunteers.<sup>146</sup>



In 1916, the Volunteer units in Limerick consisted of the City Battalion, Doon-Castleconnell Battalion, West Limerick Battalion, and Galtee Battalion, each with 200 men. Along with the four County Clare battalions, these constituted the Limerick Command, totalling around 1,600 men headed by Commandant Michael Colivet.<sup>147</sup>



The IRB regarded themselves as the rightful government of Ireland as is demonstrated by this Irish Republican Bond, 1862 (Limerick Museum).

# Michael Colivet (1884–1955)

Born at 11 Windmill Street, Limerick, Michael Colivet's family background illustrates the often conflicting loyalties of the time.<sup>148</sup> During Easter week when Colivet was commander of the Limerick City Volunteers, his father John was at sea serving in the British navy. He went down with his ship the following year. By contrast, Michael's mother was Anne Kennerk from Askeaton, 'a fiery patriot, who often recalled to her children that an ancestor of hers had been hanged in 1798'.<sup>149</sup>

Originally a supporter of Home Rule, Colivet was always a moderate, who 'had not the extremist background of [IRB members] Ledden and Clancy'.<sup>150</sup> He joined the Volunteers in 1913 to defend the ideal of Home Rule, not to engage in rebellion.<sup>151</sup> Later, he was enrolled in the IRB by Sean MacDiarmada and became a republican.<sup>152</sup>

Colivet's day job as manager of Shannon Foundry was advantageous to the Volunteers in Limerick as he was:

Able to get pikes made for the men for whom no firearms of any sort could be obtained. I think he also made a type of bayonet which could be fitted on to a shotgun.<sup>153</sup>

Colivet's role in obeying MacNeill's countermanding orders was central to Limerick not being involved in the Rising and was highly controversial. However, his actions in 1916 have to be seen in context. His decision not to lead the Limerick Volunteers into battle undoubtedly saved dozens of lives. He made up his mind after carefully weighing up the options as he had 'an almost fanatical adherence to facts' which was probably 'his chief characteristic'.<sup>154</sup> Central to his decision was his belief that the loss of the *Aud* had made a rising impossible.

His post-1916 career demonstrates that he was a brave man, whose actions in 1916 were not motivated by timidity. Following the Rising, he endured great suffering in the national cause and 'spent his best years in jail, in internment camps or on the run'.<sup>155</sup> He was imprisoned in various locations, both before and after his return as Sinn Fein MP for Limerick city in the 1918 general election. In Rathkeale, he was kept in solitary confinement, contracted a skin disease and was brought out to be shot before a last minute reprieve saved his life. When he was in Spike Island his first wife Annie died and he was denied release to attend her funeral. In Mountjoy prison, he went on hunger strike and was force fed.<sup>156</sup>

Colivet sat in the Dáil from 1919 to 1923 and on Limerick City Council from 1920 to 1925. He opposed the Treaty but retired from politics in 1925. He moved to Dublin where he worked in the public service until his death. Colivet is buried in Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin.<sup>157</sup>









## HOLY THURSDAY 20 APRIL

Back in Limerick, Colivet outlined the revised plan to his officers. It was also agreed that two motor cars would drive from Limerick to Killarney, where they would meet a group of Volunteers, storm Fitzgerald's Radio School in Caherciveen and make contact with the *Aud*—the German arms boat. Unknown to them, the *Aud*, which had arrived in

Tralee Bay on 20 April, had no radio.<sup>160</sup>

Kathleen Clarke came to Limerick with despatches and her children. 'I took my three children to leave with my mother, so that I could be free to take on the duty assigned to me in the Rising.' She had a verbal message for the Limerick Volunteers: 'Tell them that John [Eoin] MacNeill has agreed to sign the proclamation and is quite enthusiastic.' Privately, she was unimpressed by the Limerick Volun-

teers, and later told MacDiarmada that she thought them 'slow and hesitating, especially for the work before them.'<sup>161</sup>

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## Good Friday 21 April

On Good Friday, Tommy McInerney and Sam Windrim, driving separate cars, left Limerick and picked up five Volunteers in Killarney as planned. They set out for Caherciveen but due to bad weather and poor directions, McInerney got lost and drove the car into a river. McInerney himself escaped, but tragically his three passengers (Volunteers Donal Sheehan, Charlie Monagan and Con Keating) were drowned. The mission was abandoned, Windrim and McInerney returned separately to Limerick, and were both arrested.<sup>162</sup>

The *Aud* was captured by the British and the arms shipment lost. Roger Casement, who had



arrived separately in Kerry on a German submarine was captured. Kathleen Clarke returned to Dublin, leaving her children with their aunts at 15 Barrington Street.<sup>163</sup>

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# Holy Saturday 22 April

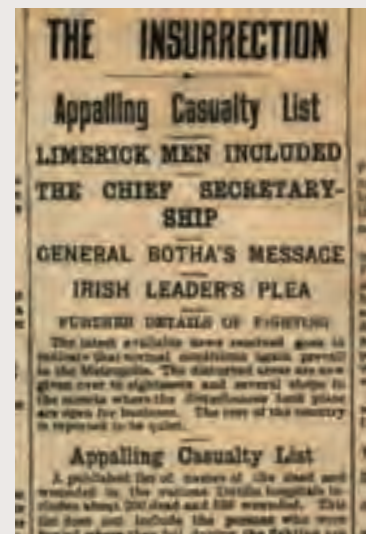
In Dublin, Eoin MacNeill, having learned of the loss of the *Aud* and the Rising planned for Easter Sunday, issued his famous order cancelling the

‘parades and manoeuvres’ scheduled for the following day. His order took the form of twenty hand-written notes, plus an advertisement in the *Sunday Independent*, due to appear the next day.<sup>164</sup>

However, the IRB were determined to go ahead with the rebellion. Dublin republican and feminist Helena Moloney remembered that ‘it was foolish of MacNeill and those to think they could call it off. They could not. Many of us thought we would go out single-handed, if necessary’.<sup>165</sup>

In Limerick, news of the Kerry

debacle had come through and Colivet spent Saturday ‘wondering what was going to happen the following day.’ He asked Sean Fitzgibbon, from Volunteer headquarters who was returning to Dublin, to find out if the Rising was on or off and to inform him by coded message. Later, the frantic Colivet sent two of his own officers, James Gubbins and Liam Forde, to Dublin in search of further instructions. In Dublin, both of these were given ambiguous messages which added to the confusion when they returned to Limerick the following day.<sup>166</sup>



# Easter Sunday 23 April

Kathleen Clarke opened her shop on 77 Amiens Street, Dublin, fully believing that the Rising was going to begin at 4.00pm that afternoon. She opened the *Sunday Independent* and to her utter amazement 'read there John [Eoin] MacNeill's orders to the Irish Volunteers. I could not understand this, and was inclined to think it was not genuine'. Her initial reaction was that it was a British trick, designed to sabotage the Rising. However, her husband Tom returned home later that day and informed her that MacNeill's order was all too genuine. Clarke was distraught that Eoin MacNeill had secretly called off the Rising without his knowledge: 'he looked very ill and seemed scarcely able to speak.' Later, the decision was made to go ahead with the Rising the following day.<sup>167</sup>

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In Limerick on Easter Sunday morning, The O'Rahilly came down from Dublin by car and gave Colivet written instructions from MacNeill cancelling the Rising. Colivet, who believed that the loss of the *Aud* made rebellion futile, complied. On the same morning, he brought the Limerick Battalion out to Killonan for routine manoeuvres and camped out overnight until the following morning. It was cold and rained heavily so they spent a miserable night in Killonan.

Meanwhile, the West Limerick Battalion assembled at Glenquin Castle, near Newcastle West; the Galtee Battalion at Galbally and the Castleconnell Battalion at Castleconnell, but after some brief manoeuvres, all disbanded on receiving MacNeill's orders.<sup>168</sup>

# Easter Monday 24 April

Early in the morning, around 1,200 insurgents, made up of the Dublin Volunteers and James Connolly's Citizens Army, occupied six strongholds, each of which had outposts, in Dublin city centre. The total number of Volunteers and Citizens Army in Dublin was around 3,000, so MacNeill's countermanding order had been obeyed by about 50 per cent of his men. Around ninety women took part in the Rising, of whom sixty were members of Cumann na mBan.<sup>169</sup>

At 12.30 Pádraig Pearse, President of the Irish Republic, came out of the General Post Office (GPO) onto O'Connell Street and read the Proclamation declaring an Irish Republic.<sup>170</sup>

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□





In Limerick, Agnes and Laura Daly received a message from Pearse in Dublin, which they delivered to Colivet and the Limerick Battalion in Killonan. It stated 'Dublin Brigade goes into action today. Carry out your orders.' Colivet and the majority of his men, cold and wet after having camped over-night in Killonan, decided that in view of the *Aud's* loss, it would be futile to rise. In consequence 'a very demoralized group of Volunteers marched back into Limerick to disperse when they reached their headquarters behind the Daly house in Barrington Street.'<sup>171</sup>

The final result was Limerick did not rise. The Daly sisters were furious.<sup>172</sup>



#### Unit

Volunteers / Citizens Army  
 1st (Dublin City) Battalion  
 2nd (Dublin City) Battalion  
 3rd (Dublin City) Battalion  
 4th (Dublin City) Battalion  
 Citizens Army  
 5th (North Dublin) Battalion

#### Stronghold

GPO HQ  
 Four Courts  
 Jacob's Factory  
 Boland's Mill  
 South Dublin Union  
 College of Surgeons  
 Ashbourne, Co Meath

#### Commanding officer

Padraig Pearse/ James Connolly  
 Ned Daly  
 Thomas McDonagh  
 Eamon de Valera  
 Eamonn Ceannt  
 Michael Mallin  
 Thomas Ashe

A striking image of the GPO in ruins, guarded by a solitary British sentry, May 1916. Ironically, Nelson's Pillar, visible on the right, survived the fighting unscathed, but was blown up by the IRA at the time of the Rising's fiftieth anniversary in 1966. (Westropp Photographic Collection, Royal Irish Academy and Digital Repository of Ireland).

**POBLACHT NA H EIREANN.**  
**THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT**  
**OF THE**  
**IRISH REPUBLIC**  
**TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.**

**IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN:** In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty; six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on Behalf of the Provisional Government,

**THOMAS J. CLARKE,**  
**SEAN Mac DIARMADA, THOMAS MacDONAGH,**  
**P. H. PEARSE, EAMONN CEANNT,**  
**JAMES CONNOLLY, JOSEPH PLUNKETT.**

ON THE  
MORNING OF  
EASTER SUNDAY  
1916, ONE  
THOUSAND  
COPIES OF THE  
PROCLAMATION  
OF THE IRISH  
REPUBLIC WERE  
PRINTED IN  
LIBERTY HALL,  
DUBLIN, OF  
WHICH ONLY  
THIRTY  
SURVIVE

(Limerick Museum).

## THE FIGHTING IN DUBLIN 24-29 APRIL

The British plan was to surround all the rebels' strongholds, concentrate on capturing the GPO first and then move on to the other insurgent positions. As a result, only the GPO was stormed and captured by the British. Most of the other rebel strongholds saw little action and surrendered on the orders of Pearse.

On Monday 24 April, the rebels failed to capture Dublin Castle, but took the nearby City Hall. Around 1.15pm, British cavalry charged down O'Connell Street but retreated after coming under fire from the GPO garrison. The principal fighting that day was at the South Dublin Union. The following day, Seán Heuston's outpost in the Mendicity Institute was captured. On both Wednesday and Thursday,

there was major fighting in and around the Four Courts, but Ned Daly's rebel garrison remained in control. On Wednesday, the bloodiest fighting of the whole Rising occurred in the Battle of Mount Street Bridge, when seventeen rebels killed or wounded 234 British soldiers. On Thursday, James Connolly was wounded twice, in the shoulder and the ankle. The GPO had been under attack all week and on Friday, its garrison retreated to Moore Street. By now, the rebels in all

the strongholds were exhausted and hungry.

On Saturday 29 April, Padraig Pearse decided to surrender, after being horrified at seeing a family carrying a white flag shot down. Some other leaders wanted to continue the fight, including Clarke, who cried bitterly when it was finally decided to surrender. Nurse Elizabeth O'Farrell met General Lowe, commander of the British forces in Dublin, who asked her to bring Pearse to him. At 2.30 pm Elizabeth





O'Farrell returned to General Lowe with Pearse, who handed over his sword, pistol and ammunition and signed the document of surrender. Elizabeth O'Farrell delivered the message of surrender to all the rebel garrisons, none of which had been captured by the British.<sup>173</sup>



**Thomas Johnson Westropp (1860-1922) from Patrickswell, County Limerick, was one of Ireland's leading archaeologists and folklorists. He took a series of forty photographs depicting the buildings and streets of Dublin in the aftermath of the Rising. They form one of the most comprehensive and vivid records of the post-rebellion city.**

(Westropp Photographic Collection, Royal Irish Academy and Digital Repository of Ireland).

## LIMERICK PARTICIPANTS IN THE RISING

While Limerick was not a theatre of battle in the Rising, a number of Limerick people took part in the fighting on both sides. In most cases, their involvement was entirely fortuitous. As Limerick did not rise, the Limerick men who fought in the Rising were those who were working in Dublin and therefore members of Dublin Volunteer units, the only section of the Volunteers who took part in the Rising.

Likewise, most Limerick men in the Crown forces happened to be stationed in or near Dublin and got caught up the fighting. A few civilian casualties of the Rising were also from Limerick. The most prominent Limerick leaders in the Rising were Eamon de Valera, Edward Daly and Con Colbert.

## EAMON DE VALERA (1882-1975)

Born in New York, Eamon de Valera was sent to Bruree, County Limerick at the age of three to live with his mother's family. His thirteen years in Bruree were 'a story of his struggle to flee the soul-destroying poverty of an agricultural labourer's life in rural Limerick.'<sup>174</sup> Highly intelligent and strong-willed, he won a scholarship to Blackrock College, County Dublin and later graduated from the Royal University with a BA degree.



De Valera came late to nationalism. In order to improve his career prospects, he joined the Gaelic League where he met and fell in love with his future wife Sinead. He joined the Irish Volunteers in 1913, and quickly became radicalised, moving from Redmondism to



Eamon de Valera under arrest in Kilmainham Jail after the Rising (Military Archives, Dublin).

separatism. He became obsessed with being a soldier, and although he had no part in the planning of the Rising, he prepared for it beforehand meticulously, making a detailed tour of Boland's Mills of which he was to be commandant. Through no fault of their own, de Valera and his garrison saw little action during the Rising. His military leadership was 'indecisive but hyper-active, and he went without sleep for five days.'<sup>175</sup> Boland's Mill was held by the Volunteers until Sunday 30 April, when Pearse's surrender notice was delivered.

Initially, de Valera was sentenced to death, but this was later commuted to imprisonment. The tradition that he avoided execution because of his US citizenship has been discounted by Fanning who considers that 'de Valera owed his survival more to luck' - due to the peripheral location of Boland's Mill he was not imprisoned with the other leaders. His trial was delayed

and the British decided to halt the executions, due to the public backlash.<sup>176</sup>



De Valera only moved into political prominence during his post-Rising imprisonment. This was not only due to the 'iconic stature he acquired in its aftermath as the only surviving commandant' but more to his strength of character. 'He expected and received deference, loyalty and obedience.' He was also older and more educated than the other prisoners.

On their release 'a final gesture copper-fastened the prisoners unswerving allegiance when de Valera marched them into the first-class saloon of the ship at Holyhead and refused the captain's appeals to move to the third-class quarters for which they had been given tickets.'<sup>177</sup>

On his release, he was elected

Sinn Fein MP for Clare in 1917. Soon after he became president of both Sinn Fein and the Irish Volunteers, setting him on the road to the political premier division where he remained for over fifty years.<sup>178</sup>



## Edward (Ned) Daly (1891-1916)

A native of Limerick city, Edward (Ned) Daly was born into the most prominent Fenian family in Ireland (see chapter 6). It was also a family in crisis. His father Edward, a younger brother of IRB leader John Daly had died of heart failure six months before at the early age of forty-two. He left a widow, Catherine who was three months pregnant with Ned and eight daughters aged between fourteen and one year.

Young Ned Daly grew up in a large, warm, closely knit family circle. Surrounded by





strong-willed sisters and uncles, he was somewhat spoilt and cossetted. His fiery uncle John Daly described him as a 'mollycoddle' and a 'sissy' and relations between them became very poor. Part of the problem was that Ned took his time finding a profession.

Educated in Sexton Street CBS and Leamy's School (now the Frank McCourt Museum), he was unable to enter the family bakery business due to health issues and the opposition of the Limerick Bakers Society (trade union), which only admitted bakers' sons to the

trade. Instead, he worked as a clerk at Spaight's timber yard in Limerick, but continued to infuriate his uncle by showing more interest in music, theatre and the cinema than in making a living. After a final row, Ned was 'essentially thrown out' of the house by John Daly in 1912. The young man moved to Dublin where he lived with his sister Kathleen and her husband Tom Clarke and worked as a clerk.<sup>179</sup>

Here, Ned Daly finally blossomed. Inheriting the strong republican views of his family, he had always wanted to be a soldier, but joining the British Army was out of the question. Widely read in military matters, his chance came, when he joined the Irish Volunteers on their foundation in November 1913. He quickly earned the rank of captain, becoming an expert on tactics and strategy. Young and handsome, he grew a moustache to make himself look older to the men under his command and was always

immaculately turned out in his Volunteer uniform. He played a prominent role in overseeing the Howth gun running in 1914 and in the staging of O'Donovan Rossa's funeral in 1915.<sup>180</sup>

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In 1916, two of Daly's men, including his future brother-in-law Eamonn Dore, were ordered to escort James Connolly to a meeting called by the IRB to prevent Connolly from staging a pre-emptive rebellion and thus disrupting their own plans. Later rumours emerged that Connolly had in fact been kidnapped by the IRB and forcibly brought to the meeting. Regardless of how the meeting was arranged, it resulted in Connolly and his men agreeing to fight alongside the Volunteers in the Rising. Dore later testified that his services had not been required, as Connolly had gone voluntarily to the meeting.<sup>181</sup>



COMDT. NED DALY

TOM CLARKE

CAPT. CON COLBERT

LIMERICK MARTYRS OF 1916

During the Rising, Daly was commandant of the 1st (Dublin City) battalion which occupied the Four Courts, several buildings along nearby Church Street and North King Street, plus the Bridewell police station and Linenhall Barracks. Daly's garrison occupied a strategic position which controlled the route leading from various military barracks into the city centre. Consequently, they were involved in some of the most intense fighting of the rebellion at both Church Street behind the Four Courts and the Mendicity Institute, where Sean Heuston was in command. The British launched a major assault on Daly's garrison using an armoured car, but suffered huge losses and made little progress. In their rage, they massacred fifteen innocent civilians on North King Street.<sup>182</sup>

During Easter Week, Daly demonstrated that he had reached maturity as a

professional soldier. 'His command was disciplined and concerned for civilian welfare, and neatly anticipated British offensive tactics, and his manner was sober and contained.' Major-General P J Halley of the Irish Army later wrote that 'Daly showed excellent military skill' during the fighting. Ironically, one of the British officers captured and imprisoned in the Four Courts was fellow-Limerick man Lieutenant Edward G Halpin (1888-1954) who later testified that Daly had treated him very well. Throughout the Rising, Daly was highly respected, even worshipped, by his men.<sup>183</sup>

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For three days, one of Daly's subordinates, Sean Heuston and his garrison in the Mendicity Institution fought furiously to prevent the British advancing on the Four Courts. Heuston had only twenty-six men and was surrounded by

hundreds of British soldiers. Eventually they were forced to surrender, though they had inflicted severe casualties on the British.<sup>184</sup>

Daly's garrison held out until Pearse's surrender order reached him on Saturday. Though deeply disappointed, he obeyed without question. When a British officer shouted 'Who's in charge here?' Daly calmly replied 'I am, at all events I was.' Following the surrender, he was imprisoned in Kilmainham Jail, tried in Richmond Barracks and sentenced to death. His last days were very poignant. On the night before his execution, he was visited by his three sisters Madge, Kathleen and Laura, whom he told:

I did my best.

On 4 May, he was executed by firing squad in the yard of Kilmainham Jail and later buried in Arbour Hill.



## Con Colbert (1888-1916)

Born in Castlemahon, near Newcastle West, County Limerick, into a family of strongly Fenian background, Con Colbert moved with his family to Athea at the age of three. From a young age, he showed an interest in the Irish language (which was still spoken by older people in West Limerick at this time), Irish pastimes, and cultural nationalism in general. As a teenager, he went to live with a sister in Dublin, where he completed his education and obtained work as a clerk in Kennedy's bakery, Parnell Street.<sup>185</sup>

While in Dublin, Colbert joined the Gaelic League and Fianna Éireann, of which he eventually became chief scout. His politics became more radical and in 1909, he wrote that 'ten years time and Ireland will be ripe for a struggle with the cursed robbers who changed

this country into a desert from its great fertility.'<sup>186</sup> Having become friendly with Pearse and other leading figures, Colbert was inducted into the IRB in 1912 and elected to the provisional committee of the Irish Volunteers. A devout Catholic, he spent all his spare time on nationalist activities.<sup>187</sup>

During the Rising, Colbert served under Eamonn Ceannt, and initially commanded an outpost in Watkin's brewery. Having seen little action, they moved to Marrowbone Lane on Wednesday 26 April where they were joined by members of the Fianna and Cumann na mBan. Over the next three days, Colbert and his garrison were involved in heavy fighting. When Pearse's surrender arrived on Sunday 30 April, Colbert burst into tears, before reluctantly obeying.<sup>188</sup>

Colbert was taken into custody and later sentenced to be shot. The day before he died, he

wrote several letters to family and friends. To his sister Lila, he wrote:

I did not like to call you to this jail to see me before I left his world because I felt it would grieve us both too much, so I am just dropping you a line to ask you to forgive me anything I do owe you and to say goodbye to you and all my friends and to get you and them to say a prayer for my soul.







To John Daly, he sent this touching note:

My dear friend,  
Just a line to wish you  
goodbye and to ask your  
prayers for my poor soul.  
God prosper you and yours.  
May He love Ireland.

Goodbye.  
Yours ever,  
Con



## Other Limerick Insurgents

The following is an account of other Limerick men and women who participated in the Rising. It is by no means exhaustive as the places of origin of many insurgents have yet to be established.



## The GPO

Two of the Daly sisters and their future husbands served in the GPO. On Tuesday 25 April, Laura (1882-1967) and Nora Daly (1889-1977) took the train to Dublin to find out what was happening and also to obtain orders for the Limerick Volunteers. On the train, they met Eamonn Dore by accident. He had been home in Glin on holidays for Easter, but on hearing of the Rising, he travelled to Dublin to fight alongside his comrades. In Dublin, he brought the Daly sisters to the GPO, where they remained for less than twenty-four hours. Padraig Pearse sent them to Cork with a message for the Cork Volunteers, asking them to join in the Rising. The Dalys took a train to Cork, but the Volunteers there were surrounded by British troops, and could not rise, so the sisters returned to Limerick. Meanwhile, Eamonn Dore went back to the GPO where

he remained until the surrender.<sup>189</sup>

A farmer's son from Glin, Eamonn Dore (1896-1972) studied medicine in UCD but never qualified due to his involvement in the 1916 Rising. He was active in the Irish Volunteers and the IRB and became a close friend of Con Colbert. At the time of the Rising, Dore was serving as Sean MacDiarmada's bodyguard and fought with him in the GPO. Dore was arrested afterwards, but although he was soon released, his health was badly affected and he never returned to UCD. In 1918, he married Nora Daly and they had one son and two daughters. They lived in Limerick and Eamonn was involved in running Daly's bakery until it closed in 1959. Eamonn and Nora Daly are buried in Glin.<sup>190</sup>



A Corkman, James (Seamus or Jim) O'Sullivan (1891-1974)





The destruction wrought by the Rising in Dublin city centre was unprecedented for a modern Irish city or town before the Northern Ireland Troubles (Westropp Photographic Collection, Royal Irish Academy and Digital Repository of Ireland).

worked in a Dublin grocer's shop. He served in the Volunteers with Ned Daly and they became close friends. He served in the GPO with the rank of captain and was afterwards sentenced to death, later commuted to imprisonment. Released in the post-1916 amnesty, O'Sullivan worked as an organiser with the Irish Volunteers. In 1918, while on the run from Crown forces, he married Laura Daly and they had two sons and two daughters. An admirer of Michael Collins, he remained neutral during the Civil War, as his wife and her family were all anti-Treaty. In 1939, he and Laura established O'Sullivan's Shoe shop in Limerick which traded until 2008.<sup>191</sup>

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Two cousins from Killaghteen, Garryduff, Monagea, County Limerick served together in the GPO. James M Flanagan (1877-1950) was a member of 2nd (Dublin City) battalion of

the Irish Volunteers.<sup>192</sup> Following the Rising he was interned for a period. During the Civil War, he fought in the anti-Treaty forces and left the army in 1924. Later, he worked as a clerk in a Dublin hospital. Matt Flanagan (1887-1963) was a member of the Irish Citizens Army. Later in life, he worked for the Land Commission in Dublin and lived at 56 Belmont Avenue, Donnybrook.<sup>193</sup>

A native of Newcastle West, Garrett McAuliffe (1886-1952) worked as a domestic servant for a number of years before emigrating to England. Active in the Irish Volunteers before his departure, he returned to take part in the Rising. He was stationed in the GPO and was afterwards interned. Active during the War of Independence, he succeeded Sean Finn as Officer Commanding West Limerick Brigade IRA and later took the anti-Treaty side in the

Civil War. In the 1930s, McAuliffe worked as Water and Sewerage Inspector and Water Rent Collector with the Limerick County Board of Health. He lived at Maiden Street, Newcastle West.<sup>194</sup>



Peter Slattery (1884-1954) was from 52 Thomas Street, Limerick. A civil engineer by profession, he later became a medical doctor. He worked for a time as a chemistry teacher in Pdraig Pearse's school at St Enda's Rathfarnham. An admirer and friend of Pearse, Slattery was a member of the 4th Battalion, Dublin Brigade of the Irish Volunteers. During the Rising, he served in the GPO as direc-



Limerick city man Peter Slattery in Irish Volunteer uniform. A close friend and teaching colleague of Pdraig Pearse, he served as headmaster of St Enda's School from 1917 to 1920 [Courtesy Slattery family].

tor of engineers where he sustained an accidental wound. After the Rising, he was imprisoned in Dartmoor and other prisons and was released in 1917. While in prison, he wrote to his brother Ralph thanking him for some family photos, telling him that 'every time I look at them, they make me feel much nearer to ye [sic] all again.'<sup>195</sup> Peter Slattery served as principal of St Enda's school from 1917 to 1920. During the War of Independence, he was involved in espionage work in London, and later purchased arms for the IRA in the USA. Subsequently he was involved in the manufacture of explosives for the IRA. He supported the Treaty and served with the pro-Treaty forces during the Civil War. Afterwards, he became a farmer in County Dublin. He died on 11 June 1954 and was buried in Glasnevin Cemetery.<sup>196</sup>



From Broadford, County Limerick, Father Eugene Sheehy (1841-1917) was the uncle of suffragette Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington. He was so active in the land agitation that he became known as the 'Land League priest' and was also involved in the IRB and GAA. Eamon de Valera was one of his Mass servers in Bruree and admired him greatly, stating later that 'he taught me patriotism.'<sup>197</sup> In 1900, Fr Sheehy retired to Dublin, where he became friendly with Tom Clarke and Sean MacDiarmada. During the Easter Rising, Fr Sheehy was in the GPO 'to administer spiritual consolation' and only left when it was evacuated by the rebels. Shortly before his death, he is reputed to have said that 'I am sorry that I did not die with Tom Clarke.'<sup>198</sup>

## The Four Courts

A number of Limerick men served in 1st (Dublin City)

Battalion of the Irish Volunteers under the command of Ned Daly.

A farmer's son, from Tulligoline South, Templeglantine Maurice Collins (1885-1974) worked in the post office in Dublin and London, and was active in the GAA and Gaelic League. He spent the first few days of the Rising helping to guard Bulmer Hobson, who had been arrested by the IRB to prevent him from trying to stop the rebellion. Afterwards, Collins joined the Four Courts garrison and was involved in heavy fighting in Church Street/ North King Street. Following the Rising, he was imprisoned and dismissed from the post office. Later he opened a shop in Parnell Street Dublin, which became a centre of IRA activity during the War of Independence.<sup>199</sup>



James (1892-1974) and Patrick McNamara (born 1898) were





two sons of an agricultural labourer from Knockaboula, Loughill, near Glin in County Limerick.<sup>200</sup> Both moved to Dublin where they joined the Irish Volunteers. During the Rising, they were involved in some of the heaviest fighting in the Church Street/North King Street area. After the surrender, they were imprisoned and subsequently fought in the War of Independence. Patrick went to the USA in 1920. James fought on the anti-Treaty side in the Civil War and also moved to the USA in 1922. Both lived in the New York area for the rest of their lives.<sup>200</sup>

From Rosbrien, Limerick city, John William Moore (1886-1918) moved to Dublin, where he worked as a commercial traveller and kept a tobacconist shop at 26 Stonybattery on the Northside of Dublin.<sup>201</sup> His work as a commercial traveller took him all over the country and enabled him to work in Volunteer

organisation, intelligence and arms transportation. His sister was the secretary in Daly's Bakery in Limerick. During the Rising, Moore was involved in the Battle of Mount Street Bridge. Afterwards, he was captured and taken to Arbour Hill where he was brutally beaten, receiving several kicks in the region of his heart. He never fully recovered from this ill-treatment and died on 8 December 1918, leaving a wife and three young children.<sup>202</sup>



## COUNTY KERRY

Four Limerick men served with the Volunteers in Kerry during the Rising. Three of them, Donal Sheehan, Tommy McInerney and Sam Windrim, were involved in the ill-fated plan to storm Fitzgerald's Radio School in Caherciveen and make contact with the *Aud*, while Con Collins was to assist with the landing of the ship.

Donal Sheehan (1888-1916) was born in Ballintubrid, near Newcastlewest and joined the Gaelic League while working in London as a book-keeper. In 1914, he returned to Ireland, and started working in Geary's biscuit factory, Limerick city. He frequently travelled between Limerick and Dublin, on IRB and Volunteer business. From Limerick city, Tommy McInerney (1896-1922) was the son of a fisheries manager and the family also owned a garage and public house. He was chosen for the Kerry mission as he was one of the few Volunteers who both owned and could drive a car. A native of Limerick city, Sam Windrim (1890-1955) was a fitter by trade.

On Good Friday 1916, McInerney got lost en route from Killarney to Cahirciveen and drove his car into the Laune river, near Killorglin. He escaped, but his three passengers, including Donal Sheehan, were drowned.



Windrim was arrested and interned afterwards. On his release, he played an active role in the War of Independence where his technical skills proved invaluable in repairing firearms for his colleagues.<sup>203</sup> With the return of peace, he went to work with the technical branch of the ESB in Limerick.<sup>204</sup>

McInerney was also arrested and interned afterwards. On his release, he played an active role in the War of Independence as a captain of the Mid-Limerick Brigade of the IRA. He was also a Sinn Fein member of Limerick City Council from 1920 to 1925. In reprisal, Crown forces blew up his family home and public house on Lock Quay.<sup>205</sup> McInerney was injured in a shooting accident and died three weeks later on 26 May 1922.<sup>206</sup>

From Arranagh, Newcastle West, Con Collins (1881-1937)

was from a staunchly nationalist family. He worked in the Post Office in Dublin, where he joined the IRB and Gaelic League. At the time of the Rising, Collins was sent to Kerry to rendezvous with Tralee's Austin Stack in order to co-ordinate the *Aud's* landing with the incoming Roger Casement. However, after messages between Casement and the IRB had been intercepted by British authorities, both Stack and Collins were captured en route from Tralee to the rendezvous point on Banna Strand. Collins was subsequently held in Richmond Barracks and deported to Frongoch prison in Wales. Released in 1917, he was elected Sinn Fein TD for West Limerick in 1918, and became a member of the First Dáil. He voted against the Treaty, but took no part in the fighting during the Civil War. Later, he was offered the post of Ministry of Post and Telegraphs if he changed sides, but refused to do so. He retired

from politics in 1923 and worked as superintendant of Limerick Post Office for the rest of his life.<sup>207</sup>

## COUNTIES MEATH AND LOUTH

Outside Dublin, the biggest action of the Rising was the Battle of Ashbourne on Friday, 28 April, where the Volunteers under Thomas Ashe won the only rebel victory in 1916.

From Bruree, Richard Hayes (1882-1958) was a medical doctor, who served under Ashe in North County Dublin, when Swords and Donabate RIC barracks were captured and at the Battle of Ashbourne, where his main role was in treating the wounded on both sides. In 1918, Hayes was elected Sinn Fein MP for East Limerick. He supported the Treaty but took no part in the Civil War. In 1924, he resigned from the Dáil

Both Clery's Department Store and the Imperial Hotel occupied the imposing four-storey building pictured in this post-Rising image of O'Connell Street. In 1882, Clery's had been founded by Limerick entrepreneur Michael J Clery. Destroyed during the Rising, Clery's was rebuilt in 1918-22 (Westropp Photographic Collection, Royal Irish Academy and Digital Repository of Ireland).



and later served as Irish film censor (1941-54).<sup>208</sup>

Donal O'Hannigan (1888-1959) was one of five brothers from Anglesboro, County Limerick who took part in the Irish Revolution. In 1909, Donal moved to Dublin where he became active in the IRB, Fianna, GAA and Gaelic League. He joined the Irish Volunteers on their foundation. During the Rising, O'Han-

nigan and Sean McEntee (later a Fianna Fail cabinet minister) commanded a small rebel force in County Louth that captured a dozen RIC men and some British officers in the village of Lurgan Green and ten more RIC men in Castlebellingham. In later life O'Hannigan lived in Dublin where he died on 13 March 1959.<sup>209</sup>

## Limerick men serving in the Crown forces

It was not only rebels who 'dreamed and died' in 1916. It is now thought that the number of Irishmen who fought in the British Army in the 1916 Rising may have equalled or even exceeded the number of rebels, as so many



units of Irish regiments were stationed in Ireland at the time.<sup>210</sup> A number of Irish policemen also fought with the Crown forces. Most of them would have regarded themselves as being as much Irishmen as their rebel opponents, who were simply protecting their fellow citizens from misguided fanatics, allied to the Germans. Thus it was that three young British army officers, all natives of Limerick city, found themselves fighting against the insurgents in Easter 1916.

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George Malone (1896-1978) was a son of Dr Michael J Malone of 5 Pery Square.<sup>211</sup> In 1916, he was a lieutenant with the 3rd Battalion, Royal Irish Regiment. During fighting with Eamonn Ceannt's forces in the South Dublin Union on Easter Monday he received severe wounds and was taken to Dr Steevens Hospital, where his leg was amputated. Later,

he was promoted to major.<sup>212</sup>



Eugene Long (1895-1956) was the son of a prosperous farmer and leather merchant and grew up on the Ennis Road Limerick. His father Eugene J Long, sat on Limerick City Council (1902-11).<sup>213</sup> In 1916, Long was a student in Trinity College and a cadet in the Dublin University Officer Training Corps. He served under the notorious Captain John Bowen-Colthurst, who murdered a number of civilians during the Rising, including Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington's pacifist husband Francis. After the Rising, Long fought in the trenches with the South Irish Horse and the 7th Royal Irish Regiment.<sup>214</sup>

Edward G. Halpin (1888-1954) belonged to a family of cork and bottle merchants on Upper William Street.<sup>215</sup> In 1916, he was a lieutenant in the Nottingham and Derbyshire Regi-

ment (Sherwood Foresters) home on leave. On Monday, he was walking along the quays of the Liffey with the intention of catching a train to Limerick from Kingsbridge (now Heuston) Station, when he was taken prisoner. He was kept prisoner in the Four Courts until Sunday, where he later testified that he had been very well treated by the garrison, commanded by fellow Limerick man Ned Daly.<sup>216</sup>

All three of these officers survived the Rising, unlike another young Limerick man Charles O'Gorman (1894-1916). Reared at 4 Merchants Quay Limerick, son of a clerk, O'Gorman worked as a locomotive brake fitter with the Great Southern and Western Railway in Limerick.<sup>217</sup> At the outbreak of the Rising, O'Gorman was serving in the 10th Reserve Cavalry Regiment, based in the Curragh military camp, looking after the shoeing of horses. His regiment was ordered to Dublin where he

was killed on 24 April, only a few hours after his arrival. O’Gorman was buried in Grangegorman Military Cemetery.<sup>218</sup>



From Abbeyfeale, County Limerick, Patrick Leen (1894-1916) was a private with the 5<sup>th</sup> (Royal Irish) Lancers. On the first day of the Rising, he took part in the cavalry charge down O’Connell Street, but was wounded as a result of rebel fire from the GPO. Leen died of his wounds on 1 May and was buried in the Royal Hospital Kilmainham Dublin.<sup>219</sup>



Two Limerick policemen also died in the Rising. James O’Brien (1868-1916) has the sad distinction of being the first person killed in the 1916 Rising. Born in Kilfergus, Glin, County Limerick he had twenty-one years service with Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP) in 1916. On the first

day of the Rising, he was on duty at the entrance to Dublin Castle at Cork Hill. Helena Moloney of the Irish Citizens Army remembered what happened:

I, with my girls, followed Seán Connolly [no relation to James Connolly] and his party. We went right up to the Castle Gate, up the narrow street. Just then, a police sergeant [sic] came out and, seeing our determination, he thought it was a parade, and that it probably would be going up Ship Street. When Connolly went to go past him, the Sergeant put out his arm; and Connolly shot him dead.<sup>220</sup>

The gates of the Castle were then shut and the rebels failed to capture it. Constable O’Brien is buried in Kilfergus Graveyard near Glin.<sup>221</sup>



From Ballycahane, Pallaskenry, County Limerick, Chri-

stopher Miller (1887-1916) was a farmer’s son who joined the Royal Irish Constabulary. At the outbreak of the Rising, he was stationed in Belfast and attending a course in Dublin. He joined the British forces attacking the South Dublin Union, which was commanded by Eamonn Ceannt. Miller attempted to force open the door of the rebel headquarters but was shot dead by Ceannt himself on 27 April 1916. He is buried in the cemetery of the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham.<sup>222</sup>

## LIMERICK CIVILIANS IN THE RISING

Civilians suffered more than any other category in the Rising, accounting for 54 per cent of those killed.<sup>223</sup> These included forty children who died in Easter Week, caught in the crossfire.<sup>224</sup> At least two Limerick civilians were killed and two were injured in the Rising.



Born in Glenfield, Kilmallock, Jane Costello (1892-1916) worked as a shorthand writer and typist in Dublin. She was accidentally shot dead at the window of her lodgings, at 117 Seville Place, on 27 April 1916, killed by a soldier, who had fired the shot from a doorway on the street. Ironically, two of Jane Costello's brothers had joined the British Army since the outbreak of the war. She was buried in Glasnevin Cemetery.<sup>225</sup>

From Ballyhahill, near Glin, Michael C O'Connor (1888-1916) was a secondary teacher who had been working in St Kieran's College, Kilkenny. He

travelled to Dublin with some friends during the Easter holidays and was sitting in Pheonix Park when he was accidentally shot dead by British soldiers. He was buried in Kilfergus Graveyard, Glin, where Constable James O'Brien is also buried.<sup>226</sup>

In 1916, engine-fitter John Lysaght (born 1871) from County Limerick and his wife Kate from Limerick city were living in Upper Kevin Street, Dublin with their children.<sup>227</sup> On the first day of the Rising, John Lysaght went outside his door to bring in one of his children, presumably to avoid getting caught up in the fight-

ing. One of the rebels pointed a revolver at him, but Lysaght knocked it aside angrily. Another rebel then bayoneted him, injuring him badly. Lysaght was later treated in the Adelaide Hospital.<sup>228</sup>

Philip W Snell (1855-1922), the English-born manager of the Limerick Clothing Factory from 1899 to 1922 happened to be in Dublin during the Rising. He was caught in crossfire and sustained injuries 'which necessitated the amputation of his left leg.' He returned to Limerick, some months later, where 'he was given a hearty reception by his employees.'<sup>229</sup>



# IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY

Leaders in the Insurrection, May, 1916

IRISH REPUBLICANS, MAY 1916



THOMAS MACDONAGH  
Member of the Executive of the '1916 'Rising.  
Died at the Barricade of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, May 26, 1916.

IRISH REPUBLICANS, MAY 1916



J. J. DEVLIN  
Member of the Executive of the '1916 'Rising.  
Died at the Barricade of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, May 26, 1916.

IRISH REPUBLICANS, MAY 1916



SEAMUS WHELAN  
Member of the Executive of the '1916 'Rising.  
Died at the Barricade of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, May 26, 1916.

IRISH REPUBLICANS, MAY 1916



HUGH MACBARRON  
Member of the Executive of the '1916 'Rising.  
Died at the Barricade of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, May 26, 1916.

IRISH REPUBLICANS, MAY 1916



TOM CLARKE  
Member of the Executive of the '1916 'Rising.  
Died at the Barricade of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, May 26, 1916.

IRISH REPUBLICANS, MAY 1916



JAMES CONNOLLY  
Member of the Executive of the '1916 'Rising.  
Died at the Barricade of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, May 26, 1916.

IRISH REPUBLICANS, MAY 1916



P. D. JOYCE  
Member of the Executive of the '1916 'Rising.  
Died at the Barricade of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, May 26, 1916.

IRISH REPUBLICANS, MAY 1916



JAMES STEPHENS  
Member of the Executive of the '1916 'Rising.  
Died at the Barricade of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, May 26, 1916.

IRISH REPUBLICANS, MAY 1916



THOMAS ASHE  
Member of the Executive of the '1916 'Rising.  
Died at the Barricade of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, May 26, 1916.

IRISH REPUBLICANS, MAY 1916



E. J. DUGGAN  
Member of the Executive of the '1916 'Rising.  
Died at the Barricade of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, May 26, 1916.

IRISH REPUBLICANS, MAY 1916



SEAMUS HYNES  
Member of the Executive of the '1916 'Rising.  
Died at the Barricade of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, May 26, 1916.

IRISH REPUBLICANS, MAY 1916



COUNTESS MARKIEVICZ  
Member of the Executive of the '1916 'Rising.  
Died at the Barricade of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, May 26, 1916.

IRISH REPUBLICANS, MAY 1916



THOMAS O'RIORDAN  
Member of the Executive of the '1916 'Rising.  
Died at the Barricade of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, May 26, 1916.

IRISH REPUBLICANS, MAY 1916



ED. DWYER  
Member of the Executive of the '1916 'Rising.  
Died at the Barricade of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, May 26, 1916.

IRISH REPUBLICANS, MAY 1916



THOMAS GLASS  
Member of the Executive of the '1916 'Rising.  
Died at the Barricade of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, May 26, 1916.

IRISH REPUBLICANS, MAY 1916



JOSEPH PLUNKETT  
Member of the Executive of the '1916 'Rising.  
Died at the Barricade of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, May 26, 1916.

Printed and Published by the Powell Press, 22 Parliament Street, Dublin.

A COMPOSITE  
IMAGE OF 1916  
LEADERS. ALL  
DIED AS A  
RESULT OF THE  
RISING EXCEPT  
COUNTESS  
MARKIEVICZ  
AND EAMON DE  
VALERA

(IMPERIAL WAR  
MUSEUM, LONDON).

## POST RISING EXECUTIONS

MAY 3RD 1916

KILMAINHAM GAOL

PADRAIC PEARSE  
THOMAS CLARKE  
THOMAS MACDONAGH

MAY 4TH 1916

KILMAINHAM GAOL

JOSEPH PLUNKETT  
EDWARD DALY  
MICHAEL O'HANRAHAN  
WILLIE PEARSE

MAY 5TH 1916

KILMAINHAM GAOL

JOHN MACBRIDE

MAY 8TH 1916

KILMAINHAM GAOL

EAMONN CEANTT  
MICHAEL MALLIN  
SEAN HEUSTON  
CON COLBERT

MAY 9TH 1916

CORK DETENTION BARRACKS

THOMAS KENT

MAY 12TH 1916

KILMAINHAM GAOL

SEÁN MACDIARMADA  
JAMES CONNOLLY

AUGUST 3RD 1916

PENTONVILLE PRISON, LONDON

SIR ROGER CASEMENT





## THEY DREAMED AND ARE DEAD

The role of Irish soldiers, policemen and civilians in the 1916 Rising is a prime example of sociologist Peter Berger's observation that 'the past is malleable and flexible, changing as our recollection interprets and re-explains what has happened.'<sup>230</sup> All but erased from the Irish collective memory for over ninety years, they are now regarded as an integral part of the national story, men and women who were as authentically Irish as Pearse, MacDiarmada and Clarke.

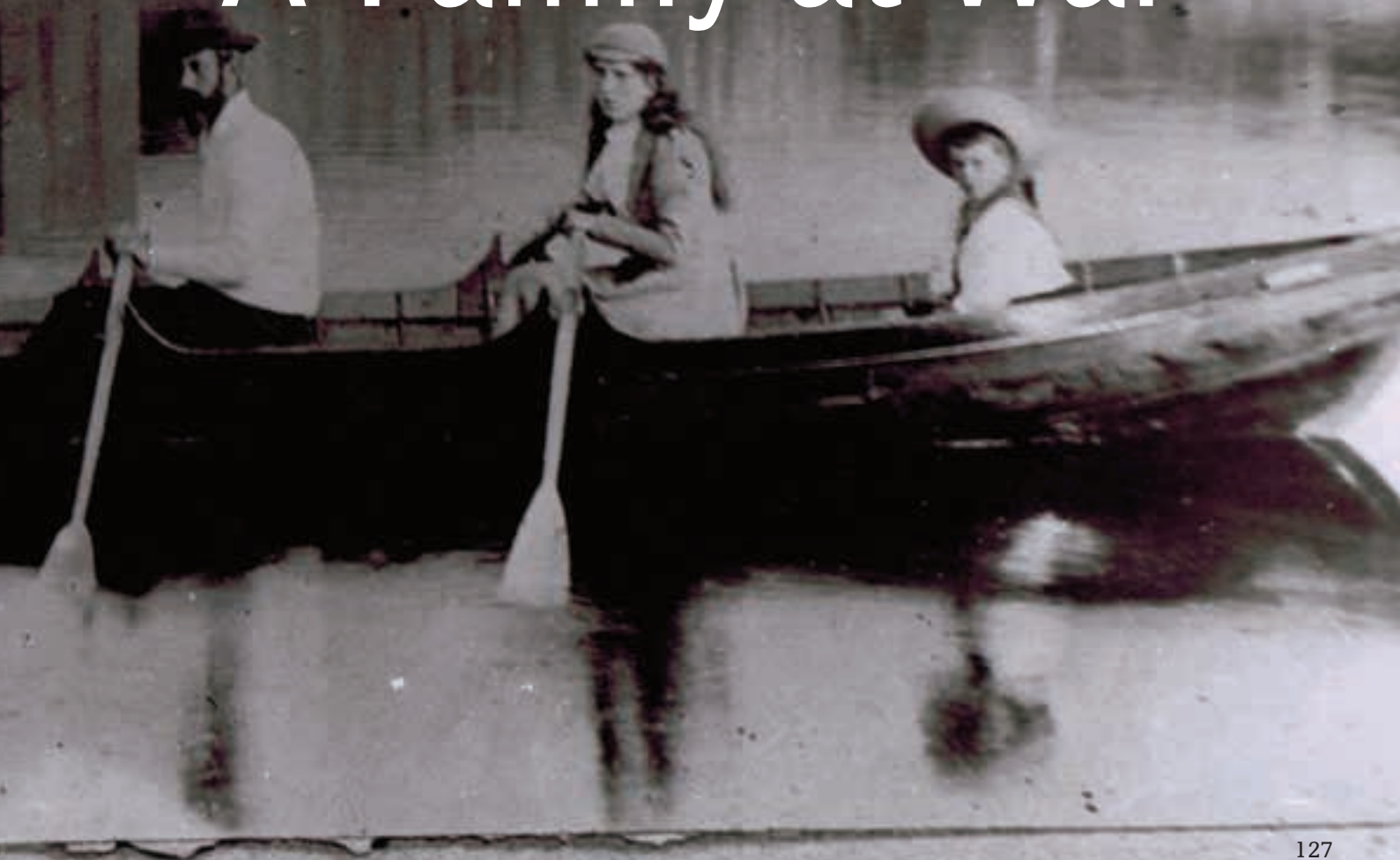


The Daly family in Kilkee, County Clare, c. 1901. In the 1790s, the Limerick middle classes began taking their seaside holidays in Kilkee (Special Collections, Glucksman Library, University of Limerick).



The Daly family in the rowing boat presented to John Daly by local nationalists after Shannon Rowing Club refused him admittance. Ominously, he named it Lua-Tagna (Swift to Avenge). (Left to right): Eileen, Madge, Agnes, John, Kathleen and Ned (Special Collections, Glucksman Library, University of Limerick).

# 6 The Dalys: A Family at War







On the night before his execution, Ned Daly was visited in Kilmainham Jail by his 'three grief-stricken sisters', Kathleen, Madge and Laura. Madge later recalled that:

He looked so proud and strong and noble that, with eyes alert and full of fire, that it seemed impossible to believe that he was a doomed captive, destined to be shot in a few hours. Rather did he look like a brave young knight, who had won some great victory.<sup>231</sup>

Their conversation was all too brief but Madge remembered that 'our last talk with Ned, except for one or two brief family references, were all of Ireland.' She also wrote that among his last words to them were:

Tell Uncle John I did my best.<sup>232</sup>



Although this comment, may have been invented by Madge 'to spare John's feelings', its symbolism was nevertheless profound.<sup>233</sup>

For, almost exactly twenty years before Ned Daly became 'another martyr for old Ireland,' his 'Uncle John's' martyrdom in British prisons had come to an end.<sup>234</sup> On the evening of the 14 September 1896, a 'monster crowd... with bands and torchlights and blazing tar barrels' gathered at Limerick railway station. 'As the train steamed in, fog signals were exploded and fireworks were displayed.' From one of the carriages, a tall, distinguished looking man, with a black beard streaked with grey, emerged and 'was carried triumphantly along by the surging crowd to the carriage in waiting outside.'

John Daly, IRB activist and national leader, who had spent the last twelve terrible years in English prisons, was home. Outside the station, he bowed



### THE NINE DALY CHILDREN IN 1901

BACK (LEFT TO RIGHT): **NORA (1889-1977)** MARRIED **EAMONN DORE (1896-1972)**;  
**ANNIE (1886-1908)**; **AGNES (1879-1969)**; **CARRIE (1884-1972)**;  
**LAURA (1882-1967)** MARRIED **JAMES O'SULLIVAN (1891-1974)**.

FRONT (LEFT TO RIGHT): **EILEEN (1875-1955)** MARRIED **NED O'TOOLE (1873-1963)**;  
**KATHLEEN (1878-1972)** MARRIED **TOM CLARKE (1858-1916)**; **MADGE (1877-1969)**;  
**NED (1891-1916)**. (HELEN LITTON, DUBLIN AND THE O'SULLIVAN FAMILY, LIMERICK).



his thanks to the ecstatic crowd and then drove in triumph through the streets of Limerick, past brightly lit buildings and blazing bonfires, past a sea of cheering people waving hats and handkerchiefs.<sup>235</sup>

Arriving at the O'Connell Monument in the Crescent, Daly was officially welcomed home by the Mayor and Corporation of Limerick. When he rose to speak, 'a tremendous cheer was raised which must have been heard all over the city.' Although thin and weak from his imprisonment, Daly was a born orator and gave a long speech in his fine tenor voice. He spoke of his sufferings, but emphasised that:

I went into an  
English prison an  
Irish nationalist...  
[and] I have come  
out an Irish  
nationalist.

He also told his audience that he was 'willing to represent you anywhere that you choose.' It was clear that a dynamic new force had arrived in Limerick.<sup>236</sup>



Daly was fortunate to be returning to a large welcoming family, consisting of his sister Lollie, his late brother Edward's widow Catherine, plus Catherine's eight daughters and one son. But the Dalys were no ordinary family. They were virtually Fenian royalty, with a pedigree of service to separatism greater than that of any other Irish family.



From 1898 until his death in 1916, John Daly's Limerick residence, first at 26 William

Street and later at 15 Barrington Street, became the spiritual home of Fenianism in Ireland.<sup>237</sup> The Daly household was a warm, bustling place, which acted as a social centre, a refuge and a headquarters for separatism and anti-British sentiment. A veritable procession of prominent republicans came there to meet with John Daly, including Pádraig Pearse, Sean MacDiarmada, Roger Casement, Sean Heuston and Con Colbert. Of course, the most frequent visitor of all was Tom Clarke, John Daly's oldest friend and fellow Fenian prisoner who met Daly's niece Kathleen there and later married her.<sup>238</sup>



The first generation of Daly republicans consisted of the siblings John (1845-1916), Edward (1848-90) and Laura (Lollie) (1841-1925).<sup>239</sup> In turn, they passed on their staunch nationalist beliefs to the next generation, Edward Daly's

nine children. Their aunt Lollie 'would keep the Daly children enthralled with her tales of Irish history, dwelling on glorious and romantic deeds, particularly in relation to the Fenians whom she had known in her youth.'<sup>240</sup> Of Edward's eight daughters, Madge became president of the Limerick branch of Cumann na nBan, Kathleen was married to Easter Rising leader Tom Clarke, Laura to Seamus O'Sullivan and Nora to Eamonn



Dore. All were active in the fight for freedom, while Edward's youngest child and only son Ned was one of the 1916 leaders executed after the Rising.<sup>241</sup>



The death of Edward Daly senior in 1890 threatened his family with near poverty, from which they were rescued by his brother James who had made a fortune in the French Pacific Ocean colony of New Caledonia. He provided them with financial security for a number of years until John Daly took over the task by establishing his famous bakery at 26 William Street. Accordingly, from the 1890s onwards, the Dalys enjoyed the comfortable lifestyle of the Limerick middle classes as portrayed in Kate O'Brien's novels, complete with fine houses, servants, elegant clothes and holidays in Kilkee.<sup>242</sup>



The Dalys had a major influence on Irish revolutionary nationalism. Working as an IRB organiser, John Daly enrolled Tom Clarke in the organisation, thus recruiting one of the leading organisers of the 1916 Rising. Not the least of the Daly family's achievements was the re-integration of both John Daly and Tom Clarke into normal society after their long years of imprisonment, without which neither could have achieved so much for the separatist cause.

The Daly family also used their wealth to fund advanced nationalism for many years. Their highly successful business in Limerick became one of the major sources of the IRB's financial support. It is no exaggeration to state that the Daly fortune was crucial to the Easter Rising. The family supported Tom and Kathleen Clarke by helping them buy a farm in Long Island, New York where they lived from 1906 to 1907 and set them up in a



The Daly family in mourning after the executions. Back (left to right): Madge, Catherine and Agnes.  
Front (left to right): Laura, Nora and Carrie (Courtesy Helen Litton, Dublin and the O'Sullivan family, Limerick).



tobacconist shop in Dublin in 1907. In 1911, the Dalys provided land and built a hall for the Limerick Fianna on Barrington Street. They also helped to fund and equip the two Limerick City Battalions of the Irish Volunteers and financed *Irish Freedom*, the IRB newspaper founded in 1910.<sup>243</sup> Above all, through Clarke, they provided the money which kept the IRB from collapsing after its American sister organisation Clan na Gael had temporarily ceased funding it. Without this vital lifeline, the IRB would not have survived and the Easter Rising, which the IRB planned and carried into effect, could not have happened.<sup>244</sup>



## JOHN DALY (1845–1916)

Born in Frederick (now O'Curry) Street, Limerick,

John Daly was educated at a national school in Mary Street, where 'according to custom, he had to carry his sod of turf to the class room every morning.'<sup>245</sup> Later, he went to Sexton Street CBS and left school at thirteen to train as a joiner. Influenced by his nationalist family background he was sworn into the IRB in 1863. John later recalled that his father would tell him 'stories about his father who was a United Irishman, though my father himself never got beyond being a Repealer.'



However, his mother 'never missed an opportunity to advocate the cause of the Irish extremists to her children and to sing the praises of the Irish republic and separatists.'<sup>246</sup>

In 1867, during the Fenian Rising, John Daly participated in the attack on Kilmallock Barracks. For the next sixteen years, he was one of the most prominent and active member of the Fenians, travelling all over Ireland, as well as in Britain and the USA. In 1878, he so impressed a young man named Tom Clarke that he joined the IRB four years later. In 1883, Daly was arrested in Britain for being in possession of explosives that had allegedly been given to him by a police agent. He was sentenced to twelve years of imprisonment, which he served in England, at Chatham and later Portland Prison.<sup>247</sup>



In Chatham Prison, Daly met Tom Clarke again and they became close friends. Both endured the harsh conditions of the 'scientific' Victorian prison system which was designed to punish first and rehabilitate later, if at all.

During the day, prisoners spent most of their time in solitary confinement, to prevent 'moral contagion' from their fellow convicts. They worked in total silence to prevent them from conspiring together. At night, their sleep was frequently disturbed by warders checking on them, ostensibly to prevent escapes.



Visits were rare and diet was just sufficient to enable prisoners to work. Daly and Clarke were among the few prisoners to emerge from this terrible experience with their sanity intact. They drew on their inner strength of character and passed each other messages on scraps of paper, or by Morse code, tapping on tin plates. On his release, one of Daly's abiding memories was how strange he found women's voices, which he had only heard in prison when his sister Lollie visited him, and his shock at seeing how old he looked in a







mirror.<sup>248</sup> For the remainder of his life, 'he would never allow a wild bird to be caged'; 'always pleaded for the release of the little fish' that his young relatives caught on holidays in Kilkee and hated hare coursing.<sup>249</sup>

Following his release from prison, John Daly returned to Limerick permanently in 1898. From the funds he had raised on a successful lecture tour in America he set up a bakery business on 26 William Street Limerick. This was the first shop in Limerick to have the owner's name in Irish over the door and on the delivery vans. On 9 December 1898, it was opened with considerable ceremony. Daly hired a traditional singer to chant his praises, and gave a free loaf to everyone in the huge crowd gathered outside the door. The business was actually run by his niece Madge, a born entrepreneur with immense organisational abilities.<sup>250</sup>

Instead, John Daly immersed himself in politics. Determined, eloquent and gregarious, he was well suited to public life. He sat on Limerick City Council from 1899 to 1906 and served as a very high profile and controversial Mayor from 1899 to 1902. He arranged for the Freedom of Limerick to be granted to Tom Clarke and to Maud Gonne, renowned nationalist and love interest of W B Yeats. Daly also removed the Royal coat of arms from the Town Hall and added a link to the mayoral chain which depicted revolutionary symbols.

In many ways, he was a social conservative. A wealthy businessman, he became part of the respectable Limerick middle classes and lived in a large house, first over the bakery on William Street and later at 15 Barrington Street.<sup>251</sup>




In the years leading up to the Easter Rising, though largely confined to a wheelchair, Daly remained close to the IRB leadership, and received a steady stream of prominent visitors in his Limerick home, including Tom Clarke, Sean MacDiarmada, Ernest Blythe, Bulmer Hobson and Pdraig Pearse.<sup>252</sup>

During the Rising itself, 'John Daly lived the most anxious days of his life.' Desperately worried about Clarke and MacDiarmada, and above all his nephew Ned, he was also intensely frustrated at not being involved. The insurgents 'were fighting the fight he had hoped for and longed for all his life and there he was, tied to an invalid chair, unable to be with them.' When news of the executions reached him, 'he broke down' for 'they had died the heroic and soldierly death he would have welcomed for himself.'<sup>253</sup>

John Daly died soon afterwards on 30 June 1916 and



was buried in Mount Saint Lawrence Cemetery. He had devoted his entire life to the ideal of 'living in a free Irish Republic [where] there would be no political interference from any quarter, from any sect or any power outside our own island.'<sup>254</sup> As a lifelong activist, source of funding and inspiration to others, Daly was a giant figure in the history of Irish republicanism for some fifty years.



## THOMAS CLARKE (1858-1916) AND KATHLEEN CLARKE (1878-1972)

Kathleen was the third eldest of the Daly sisters. After leaving school, she trained as a seamstress and established her own thriving dress making business. Strong-willed even by the standards of the Daly sisters, she refused to work in

the family bakery under her domineering uncle John. A proud Limerick woman, she liked to make Limerick lace as a hobby.<sup>255</sup>

In March 1899, she met Tom Clarke, who became a regular visitor to the Daly household in Limerick.<sup>256</sup> Traumatized by years of harsh imprisonment, he blossomed in the warmth of the Daly household and showed an unexpectedly light-hearted side to his personality. Although he was small, prematurely aged and twenty years her senior, Kathleen soon fell in love with him. Their romance was opposed by her mother and even her uncle John who feared that he would not be able to support her, but the formidable Kathleen swept aside their objections. They were married in New York in 1901 and later had a family of three boys. The Clarkes lived in New York until 1907 when they returned to Ireland. They settled in Dublin where they ran a successful tobacconist business that eventually cons-

isted of two shops.<sup>257</sup>

In 1926, future President Sean T O'Kelly wrote that 'Clarke can truthfully be described as the man, above all others, who made the Easter Rising. He, it was, who inspired it originally, and he, it was, who, in broad outline, laid the plans.'<sup>258</sup> The Clarkes' home in Dublin became the centre of the IRB which underwent a much-needed reform and revival after 1907, largely under Tom's inspiration. During this period, Sean MacDiarmada became his close friend and right-hand man. Kathleen Clarke was also very busy, running two shops, rearing three sons and playing a major role in republicanism. She helped run the *Irish Freedom* newspaper and in 1914 became a founding member of Cumann na mBan. She served as president of its central branch, where she organised classes in first-aid and military training and published short profiles of Irish republican heroes.<sup>259</sup>



A month after the war began, in September 1914 the IRB decided to stage a rebellion. Clarke and MacDiarmada were the main planners, assisted later by the other five signatories of the 1916 proclamation. Although immensely proud of her husband's role, Kathleen dreaded it. On Tuesday 18 April, she recorded that 'Tom was wild with excitement' about the forthcoming Rising, but she felt differently, that in fact 'the world was tumbling around me.' She knew that it would not be a success and that 'it would be the end for him [Tom] but I would have to remain and bear the separation as well as I could.' On the night of Easter Sunday, 23 April 1916, she 'slept in my husband's arms for the last time' knowing that he would go into battle the next day.<sup>260</sup>

One of Kathleen's finest moments came in early 1916 when she was entrusted with the plans for the Rising and in the event of its failure, given

responsibility for maintaining contact with Clan na Gael in the USA. Tom Clarke's prominent role was acknowledged when he was given the honour of being the first to sign the proclamation. He served in the GPO garrison, where it was remarked that despite the certainty of defeat, he looked happy that his life's ambition was finally being achieved.<sup>261</sup>

After the Rising, both Tom and Kathleen Clarke were arrested. He greatly feared being sent back to prison and was delighted to hear that he was to be shot instead. Kathleen had to bear the unimaginable trauma of her husband being executed on 3 May and her brother Ned Daly on 4 May, while being pregnant with her fourth child (which she later miscarried).<sup>262</sup>

After the Rising, Kathleen Clarke established the Volunteer Dependants' Fund of which she appointed Michael Collins secretary, thus giving

him a position of national prominence for the first time. During the War of Independence, she sheltered men and women on the run and worked as a District Justice in the Sinn Féin courts in Dublin. She opposed the Treaty and in 1926 became a founder member of Fianna Fail. She sat on Dublin Corporation (1919-42) and served as Lord Mayor (1939-41), Ireland's first ever female mayor. She was also a member of the Dáil (1921-22; June-September 1927) and the Senate (1928-36). A supporter of women's rights, she opposed the 1937 Constitution. She always maintained that her husband's role in the Rising had been downplayed in favour of Padraig Pearse, whom she described as being:

as vain as a peacock.

She is buried in Deansgrange Cemetery.<sup>263</sup>



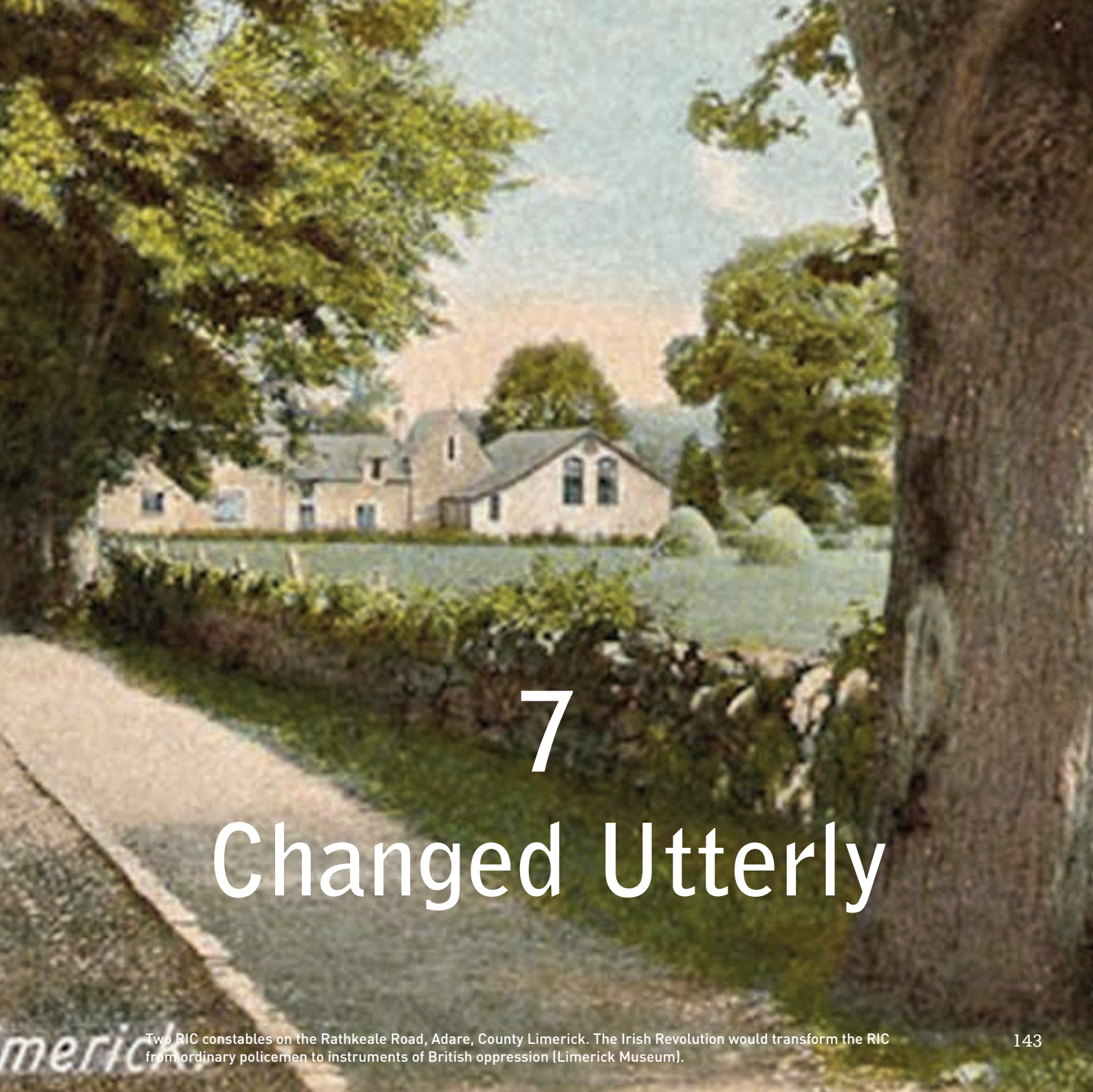
Mrs Lou Blake - John & Ernest Blake  
John Blake & Ernest Blake

Wm. G. ...  
1884



*Rathkeale Road Adare Co. Li*





7

# Changed Utterly

*Limerick*

Two RIC constables on the Rathkeale Road, Adare, County Limerick. The Irish Revolution would transform the RIC from ordinary policemen to instruments of British oppression (Limerick Museum).

Initially, the Easter Rising was almost universally condemned in Ireland, though few went as far as the unionist *Cork Constitution* newspaper which advocated 'the penalty of the hangman's rope for the ring-leaders.'<sup>264</sup> Limerick was no exception, and the *Limerick Leader's* editorial of 10 May referred to the insurrection as a 'stunning blow of horror' and a 'wholly insane enterprise.'<sup>265</sup>

By contrast, the unionist *Limerick Chronicle*, while publishing detailed reports of the rebellion, refrained from any criticism in the aftermath, confining its editorials to comments on the First World War.<sup>266</sup>

Further condemnation was voiced in letters published by the *Limerick Leader*. An unarmed Irish officer in the British army wrote that the Rising 'puts Ireland back a generation. It was cruel and foolish... Violence of arms – what a

terrible thing it is and how hard to find it justified by moral law.'<sup>267</sup> A Limerick man, living in London, described how 'I am sorry that some of my misguided countrymen have in open rebellion played into the enemy's hands.'<sup>268</sup> The National Volunteers in Limerick adopted a motion 'once more renewing our implicit confidence in the Irish leader and his colleagues and that we express our absolute and unqualified determination to follow the leadership of Mr. Redmond.'<sup>269</sup>

Limerick Corporation made no official statement throughout the crisis, while Limerick County Council adopted a motion stating their desire to 'renew our confidence in the Irish Party and Mr. Redmond, and earnestly appeal to the Government to deal leniently with our misguided fellow countrymen who took part in the late rebellion.'<sup>270</sup>

## DISARMING THE VOLUNTEERS

The Mayor of Limerick, Stephen Quin (a moderate nationalist with unionist leanings) played a central role in orchestrating the disarmament of the Irish Volunteers in Limerick city. To overcome their natural reluctance to hand over their weapons directly to the Crown forces, Mayor Quin agreed to accept the arms from Colivet, and in turn, pass them onto the British garrison in Limerick. The bulk of the arms were handed into the Town Hall on 5 May 1916. One of the Limerick Volunteers described the night in vivid detail:

A dark evening; RIC men posted singly in the streets adjacent to the Town Hall; curiously silent knots of onlookers stood at corners. British military patrols were posted outside and







The first Dáil of 1919 was the first Irish parliament to convene since 1800 (Courtesy John Collins).



inside the building. The men arrived singly or in small groups. They had been instructed to render the arms useless, and this order was effectively carried out. The rifle bolts were missing in most cases; corrosive acid had been poured down the barrels, some of the barrels were bent into half hoops; some were so thoroughly destroyed that they had to be surrendered in haversacks. Each man handed his rifle to Colivet, who then laid it before the Mayor. He in turn handed it to the officer in charge of the British military.<sup>271</sup>

By contrast, the county battalions such as Galbally and Ballylanders handed in their arms directly to the RIC, although they broke most of them beforehand.<sup>272</sup>



## DETAINING THE VOLUN- TEERS

In the aftermath of the 1916 Rising, a total of 1,862 men and five women were served with internment orders under Regulation 14(b) of the Defence of the Realm Act 1914.<sup>273</sup> They were sent to a number of prisons across Ireland, England and Wales, such as Dartmoor, Wakefield prison and Richmond Barracks. These men and women were interned for hours, days or even weeks, depending on the severity of the charges. However, most of the captured Limerick men were sent to Frongoch internment camp, in North Wales.<sup>274</sup>

Frongoch became a veritable 'University of Revolution', where prisoners became radicalised and hardened. They learned guerrilla warfare and military tactics from each other as well as more innocu-

ous subjects like Latin and mathematics. Tomas O Maoi leoin, Vice-Commandant of the East Limerick Brigade recalled that he and others were:

taken to Frongoch sometime about June. There were a good many fellows there before us but some came after us. We were in the South Camp... There was a camp council of officers. Anybody with a rank was on it, and I was on this camp council. I think the IRB was very active in Frongoch because everyone who was on the Camp Council was an IRB man.<sup>275</sup>

In December 1916, Frongoch camp was closed and the Irish prisoners released. The British had made a serious error in interning so many revolutionaries in one place as the contacts made there were to be used against them with devastating effect during the War of Independence.



## Bishop E T O'Dwyer

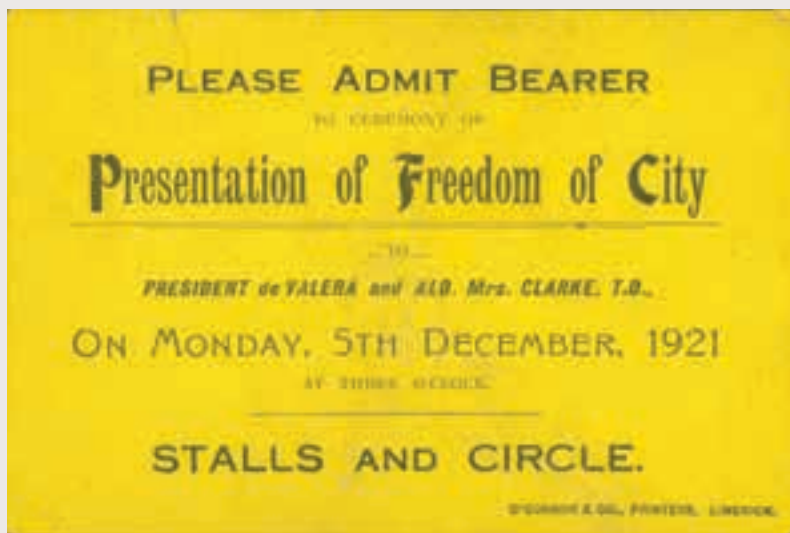
Following the execution of their leaders in May 1916, public opinion began to move in favour of the rebels. In Limerick, the lead was taken by the formidable Catholic Bishop, Edward T O'Dwyer (1842-1917), who wielded enormous authority at a time when the Catholic Church was all-powerful in Limerick.<sup>276</sup> By 1916, O'Dwyer had become

very disillusioned with Ireland's participation in the war, and Redmond's support for it. The Bishop was furious when General Sir John Maxwell, who had ordered the post-Rising executions, wrote to him, asking him to discipline two of his priests for alleged involvement in subversive activities. The Bishop's reply, dated 17 May, 1916, which he published in a number of newspapers, condemned Maxwell's repressive measures as 'wantonly cruel and oppressive', bluntly told him

that 'personally, I regard your action with horror', and concluded by telling him that 'your regime has been one of the worst and blackest chapters in the history of the misgovernment of this country'.<sup>277</sup>

Limerick Corporation was radicalised by O'Dwyer's letter and on 3 September voted unanimously to grant him the honorary freedom of the city. On 14 September, a huge crowd attended the official conferral ceremony in the Town Hall. The Bishop made a fiery speech, in which he condemned British rule, and stated that 'Ireland will never be content as a province. God has made her a nation and while grass grows and water runs there will be men in Ireland to dare and die for her.'<sup>278</sup>

James Maloney later recalled the significance of O'Dwyer's intervention which he claimed 'did more to awaken the



sympathy of the Irish people for the rebels and the rebellion than any other such happening.’ In succeeding weeks:

Sympathy turned to admiration, admiration to pride and we began to square our shoulders. Photographs of the dead leaders appeared in the shops. The mists cleared and we saw these men as the true inheritors of our nation's struggle. We spoke with admiration of this noble effort of scarcely one thousand men.<sup>279</sup>

Another influential clergyman, Monsignor Michael O’Riordan (1857-1919) from Kilmurry, near Limerick city, was Rector of the Irish College in Rome at this time. He was able to use his close connections with Pope Benedict XV to prevent the Vatican from condemning the Rising, to the intense anger of the British and French governments.<sup>280</sup>

## **THE RISE OF SEPARATISM**

After 1916, the revival of sepa-

ratism was led by Cumann na mBan, which did not suffer the same degree of official repression as the Volunteers did. Indeed, its members were able to move centre stage briefly, while their male colleagues were languishing in British jails and detention centres. Cumann na mBan acted through two organisations which its members helped to establish in May 1916.

The Volunteer Dependents’ Fund was set up by Kathleen Clarke and others to support the families of the Volunteers who had died or were imprisoned. Its committee was comprised of the widows of the executed 1916 leaders. The Irish National Aid Association was set up for the same purpose. Limerick Cumann na mBan worked for these funds, arranging Requiem Masses for the 1916 dead, holding commemorations, sending food parcels to prisoners and generally working for their welfare.<sup>281</sup>



Associations such as these provided a cover behind which rebels who escaped arrest could begin rebuilding the Volunteers, which from 1918 became known as the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The work of Cumann na mBan and its offshoots helped to earn sympathy as well as money for separatism. Nearly forty years later, Madge Daly recalled that:

Every week we received considerable sums from the employees of Messrs. Clunes Factory, Dennys Factory, Evans and Company, Limerick Wagon Builders and Railway men, Bannatyne and Company, Abbey Boatmen, Shaws and Company, McMahan and Son, carmen at Messrs. Russells, and the workers at the Limerick Clothing Factory.<sup>282</sup>

In December 1916, the return to Ireland of the Frongoch detainees prepared the way for the rebuilding of all the sepa-

ratist movements.<sup>283</sup> Ironically, the failure of the Limerick Volunteers to rise in 1916 and Colivet's surrender of their arms made the task of rebuilding much easier as the subsequent British crackdown had been relatively restrained and separatist organisations had remained intact. James Dore remembered how the Volunteers in Newcastle West ceased drilling after the surrender of arms in 1916:

But we kept together and met occasionally until after the general release in 1917. Shortly after, a general mobilisation of Volunteers was held in Newcastle West. Con Collins and other speakers addressed the Volunteers on the occasion. Routine drilling continued during the year.<sup>284</sup>

The membership of the Limerick Volunteers rose from 943 in June 1917 to 2,600 in January 1919.<sup>285</sup> Early in 1917, it was decided to establish a second battalion of Volunteers in the city in opposition to the existing battalion commanded by Colivet. This was done at the instigation of the Daly sisters and with the strong support of Ernest Blythe, all of whom regarded Colivet's actions in 1916 with deep dislike. Peadar Dunne, a protégé of the Dalys who worked in their bakery, was named Officer Commanding of the new battalion.<sup>286</sup> Each company of the new battalion was linked with a Sinn Fein Club named after a Rising leader and a club of the increasingly radical GAA.<sup>287</sup>



GAA Club	Sinn Fein Club	Company
Treaty Sarsfields	Ned Daly Club	A
St Patricks; Claughaun	Thomas Ashe Club	B
Star	Roger Casement Club	C
Shamrocks	Con Colbert Club	D
Faughs	Tom Clarke Club	E

It is particularly requested that no writing or figures be made in this Book, except by the Officials of the Bank; and that it may be presented once a fortnight at least, in order to be written up from the Bank's Ledger.

*The Munster & Leinster Bank Ltd*

*William St Limerick*

*Dr*      *En. Acc<sup>t</sup> with*

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*Miss Madge Daly*  
*Eamonn T Dore Esq*  
*David Dundon Esq*  
*A/c Memorial to Limerick Men*  
*Executed 1916.*

*Cr*

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<i>June 20</i>	<i>By Obonno</i>	<i>348 13 6</i>
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## Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) and Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP)

**IN 1916, IRELAND HAD TWO POLICE FORCES: THE DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE AND THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY. EXCEPT IN TIMES OF DISTURBANCE SUCH AS THE LAND WAR, THEY FILLED THE ROLE OF THE PRESENT GARDA SIOCHANA AND CARRIED OUT ROUTINE POLICE WORK. THEIR RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION WAS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE POPULATION, WITH MORE THAN 75 PER CENT OF THE RIC BEING CATHOLIC.<sup>288</sup>**

## NEW FIGURES WERE NOW COMING TO THE FORE

A builder from Bruff, Sean Wall (1882-1921) was heavily involved in the Gaelic League and the Volunteers. In 1918, he was put in command of the newly created East Limerick Brigade which established the IRA's first flying column (a small mobile independent military unit) with his full support. He served as Chairman of Limerick County Council (1920-21) and was killed by the Black and Tans at Newtown, Annacarty, Co. Tipperary on 6 May 1921.<sup>289</sup>

From Rathkeale, Sean Finn (1898-1921) was a member of the Fianna who served as a captain of the Irish Volunteers. In 1918, he was put in charge of the newly created West Limerick Brigade. He also set up a flying column

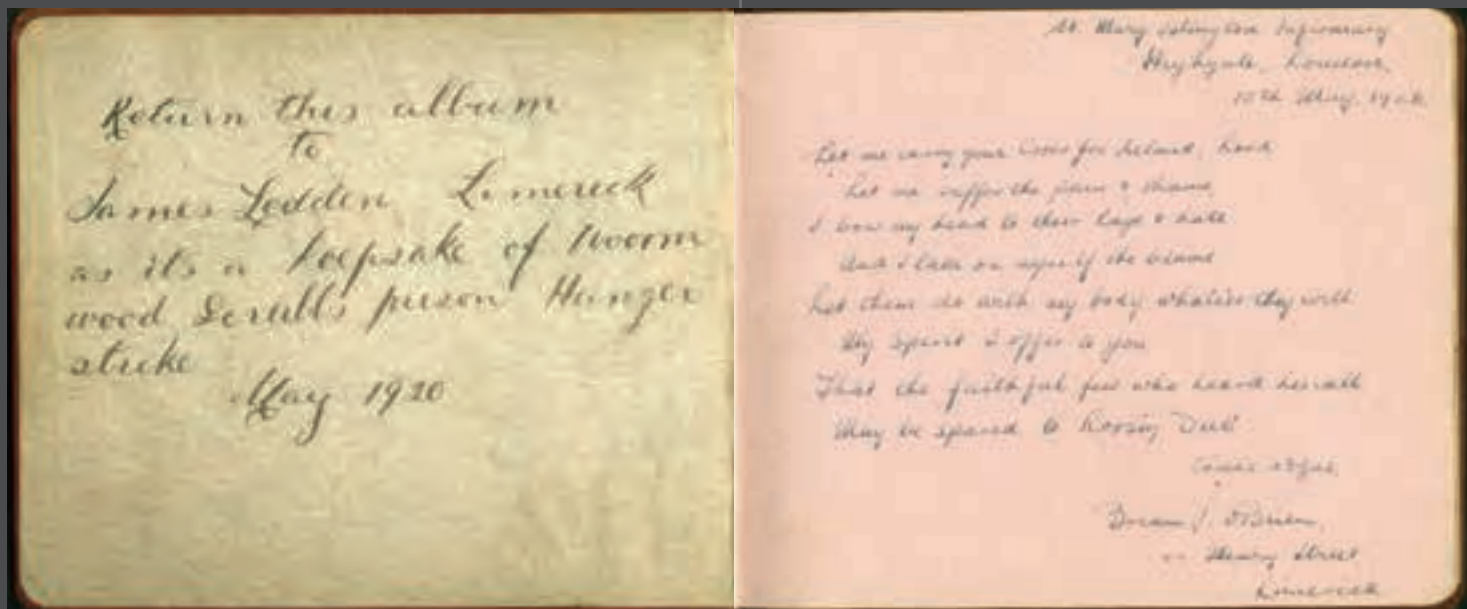
and was killed by the Black and Tans near Foynes, on 30 March 1921.<sup>290</sup>

The Fianna also revived after 1917. Although their father served in the British army in the war, Thomas and John Dargan became involved in the Fianna. Thomas joined in 1917 and later remembered that:

Meetings were held in the rooms of the Railwaymen's Society at Lower Hartstonge Street. The strength at the time was about 25 and did not improve very much numerically for a long time. Regular meetings were held each week at which signalling and scouting classes were held.<sup>291</sup>

Another member was Kevin Bradshaw from Rutland Street, who, while in his early teens, was imprisoned for seven months in Cork Prison.<sup>292</sup>





Armed members of the Irish Volunteers in Adare, County Limerick (Courtesy Healy family).

Autograph book kept by senior Limerick IRB and Volunteer activist James Ledden (1864-1927), while he was in Wormwood Scrubs Prison, 1920. After twenty-one days on hunger strike, he was released due to the collapse of his health, an ordeal from which he never fully recovered. He took the Treaty side during the Civil War and served as Cumann na nGaedheal TD for Limerick (1923-27) (Limerick Archives).

# RISE OF SINN FEIN

Recalling the aftermath of the executions, James Maloney bluntly stated that 'gone was our allegiance to the Irish Party.'<sup>293</sup> In 1917, the Sinn Fein party was reorganised, with Eamon de Valera as its leader. Its aims were to bring about independence through the secession of the Irish members from the British Parliament, and the establishment of an Irish Parliament in Dublin. Although Sinn Fein proclaimed themselves the heirs of 1916, they made no reference to using force.

Seventy Sinn Fein clubs were established in Limerick between May and September 1917.<sup>294</sup> Local authorities also became radicalised. On 29 April 1917, Limerick County Council condemned the death of Thomas Ashe as a result of being force-fed while on hunger strike in prison and

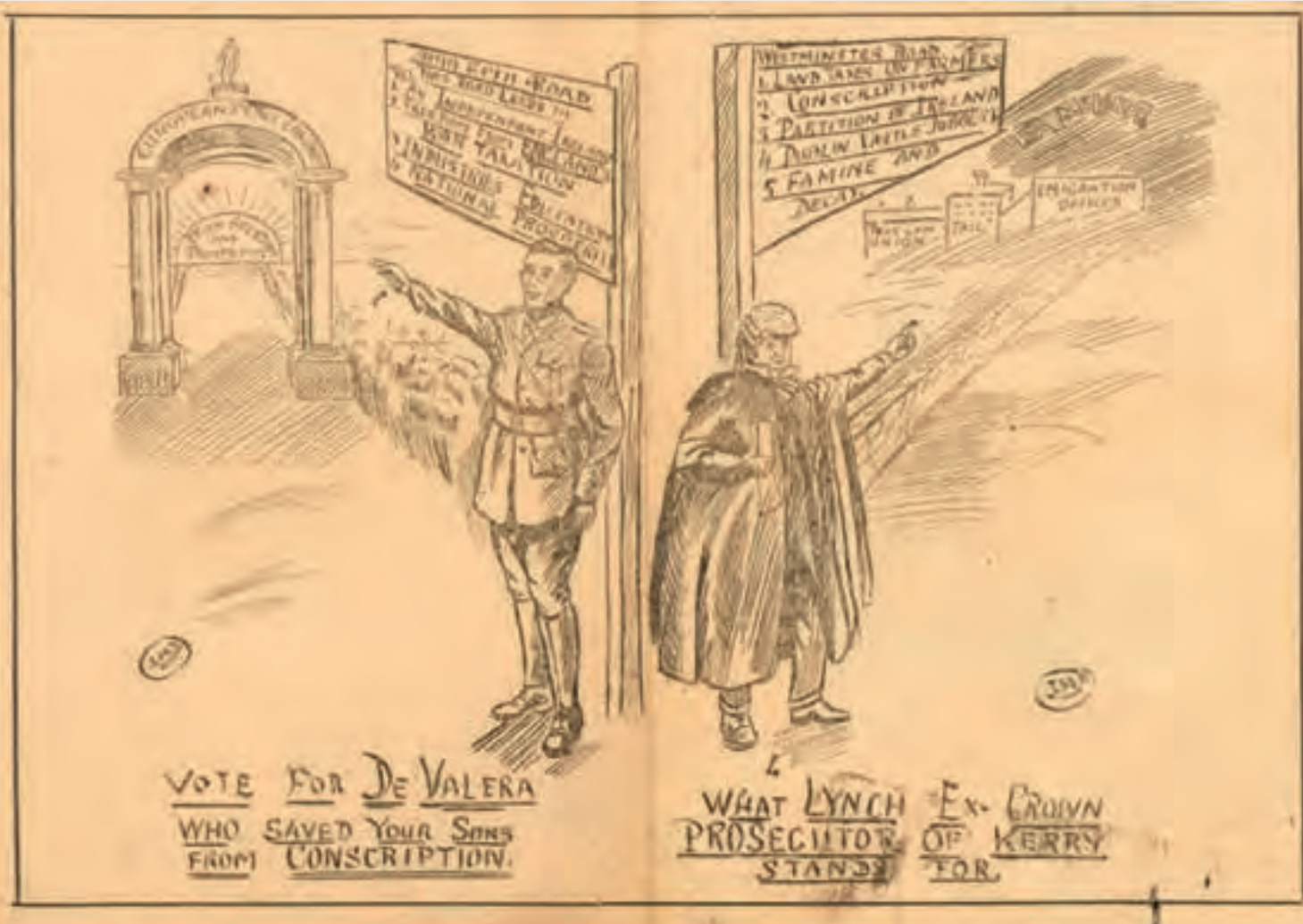
sent four of their number to his funeral.<sup>295</sup> On 18 January 1918, Alphonsus O'Mara became the first Sinn Fein Mayor of Limerick.<sup>296</sup>

After the post-Rising executions, the most important boost to Irish separatism was the British government's decision in April 1918 to extend conscription to Ireland. This provoked a massive campaign uniting all the nationalist political parties, the trade union movement and the Catholic Church against its introduction. All over the country, meetings were held and thousands signed an anti-conscription pledge. Limerick County Council adopted a motion describing the proposal as 'tyrannical and unconstitutional to the highest degree.'<sup>297</sup> Protest meetings were held all over Limerick including one in Ballybrown near the city, chaired by local parish priest Canon Robert Kirby, where a resolution was carried 'to resist such a tyrannical measure by every means in our



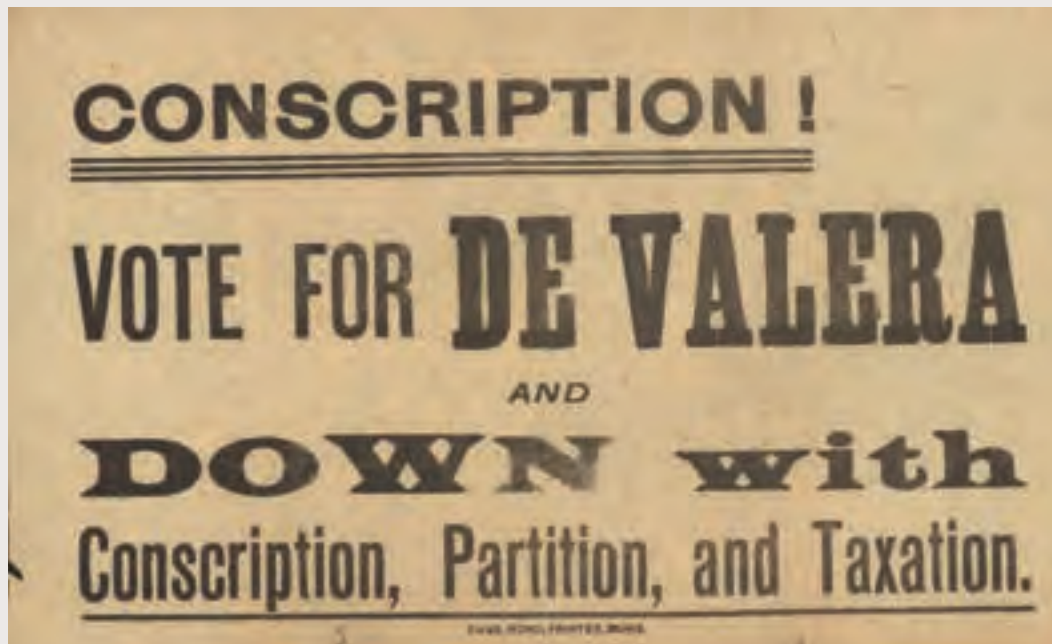
power until it becomes a dead letter.'<sup>298</sup>

On Tuesday 23 April 1918, a twenty-four hour general strike was held throughout Ireland, outside of North-East Ulster. In Limerick, virtually the entire city was closed down for the day, and a huge procession of about 10,000 marched through the streets for a mass meeting at Bank Place. The campaign was a success, and the British government did not introduce conscription in Ireland.<sup>299</sup>



Cartoon depicting the two candidates in the 1917 East Clare bye election. Eamon de Valera of Sinn Fein is pointing to a bright future, while Patrick Lynch of the Irish Party, who was a barrister, points towards famine and emigration. De Valera won a crushing victory, gaining 71 per cent of the votes cast (Limerick Museum).





Later in the same year, the British Government's action in banning Cumann na nBan, the Gaelic League and Sinn Féin resulted in the Freedom of Limerick being conferred on representations of each, respectively Kathleen Clarke, Eoin MacNeill and Eamon de Valera on 7 November 1918. Only MacNeill could attend, for the other two were in prison. Tom and Kathleen Clarke are the only husband and wife to be

given the Freedom of Limerick.<sup>300</sup>

## THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1918

On 14 December 1918, Ireland and Britain voted in the first general election since 1910. At the beginning of 1918, women had been given the vote, which

A Sinn Féin leaflet from the 1917 East Clare bye election (Limerick Museum).

Commemorative Easter Rising postcard of 1918. Catholic and republican iconography are fused to form a potent image (Limerick Museum).



DAIL EIREANN, AN TARN-TIONOL, 10 ABRAN, 1919.

SREATH 1.—(i dtosach)—L. MacFhionnghaíl, M. O'Colleáin, C. Brugha, A. O'Griobhtha, E. de Bhailera, S. Conte Phuingeáid, E. MacNéill, L. MacCosgair, E. de Blaghd. SREATH 2.—P. O'Maoldhomhnaigh, T. MacSuibhne, R. O'Maolchatha, S. O'Dochartaigh, S. O'Mathghamhna, S. O'Deolain, S. MacAonghusa, P. O'Caomh, M. MacStain, S. MacCraith, An Dr. B. O'Cloisog, L. de Roiste, L. Colibhet, An tA. M. O'Flannagain. SREATH 3.—P. Mac an Bhaird, A. MacCaba, D. MacGearailt, S. MacSuibhne, An Dr. R. O hAodha, C. O'Colleáin, P. O'Maille, S. O'Meadhra, B. O hUigin, S. de Burca, C. O hUigin. SREATH 4.—S. MacDonnchadha, S. Mac an tSaol. SREATH 5.—P. Beaslaoi, R. Bartuin, P. O'Gallagain, SREATH 6.—P. O'Seanacháin, S. Etchingham.

trebled the electorate. In Limerick, the number of voters increased from 21,297 to 60,778. In Ireland, Sinn Fein won a crushing victory winning seventy-three seats, while the Irish Party was decimated and won only six.<sup>301</sup>



In 1916 women were campaigning for the right to vote and achieved this shortly after the Easter Rising in the General Election of 1918. Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington, one of Ireland's most famous suffragettes, and the daughter of a Limerickman, declared that:

until the women of  
Ireland are free, the  
men will not achieve  
emancipation.

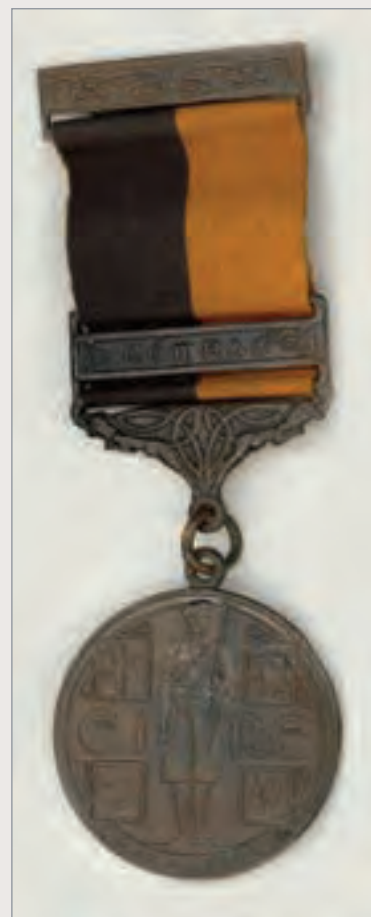
All three Limerick constituencies changed from Irish Party to Sinn Fein. Both Michael Colivet in Limerick city and Con Collins in West Limerick were returned unopposed,

while in East Limerick, Dr Richard Hayes defeated Thomas Lundon, having received 78 per cent of votes cast.<sup>302</sup> The decisive nature of the Sinn Fein victory was confirmed when the *Limerick Leader* accepted the election results and shifted its allegiance from the Irish Party to Sinn Fein.<sup>303</sup>

The Sinn Fein MPs refused to take their seats in the British House of Commons and constituted the first Dáil, which assembled in the Mansion House, the official residence of the Lord Mayor of Dublin, on 21 January 1919. Only twenty-seven TDs attended, with most of the rest being in prison or on the run.<sup>304</sup>

Con Collins was the only Limerick TD to attend, as both Colivet and Hayes were detained in British jails. The first Dáil issued a Declaration of Independence, passed a temporary constitution, and set up a government. On the same

day, the War of Independence began, at Soloheadbeg, near Tipperary Town when two RIC constables were ambushed and killed by local IRA men. A new chapter in Irish history had begun.<sup>305</sup>







A group of Volunteers from Ardagh and Croagh arrested at a 'safe house' at Milltown Croagh, 1921 (Courtesy Dan Neville).  
Michael Conway of Patrickswell, former Irish Volunteer at a commemorative event in 1966 (Limerick Museum).





# CONCLUSION

It has been said that commemoration tells us more about the society that is doing the commemorating than the event being commemorated. The manner in which the Easter Rising has been remembered in Limerick is a case study of how the independent Irish state has memorialised its difficult and bloody birth.

Limerick city commemorated 1916 in two principal ways. In 1940, eight avenues in Janesboro were named after Pearse, Clarke, McDonagh, Daly, Colbert, McDermott, Connolly and Casement.<sup>306</sup> The 1916 Memorial on Sarsfield Bridge was unveiled in 1956 after many years of planning and fund raising.<sup>307</sup>

The twenty-fifth anniversary (1941) and seventy-fifth anniversary (1991) of the Rising were low-key events, as they coincided with the Second World War and North-

ern Ireland Troubles. By contrast, the Rising's Golden Jubilee was commemorated with a lavish year-long programme of events, including parades, pageants and public readings of the Proclamation all over Limerick city and county. Now, the wheel has come full circle and the success of the Northern Ireland peace process has enabled the Rising's centenary to be marked in a manner befitting the birth of the modern Irish state.

In 1916, Limerick simultaneously was at the vanguard of Irish nationalism and a major recruiting area for the British armed forces. It was both a bastion of Irish cultural nationalism and a globalised, technologically advanced English - speaking region. Staunch Catholicism and social conservatism co-existed with a growing trade union movement. Major

Fenian leaders like John Daly and prominent cultural nationalists such as the Joyce Brothers sprang from its soil.

It is no surprise then, that Limerick was at the forefront of the Irish experience in 1916. It featured strongly in the Rising plans. Its sons and daughters organised, financed, and participated in its implementation. In its aftermath, they suffered imprisonment and death. Later they regrouped and took up the fight again. Meanwhile, an even larger number of Limerick men and women took part in the First World War, fighting and dying on fronts from the Somme to Salonika, waiting anxiously at home for loved ones to return, nursing the injured and mourning the dead. In the final analysis, all of Limerick, city and county, male and female, nationalist and unionist, dreamed and many died in 1916.





THE 1916 MEMORIAL ON SARSFIELD BRIDGE, LIMERICK ERECTED BETWEEN 1931 AND 1956. IN 1930, A MONUMENT TO CRIMEAN MILITARY HERO VISCOUNT FITZGIBBON, BUILT BY THE LOCAL UNIONIST COMMUNITY IN 1857, WAS BLOWN UP, LEAVING ONLY THE PEDESTAL INTACT. A COMMITTEE, OF WHICH EAMONN DORE WAS BOTH SECRETARY AND ALONG WITH MADGE DALY, JOINT TREASURER, WAS ESTABLISHED TO CONVERT WHAT REMAINED INTO A 1916 MEMORIAL. THE NEW MONUMENT WAS UNVEILED IN 1956 BY GPO CUMANN NA MBAN VETERAN LESLIE BAN DE BARRA.

[Limerick Museum].



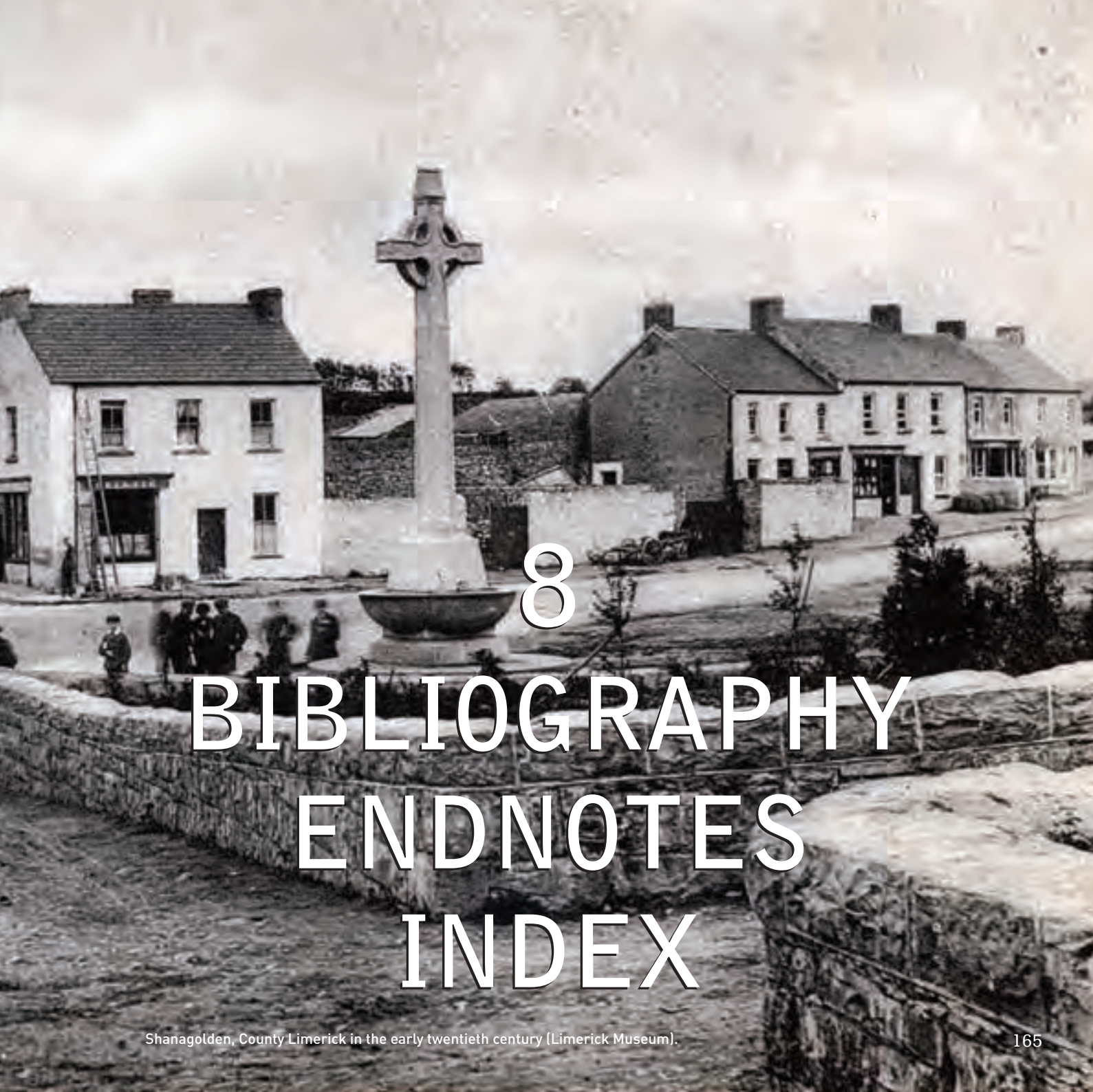






Shanagolden, Co. Limerick





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Males	NAME and SURNAME		RELATION to Head of Family	RELIGIOUS PROFESSION	EDUCATION	AGE		SEX	RANK, PROFESSION, OR OCCUPATION	MARRIAGE	WHERE BORN	IRISH LANGUAGE	If Deaf and dumb; Blind; idiotic or insane; or Lunatic
	Given Name	Surname				Years on last Birth day	Months or Intervals since last Year						
1	John	Daly	Head	R.C.	Read & write	55		M	Mayor of Limerick	not married	Limerick	Irish & Eng	
2	Margaret	Daly	Wife	R.C.	Read & write	40		F	-	married	Limerick	English	
3	Eileen	Daly	Daughter	R.C.	Read & write	57		F	-	not married	Limerick	Irish	
4	Kathleen	Daly	Daughter	R.C.	Read & write	44		F	-	married	Limerick	Irish	
5	Dilys	Daly	Daughter	R.C.	Read & write	35		F	-	not married	Limerick	Irish	
6	Madge	Daly	Daughter	R.C.	Read & write	23		F	-	not married	Limerick	Irish	
7	Robert	Daly	Son	R.C.	Read & write	21		M	-	not married	Limerick	Irish	
8	Joseph	Daly	Son	R.C.	Read & write	20		M	Soldier	not married	Limerick	Irish	
9	Laura	Daly	Daughter	R.C.	Read & write	18		F	Soldier	not married	Limerick	Irish	
10	Caroline	Daly	Daughter	R.C.	Read & write	16		F	Soldier	not married	Limerick	Irish	
11	Ann	Daly	Daughter	R.C.	Read & write	14		F	Soldier	not married	Limerick	Irish	
12	Maria	Daly	Daughter	R.C.	Read & write	12		F	Soldier	not married	Limerick	Irish	
13	Edward John	Daly	Nephew	R.C.	Read & write	0		M	Soldier	not married	Limerick	Irish	
14													
15													

The Daly family as returned in the 1901 census. Note that although Eileen, Kathleen and Madge Daly were all working at the time, they were returned as having no profession or occupation. This is just one example of how unreliable the census returns of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are for estimating the number of women in the Irish workforce. (National Archives).

I hereby certify, as required by the Act 63: Vic., cap. 6, s. 6 (1), that the foregoing Return is correct, according to the best of my knowledge and belief.

*P. Burke*  
(Signature of Enumerator.)

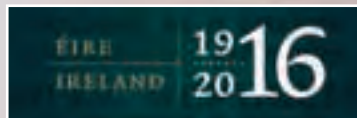
I believe the foregoing to be a true Return.

*John Daly*  
(Signature of Head of Family.)



## DEATH OF MR JOHN DALY.

The death occurred yesterday at his residence, Barrington Street, of Mr John Daly, in his 71st year, and after an illness protracted for the past few years. Mr Daly was rather prominently identified with the Fenian Movement. He passed at intervals several years of a somewhat eventful life in the United States and on his return in 1854 was arrested on a charge of taking part in the dynamite conspiracy, the police evidence being that bombs were found in his possession when taken into custody. This the deceased always indignantly denied. He was sentenced to penal servitude for life at the Warwick Assizes which followed his arrest, the late John F Egan, subsequently Dublin sword bearer being also sentenced to a term of penal servitude. Neither prisoner suffered the full period, Mr Daly being discharged in 1896, from which date he entered actively into local affairs. He formed a labour party in the city, and helped to strengthen its representation in the Corporation. On the passing of the Local Government (Ireland) Act he became Mayor of the city for 1899 and the two succeeding years. He purchased the interest of the bakery in Sarsfield street, and from that on to his illness lived a quiet life, although to the last not changing or modifying his political views. His illness was a trying one, but he was attended by devoted relatives, in whose welfare the deceased took the kindest and most affectionate concern. Mr Daly was unmarried. The funeral, it is announced, takes place to-morrow from his late residence, at 1 p.m.



ISBN: 978-0-905700-24-3

John J Quilty and his wife Madge in the Brisco car, used by the Volunteers for the ill-fated trip to Kerry to meet Roger Casement and the Aud. (Courtesy Joe Quilty)