



**Cumann Staire Chontae Thiobraid Árann**

Co. Tipperary Historical Society, The Source Library, Cathedral Street, Thurles, Co. Tipperary, Ireland  
353 (0) 52 616 6123 [society@tipperarycoco.ie](mailto:society@tipperarycoco.ie) [www.tipperarystudies.ie/thc](http://www.tipperarystudies.ie/thc)

**Tipperary Historical Journal  
2002**

**© County Tipperary Historical Society**

<https://tipperarystudies.ie/tipperaryhistoricaljournal/>  
[society@tipperarycoco.ie](mailto:society@tipperarycoco.ie)

**ISSN 0791-0655**

# *Tipperary town one hundred years ago: Issues of identity*

---

By Denis G. Marnane

## I

### Introduction

The year 1898 was the centenary of the '98 Rebellion. All over Ireland there was a determination on the part of advanced nationalists that the anniversary would be marked with appropriate enthusiasm. In Tipperary town, in June 1897, a branch of the '98 Centenary Committee was formed, officered by men with Fenian pasts; men for whom '98, '48 and '67 were not just markers to a dead past but directions to possible future action. Such individuals were in a minority. For most people, '98 could be commemorated, precisely because it was safely in the past. Elected statutory bodies like the Board of Guardians and Town Commission were well disposed at a sentimental level. In practical terms however, their energy was focused on more mundane matters, especially sanitation and housing.<sup>1</sup>

Within the Roman Catholic community, the dominant voice was that of the farming/shopkeeping nexus. This voice managed to sound sentimental and lachrymose about the past but could be harsh and peremptory when economic self-interest was threatened. A perfect example of this ability to separate the past from the present and refuse to draw any uncomfortable lessons was a meeting of Tipperary Board of Guardians in January 1900. They were exercised because the Local Government Board criticised the poverty of the diet authorised by the Tipperary guardians for the inmates of their workhouse. Several of the guardians made points about the LGB not intervening enough during the Famine but interfering too much now. Resistance to improving the present diet was on the basis of cost. There was absolutely no identification with those in their care; no notion that the better patriotism might be to spend a bit more of ratepayer's money in order to make life more tolerable. These same Guardians were eager to support the '98 Centenary commemoration but of course were deaf and blind to the radical implications of Republicanism.<sup>2</sup>

Having gained control of both national and local political representation outside of Ulster, this farming/shopkeeping nexus was increasingly restive with respect to control by the British government as exercised through Dublin Castle. In the words of one Guardian, in the context of their row with the LGB over workhouse diet: 'They think they know more in Dublin about the needs of the people of Tipperary than we do'.<sup>3</sup> 'People' was the word used but ratepayers was the word meant. As their self-confidence and economic strength grew, this key elite in catholic nationalist Ireland saw in the Crown a symbol of their past humiliation. At 6.30 p.m. on Tuesday 22 January 1901, Queen Victoria died – for loyal subjects a momentous event. An hour later, this news reached Tipperary town. The bell of St Mary's (Church of Ireland) tolled for several hours. The following day, public buildings such as the Post Office displayed lavish signs of official mourning but virtually all business houses in the town ostentatiously went about business as usual.<sup>4</sup> Making a point while making a profit was of course the ideal combination.

There was a marked tradition in the town of disloyalty to the Crown. For several weeks in April 1900, Queen Victoria paid an official visit to Ireland. On Saturday 7 April, Cleeve's Creamery, the largest employer in Tipperary town, organised a special train for their mainly female workforce so that they could demonstrate their loyalty to their monarch as she drove through Dublin. Each worker was provided with a rosette of red, white and blue ribbons. When the train returned to Tipperary at 11.20 that night there was a riot as (in the words of a Unionist newspaper) 'a rough element from the back lanes of the town' made their displeasure clear. Part of the reason for the Queen's visit was to express her gratitude for the contribution of her Irish troops in the South African war, then raging. In Tipperary, the bitterest clashes were between demonstrators and those who had family members serving in South Africa. Some forty tons of hay belonging to the creamery was set alight, as one of the protestors was heard to remark: 'If Cleeve can afford to pay for an excursion trip, he can afford to pay for a bonfire'.<sup>5</sup> Large bonfires were a well established part of the ritual of radical protest in the town.

Through the late nineteenth and into the early twentieth century, rhetoric and symbolism were the preferred expressions of this alienation from the Crown. Much of this rhetoric was deployed in creating a new sense of identity by redefining what it was to be Irish. The claim was that Irish men and women, with the existing related blessings of being catholic and nationalist to guide them, were re-discovering an ancient heritage. The Irish language was both the means and the object of this quest, which like all journeys of discovery, had a spiritual dimension. Language enthusiasts in Tipperary town, writing in 1903, were fervent in their reference to 'the revival of the tongue of our forefathers, the tongue of the bard, the chieftain and the saint'.<sup>6</sup> Not you will notice, of the peasant. As an anonymous contributor to a local newspaper put the matter: 'With the Language Movement there has come a soul into Ireland'.<sup>7</sup>

With rhetoric went ritual and symbolism, much of which centred on the Manchester Martyrs, especially each November on the anniversary of their execution. The less the future could be shaped, the more the past was remembered, or at least a version of the past. It hardly seemed promising for the future that the ritual of remembrance centred so much on cemeteries. In Tipperary town, a memorial cross had been erected in St John's which was the focus of the Manchester Martyrs commemorations. St Mary's churchyard was the burial place of the Emmet family. At a meeting of the Tipperary town branch of the '98 Centenary Committee in March 1898, the dilapidated condition of both of these was discussed. There was a determination that something should be done to remedy the situation.<sup>8</sup>

## II

### Republican Tradition

One hundred years ago, there were men on the wrong side of middle age, for whom the defining episode in their lives was the Fenian tumult of the mid-1860s. Such men were found in all walks of life. With respect to Tipperary town, five such individuals are worthy of note because of the respect with which they were regarded and in their different ways, the influence they had on the community. The most overwhelming and best known was John O'Leary (1830-1907). While he did not live in the town, he retained close links and because of his years of imprisonment and exile he was for many people an exemplar beyond criticism and represented uncompromising republicanism. Michael Dalton (1838-1910) for many years served as chairman of both the town commission and board of guardians.

(He) loved our dear old land ten times better,  
Than they who go beating their drums,  
For, he was the friend and supporter,  
Of MEN who would sever her chains.

In the early 1880s he served a jail sentence. His funeral was a massive show of public sympathy, with such essential elements as the coffin covered with a green flag, a torchlight procession and Handel's Dead March (Saul).<sup>10</sup> William Hurley (1835-99), a wealthy butter merchant and several times chairman of the town commission, was also a supporter of the Fenians and took a prominent role in the election campaigns of O'Donovan Rossa, Kickham and Mitchel in the late 1860s and mid-1870s.<sup>11</sup> J.R. McCormack (1846-1900) was proprietor and editor of *Tipperary People*, a newspaper first published in Nenagh in 1875 but which shortly afterwards transferred to Tipperary town. As with the other individuals mentioned, the seminal experience in McCormack's life was the Fenian Rising in 1867, which in his case resulted in four years of exile in Vermont. Like Dalton, he served a jail sentence in the early 1880s. With such a background, it was not surprising that his newspaper was usually separatist in tone.<sup>12</sup> J.J. Finnan 'Myles' (1840-1913), after a period 'on the run' after the Fenian Rising, spent some forty years in exile in the United States. While he was a wanted man, William Hurley was one of those who gave him shelter.

In his early career Finnan had been a national teacher and had some skill as a versifier, mainly on topical political matters. The verse quoted above is his. J.R. McCormack published much of this work over the years in his *Tipperary People*. From his vantage point in America, Finnan reminded readers of what must have seemed a straight-forward message of separatism compared with the shifting sands of constitutional politics. He returned to Ireland and Tipperary in 1906 to a hero's welcome and wrote in terms of his hope for the youth of Ireland; while the 'old fire' might appear to be out, the flames could be re-ignited by this younger generation.<sup>13</sup> Finnan was mentioned very favourably in the 'Recollections' of John Daly the Limerick Fenian, published in 1912.<sup>14</sup> As aspects of Finnan's early career became more widely known, including a plan to kidnap Queen Victoria's son while he was on a visit to Tipperary, younger readers found this much more colourful than anything on offer from constitutional politics. Finnan's death in January 1913 was marked by every possible proof of communal regret.<sup>15</sup>

## Fenians

The events of March 1867 cast a long shadow. John O'Leary according to his own account was not involved in the founding of the Fenian movement in Tipperary town, except in so far as he introduced a number of likely young men to James Stephens, the key player in the movement.<sup>16</sup> This was in mid-1861 and the evidence suggests that over the next few years a fair number of young men in the district were attracted to the movement.<sup>17</sup> One of the features of the movement in the area was the sympathetic response on the part of some business people. The most notable example was Richard Dalton (d. 1875) a general merchant, miller and farmer, who in 1862 put some of his money into a short-lived Irish language journal called *An Fíor-Eiríonach* (according to the inscription on his tomb in Kilfeacle graveyard). Dalton had been jailed in 1848 and in 1866 was described by the police as 'a most disloyal man'.<sup>18</sup>

In early March 1867, the anticipated rising took place in various locations throughout the country.<sup>19</sup> In Tipperary town, on 6 March local Fenians led by the Fethard-born Irish-American Thomas F. Bourke, gathered at Ballyhurst Fort just outside the town on the Cashel road. Faced with troops from Tipperary barracks, the inadequately prepared and ill organised force

collapsed and fled or if unlucky like Bourke, was taken prisoner. In the following days, the authorities combed the countryside, searching for those 'on the run'. Looked at retrospectively, it is clear that such manhunts with subsequent stories of chase, escape or capture, shelter or betrayal, became part of the landscape of the popular imagination and only served to reinforce the image of stout-hearted and uncompromising servants of their country's honour; an image that could be and was set against the unglamorous and at times tawdry work of parliamentary politics.<sup>20</sup> The memory of forty or so Fenian prisoners, shackled and guarded by mounted troops, being moved from the bridewell in Tipperary, through the town to the railway station, lingered in the minds of many townspeople and invested what was a sorry episode with a kind of potent heroism.<sup>21</sup>

In fact it did not take long for the popular sympathy thus engendered to be manifested, a process which was heightened by what happened in November of that year at Sanford jail when Allen, Larkin and O'Brien were executed. The youngest of the three, nineteen year old William Philip Allen, was born near Tipperary town and grew up in Bandon, where his family moved when he was about three in order that his father could take up the position of bridewell-keeper.<sup>22</sup> On Sunday 24 October 1869, many thousands of people gathered in a field just outside Tipperary town in order to show their support for amnesty for Fenian prisoners. Contingents came from most of the surrounding parishes, the whole occasion showing evidence of tremendous preparation and planning. Nearly two hundred banners were on display, the most striking of which showed the names of the Manchester Martyrs in white against a black background. The platform party included a large number of priests, including Fr Thomas F. Meagher, a curate in Tipperary town who chaired the meeting.<sup>23</sup> Also on the platform were a number of substantial local business and professional men. It should be noted that support for amnesty did not necessarily mean support for Fenianism and account must be taken of the fact that in Tipperary town, the predominant mood was clearly very sympathetic. It may well be that Fr Meagher for example was swept along by this tide.<sup>24</sup>

### Elections

There was a general election in November 1868 and two 'safe' Liberals were returned for what has been described as 'perhaps the most prestigious seat in Ireland . . . the very catholic and nationalist county of Tipperary'.<sup>25</sup> One of these two, MP Charles Moore (Mooresfort) died in August 1869 and thus, there was a by-election. The 'safe' candidate was a catholic barrister Dennis Caulfield Heron, supporter of moderate reform in land and education and supported by Archbishop Leahy. Then out of the blue, the Fenian O'Donovan Rossa who was still in prison, was nominated as a way of keeping the amnesty movement alive.<sup>26</sup> Even more shocking for the constitutional nationalists was Rossa's victory. In Tipperary town, popular opinion and voting were overwhelmingly pro-Rossa. The Tory *Clonmel Chronicle* commented that while it was known that Tipperary was a Rossa 'stronghold', the polling exceeded all expectations.<sup>27</sup> It was noted that the Tipperary catholic clergy were pro-Heron and the PP suffered an attack on his residence, making public opinion explicit. When the votes were counted, Rossa won by 1,131 votes to 1,028. Of particular interest was the Tipperary town vote: 473 for Rossa against a mere 10 for Heron. Reinforcing the point that support for amnesty was not necessarily support for Fenianism was the fact that one of Heron's few activists in the town was a man who had been on the platform at the amnesty meeting the previous month. When the result of the election was known in the town, there was a massive public celebration, with tar barrels being ignited and the homes and businesses of Heron supporters being attacked.<sup>28</sup> The following February, Rossa was deprived of his seat as a felon serving sentence.

Round Two, so to speak, took place at the end of February 1870. Heron was again a candidate and opposing him was a reluctant C.J. Kickham who had been released from prison a year earlier.<sup>29</sup> This time there was even less doubt where Tipperary town stood. In the words of one observer: 'the barony of Clanwilliam, of which Tipperary town is the centre, has been the chief seat of the Fenian spirit so active in this county'.<sup>30</sup> Church influence, used to having its way, found itself wrong-footed in the face of aggressive Fenian campaigning. The fact that the county took in three dioceses did not help.<sup>31</sup> As with the previous election, there was a low turnout as many voters were clearly intimidated. On polling day in Tipperary town, Kickham received 559 votes against 21 for Heron, an improvement of eleven on his previous performance. Indicative of the kind of support that Kickham had was the fact that the town commissioners, led by their chairman, amid cheers marched to the court house to vote for the popular candidate. It was noted that the clergy kept a low profile.

This time Heron won the election, by just four votes, producing howls of outrage from the Kickham side who claimed sharp practice by their opponents. In Tipperary town, on the Sunday following the election, a public meeting was held in Tipperary Hills (on and around Mutton Pie). At mass, Fr Meagher recommended that the meeting not take place and this was thought to have affected numbers; nevertheless, it was noted that the crowd included some 'very respectable electors'. Much of the meeting (chaired by a strong Fenian supporter from Thurles) detailed how the election had been robbed.<sup>32</sup> The truth was that Kickham would probably have won if he had been more enthusiastic about his own candidature but he was unable to overcome his distaste for the whole business of parliamentary politics. However, a link was forged between Kickham and Tipperary town which still endures.

There was a general election in February 1874 and, while amnesty was no longer a key issue, at a meeting in Thurles advanced nationalists decided to put forward John Mitchel as a candidate. Kickham refused to allow his name go forward. Mitchel was famous for his role in 1848 and his subsequent career but he had not been in Ireland for twenty-six years and only visited the country between July and October of that year. By now Home Rule was the issue of the day, something Mitchel dismissed as a 'helpless, driftless (sic) concern'.<sup>33</sup> The two moderate candidates, supporters of Home Rule, backed by the catholic clergy, won the Tipperary seats, with 3,023 and 2,755 votes respectively. Mitchel came third with 1,788 votes, polling very strongly in Tipperary town. While the 'safe' candidates backed by the church won this time, there was concern that in each of these three elections the votes gathered by the advanced nationalist increased.<sup>34</sup>

Archbishop Leahy did not enjoy his victory for long. In February 1875, one of the two successful candidates resigned, thus causing a by-election. Mitchel's supporters knew of his willingness to stand again, not to affirm the parliamentary process for which he had contempt but by using it to show the strength of advanced nationalist or Fenian opinion in the county. Marking the greatest success of this foray of advanced nationalism into parliamentary politics begun in 1869, no one stood against Mitchel and so on 16 February he was returned as member for Tipperary. He had left New York on 6 February and arrived in Queenstown (Cobh) on 17 February. He left by train immediately for his constituency, arriving at Limerick Junction to a clamorous reception. He was paraded into the town and made what would be his last public speech. There was no doubting the warmth of his welcome in Tipperary town and as with earlier elections, those known to hold different opinions had to keep their heads down. The previous evening, the town went wild with excitement: the town band paraded the streets for hours, people illuminated their windows and those who did not, had their windows smashed, tar barrels were ignited and fireworks lit up the sky.<sup>35</sup> Immediately, the government declared

the result void and called another election for 11 March. Mitchel was again nominated but this time Stephen Moore a landlord near Clonmel stood in the Tory interest. In a way this suited the advanced nationalists because the level of support for their candidate would be measured. Secret voting had been instituted in 1872 but it was clear that Mitchel polled very well in Tipperary town with organised groups coming from neighbouring parishes.

On Friday 12 March, when news of the result reached Tipperary town from Clonmel, wild celebration turned into a riot. Mitchel had won by 3,114 votes to Moore's 746 but there was anger because of the government's determination to overturn the will of the people. There were nearly one hundred arrests and a magistrate lost an eye when struck by a stone.<sup>36</sup> While Mitchel's vote was substantial, up nearly 75% on his vote the previous year, very many people did not bother to vote, there being in excess of ten thousand electors.<sup>37</sup> The Catholic Church kept a low profile (Archbishop Leahy had died on 26 January and his successor Thomas Croke was not appointed until June). Mitchel had made it clear that he would not take his seat but the issue was settled when he died on 20 March.

When Mitchel had visited Tipperary town on 17 February, one of the people with him was Charles G. Doran. A few weeks later, at a meeting of the 'Mitchel Committee' in the town, chaired by John O'Connor (a flour dealer with a business in Main Street) and held in premises owned by Richard Dalton, Doran was one of the speakers. This appears to have been Doran's first contact with the town and over the years his relationship with the district's advanced nationalists was sustained. Doran (1835-1909) who was (ironically) employed as clerk of works in the building of Cobh Cathedral, came to prominence in the building up of the Fenians or IRB after the set-back of the Rising. For a time he had a close working relationship with Kickham who was president of the supreme council of the IRB, Doran being secretary. Both Kickham and Doran saw value in using the electoral system – but only as a temporary expedient. In the late 1870s, the supreme council was divided on the issue and in 1877 Doran resigned as secretary. In later years, as the republican movement appeared to be feeding off its memories, Doran was in demand as a speaker and promoter of memorials. In 1907 for example he unveiled the Manchester Martyrs memorial in Tipperary town and was the keynote speaker.<sup>38</sup>

In May 1876, Doran visited Tipperary along with Kickham and other advanced nationalists. The occasion was a lecture to be given by Dennis Dowling Mulcahy from near Clonmel, a Fenian who had been released from prison in 1871. He had worked with John O'Leary on the *Irish People* and was described by O'Leary as 'one of the best of fellows and certainly one of the most affectionate friends I have had'.<sup>39</sup> The party on their arrival at Limerick Junction were greeted with the usual commotion orchestrated by local advanced nationalists led by John O'Connor. The lecture for which there was an admission charge was titled 'Patriotism or the Price of Freedom' and was held in the Forester's Hall in James Street. At a reception for the visitors, Mulcahy was admiringly described by O'Connor as 'an unrepentant rebel to British rule in Ireland'. Doran also spoke and bitterly denounced Home Rule. The lecture was given the following evening to a full house (admission was not cheap, between one and three shillings) and essentially was a history lesson with reference to the usual iconic names such as Allen, Larkin and O'Brien. The bottom line was that nothing could be expected from England.<sup>40</sup> The two day event passed without benefit of clergy.

A few months later, there was a very similar event in Tipperary town. The speaker this time was Patrick J. Smyth, elected MP for Westmeath in 1871 and a man whose credentials were Young Ireland rather than Fenian. He had been elected as a Home Ruler but disagreed with his party on the timidity of their demands. As the title of his lecture indicated, 'The Fallacy of Home Rule', advanced nationalists were able to make common cause with him (Smyth was MP

for Tipperary 1880-85). Smyth's reception in Tipperary was even more enthusiastic than Mulcahy's had been and clearly much more organisation went into it, with delegations from surrounding parishes. On this occasion, the local man to the fore was Thomas Crosse, a farmer from Garnacanty and a member of the Board of Guardians, though it was evident that the direction was in the hands of people outside the district, Tipperary town being regarded as a sympathetic venue.<sup>41</sup>

Doran was not in Tipperary for this meeting but he showed up a month later for the annual commemoration of the execution of the Manchester Martyrs. On both occasions, the crowd was estimated at between two and three thousand (from an unsympathetic source). At 8 p.m. on 23 November, the crowd assembled at the top of St Michael's Street and in torchlight procession, marched to St John's Graveyard where Doran recited prayers for the dead. The procession had the usual trappings beside the torchlight – a band, muffled drums, black crepe in abundance and banners declaring: 'Remember the Martyrs', 'God Save Ireland' and 'Dead But Not Forgotten'. A long oration meant that proceedings did not end until 11 p.m. Extra police had been sent to the town but were not needed. St John's had nothing to do with the Martyrs but commemoration needed a focus which would be supplied the following year, the tenth anniversary.<sup>42</sup>

The following year 1877, saw a final tussle in the constituency and town between 'respectable' and 'advanced' nationalism. One of the MPs elected in the 1874 general election died (a son of Lord Lismore of Shanbally Clogheen), thus causing a by-election in May 1877. The Home Rule candidate was Edmund Dwyer Gray who had inherited the *Freeman's Journal* when his father died in 1875. He had the backing of Archbishop Croke. Opposing him was John Sarsfield Casey from Mitchelstown, known as the 'Galtee Boy' from the pseudonym he used when writing to the press in the previous decade. For this propagation of Fenianism he served time in prison. In 1876 he again used the press to draw attention to the plight of the tenants on the Galtee Mountain estate of Nathaniel Buckley.<sup>43</sup> At the time of the Tipperary by-election, Casey was waiting for the criminal libel charge brought against him by the Buckley agent to come to court. (The trial began in November.)

On 2 May 1877, Casey arrived in Tipperary town amid the usual scenes of excitement, including the essential props of burning tar barrels. He addressed the crowd from a window in the Forester's Hall and described himself as a Home Ruler, but in the way that John Mitchel was. Given his celebrity with respect to the treatment of the Buckley tenants, it was not unexpected that he also spoke about his support for land reform. In any case, as he was speaking just a short distance from Ballycohey, his audience was receptive to this part of his platform.<sup>44</sup> A few days later the canvass for Casey continued in the town, advantage being taken of the crowds attracted by the Fair Day. Among those speaking for him (Casey himself was not present) were Downing Mulcahy and John Daly from Limerick. (Daly fled to the United States after the '67 Rising and was a friend of J.J. Finnan. He spent more than a decade in prison in England from the mid-1880s for his part in the Fenian attempt to bring the war to the mainland. His nephew Edward Daly and nephew-in-law Tom Clarke were executed in 1916. He himself also died in 1916.) It was not surprising that Archbishop Croke and his clergy were disturbed by Casey's candidature.

The press regarded Tipperary town as a Casey stronghold and it was unsurprising that Gray supporters made no attempt to hold a public meeting. What likely would have happened was made clear on 15 May, polling day. The town was flooded with police but they were unable to prevent elements in the crowd from smashing windows in property belonging to known supporters of Gray. Excitement was fanned by the town band parading the streets playing



revolutionary airs. The High Sheriff that year was a local landlord, Arthur Moore of Mooresfort. In the afternoon (public houses were open all day), a mob cornered Moore's agent who took refuge in a nearby house. This was surrounded and attacked with stones amid demands that the hapless agent be surrendered to them. The intervention of a local priest was of no avail. He subsequently wrote to the local press blaming outsiders (especially from the Glen of Aherlow) for all the trouble. Elsewhere in the town, the High Sheriff and another agent (L. Cust) were also attacked, women armed with knitting needles being to the fore. Refuge was sought in Dobbyn's Hotel and it took resolute action by the police to effect rescue. It was thought best to order all public houses closed at 8 p.m. With the introduction of secret voting, local figures were no longer available but the press was in no doubt that in Tipperary town Casey's vote was more than double that of Gray.<sup>45</sup>

In the wider constituency however, with 56% of the electorate voting, Gray got 3,852 to Casey's 1,344 votes. This latter vote was well down on Mitchel's 1875 vote of 3,114. It appeared that the tide was no longer rising for the advanced nationalists. Few can have been more pleased with the result than Archbishop Croke. The following day he wrote to his colleague in Dublin exulting in what he seems to have regarded as an almost personal victory, certainly a victory for his clergy, regaining ground lost during the previous decade. There was what he described as; 'a very curious fact': where PPs were 'bad or foolish or lazy or unsympathetic', the Fenians did well but in 'well worked' parishes, with confraternities etc. the Fenian element was feeble. He went on to itemise the parishes where Casey did well: Clogheen, Cahir (diocese of Waterford), Emly, Newport and Tipperary. The problem in this latter parish was the 'excellent pastor' (Msgr. James Howley, d. 1884), who however was 'fully eighty-two' and 'a man who does not believe in missions, confraternities, domiciliary visits, frequent confessions or anything of that sort'. He was fifty-one years in Tipperary and his curates, with him for many years, followed his lead.<sup>46</sup>

Later that year, in November, on the tenth anniversary of the execution of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, occurred what in many respects was the last major episode in what had been a decade of republican resurgence in the town. Each year since 1868, in Tipperary and countless other parishes, the faithful had processed, prayed and listened to speeches extolling the sacrifice of the men executed in Manchester. In Tipperary town, the destination of this procession was always St John's, a Famine graveyard on the outskirts of the town. However, there was no memorial in the graveyard. To mark the tenth anniversary, a twelve foot high wooden Celtic cross was erected at the highest point of the graveyard (which is on a gentle slope). The cross was designed and constructed by a local carpenter Michael Purcell, who was about twenty-three years of age. He died young, in 1888, and up to his death, kept the cross in repair. At his request, he was buried at its foot. Purcell was also a member of the town's Mitchel Band, which was always on hand to stimulate a quickening of the pulse and raise the emotional temperature during republican celebrations and lamentations.<sup>47</sup> Purcell was about thirteen at the time of the Fenian Rising, very much of an age to be affected by the deaths of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien. The following decade provided fairly constant political stimulation, culminating with the events of Friday evening, 23 November 1877.

The procession, in both composition and route, followed what was by now an established pattern. Beginning at the top of St Michael's Street (then Nelson Street), through that street, Main Street, Henry Street, Church Street and then by Bohercrow Road to St John's. Surrounding parishes were well represented, especially Cappawhite with band playing and banner unfurled. Of particular interest are references to what was the first display of the 'Tipperary (Town) Flag'. This had a place of honour and in later years there are references to its

almost totemic appearance at important nationalist demonstrations. This flag powerfully connects the symbolic events of 23 November 1877 and the altogether more practical events of 10 May 1914, the key public meeting launching the Irish Volunteers in the town, at which the main speaker was Sean MacDiarmada, An account of this meeting described how 'the odd 'flag of Tipperary that has braved many a battle was well to the fore near the platform'.<sup>48</sup> This flag was closely associated with the local 'John O'Leary branch of the Irish National Foresters, an organisation that set a lot of store by uniforms, flags, banners and sashes. (Sean O'Casey used his character 'Peter Flynn' in *The Plough and the Stars* to ridicule this 'dressing-up' manifestation of Irish nationalism.) The flag, of very large size, bearing the words 'God Save Ireland' and 'Tipperary Town' on a green background, was designed and made by Henry McCormick, house decorator and member of the town commission.

The torch-light procession, perhaps as many as five thousand people, set off at 8 p.m. The size of the crowd was due to the fact that the memorial cross in St John's was to be unveiled by Charles Kickham. In his oration, Kickham thanked the men of Tipperary for their support during his election campaign, commenting how they tried to make him an MP in spite of himself, emphasising that he had been an unwilling and indeed anti-parliamentary candidate. In elevated tone and formal language he went on to talk about the nature of the sacrifice of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien and connecting that sacrifice with contemporary politics, condemned the idea that 'remedial legislation' would solve Ireland's problems. It was the 'wildest dream' to expect anything from the English. 'Neither you nor I trust them.' Questions were posed: 'What then shall be the end? Is the captive doomed to tug at the chain for ever?' The speech ended on a note of rhetorical optimism: 'God Will Save Ireland'. The significance of the location of this memorial, a Famine graveyard, was not lost on either the speaker or his audience.<sup>50</sup> Given the focus on the Manchester Martyrs during this decade, it is surprising that nothing was made of Philip Allen's connection with Tipperary. Very likely this had to do with the attitude that these men were much less important as individuals than as symbols.

A few months later, on 19 February 1878, John O'Leary returned to Tipperary town after an absence of many years. In spite of the public display of welcome, crowds on the streets, houses illuminated and bands playing, O'Leary's response was muted, even uncomfortable.<sup>51</sup> O'Leary of course never had any time for the rhetoric of separatism as a substitute for action. Increasingly, he and others like him were admired for having the courage of their convictions by people who once shared those separatist beliefs but who in the 1880s were shepherded towards the promised land of Home Rule by Parnell. In Tipperary town as elsewhere in the country, the 1880s opened and closed with much nationalist energy centred on the practical issues of land reform. On 29 June 1880, at a meeting in the Forester's Hall, the Tipperary branch of the Land League was founded. Some of the key people at this meeting, William Hurley, Michael Dalton, J.R. McCormack and Thomas Cross, had been at one with John O'Leary and Charles Kickham but now diverged from their high-minded programme of separatism first and last.<sup>52</sup> It seemed to mark a change; when speaking in the town on 31 October 1880, Parnell was moved to complain about the government being able to transfer police from the county to more disturbed areas.<sup>53</sup> However by the close of the decade no such complaint could be made, with the town at the centre of the land struggle and the building of New Tipperary.<sup>54</sup> During this decade of Parnell's ascendancy, with attention fixed on Home Rule and land reform, catholic clergy in the town under the direction of Archbishop Croke assumed a leadership role absent in the previous decade. The political landscape therefore towards the end of the century, with the agenda set by the Irish Parliamentary Party, seemed to allow little room for the preoccupation of the separatists. But to paraphrase a current separatist leader – they had not gone away.

### III

## Issues of Identity

One of the last large-scale gatherings at the memorial cross in St John's was for the 1880 anniversary. The main speaker was P.J. Smyth MP, elected for the county that year but none too keen on the leadership of Parnell or the Land League.<sup>55</sup> The fact that within a few years this memorial was allowed fall into dilapidation is symbolic of political energy being diverted elsewhere. Writing in his diary about this 1880 commemoration, which he did not attend, a prominent Tipperary nationalist (who was quite taken with Smith personally, describing him as 'frank and gentlemanly') indicated his disapproval of these rituals of grievance. 'In connection with the Fenian movement', he wrote, 'a number of innocent persons were killed by the Clerkenwell explosion but the English people never speak of it as a reproach to the Irish people. Would it not be as well to let by-gones be by-gones?'<sup>56</sup>

The writer of these words was Jeremiah Dowling MD (1830-1906), an exact contemporary and lifelong friend of John O'Leary. A handful of young men from the town, including Dowling and O'Leary, had attended the Queen's Colleges in Cork and Galway, before clerical opposition to these 'Godless' colleges kept catholics away. In his younger days, Dowling contributed some poems to the *Nation* and in a private letter in 1858 declared of the English: 'That the whole species is cruel I have scarcely now even a doubt'.<sup>57</sup> He spent forty-five years as medical officer to the Tipperary PLU, taking no part in politics.<sup>58</sup> From the evidence of his personal papers, he was sympathetic to the 'advanced' parliamentary candidates on the basis of their individual worth but was clearly turned off by the 'rabble' who took to the streets in their support. Prior to 1872, this was not a secret and during the O'Donovan Rossa campaign for example, his windows were smashed by those making their displeasure all too clear.<sup>59</sup> Dowling's interests were more intellectual than political and in 1880 he was the prime mover behind the founding of the Tipperary Literary Club, remaining its president for many years. The vice-president was Michael Dalton.' The club had permanent accommodation in the Town Hall and apart from its social aspect, had a library of books and periodicals. Dowling's influence was paramount in the choice of reading material, the emphasis very much being on Irish literature and history.

Dowling's extant papers do not go beyond the late 1880s and from this source there is no evidence of his interest in the Irish language. When in 1903 Tipperary UDC wanted help with respect to the Irish version of street names, it was to Dowling that they turned.<sup>61</sup> It is clear that for Dowling as for so many others in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the great revelation allowing a new sense of identity, was the Irish language. 'Even before a branch of the Gaelic League was founded in the town, Dowling had initiated Irish classes for beginners. In 1877, an anonymous letter was published in the town's newspaper, headed 'Renewal of the Irish Language in Tipperary'. This declared the value of learning the language but put forward no programme and the matter appears not to have been followed up.<sup>62</sup>

### Gaelic League

It was not until a decade after it was established that the Gaelic League made any impact on Tipperary town. Classes were held in Emmet Street (number 6) in accommodation provided by the UDC in their own offices, they having abandoned the Town Hall because of a row with the Smith-Barry (Barrymore) estate.<sup>63</sup> The extent to which this marked a cultural revolution in the district has to be measured against the fact that a few weeks later a public meeting in the town

decided to revive a cricket club which twenty years earlier had made its mark in Irish cricketing circles. This meeting was well attended, professional men and two local catholic curates being especially enthusiastic.<sup>64</sup> It was just such activity that Fr Matthew Ryan had in mind when as PP of Knockavilla he organised a Gaelic cultural festival in his parish in June and castigated Tipperary for being a Gallic bastion, declaring however that the problem could be remedied.<sup>65</sup> Not that the 'General' (Fr Ryan was given this sobriquet because of his role in the Land War) or anyone else knew at the time but by a nice coincidence, a man had just settled in the town and opened a business, and in 1918 would become the standard bearer of the political programme implicit in Irish Ireland. He was P.J. Moloney, elected Sinn Fein TD for South Tipperary in 1918.<sup>66</sup> With the interest shown in the Irish language classes, which Dr Dowling promoted and supported, at a public meeting in the town in December 1903, a branch of the Gaelic League was formally inaugurated.<sup>67</sup>

On 27 March 1903, St Patrick's Day was made an official holiday under the Bank Holiday (Ireland) Act (3 Edw. VII, c.1). In Tipperary town as elsewhere, the Gaelic League was very enthusiastic in promoting this. In February, the Hon Secretary of the Tipperary town branch put pressure on the UDC to promote the holiday. When the council discussed the matter, there was a difference of opinion. A prominent businessman, while declaring that in principle he was in favour of motion of support, put an amendment to the effect that the matter was none of their business. This was carried by seven votes to five. His concern was practical, fearing a loss of business if shops in the town closed but remained open in other centres.<sup>68</sup> In Irish Ireland circles in the town, alarm bells rang. Come 17 March 1904, would Mammon triumph over Patriotism?

On Sunday 21 February 1904, a public meeting was held in the National School in Tipperary town. The instigator was the PP, Canon Arthur Ryan, who had been appointed to the parish the previous July. A member of the Scarteen family, he was an avid promoter of the values of the Gaelic League. The discovery or in some cases, re-discovery, of the Irish language was a cultural activity with an important social dimension. For some individuals this renewed 'Irishness' led towards separatism but for others political needs were answered by the Irish Parliamentary Party. Canon Ryan was a close friend of the Redmond brothers and an IPP activist, warmly promoting for example the Redmond line with respect to the Irish Volunteers and the British war effort in 1914.<sup>69</sup> The Tipperary meeting with respect to St Patrick's Day was between Gaelic Leaguers and business people (individuals could be both and a few people were) and essentially was not an opportunity for dialogue but for the PP to put his prestige behind the Gaelic League case. Ryan's speech is worth examining in detail for the light it throws on an Irish Ireland mindset.

'As they all knew', Ryan told his audience, 'a great uprising and an awakening was taking place throughout the country.' The meeting was prompted by the traders and he was 'quite confident that when they had considered (the matter) their views would be his'. March 17 was not just another feast-day but was a time to celebrate both religion and nationality, at home and abroad. 'Any movement which detached itself from the religious point of view was bound to come to nothing.' Already in Dublin for example last year, the proper celebration of the day had 'a fair measure of success'. Even the British government 'to whom they did not generally look to do anything patriotic' had recognised the importance of the day. Tipperary town could not be left behind. Any financial sacrifice resulting from shops closing on 17 March could be made-up on the previous or following day and neighbouring PPs would co-operate in advertising this. An unnamed newspaper which had 'sneered' at Tipperary's seeming unwillingness to do the right thing would be proved wrong. He trusted that the people of the

town would not conform to the racial stereotype propagated by their enemies that depicted a pious morning followed by a drunken afternoon as the shamrock was drowned. Ryan's final point was that the traders would have to 'fall into line' eventually, so it might as well be now. This exposition was followed by a formal motion of support from the floor. Before this was taken, Ryan asked for amendments as he wanted 'no sham unanimity'. There was no amendment and the motion passed without dissent.<sup>70</sup>

As subsequent events made clear, the outcome of this meeting was the illusion of victory for the Gaelic League backed up by the undoubtedly powerful influence of the PP. When, following this meeting, specific difficulties arose with regard to interest groups like shop assistants and bakers, Ryan could not have been more interventionist; in the case of the bakers promising (threatening?) to call personally to all premises.<sup>71</sup> The picture of St Patrick's Day 1904 described in the local newspaper was all that Canon Ryan and the Gaelic League could have wished. There was no business done, all shops were closed, country people remained in their own parishes and as the report made clear, most unusual of all, sobriety reigned.<sup>72</sup> However, it did not last. With Canon Ryan as its president, the local Gaelic League had secured the compliance of shopkeepers but by the following year, they were much less willing to be brow-beaten. Making a crucial difference was the founding in January 1905 of the Association of the General Traders of the Town or in short the Tipperary Merchants Association.

Within a month, the Association was considering a letter from Canon Ryan asking them to close their businesses on 17 March. The response was deferential in tone but it was clear that the actions of other towns would determine the matter. The fact that there had been excursion trains from Tipperary to Limerick and Thurles on the previous St Patrick's Day, was of some concern. A few days later, the traders held a special meeting and appointed a delegation to meet Ryan. It was clear that their commercial perspective met with little understanding and at a meeting on 9 March, their recommendation to members was that businesses close at 4 p.m. on 17 March.<sup>73</sup> The following year St Patrick's Day fell on a Saturday, 'the principal market day in town' and the Association decided that it would be a normal business day, unless steps were taken to make 17 March a 'diocesan holiday', in which case Tipperary 'would fall into line'.<sup>74</sup> This was quite a clever move as it put the onus for action on the church.

In 1907 and subsequent years the shopkeepers had their way and closed on 17 March at 4 p.m. The Gaelic League concentrated on promoting the language during that week and with the co-operation of shopkeepers emphasised the value and virtue of Irish manufactured goods. There was also a parade. In 1907, this began from the meeting room of the Gaelic League in John Street and concluded at a public meeting at the Kickham Statue in Main Street, where on a platform were gathered the PP and members of the UDC and Board of Guardians. The main speaker was Canon Ryan, who enthused about the regenerative possibilities of the League and, more practically, attacked the government for its policy with respect to Irish in the educational system, and people generally for lapses in sobriety.<sup>75</sup> There appears to have been a great deal of good-will towards the League but that organisation was no exception to the rule that in any conflict between commerce and culture, commerce will win. The League was on firmer ground when it concentrated on providing language classes.

In February 1906, the local League organiser Pádraig Ó Cadhla (Kiely) reported considerable success in having Irish classes in schools on a voluntary basis. Such was the demand for adult-classes that the Emmet Street premises had to be abandoned and classes were moved to the National School – sessions of two hours' duration, twice a week.<sup>76</sup> A few months later, Douglas Hyde received a rapturous reception at Limerick Junction when he made a brief stop on his journey to Dublin, having just returned from a visit of several months to the United States

where he collected a large amount of money to promote the language. The two PPs Arthur Ryan and Matt Ryan were the instigators of this reception. Various addresses were presented to Hyde, from Tipperary UDC, various League branches and (a first reference) the Tipperary Sinn Fein Club (sic).<sup>77</sup>

While Canon Ryan was more than satisfied with the Irish Parliamentary Party representing his political aspirations, other language enthusiasts in the town looked elsewhere. The Sinn Fein Club shared the same premises as the Gaelic League (in John Street) and attracted younger League enthusiasts in particular, men who made the leap from the idea of Irish cultural integrity to the imperative of Irish political independence. A month after the Hyde reception, the Sinn Fein Club under the name of Michael O'Callaghan was advertising a public lecture at their premises on the topic 'Irish Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century', the speaker being P.S. O'Hegarty of the 'Irish Literary Society, London'. More to the point, O'Hegarty was a member of the IRB.<sup>78</sup> (O'Callaghan is remembered for shooting dead two members of the RIC outside Tipperary town during Easter 1916.) Later that year, Canon Ryan gave a lecture under Gaelic League auspices in the National School on the topic 'Ourselves Alone'. This was devoid of overt political content. The emphasis was on the value of home-produced literature and the extent to which the values being promoted by the League were the most authentically Irish. There was also a degree of defensiveness, with references to prejudice against 'us and our work'.<sup>79</sup> This 'prejudice' was not just manifested by Anglophiles, who after all were an entirely predictable source of opposition and derision but as discussed below, opposition and indifference also came from adherents of the republican tradition, to whom the Gaelic League at best represented something effete and at worst, a dangerous distraction.<sup>80</sup>

In September 1907, the guest of honour at the 'Tipperary Feis' held in the Market Yard, was Douglas Hyde, who spent several days in the town as guest of the PP. An account of the visit appeared in the local newspaper, clearly written by Canon Ryan but using the pen-name 'Dochnus' (Duchas/Heritage). After lavishing praise on Hyde 'the uncrowned king of Irish Ireland' for his skilful steering of the Gaelic League away from 'all shades of politics', the writer described bringing Hyde to the Tipperary Hills, from which vantage point various horrors were witnessed. Around twenty boys were playing 'soccer' (sic); elsewhere a game of rugby 'was being attempted'; looking in another direction, a few lads were 'trying their hand at cricket'; from one to the other of the surrounding hills, 'the golfers plodded their weary way' (and a nice comical touch), they were followed by 'imitators' with sheep's horns on the tips of sticks. The point about this display of 'Shoneenism' was the distance the town was from cultural redemption.<sup>81</sup>

In Tipperary town in 1907 there were two public events within one week of each other, both expressions of nationalist identity but each manifesting a different sense of that identity. Reference has already been made to the work of the Gaelic League in the town and the agenda of its president Canon Arthur Ryan, who at a League meeting in November 1907 made the statement: 'Everyone who studies Irish is helping God Save Ireland'. (The original slogan 'God Save Ireland' was famously uttered at the trial of those accused of the murder of Constable Brett in September 1867 and later was the basis of T.D. Sullivan's ballad.) Exactly a week before the Gaelic League promoted St Patrick's Day celebrations in Tipperary, a monument commemorating the Manchester Martyrs was unveiling in the town. Canon Ryan was not present. In fact, these two events appealed to quite different audiences.

Within less than a decade, Tipperary town had two Republican-inspired public monuments, one unveiled in 1898 and the other in 1907. The former year, the centenary of '98, was marked by a rush all over the country to mark the anniversary in some way. What happened in

Tipperary is mis-leading in that the '1898' centenary memorial was in fact unveiled in 1907. The memorial unveiled in 1898 was a very specific honouring of Charles Kickham and in a sense its unveiling in 1898 was somewhat a matter of coincidence. Kickham died in 1882 and immediately there was talk about erecting a suitable monument.<sup>83</sup> Time passed. At the beginning of 1895, a query from his brother appeared in the local press, describing how representatives from Tipperary and Clonmel had visited Mullinahone and had been allowed by the PP to pick a site in the chapel yard. The writer wondered what was happening.<sup>84</sup>

### **Kickham Statue**

Later that year a meeting of the Kickham Memorial Committee was held in a hotel at Limerick Junction. The issue of a memorial was not just a local matter and this venue was frequently used for all kinds of meetings. The authorities were well aware of its use by suspect individuals and groups and kept a close watch. This meeting was chaired by William Hurley and the attendance included Patrick Neville Fitzgerald, a Corkman and leading member of both the GAA and IRB. A letter of apology from John O'Leary was read. The meeting was informed that £70 had been spent on the memorial over Kickham's grave and that £336 of the fund remained. On the proposal of Michael Dalton, it was decided to go ahead and that Dublin-based members of the committee should deal with the sculptor. There was a long discussion about a possible site but no decision was reached.<sup>85</sup> The sculptor in question was John Hughes (1865-1941) who at this period was employed at the Metropolitan School of Art in Dublin, and it is likely that the contract between him and the Kickham Memorial Committee dated from just after this meeting.<sup>86</sup>

The role of individuals like Hurley and Dalton and the absence of pressing competition from elsewhere ensured that the Kickham monument would be sited in Tipperary town. At a meeting of the town commissioners in January 1896, approval was granted to site the statue where Abbey Street joined Main Street. (Confusingly, Abbey Street is now different and refers to the street parallel to the river while appropriately, what was Abbey Street is now Kickham Place.) There was delight on the part of the commissioners that Tipperary had been chosen.<sup>87</sup> More than a year later, by which time work on the statue was well advanced, the Grand Jury meeting in Clonmel for the Spring Assizes, received a letter from the town commissioners in Tipperary, requesting that their unanimous resolution passed again at a meeting in Tipperary on 1 February, be ratified. The chairman of the Grand Jury (forerunner to the county council) Richard Bagwell of Clonmel, a prominent Unionist, seemed particularly out of sorts and reacted snappishly: 'We won't do anything. I'll take good care we won't.' The matter was dropped.<sup>88</sup>

However, the day was gone when prejudice could parade as policy. A few days later, the Grand Jury received a delegation from Tipperary town commissioners. This included their solicitor William Frewen, William Hurley and Michael Dalton. It was explained that the site in question was suitable because of little commerce and scarcely any traffic. Bagwell now pitched his objection on the basis of the site's unsuitability. This was answered by the argument that the proposed site would serve to facilitate control of traffic in the area. None of this mattered and when the resolution for ratification was put, the only negative voice was that of Francis Lowe of Kilshane, a Unionist landlord from near Tipperary town. Lowe could find no one to second his opposition. Bagwell was an intelligent man and knew when there was no point pushing an issue.<sup>89</sup> Support for the Tipperary statue came from an unlikely source and it was probable that this same individual worked behind the scene to facilitate this nationalist project. Certainly, Lt-General Godfrey Dunham Massy of Grantstown near Golden was given great credit by the

nationalist community. Retired from his military career (of current interest is the fact that he played a prominent if controversial role in the British military campaign in Afghanistan in 1879-80),<sup>90</sup> fairly uniquely, he was elected by his neighbours to represent them in Tipperary SR County Council in the first election to that body in 1899. As it happened, Massy was High Sheriff that year but even this reminder of the ancient regime did nothing to diminish the enthusiasm for him on the part of the nationalist establishment, including Fr Matt Ryan – one ‘general’ supporting another.<sup>91</sup>

According to one source, in May 1898, the Kickham statue was being exhibited in Tipperary, minus its pedestal which had not yet arrived in the town. The location was Michael Dalton’s premises in O’Brien Street.<sup>92</sup> At a meeting of the Kickham Memorial Committee in Tipperary, also that month and chaired by Dalton with P.N. Fitzgerald in attendance, there was a discussion with respect to collecting money from Limerick and Cork, specifically for the pedestal, which explains perhaps why it had not arrived. The committee also passed a vote of profuse thanks to General Massy.<sup>93</sup> The matter came up for discussion the following October at a meeting of the town commissioners, who wondered about the delay, especially as the statue was in the town for several months and that the matter was ‘generally commented on in the town’. Thomas Kerwick, who had a grocery business in Main Street and who was Hon. Secretary of the local committee, explained that the delay was for financial reasons. Collections had recently been held in Thurles and Nenagh. There was a shortfall of about £70 and it was hoped to collect this in Tipperary town.<sup>94</sup>

At a subsequent meeting, Dalton remarked on the difficulty of collecting money in Thurles. The contract with Hughes the sculptor was worth £460. In addition, Mr Carroll of Birr had to be paid for the pedestal. The final fund-raising was with the co-operation of the GAA, a tournament being organised in the town on Sunday 13 November.<sup>95</sup>

In bad weather the unveiling ceremony went ahead in the afternoon of Sunday 27 November 1898. Given the significance of both the year and the man, a great deal of organisation went into the ceremony. Trains were arranged from various cities; the mayors of Cork and Clonmel were present in their robes; over twenty bands were in attendance and a delegation of over three hundred people from Mullinahone were on hand to witness Kickham being honoured. Colour was provided by various contingents of Irish National Foresters, many of whom carried imitation pikes. The most spectacular sight was two of their officers from Cork, on horseback and in what was described as ‘Robin Hood dress’ complete with plumes and bows and arrows.

The statue was unveiled by John O’Leary, who in his speech emphasised Kickham’s literary as much as his political legacy. The sculptor John Hughes does not appear to have been present but on hand were such luminaries as T.D. Sullivan, John Daly, Maud Gonne and least surprising Charles Doran. While the press forbore comment, the absence of a clerical presence cannot have escaped local attention.<sup>96</sup> In his speech, O’Leary spoke obliquely about Kickham’s dedication to the republican movement between his release from prison and his death and while nationalists like Canon Arthur Ryan were happy to honour heroes whose legacies were in the past, people like Daly, Gonne, Doran, O’Leary and P.N. Fitzgerald (who was present) were determined, not least in the centenary of 1798, to ensure that the work continued.

### **1798 Centenary**

Preparations for the ‘98 centenary began in Tipperary town with a public meeting in the Forester’s Hall in late June 1897. Officers were elected and delegates appointed to a convention in Dublin. Michael Dalton TC, PLG, was elected chairman, Michael Cross treasurer and Dennis O’Brien Hon. Secretary. Dalton and O’Brien were appointed delegates to a national convention



in City Hall Dublin in late June, chaired by John O'Leary. The police were in no doubt that the Tipperary '98 Committee was an IRB front: 'The principal members (are) avowed rebels'. With regard to the national organisation, Dalton put his name forward for election to the executive council as one of ten Munster members, thus keeping company with such names as P.N. Fitzgerald, Charles Doran and J.K. Bracken.<sup>97</sup> All over the country New Year's Eve was marked by processions and speeches and in Tipperary town; this for many people would have been their first exposure to a determination that '98 would be remembered. In Tipperary the rubric was well-established. Houses were illuminated, bonfires blazed from surrounding hills, most symbolically from Ballyhurst, scene of the Fenian stand in 1867, a torchlight procession accompanied by two bands wound its way through the town to St John's and assembled on the adjacent hill. Police estimated the crowd at around six hundred but a more sympathetic report suggested several thousand.

The republican nature of the undertaking was the theme of the police reports forwarded to Dublin Castle. All the republican icons and symbols were used: the bands played 'Who Fears to Speak of '98?' and 'The Boys of Wexford'; banners carried such slogans as 'Remember '98' decorated with crossed pikes; 'the inevitable green flag was a conspicuous feature'; there were cheers for the men of '98, '48 and '67 and there were speeches. The crowd was kept on the Hills only forty-five minutes or so before marching to the Forester's Hall and dispersing thirty minutes after midnight. There was just one main speech, delivered by 'a young fellow' Thomas O'Dwyer, a son of the principal of Anacarty NS, 'making his debut as a Fenian spouter'. The police were at pains to emphasise the degree to which O'Dwyer was in their words 'a giddy character', outlining his career to date: several years preparing to be a Christian Brother, then back home and work as a creamery clerk and at present having a small shop in Davis Street. The police doubted if he had been sworn into the IRB. Among the points made in his speech was a declaration that what Ireland needed was not local government reform but a republic and making a case for the racial superiority of Irishmen, cited the poor physique of the British soldiers then stationed in the town (East Yorkshire Regiment). In general these police reports stressed that there was little 'respectable' support for this New Year's Eve demonstration.<sup>98</sup>

On the evidence available, the '98 Association in Tipperary town, after its dramatic start on New Year's Eve, did not do very much during 1898. At a meeting in March, it must have been with a certain sense of *deja vu* that discussion centred on a split in the parent body in Dublin. Michael Dalton was the main speaker and his recommendation was followed without much argument – Tipperary would continue to back John O'Leary's position in any split. Members then turned to more practical matters and there followed a desultory discussion about the Emmet connection with the parish. There seemed to be an idea that Robert Emmet was born in the town. (He was not but his father probably was.) It was decided to form a subcommittee to clean up the grave of the patriot's grandfather in St Mary's. Attention was also directed towards the dilapidated state of the Manchester Martyrs Memorial Cross in St John's but it does not appear that very much was done.<sup>99</sup> While the Kickham statue was not a project of this committee, there was considerable overlap between the two local organisations and to a great extent, this statue became the town's '98 project.

### **Elections**

In 1899 there were local authority elections, the first under the previous year's Local Government (Ireland) Act. In Tipperary town, as ever with such a 'local' election, personality probably counted as much (perhaps more?) as policy, so that not too much can be deduced from the poll. From an electorate of 950, about three-quarters bothered to vote. Michael Dalton

was returned with the fourth highest vote (370, with 422 for the poll-topper). When it came to electing the Council chairman, Dalton had no difficulty.<sup>100</sup> However, with respect to the Tipperary Division in the County Council election some weeks later, the outcome was different. Initially four candidates indicated their interest in the single seat, two of whom Dalton and Thomas Kerwick were declared by the police to be members of the IRB. Kerwick withdrew but Dalton with 233 votes lost the election. The winner, with 256 votes, was Dr J.F. O'Ryan, a man of strong nationalist sympathy who had earlier been elected to the urban council with 287 votes and who had been defeated by Dalton for the chair.<sup>101</sup> Incidentally, Dr Dowling had stood as a candidate for the urban council, but with 162 votes, was defeated.

In 1900, the Irish Parliamentary Party reunited under the banner of the United Irish League, after a decade of division following the O'Shea divorce and death of Parnell. In September there was a convention in Cahir of the UIL to nominate a candidate for the constituency of South Tipperary. Three candidates were put forward: Frank Mandeville who had won the seat in 1892 and held it since in the interest of the anti-Parnellites; John O'Connor who had been imposed on the constituency by Parnell in 1885 and remaining loyal to Parnell, had been defeated by Mandeville in 1892; the third candidate was John Cullinan, a native of Bansha. The latter had been very involved in the Land War and was prominent in the GAA. It was stated that as a 'mere boy' he had been a member of the John Mitchel Election Committee in his native parish. O'Connor's case was argued by Michael Dalton, who was not helped by his candidate's absence. What both of these men had in common was their loyalty to Parnell. But Cullinan had the convention sown up and was thanking the delegates for their support while Dalton was still trying to argue his case.<sup>102</sup> (Cullinane was MP 1900-1918.) Dalton had not learned the rough and tumble of parliamentary politics. Later that year, Dalton was not elected to the twelve-man executive committee of the UIL in Tipperary town.<sup>103</sup>

### **Irish National Foresters**

A nationalist organisation of much longer standing in the town and one which had a much greater impact, was the Irish National Foresters, referred to several times in the course of this article. In February 1902, its members were key players in the decision to commemorate the Manchester Martyrs with a new and more enduring memorial than the dilapidated cross in St John's. The INF was a friendly society, that is a collective that supported its working class membership at times of illness and death. Such societies were common in England and in 1877, the INF which was very nationalist, broke away from the Ancient Order of Foresters. Branches declared their politics by the names they adopted, for example 'Lord Edward Fitzgerald', 'Young Ireland', 'Violated Treaty' and 'Robert Emmet'. There were two branches in Tipperary county in the period under discussion: the John O'Leary branch in Tipperary town and the C.J. Kickham branch in Clonmel. (At a later date, the J.F. Meagher branch was established in Carrick-on-Suir.) The INF was not a secret society but because of its very visible presence at nationalist demonstrations, it was closely watched by the police.<sup>104</sup>

The INF had a penchant for fancy uniforms, which perhaps allowed a view that they were not to be taken too seriously. In 1899 for example, the national organisation spent £236 on ribbons and scarves and £33.80 on feathers (for hats), items which were available for purchase by members. That same year, the Tipperary town branch had sixty 'benefit' members and seventeen 'honorary' members. From an income of around £84, £24 was paid in sick benefit, £8 in funeral benefit and £6.75 in medical aid.<sup>105</sup> The meeting in the Forester's Hall in Tipperary town in February 1902 was very well attended. From a remark by the chairman, it was clear that this was the second attempt to launch such an enterprise. 'Certain circumstances forced

them to dissolve the original committee.' He did not elaborate. To promote the project of a Manchester Martyrs memorial, this meeting resulted in a committee of around fifty and an executive of six. The committee was something of a bandwagon, with just about enough room for the nationalist establishment which climbed aboard, various local representatives but especially the county's MP. The chairman was John Woods, chief ranger of the INF (such was the title used for the elected head of the branch) and members held two other offices. The vice-chairman of the committee was Thomas Kerwick, member of the UDC but more to the point, identified by the police as IRB.<sup>106</sup>

### **Manchester Martyrs Memorial**

The work of this committee, which began with great energy, frequent meetings and evident enthusiasm, was all about collecting money. Ideas ranged from a football tournament to using the Irish-American press in Boston and Chicago to appeal for funds. The guardians were approached and contributed sums from two to ten shillings. This of course was personal not official. In April, a deputation was received by Archbishop Croke, who promised a subscription. Evidence of his support was much more important than any sum contributed. However, he died on 22 July. In May, members of the executive met William O'Brien MP who was paying a brief visit to Solohead. It was perhaps O'Brien's wife, travelling with her husband who was the target. Of French-Russian extraction, she was known to be wealthy and at times generous. No contribution was forthcoming. However, a few days later, £5 was received from O'Brien. (His link with the town was through his central role in the New Tipperary campaign more than a decade earlier.) Nationalist MPs were circularised and most subscribed £1 each. John Redmond the party leader was a little more generous. In June and July, a series of football matches involving local clubs were held. In August, church-gate collections were held in Tipperary and surrounding parishes, raising £47. In September the GAA was again



*Manchester Martyrs Memorial (photo from Lawrence Collection, with permission of the National Photographic Archive).*

called on. This time, with the help of Tom Semple, a hurling tournament was played over several Sundays and involved teams from all over the county.<sup>107</sup>

In late September 1902, the committee with £143 on hands, felt confident enough to begin the process of getting designs. John Cullinan undertook to interview some Dublin artists. The matter of a site was discussed, at least five possibilities being mentioned and a sub-committee was appointed to talk to the UDC.<sup>108</sup> The fact that a monument was not unveiled until 1907, makes clear that the optimism of this meeting was misplaced. A few days later, at a meeting of the general committee, a good deal of aggravation received an airing, much of it relating to complaints from the GAA. John O'Brien of Moycarky declared that he would 'never send a hurling team again to Tipperary because of the way they were treated'. Organisation, entertainment, expenses and medals (some teams were still waiting) were all causes for complaint. It is likely that the committee's enthusiasm exceeded their logistical competence. Also, they may have presumed too much on the willingness of their guests to make sacrifices in the interest of the great cause, a suitable memorial to Allen, Larkin and O'Brien. John Cullinan MP did his best to focus the attention of the meeting on the main issue, the scope and site of the memorial. It was agreed to spend £200 on the memorial and to have a competition for the design with a prize of £5. Two possible sites were voted on: twenty five votes for the intersection of James and Main Streets and eleven votes for the top of O'Brien Street. The meeting was conducted without benefit of clergy.

On 6 October, the UDC met a deputation from the Memorial Committee to discuss a possible site. Louis Dalton, a member of the UDC and a middle landlord of property in James Street, objected to the prospect of that street being blocked. He pointed out that the O'Brien Street site had the advantage of having space for public meetings. A sub-committee representative of both interest groups was appointed.<sup>110</sup> A few weeks later at a meeting of the UDC, Dalton complained that this sub-committee was a waste of time and declared:

Some of the deputation, especially Mr Cleary and Mr Ryan, whom we did not hear much off until lately, would give us no voice in the matter. They want to have one site and no other. These two men appear to represent the advanced nationality and everything else in the town and the council, are not in it at all with them. When that was the case, of course, there was no use in going further with the matter.

The two individuals mentioned, P.R. Cleary and Joseph Ryan were joint hon. secretaries of the Memorial Committee. It was likely that Dalton was largely animated by what he regarded as the lack of political pedigree on the part of these two men. Dalton's father Richard supported the men of '48 and his brother Michael was one of the main leaders during the New Tipperary struggle, which resulted in considerable financial loss for the whole Dalton family.<sup>112</sup> Joseph Ryan had a touch of the zealot about him. At a meeting of the Memorial Committee in November, he delivered a diatribe on the subject of £30 profit but expenses of £50 resulting from the GAA tournaments. This imbalance caused a deal of criticism and Ryan queried the nationalist credentials of people 'from Thurles and Kilfinnane'. He then resigned but after a vote of confidence in him withdrew his resignation.<sup>113</sup>

A few days later, a deputation from the Memorial Committee was again received by the UDC but nothing had changed. The deputation continued to press their choice of the James Street site, while the UDC argued for the O'Brien Street site but as a possible alternative suggested a site near the Main Street entrance to the Market Yard. While conflicting opinions could be advanced with respect to a suitable site for a memorial, it is unequivocal that the

James Street site made no sense whatever. The Memorial Committee may have been fixated on the idea that 'their' memorial had to have parity of treatment with the Kickham statue. The James Street site would have allowed a certain symmetry. At this meeting, Dalton, who very much carried the weight of commercial and familial respectability, lashed out at the composition of the previous deputation, claiming in what can be the most damning small town indictment, that it was composed of 'strangers', individuals not representative of the 'nationalists of the town'. His particular target was Joseph Ryan. The meeting passed a resolution that no site be allowed on any part of the Main Street.<sup>114</sup>

This impasse between the two sides was unresolved for the next four years. A few weeks later, on the anniversary of the execution of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, the Irish National Foresters organised the procession to the 'old wooden cross' in St John's. Unlike previous occasions, this was a low-key outing. The main speaker was John Cullinan MP, who tried to sound encouraging about progress on the memorial, describing the amount of work done during that year. He minimised the difficulty over a site, indicating that if the finances of the project were sound, then this other problem would be overcome.<sup>115</sup> This was ironic and from subsequent evidence, it is clear that there was considerable tension between Cullinan and the Memorial Committee on the question of finance. In June 1907 (three months after the memorial was finally unveiled), the committee sued Cullinan in the Tipperary Quarter Sessions, for the sum of £13 alleged to have been collected by him in 1902 and not handed up. This case was about far more than the inconsiderable sum of £13. Cullinan was not a heavyweight figure within the Irish Parliamentary Party but as the constituency MP and an individual with substantial track-records in the land struggle and the GAA, the fact that the Memorial Committee could take this action against him suggests a deep fissure in the nationalist community in Tipperary.

With respect to the actual charge against him, Cullinan denied that there was any £13. There was however the possibility of this sum and more being collected by him from contacts, should he choose to do so. He did not, because of his concern over the way in which the executive committee was dealing with fund raising. At the time he expressed his doubts about the expenses incurred by the GAA tournaments and insisted that auditors be appointed. This was done and against his will, one of the appointees was Cullinan. According to his evidence in 1907, Joseph Ryan and P.R. Cleary the joint hon. secretaries were obstructive. Matters came to a head at a meeting in 1904, when it was claimed Cullinan stormed out and the meeting ended in disarray. The committee attempted to involve John Redmond, leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party but he did not respond. According to Cullinan, his sole objective was to help in putting up a monument which would be a focus of unity and certainly not something that created such 'discord'. The case against him was dismissed.<sup>116</sup> An aspect of the whole sorry affair about which one can only speculate was the extent to which Cullinan's commitment to parliamentary politics and the Westminster 'game', annoyed more 'advanced' nationalists. Such tensions were certainly there. That same summer, a leading supporter of Redmond in Tipperary dismissed Sinn Féin's notion that theirs was the greater truth.<sup>117</sup>

In spite of these divisions, the memorial was erected. The project was reactivated when in September 1906, the UDC received a deputation from the Memorial Committee consisting of Woods, Ryan and Cleary. The issue was still the site, and the determination of the committee that it be as public as possible. Two possible sites were mentioned. One was opposite the catholic church but the first choice was the open space where Main Street led into Church Street. By now the committee had a clear idea regarding the size of the proposed memorial and emphasised that obstruction would not be caused. Members of the UDC seemed doubtful

about the suitability of this site, mentioning the possible negative reaction of shopkeepers in the area. The Memorial Committee had allies on the UDC, one of whom declared his intention of putting forward a motion to rescind the decision of the UDC passed in November 1902, prohibiting a site in the Main Street. This member, responding to the suggestion that shopkeepers might object, ominously said: 'We would boycott them if they did'.<sup>118</sup>

Two weeks later, the UDC again discussed the matter. The clerk read a letter of protest regarding the Main Street-Church Street site. This was signed by thirteen local residents, headed by Louis Dalton, the individual most obstructive in 1902. Again alternative sites were discussed, emphasis being placed on a site at the top of O'Brien Street. The member who two weeks earlier had been intent on having the 1902 decision rescinded and who made the boycotting threat, now pulled back, declaring: 'We can't go against those ratepayers'. At this stage a deputation from the Memorial Committee was admitted to the meeting and were decidedly unimpressed by the UDC's hesitation and delivered three cogent arguments. No matter what site was chosen, some people would object. Secondly, what were the objections of thirteen people against the rest of the population and finally, what was being proposed would leave seventeen feet clear to the opposite paths, ample room. A vote was forced on rescinding the 1902 decision, which in effect was a vote for the Main Street site. Ten voted in favour, four against and three including the chairman Michael Dalton, abstained.<sup>119</sup>

This was not the end of the matter. Within two weeks, the UDC was in receipt of a solicitor's letter indicating that 'practically all' of the residents in the vicinity of the proposed site objected and that the UDC had better reconsider their decision before the matter went to litigation.<sup>120</sup> On 25 October, the UDC held a special meeting. A letter from the Memorial Committee signed by Joseph Ryan was read. This thanked the UDC for the site and made clear that as far as the committee was concerned the matter was closed. The UDC then received a deputation of local people, fourteen in number, whose objections to the proposed site had not diminished. (This group included P.J. Maloney the future Sinn Fein MP.) The spokesman was Louis Dalton, who emphasised the unsuitability of the proposed site, declaring that there would scarcely be room 'for three cars to pass'. Other comments made by Dalton and D.L. Quane, one of the four members of the UDC to vote against the proposed at the 21 September meeting, hinted at a depth of tension and animosity between the interests involved, which barely surface in the available public record. Dalton suggested that the determination on the part of the Memorial Committee to get the Main Street site did not reflect the views of the full committee. Quane went further and declared that even though the committee had been offered several sites, he was certain that 'they did not want to put up the monument at all'. This prompted an intervention from the chairman: 'This is scarcely so'.

Having made their views clear about the site agreed at the 21 September meeting of the UDC, the deputation did not so much suggest as offer an alternative. This was on the Main Street, outside the Loan Fund Office and almost opposite the Kickham statue. The fact that this would impede the footpath appeared of no consequence and the deputation claimed they could guarantee that there would be no objection from the Loan Fund management. Eight members of the UDC (out of eighteen) were at this meeting and they unanimously accepted this suggestion. Four of this eight had voted against the 21 September decision, while three others had abstained. This left just one individual who appears to have changed his mind. The actual resolution passed by these eight members was carefully worded.<sup>121</sup>

That with a view to an amicable arrangement being arrived at, as regards a site for the Manchester Martyrs Memorial, we request the Memorial Committee to give effect to the

Council's desire in this direction by accepting the site opposite the Loan Office in Main Street, with the Loan Fund Authority's guarantee that they will offer no objection.

The decision of 21 September was not actually rescinded. When the UDC met on 5 November, they had their answer from the Memorial Committee. A letter dated that same day, was read. This declared that the Memorial Committee was 'satisfied' with the site granted by the Council (on 21 September) and that they had nothing more to say on the matter.<sup>122</sup> The role of the UDC in the matter of the best site for the memorial reflects little credit on that body. Caught between two determined lobbies, it gave way to the demands of one and then tried to satisfy the other. In the end the memorial lobby won the day, getting their preferred site. With respect to the meeting of 25 October, it is difficult to resist the notion that there was collusion between the members present and the protectors. None of the individuals involved was hostile to the town having a memorial to the Manchester Martyrs. The struggle over the eventual site, which can be personalised between Louis Dalton and Joseph Ryan, seems to have been a clash between different perceptions, on the one hand suspicion that the siting of the memorial was secondary to commercial considerations and on the other hand, resentment possibly class based, that the issue was being driven forward by separatists as part of a wider agenda.

Probably because of financial constraints and the fact that putting a memorial in place was in itself an accomplishment, the Manchester Martyrs memorial in Tipperary town, the Maid of Erin, is no work of art.<sup>123</sup> Ennis in the 1880s appears to have been one of the first towns to commemorate the Manchester Martyrs with a representation of Erin as a female figure with flowing robes and in the Tipperary example, holding a wreath for memory and with the other hand, a harp. With these statues it was usual that the local committee commissioned a Dublin stonemason to carve the figure, while work on the pedestal was done closer to home.<sup>124</sup> In charge of the Tipperary memorial, its design and erection was an engineer P.R. Cleary. The artistic work, including the medallions showing the faces of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien was done by Joseph O'Reilly of Dublin. The rest of the work was carried out by Michael Daly and Thomas Heffernan. A feature of some interest is that the stone for the base came from Soloheadbeg quarry.<sup>125</sup>

On 24 February 1907, Edward O'Meagher Condon wrote a letter to the Memorial Committee in Tipperary from an hotel in Laredo Texas. The committee had written to him a month earlier inviting him to unveil the Manchester Martyrs statue in Tipperary on Sunday 10 March. Condon had to refuse the invitation and his letter, read by Joseph Ryan at the unveiling ceremony, expressed his appreciation at being asked and his support for what was being done in Tipperary. He went over some aspects of the Fenian campaign in 1867, emphasising its Tipperary links but above all the sacrifice of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien. Condon was one of the veterans of the American Civil War who joined the Fenians and was involved in the planning of the Manchester rescue attempt that resulted in the death of Constable Brett. Condon was arrested and tried with Allen, Larkin and O'Brien. His death sentence was commuted and he spent a decade in prison before returning to the United States where he died in 1915 aged eighty.<sup>126</sup>

With the understandable unavailability of Condon, there was a certain appropriateness in the committee's second choice being Charles Doran, whose connection with advanced nationalism in the town went back many years. The presence of Doran and John Daly of Limerick on the same platform made it very clear that the tone of the occasion was Wolfe Tone. The organisers were presumably pleased with the enthusiastic public support for the event, delegations coming from surrounding parishes. However, there was no representation at a formal level

from parish or town. Doran's speech was probably one he had often delivered: Ireland was engaged in 'the longest war in history'; Brian Boru and Sarsfield were mentioned: the separatist tradition had to be kept alive; others could follow the constitutional route and try and win concessions for Ireland but the size of the gathering showed that the people wanted freedom now. The other main speaker was John Daly, who supported what Doran had said and drew an especially loud cheer when he expressed his pride at being associated with Tipperarymen like Charles Kickham, John O'Leary and 'Jerry' Finnan.

Tipperary nationalists whose trust still rested with the Parliamentary Party clearly went out of their way to make sure that their message got across some months later when the fortieth anniversary of the executions in Manchester, were marked. The main speaker at a public meeting chaired by Canon Arthur Ryan was Joe Devlin MP from Ulster and one of the rising stars of the party. Responding to his Tipperary audience, he sought to connect the use of violence in the past, with the current constitutional approach. His bottom line was that if the government did not respond to the latter, the former was waiting to be reactivated. If the call was made, not just three Tipperarymen but thousands would answer. History, he said, had shown that the English (sic) understood the threat of force. In evidence Devlin cited the relationship between Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland and the Fenian threat and later, the connection between the 1881 Land Act (which granted the 3Fs) and the Land League. After a speech in which emotions were stirred with references to actions and sacrifices in the past, the clear message was that for now and the immediate future, the struggle would be constitutional. Six days after the unveiling of the Manchester Martyrs memorial, John O'Leary died in Dublin. With his passing, it may well have appeared that his kind of politics had been consigned to history. If O'Leary's shade was on hand to hear Devlin's speech, he was quite definitely laughing.

#### Footnotes

1. See companion article in *THJ* (2001), pp. 1-25.
2. *Tipperary People* (T.P.), 14 Jan. 1898.
3. *Nationalist* (Nat.), 17 Jan. 1900.
4. *T.P.*, 25 Jan. 1901.
5. *T.P.*, 13, 20 April 1900; *Clonmel Chronicle* (C.C.), 11, 21 April 1900.
6. *T.P.*, 24, April 1903.
7. *T.P.*, 22 June 1903. This was probably Canon Arthur Ryan PP Tipperary.
8. *T.P.*, 4 March 1898.
9. See M. Bourke, *John O'Leary: a Study in Irish Separatism* (Tralee, 1967).
10. *T.P.*, 18 Nov 1910.
11. *T.P.*, 1 Dec. 1899.
12. *T.P.*, 13, 20 July 1900.
13. *T.P.*, 6, 13, 20 July 1906.
14. *Irish Freedom*, Feb. 1912.
15. *Tipperary Star*, 25 Jan. 1913. His collected verse was published just after his death.
16. J. O'Leary, *Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism* (London, 1896).
17. W. Rutherford, *'67 Retrospection* (Dublin, 1903).
18. See D.G. Marnane, *Land and Violence a History of West Tipperary from 1660* (Tipperary, 1985), p. 79.
19. For a recent treatment see O.P. Rafferty, *The Church, the State and the Fenian Threat 1861-75* (London, 1999).
20. Popular literature such as Canon Sheehan's *The Graves of Kilmorna* or William O'Brien's *When We Were Boys* contributed, as did some of the fiction and verse published in the local nationalist press.



67. *T.P.*, 27 Nov. 1903.
68. *Minutes TUDC*, 1 Feb 1904 (Dan Been House, Tipperary); *T.P.*, 5 Feb. 1904; See R.V. Comerford, Nation, Nationalism and the Irish Language in T.E. Hachey & L.J. McCaffrey (eds.), *Perspectives on Irish Nationalism* (University Press of Kentucky, 1989), pp. 35-6.
69. When Major William Redmond was killed in 1917, Canon Ryan wrote a memoir of his friend, published in 1918.
70. *T.P.*, 26 Feb. 1904.
71. *T.P.*, 4 March 1904.
72. *T.P.*, 18 March 1904.
73. *Minutes Tipperary Merchants Association*, 28 Feb., 1, 9 March 1905 (copy in this writer's possession. My thanks to John Kelly).
74. *Ibid.*, 6 Feb. 1906.
75. *Ibid.*, 11 March 1908; *T.P.*, 15, 22 March 1907.
76. *T.P.*, 16 Feb. 1906.
77. *T.P.*, 29 June 1906.
78. *T.P.*, 20 July 1906.
79. *T.P.*, 23 Nov. 1906.
80. See P. Maume, *The Long Gestation: Irish Nationalist Life 1891-1918* (Dublin, 1999), p. 27.
81. *T.P.*, 6, 13 Sept. 1907.
82. *T.P.*, 15 Nov. 1907.
83. Comerford, *Kickham*, p. 177.
84. *Nat.*, 30 Jan. 1895.
85. *T.P.*, 27 Sept. 1895.
86. See A. Benson, John Hughes, RHO, 1865-1941 in *The Capuchin Annual 1975*, pp. 126-37 and for more detail his *John Hughes Sculptor 1865-1941 – a Documentary Biography* (1969), pp. 177-99.
87. *Minutes Tipperary Town Commissioners*, 8 Jan. 1896 (Dan Been House, Tipperary).
88. *Nat.*, 6 March 1897.
89. *Nat.*, 10 March 1897.
90. *The Times*, 21 Sept. 1906; Lord Roberts, *Forty One Years in India* (London, 1897 3rd ed.), II, pp. 183-281.
91. *C.C.*, 22 Sept. 1906; B. Long, *Tipperary SR County Council 1899-1999* (Clonmel, 1999), pp. 9-15.
92. *Irish Homestead*, 7 May 1898.
93. *T.P.*, 13 May 1898.
94. *Nat.*, 12 Oct. 1898; *T.P.*, 7 Oct. 1898.
95. *T.P.*, 21 Oct., 4, 18 Nov. 1898; *Nat.*, 16, 19, 23 Nov. 1898.
96. *Daily Express*, 28 Nov. 1898; *Freeman's Journal*, 28 Nov. 1898; *T.P.*, 2 Dec. 1898.
97. *T.P.*, 25 June 1897; C.B.S. 1898 15200/S (National Archives); Bourke, *O'Leary*, pp. 216-17; '98 Centenary Committee – voting paper for election of executive council (Local Studies County Library Thurles).
98. *T.P.*, 7 Jan. 1898; Reports of P. McBride and J. Byrne, C.B.S. 1898 15010/S (National Archives).
99. *T.P.*, 4 March 1898, 7 Oct. 1898.
100. *T.P.*, 20, 27 Jan. 1899.
101. *T.P.*, 10 March, 7 April 1899. O'Ryan proposed a resolution of sympathy with the Boers in the council. See *Minutes Tipperary Town Commissioners*, 2 Oct. 1899.
102. *T.P.*, 28 Sept. 1900; *C.C.*, 26 Sept. 1900.
103. *T.P.*, 21 Dec. 1900.
104. Returns etc. S.E. Division, C.B.S. 1894 7828/S and Report by A.C. John Mellon on Foresters, C.B.S. 1894 8313/S (National Archives).
105. *Report 22nd annual convention INF, 1899*.
106. *T.P.*, 7 Feb. 1902.
107. *T.P.*, 21 Feb., 7 March, 4, 18 April, 2, 16, 30 May, 12 June, 11, 25 July, 22 Aug., 12, 26 Sept. 1902.

108. *T.P.*, 26 Sept. 1902.
109. *T.P.*, 3 Oct. 1902.
110. *Minutes Tipperary Town Commissioners*, 6 Oct. 1902 (Dan Breen House, Tipperary).
111. *T.P.*, 24 Oct. 1902.
112. See D.G. Marnane, Tipperary Town one hundred years ago: the evidence of the 1901 Census in *THJ* (2001), p. 12.
113. *T.P.*, 14 Nov. 1902.
114. *Minutes Tipperary UDC*, 10 Nov. 1902 (Dan Breen House, Tipperary).
115. *T.P.*, 28 Nov. 1902.
116. *T.P.*, 28 June 1907; *Nat.*, 29 June 1907.
117. *T.P.*, 9 Aug. 1907.
118. *Minutes Tipperary UDC*, 7 Sept. 1906 (Dan Breen House, Tipperary); *T.P.*, 14 Sept. 1906.
119. *Minutes Tipperary UDC*, 21 Sept. 1906 (Dan Breen House, Tipperary).
120. *T.P.*, 12 Oct. 1906.
121. *Minutes Tipperary UDC*, 25 Oct. 1906 (Dan Breen House, Tipperary); *T.P.*, 26 Oct. 1906.
122. *Minutes Tipperary UDC*, 5 Nov. 1906 (Dan Breen House, Tipperary).
123. Because of damage and the fact that the statue was increasingly a cause of traffic obstruction (Dalton vindicated perhaps), the memorial was removed several years ago. After a deal of local controversy, a new site has been chosen, close to the old site but away from traffic. At the time of writing, the entire monument is being repaired.
124. See J. Hill, *Irish Public Sculpture. A History* (Dublin, 1998), pp. 115-30; P. Alter, Symbols of Irish Nationalism in A. O'Day (ed.), *Reactions to Irish Nationalism 1865-1914* (Dublin, 1987), pp. 1-20.
125. *Nat.*, 13 March 1907.
126. J. Denvir, *The Life Story of an Old Rebel* (Dublin, 1910), pp. 95-107; *T.P.*, 4 Jan. 1907.
127. *T.P.*, 15 March 1907; *Cork Examiner*, 11 March 1907; *Nat.*, 13 March 1907.
128. *T.P.*, 29 Nov. 1907.

Acknowledgement: My thanks to Marcus Bourke for his kind help.