

# Outbreak – September 1849

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## **Introduction**

*John O'Mahony grew up in a family with an inherited tradition of leadership which, in his case, was called forth in July 1848. Some weeks after the September 1848 insurrection, O'Mahony escaped to Wales and thence to France. A crucial element in any organization O'Mahony set up was the groundswell of support and loyalty to the O'Mahonys which had existed for generations in the counties Cork, Limerick, and Tipperary. In the late autumn of 1848, O'Mahony left behind him a loose revolutionary structure that he could subsequently put into play in these counties as well as parts of Kilkenny and Waterford.*

## **O'Mahony's Journey to France**

In late 1848 O'Mahony embarked at Island Castle, between Bunmahon and Dungarvan in County Waterford, on board the Dungarvan schooner, Johanna, and landed in Newport, Wales.<sup>1</sup> O'Mahony is not explicit about the places and dates of his stay in Wales. Neither does he give any details of where he slept during the 1848 insurrection. This lack of information points to the fact that O'Mahony did not want to compromise anybody with whom he stayed. O'Mahony lay low at or in the vicinity of Newport, perhaps with relatives. It is known that the maiden-name of O'Mahony's maternal great-grandmother - Howell - was Welsh. This might explain O'Mahony's choice of hiding place.<sup>2</sup>

In a letter from a Thomas Hughes to William Smith O'Brien, dated 15 May 1858, further light is thrown upon O'Mahony's movements at this time:

John O'Mahony now in New York, with whom I believe you became acquainted in Tipperary in 1848 is my attached friend and for this reason – that with a government reward for his apprehension and hotly pursued by detectives, he made his way to Newport, Monmouthshire, where I then had been. Though strangers to each other before, yet as all my feelings and sympathies were fully enlisted in the cause, we soon came together. I provided for his safety for eight or ten weeks though closely watched, until I found a favourable opportunity of taking him to London, where I got a passport for him under the name of John Hughes and placed him on board a steamer bound for [Le] Havre.<sup>3</sup>

Hughes relates above that O'Mahony stayed in Newport between eight and ten weeks. However, in his '98 and '48, John Savage wrote that O'Mahony remained in Wales for six weeks until an opportunity offered for his conveyance to France.<sup>4</sup> Hughes is probably the more reliable source as he was in O'Mahony's company at this time.



John O'Mahony

The *Tipperary Vindicator* of 28 October 1848 reported that 'We have been assured that the gentleman [O'Mahony] has reached France and that within the last few days he addressed a letter to a female friend in Waterford, mentioning the particulars of his escape'.<sup>5</sup> This report may have been disseminated in order to mislead the authorities and to provide a smokescreen for O'Mahony's journey to France.

### Plan of Campaign

Michael Cavanagh, of Cappoquin, County Waterford, later served as O'Mahony's secretary in the Fenian Brotherhood and had an intimate knowledge of his revolutionary history.<sup>6</sup> According Cavanagh's retrospective account:

O'Mahony, before departing for France, laid the foundation of a secret revolutionary organization in the Vale of the Suir, [with] only about a half-dozen of his most trusty and intelligent companions in arms forming the nucleus thereof. Among these were two enthusiastic members of the Dublin [Swift] Confederate Club, John Savage and Philip Gray.<sup>7</sup>

The other members of the revolutionary committee established by O'Mahony at this time probably numbered among his lieutenants in September 1848 men such as Thomas Hickey, John Grant, and a man with the surname of Hannan. O'Mahony recognized the necessity of keeping the nucleus of a revolutionary organization intact should an opportunity for insurrection present itself in the near future. This remained a constant feature of his policy.

Cavanagh later published O'Mahony's written statement of the contemplated course of action of the revolutionary network established by him in the late autumn of 1848. It would appear that this plan was written down by O'Mahony and given to the committee of six before he left for France. According to this programme:

The home organization was to be perfected and extended quietly but indefatigably. The initiated members were to consist of but a few tried and active men in each locality. The masses were to be instructed to be in readiness for action, to watch attentively the course of events and bide their time. They were not to be required to commence any aggressive

movement, but were to be taught to remain as if in ambush until the Irish flag should have been raised by a *body of armed and disciplined men from without*, around whom they would, at a fitting time, be required to rally. Until such a body were actually in the field the Irish peasantry were not to be asked to take up arms. I [O'Mahony] was to have been present myself with such armed force before the general rising. And if I, or someone else, could not take the field in the first instance with such armed force, there should, with my consent, have been no rising at all; in which case the people generally would have no cause to complain of being misled, for they would not have committed themselves to run any risk. Their actual position would not have been altered in the least degree.

The initiated and working members of the organization were to be made understand that their great duty consisted in obedience to the orders of their officers. They were to have been forbidden to discuss the prudence or imprudence of the orders. It was also recommended that members of any one company or club should not seek to know the individuals that composed any other. All business communications was to have been carried on through their officers or delegates. The care of subordinates was to have been to hold themselves in readiness for immediate action. It should have been my care and that of those who were then acting with me to superintend the working of the whole, to watch opportunities, and to find *external military aid*. The latter was by me deemed indispensable in the position of our party at that time. I and those who thought as I did felt that the Irish people could then make no effective attempt at any rising without *powerful impulse from without*.<sup>8</sup>

O'Mahony's plan of campaign for revolutionary organization, as outlined above, contained the seeds of Fenianism and shows his consistency. It anticipated the Fenians' strategy of seeking 'external military aid' for an Irish insurrection from a power in conflict with Britain and further mapped out the necessary course which almost came to fruition in 1865. A major contribution by O'Mahony to Irish revolutionary thinking is his formulation of the prerequisites for any attempt at insurrection: in particular, the necessity for external factors providing a 'powerful impulse from without' - a major international conflict preferably involving Britain. This policy was adopted by the Fenian Brotherhood under O'Mahony's leadership and later again by the I.R.B. in their planning of the rising which came in 1916.

O'Mahony had an inherent sense of responsibility for others who would get involved in an insurrection in response to his influence over them. O'Mahony insisted that his followers should be ready at all times but was insistent that they should not be brought out unless the circumstances were ripe. In O'Mahony's plan of action, as outlined above, he recommended that the 'masses' were not 'to run any risk' until the arrival of 'a body of armed and disciplined men from without' around which they could rally and be led. O'Mahony understood the necessity of having trained officers as the nucleus of any future revolutionary insurrection. In order to counteract the infiltration of government spies, he insisted upon a cell-like structure - 'members of any one company or club should not seek to know the individuals that composed any other'.

### **Savage's Departure for New York/Gray's Arrival In Paris**

John Savage, left for the United States in the late autumn of 1848. He arrived in New York on 7 November 1848. Philip Gray now became the most active revolutionary propagandist in Ireland. Gray returned to Dublin where, in the absence of nearly all the

prominent national leaders of 1848, he communicated the plan of campaign to his trusted associates of the Confederate Clubs still resident in Dublin.<sup>9</sup>

All the evidence seems to indicate that, from the winter of 1848 onwards, Gray was fulfilling the role of envoy between O'Mahony and the revolutionaries in Ireland. In a letter dated 1 December 1848, a spy who signed his letters as Mr. M. informed William Ryan, R.M. Clonmel, that he had received information that '[Gray] had been in France with Mr Mahony said he [Gray] ten days ago and he [O'Mahony] is a lieutenant in the French service'.<sup>10</sup> Apart from this report, there is no evidence that O'Mahony was ever in the French service. Gray may have given deliberately misleading information to the spy. One week later, in a letter dated 8 December, Mr. M. wrote:

He [Gray] was a most inseparable companion of O'Mahony and the other leaders the time of the disturbances. He [Gray] was taken about Carrick heretofore and a case of pistols with some powder and ball [was] found in his custody. And I make no doubt but he would feign [sic] excite the people now again for there was never more report of war in the country than there is at present.<sup>11</sup>

James Fintan Lalor, the political theorist of land reform, was released from Newgate Gaol, Dublin, in November 1848, on account of his ill health. He soon became the driving force behind a new insurrectionary group established in a field at Rathmines, Dublin, in the early spring of 1849. Its prominent members were Philip Gray, Thomas Clarke Luby, John O'Leary and, after his release from Kilmainham Gaol on 1 March 1849, the Cork born journalist and poet, Joseph Brenan.<sup>12</sup>

In the late spring of 1849, Gray left South Tipperary and went to Paris. For a period of some months, he received assistance from his fellow Irish exiles in that city and endeavoured to support himself by teaching drawing. Some months later, in the early summer of 1849, Lalor recalled Gray to Ireland.<sup>13</sup> Luby made clear later that 'Returning to Ireland in 1849, Phil [Gray] formed a link of communication between O'Mahony and the secret movement in Ireland in which James Fintan Lalor, Joseph Brennan, John O'Leary, myself and others were engaged throughout that year'.<sup>14</sup>

In a letter dated 15 May 1849, James Stephens, then in Paris, wrote to an unnamed friend, probably Michael Doheny:

O'Mahony is in constant communication with his district – Carrick, Waterford, and part of Kilkenny – and this can be more widely spread with safety; the Dublin men must be hard at work, as they have recalled a man whose neck is in as much danger as anybody's that I know.<sup>15</sup>

It was certainly Gray who returned to Ireland on Lalor's summons about the time that Stephens's letter was written. Gray now had a plan of action ready.

In May 1849, Gray unfolded this programme in detail to Michael Cavanagh, apparently at Cappoquin, County Waterford. Gray met Cavanagh's chief objection – the want of regular officers to conduct the insurrection after the first blow was struck – by the assurance that these would come from France with O'Mahony; that he (Gray) had been to Paris and had O'Mahony's authority for the promise. Cavanagh found out years later, from O'Mahony himself, that Gray had the authority to make such a promise but with the crucial proviso:



Michael Kavanagh

'After O'Mahony had got due notice and satisfied himself by personal inspection, that adequate preparations for an outbreak had been made in Ireland'.<sup>16</sup> Gray made no mention of this most important proviso at the time, and O'Mahony never got the stipulated notice.

Meanwhile, Cavanagh formed a select body in the town of Cappoquin and the adjoining district. In June 1849, Lalor and Luby went on an organizing tour of Tipperary and Limerick, where they had the assistance of several local leaders. Brennan selected Cork City for his efforts, which were seconded by his enthusiastic lieutenants.<sup>17</sup>

In a report dated 5 September 1849, William Henry Riall, Magistrate, Clonmel, wrote:

In the absence of Mr. Ryan, R.M. on sick leave, I beg to state that I have been this day informed by a respectable Roman Catholic gentleman, residing near Carrick-on-Suir, that he is informed and believes that the system of swearing in is greatly increasing in that neighbourhood, that it is not only a conspiracy against the payment of rents and rates, but is political and has grown out of the disturbances of the last year that the parties sworn are not aware of the desired object, but merely sworn to be secret [and] ready to act when called upon, that he believes a rising is contemplated and very near at hand. He also tells me that two men named Gray and Hannan are in the County Waterford and he has himself seen them, that these men are in correspondence with the exiles who left after the last year's disturbances who are now in France and in America. The said men, Hannan and Gray are he says well known to the police as being implicated at Ballingarry and Portlaw, that a woman named Miss Power residing at the Alms House at Gurteen between Clonmel and Carrick who was arrested last year in company with O'Mahony and twice found possessed of arms and ammunition is the principal correspondent with the parties in France and America.<sup>18</sup>

There is corroborative evidence, in Stephens's papers, that contact was maintained by the Irish exiles in France with their fellow revolutionaries both in Ireland and the United States.

The 'Miss Power' mentioned above was Mary Ellen Power, who had been arrested along with John Killilea on 26 September 1848, while en route to aid O'Mahony in his escape to France. Mary Ellen was 'found possessed of arms and ammunition' on this occasion and, almost two months earlier, at O'Mahony's home at Mullough, in the parish of Ballyneale, South Tipperary.<sup>19</sup>

The sources of O'Mahony's intelligence from Ireland are worth considering. He was certainly in regular contact with Gray and, perhaps, some of his other lieutenants from September 1848. There is definite evidence that O'Mahony was in correspondence with his brother-in-law, James Mandeville. This is revealed in a letter dated 12 September 1849, from John D.C. Hearn, of Shanakill, Rathgormack, who reported to the Lord Lieutenant:

There is some such society at work in this parish, collecting money, to buy powder for some bad purpose, and from reports, and some letters I have seen from America. ...The rebels here expect some foreign aid, and to receive orders how to act from Dublin, the rebel Mahony I understand received a large sum of money lately, the proceeds of the sale of [Robert Henry King] Lord Kingston's stock, one Mr. [James] Mandeville of the Co. Tipperary his brother-in-law acting for him. Would it not be wise to see the letters from this Mahony to Mr. Mandeville or to young Mandeville the nephew for if these letters are according to report they are seditious; these persons live near Carrick.<sup>20</sup>

It is likely that the authorities opened the Mandeville's mail. The sale of livestock, mentioned by Hearn, would appear to have been from the Clonkilla farm, near Mitchelstown, County Cork, which O'Mahony had made over to James Mandeville on 5 September 1848.<sup>21</sup> It can be assumed that the correspondence from America included letters from Michael Doheny and John Savage both of whom had by this time established themselves in New York.

### **Clonmel Meeting, 5 September 1849**

On 5 September 1849, Lalor, Brenan, Gray, Luby and the others met at Clonmel. Despite the fact that the necessary conditions for revolutionary insurrection formulated by O'Mahony were not met, the leaders decided on Sunday, 16 September, as the date for a general rising. The plan of campaign involved attacks on a number of garrison towns in Tipperary and Waterford, to be followed by further attempts in Cork, Limerick and Kilkenny. Cappoquin was one of the places selected.<sup>22</sup> O'Mahony was informed about the decision taken at Clonmel some time between 5 and 16 September 1849. In his retrospective narrative, Cavanagh wrote:

The organization, as originally founded by O'Mahony, was wisely planned. I do not know on what grounds the Dublin Directory [of the '49 movement] saw fit to depart from the programme laid down by him. When they did so his immediate friends no longer constituted the bulk of the organization; and distance, and want of safe means of communication, prevented him from taking much part in guiding them. He was decidedly opposed to the policy of immediate action as advocated by the more hasty and unreasoning members of the conspiracy; and accordingly, when he was informed that a general rising in September had been decided upon, he 'condemned it as unreasonable, premature, and fatal to our cause'.

He showed that, however wide the organization had extended itself, it was still in a very imperfect state of discipline – that many conditions which he deemed indispensable had been

entirely disregarded – that no foreign or domestic excitement existed to prepare the popular mind for a revolution – that the numbers of which they boasted would but render the array more unmanageable. Under such circumstances he would assume no responsibility of leadership, nor would he allow his name to be used as the adviser of an insurrection in the conducting of which he would not have any part – neither would he solicit any others to enter into any enterprise whose defeat he considered certain. He added, however, that he would return to Ireland and participate in their dangers, but that he would betake himself to some part of the island where he would run no risk of being made a leader, for, though he could not induce others to risk their lives on a forlorn hope, he felt at liberty to stake his own at any hazard.<sup>23</sup>

O'Mahony had produced the revolutionary programme that was to be followed when the time for insurrection was ripe. The absence of any of O'Mahony's preconditions should have been sufficient for Lalor and the others to realize that any attempt at insurrection was futile. Their action was a direct contravention of everything that O'Mahony had laid down in his plan of action.

### Lalor's Request

According to Charles Joseph Kickham, Lalor sent an agent (almost certainly Gray) to France to procure O'Mahony's co-operation. O'Mahony refused to act with the insurrectionary group in Ireland. When told that they were determined to go on without him, O'Mahony replied:

Since the disgrace at Ballingarry, I am convinced it will take years of patient labour to prepare the Irish race to meet their foe in arms. My conscience will not permit me to use the influence I may possess with my countrymen, to lead them into what I must believe a desperate, if not altogether a hopeless struggle; but no blow will ever be struck for Ireland which my single arm will not second. I cannot be responsible for the lives of others, but I am free to risk, and if need be, to sacrifice my own life in the good old cause for which many a martyr poured out his life-blood on field and scaffold.<sup>24</sup>

This statement, which almost certainly is O'Mahony's own words, would appear to be his letter of reply to Lalor and the others. With all his personal courage, O'Mahony always acted with extreme caution as a leader. O'Mahony made it clear that no matter what the danger to which he might be ready to expose himself, he would not again call out his men without a reasonable chance of success, and to ensure such an opportunity would require years of preparation.

All the indications are that O'Mahony did not return to Ireland in September 1849. The police and magistrates' reports are the only contemporary sources which claim that he came back. They received their intelligence from informers in Tipperary, who affirmed his presence in the country. False intelligence that O'Mahony was in Ireland was almost certainly disseminated by those who were pushing for an insurrection. In a report dated 9 September William Ryan, R.M. Clonmel, confirmed that 'O'Mahony is still in the country about the Rathgormack district [County Waterford] with Gray and others'.<sup>25</sup> Gray and Savage had provided leadership to the Waterford insurgents in the 1848 insurrection. In a report dated 23 September 1849, Ryan wrote that 'They [the '49 movement] have plenty of leaders. O'Mahony is in the country positively, and several others who went away are hiding'.<sup>26</sup>

Almost a week later, Ryan reiterated that 'O'Mahony is still in the country somewhere most positively'.<sup>27</sup>

In the *Tipperary Advocate*, dated 10 May 1862, Charles Joseph Kickham<sup>28</sup> wrote that O'Mahony 'took means to land in Ireland - in a part of the country where he could not be recognized by the people, and where without being responsible for the lives of others, he could risk his own, as he and his fathers had often done before'.<sup>29</sup> Kickham does not suggest that O'Mahony came back to Ireland in 1849: he merely claims that O'Mahony 'took means' to return. Kickham's statement was clearly authorized by O'Mahony who wished to set the record straight both for the past and for the future. In 1861, while visiting the home of his sister, Jane Maria, and family at Ballycurkeen House, Ballyneale, O'Mahony had a meeting with Kickham.<sup>30</sup>

In his retrospective account, Cavanagh claimed that no time was allowed O'Mahony to fulfil his chivalrous resolution to return to Ireland and risk his own life; the outbreak began and ended in a night. According to Cavanagh:

The vast majority of the local leaders of the movement were unaware of O'Mahony's condemnation of the proposed change of plans; in fact they never knew that there was any *radical* change from the original programme at all - they received their instructions from their superior officers, and carried them out as best they could, in most instances up to the final crisis.<sup>31</sup>

On the evening of Sunday 16 September, insurgents gathered at various locations in Tipperary, but inadequate numbers led to the abandonment of any attempt at insurrection in that county. The town of Cappoquin was the only place which saw action. Here the insurgents attempted in vain to surprise the constabulary force stationed in the old army barracks. There followed a short exchange of fire, which left one attacker dead and caused the others to disperse. A policeman also died, stabbed by the insurgents outside the barracks.<sup>32</sup>

## Conclusion

In spite of all their efforts, the leaders of the '49 outbreak failed in their efforts to use O'Mahony's name to bring out his followers along the Suir valley. The revolutionary network put in place by O'Mahony in 1848 survived and provided the framework that was integrated into the national revolutionary movement - I.R.B. - in this region almost a decade later.

## References

- <sup>1</sup>John O'Mahony, from No 51 Rue Richelieu, Paris, to Jane Maria Mandeville, 11 Feb. 1853 in James Maher (ed.) *Chief of the Comeraghs: A John O'Mahony anthology* (Tipperary, 1957), p. 73.
- <sup>2</sup>Information on O'Mahony genealogy given by the late Mary Hanrahan, great grand-niece of John O'Mahony, to Dr Diarmuid Ó Mathúna, Dublin.
- <sup>3</sup>Thomas Hughes, from Graham Place, Fontenoy street, Liverpool, to William Smith O'Brien, 15 May 1858 (N.L.I., W.S. O'Brien papers, MS 446/3089).
- <sup>4</sup>John Savage, '98 and '48: *The modern history and literature of Ireland* (New York, 1860), pp. 353 (Hereafter cited as Savage, '98 and '48).
- <sup>5</sup>*Tipperary Vindicator* (Nenagh), 28 Oct. 1848.



- <sup>4</sup>Cavanagh contemplated writing O'Mahony's biography, which was to have included accounts of 1848 and 1849. It is unclear whether Cavanagh managed to complete this work: the manuscript has not yet been traced. See the entry for 'John O'Mahony' (written by the Fenian John O'Leary) in *Dictionary of national biography vol. xiv* (London, 1909), p. 1061.
- <sup>7</sup>Michael Cavanagh, 'Our dead comrades: Hugh William Collender' published in the *Worcester Messenger* from 19 Apr. to 19 July 1890 and reproduced in *Decies: Journal of the Waterford Archaeological Society no. 57* (2001), p. 119 (Hereafter cited as Cavanagh, 'Our dead comrades').
- <sup>8</sup>Cavanagh, 'Our dead comrades', pp 121-2.
- <sup>9</sup>Entry for 'John Savage' in *Dictionary of American biography vol. xvi* (1935), pp 388-9; Savage, '98 and '48, p. 350; Michael Cavanagh, 'Joseph Brennan' (N.L.I., Hickey Collection, MS 3225).
- <sup>10</sup>Mr. M to William Ryan, R.M. Clonmel, 1 Dec. 1848 (N.A.I., Outrages Papers, 1848, Co. Tipperary, 27/2529).
- <sup>11</sup>Mr. M to William Ryan, R.M. Clonmel, 8 Dec. 1848 (N.A.I., Outrages Papers, 1848, Co. Tipperary, 27/2647).
- <sup>12</sup>Michael Cavanagh, 'Joseph Brennan' (N.L.I., Hickey Collection, MS 3225); Savage, '98 and '48, p. 350. Brennan had written for John Mitchel's *United Irishman* (Dublin) and its successor the *Irish Felon* (Dublin).
- <sup>13</sup>Thomas Clarke Luby to Thomas Francis Meagher published in the *Irish News* (New York), 14 Mar. 1857.
- <sup>14</sup>Thomas Clarke Luby, 'The father of Fenianism: personal reminiscences of Colonel John O'Mahony' in *Irish World* (New York), 10 Mar. 1877 (Hereafter cited as Luby, 'Personal reminiscences').
- <sup>15</sup>James Stephens to 'Mon cher ami', dated 15 May 1849 (T.C.D., Davitt addendum 9659d/6).
- <sup>16</sup>Cavanagh, 'Our dead comrades', p. 121.
- <sup>17</sup>Cavanagh, 'Our dead comrades', pp 123-4.
- <sup>18</sup>Report of William Henry Riall, R.M. Clonmel, 5 Sept. 1849 (N.A.I., Outrages papers, 1849, Co. Tipperary, 27/2511).
- <sup>19</sup>Report of R.D. Coulson, R.M. Carrick-on-Suir, 26 Sept. 1848 (N.A.I., Outrages Papers, 1848, Co. Tipperary, 27/2075); *Tipperary Vindicator* (Nenagh), 30 Sept. 1848.
- <sup>20</sup>Report of John D.C. Hearn, Shanakill, Carrick-on-Suir, to the Lord Lieutenant, 12 Sept. 1849 (N.A.I., Outrages papers, 1849, Co. Tipperary, 27/2549).
- <sup>21</sup>Memorial of an assignment dated 5 Sept. 1848. Parties: John O'Mahony and John Mandeville (Registry of Deeds, 1848/17/211).
- <sup>22</sup>Brendan Kiely, *The Waterford rebels of 1849* (Dublin, 1999), p. 16 (Hereafter cited as Kiely, *Waterford rebels of 1849*).
- <sup>23</sup>Cavanagh, 'Our dead comrades', pp 122-3.
- <sup>24</sup>Charles J. Kickham, 'Apologia pro amico suo' in *Tipperary Advocate*, 10 May 1862 (Hereafter cited as Kickham, 'Apologia').
- <sup>25</sup>Report of William Ryan, R.M. Clonmel, 9 Sept. 1849 (N.A.I., Outrages papers, 1849, 27/2532).
- <sup>26</sup>Report of William Ryan, R.M. Clonmel, 23 Sept. 1849 (N.A.I., Outrages papers, 1849, 27/2637).
- <sup>27</sup>Report of William Ryan, R.M. Clonmel, 29 Sept. 1849 (N.A.I., Outrages papers, 1849, 27/2674).
- <sup>28</sup>It is generally believed in the families that the O'Mahonys of Laffina (of whom C. J. Kickham's mother was one), of Kilbehenny (John O'Mahony's family), and of the Wilderness, Clonmel, were all related: Information on O'Mahony genealogy given by the late Mary Hanrahan, great grand-niece of John O'Mahony, to Dr Diarmuid Ó Mathúna, Dublin; Seamus C. O'Mahony, 'The Laffina Mahonys' in *Iris Mhuintir Mhathúna* (1990), pp 31-4; Eoghan O'Neill, *The golden vale of Ivowen* (Dublin, 2002), pp 544, 555.
- <sup>29</sup>Kickham, 'Apologia' in *Tipperary Advocate*, 10 May 1862.
- <sup>30</sup>Luby 'Personal reminiscences' in *Irish World* (New York), 24 Mar. 1877.
- <sup>31</sup>Cavanagh, 'Our dead comrades', p. 123.
- <sup>32</sup>For a detailed account of the outbreak at Cappoquin, see Anthony M. Breen, *The Cappoquin rebellion 1849* (Suffolk, 1998), pp 37-45; Kiely, *Waterford rebels of 1849*, pp 19-22.