

SAVING THE POPE:

Tipperary's Contribution to the
"Irish Brigade" in 1860

PART ONE

by Denis G. Marnane

Introduction:

*Comrades, are we the hireling slaves
Our country's foe proclaims us? . . .
'Tis not for pay we're here to-day,
Far, far from Tipperary.*

These lines by Charles J. Kickham are from his *Song for the Irish Brigade*, a military force of which he approved and in which his first cousin served.¹ The verses touch on issues of motivation and loyalty. Why, in 1860, would some twelve to thirteen hundred young men from Ireland, a disproportionate number from Tipperary, travel to Italy in order to fight for the Pope as the Irish Battalion² of St Patrick? Certainly not for the money and, as Kickham saw the matter, not even to save the Pope. Rather, the whole glorious adventure was an exercise of the famed Irish martial spirit and in the final verse, Kickham imagined the day when "our plumes will sway in the breeze of Tipperary." For Kickham therefore, it was much more a question of saving Ireland than of saving the Pope. There is no little irony that at a time when there was increasing nationalist "fever" in Ireland, the first substantial opportunity by Irish volunteers to wear military uniforms that were not British, concerned an attempt to defeat nationalism. For Italian nationalists, inspired by Mazzini and Garibaldi, the temporal power of the papacy and its control over central Italy, was a huge obstacle to the unification of their country. And standing against them (a pinprick rather than a wall, it has to be said), over a thousand young Irishmen, motivated by a desire to save the Pope and disoblige the English.

Because the episode was so brief (surfacing late in 1859 and running through 1860) and because it ended in failure on foreign soil, the Papal Brigade has been little remembered and in some minds is possibly confused with the "Pope's Brass Band" (some Irish MPs who in the early 1850s banded together to defend catholic interests in the United Kingdom parliament) or the subsequent "Irish Brigade" (Irish emigrants to the United States who fought in the Civil War). One of the earliest accounts of the episode was also perhaps the most influential. A.M. Sullivan (1830-84), member of a famous Bantry family, was proprietor and editor of the *Nation* (from 1855), a newspaper to the forefront in promoting the papal cause in Ireland and encouraging recruits to its army. In 1877, less than two decades after

these events, Sullivan devoted a chapter in *New Ireland*, his history of modern and contemporary Ireland to them. Aptly called "Papal Ireland," this account was very widely read and Sullivan's book went through countless editions and was found in many homes. His telling of the story is quite personal: "One day, early in March 1860, two gentlemen entered my office in Lower Abbey Street, Dublin . . ." One of these was an Austrian of Irish descent, in Ireland to recruit for the papal army. Whenever in subsequent years newspapers or periodicals published accounts of what happened in 1860, Sullivan was the inevitable and often sole source used.

Fifty years after the recruitment of the Irish Battalion of St Patrick, G.F.H. Berkeley began his research but his account was not published until 1929.³ He was able to talk to some veterans, a few of whom were in workhouses and his account remains the only book dealing exclusively with these events. These eye-witnesses were of limited value as they only had a blurred memory of "three hectic months" fifty and more years earlier. Berkeley's book has some Tipperary references, for example the Kirwan brothers from Thurles, Michael Luther from Clonmel who was a nephew of Bianconi, and John H. Gleeson from Borrisoleigh. These latter two subsequently fought in the American Civil War (for some the Italian campaign provided a training for the far more bloody American slaughter). Archival sources were not available to Berkeley and, apart from the evidence of participants, he relied on Sullivan and contemporary newspapers.⁴

For two reasons, 1929 was a year when catholicism in both Ireland and Italy was in the news. In Ireland, it was the centenary of Catholic Emancipation, the first real opportunity of the newly independent state to demonstrate its fidelity to faith and fatherland. In Italy, the Lateran Treaty between the Vatican and Mussolini's fascist state marked the recognition, each side of the other and the Vatican was financially compensated for the territory it had lost decades earlier. It was this territory that the volunteers from Ireland had done their best to help the Pope retain. In recognition of these links between Ireland and the Holy See, *The Standard* a catholic newspaper published a series of articles between February and May "written specially" (perhaps by Berkeley but certainly using his research) and outlining the story of the Papal Brigade. A second series of articles continued the story into the 1860s.⁵ The writer gave Tipperary due recognition, declaring (without details) that the county led the way in the recruitment drive.⁶ Those mentioned from Tipperary included Luther and William Synan from Clonmel⁷ (who also later fought in the American Civil War) and the Kirwan brothers (Thurles). One of the brothers was stated to have been seventeen years of age.⁸

There was silence about the events of 1860 until the centenary when three of Ireland's best known historians, K.B. Nowlan, R.D. Edwards and T.D. Williams each contributed an essay to a collection called *Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento*.⁹ *The Irish Sword*, an academic journal devoted to Irish military history, published two articles by a grandson of one of the volunteers – a man from Clonmel.¹⁰ As his title indicated, the author's scope was tightly defined. A quarter of a century or so later, *The Irish Sword* published another article, the writer being able to use "several new primary sources," official and personal archives in Ireland, Britain and Italy.¹¹ Edward Norman in his groundbreaking 1965 study of the Irish catholic church briefly discussed the episode.¹² Also published in the 1980s was an academic study of political reactions in England to events in Italy during this period.¹³ This study took note of the political impact of the Irish volunteers

and made considerable use of the correspondence of Odo Russell, unofficial British representative at the Vatican and nephew of Lord John Russell, then British foreign secretary. The relevant volume in Emmet Larkin's ongoing history of the Irish Catholic Church was published in 1987 and discussed the role of the Irish hierarchy, especially Cardinal Paul Cullen.¹⁴ The most recent accounts of the episode looked at the reaction of opinion in Ireland to events in Italy in 1859-60 and a general article appeared in a collection of essays about the Irish College in Rome.¹⁵ None of this material examined the role of volunteers from Tipperary or the impact of the whole business on the county. With a few exceptions, modern works on the county fairly well ignored the events of 1859-60.¹⁶

The Italian Question

When the Kirwan brothers, Philip and Thomas, were growing up in comfortable circumstances in Main Street Thurles where their father's premises was one of the most highly valued (£49), they of course heard about the Pope in Rome during their time in the Christian Brothers schools. Even their most elaborate day-dreams can hardly have included the idea that one day they would venture forth from Thurles and travel to Italy to fight for His Holiness. But as the brothers were coming to manhood, forces were at work bringing political changes to Italy. In order to understand why several hundred young men from Tipperary, most of whom had probably never ventured out of reach of a Tipperary accent, found themselves consuming olive oil (and not liking it), a very brief account of European and Italian politics follows.

A map of Europe suggests that Italy with its natural borders of seas and mountains forms a ready-made political unit but this was far from reality on the ground and one should remember that even today in that country the north-south divide matters. As elsewhere in Europe, Napoleon shattered the status-quo and for a time even imposed his brother-in-law on the throne of Naples (Southern Italy including Sicily) and destroyed the independence of Venice. With Napoleon came ideas of republicanism and Italian nationalism, ideas that survived the efforts to restore the old order once Napoleon was defeated. These beliefs, undefined and various but relating to Italian identity, are known as the *Risorgimento* (in English "resurgence"). The Austrian Habsburgs were left in control of much of northern Italy, a legacy from history and a particular aggravation to nationalists who loathed this "occupation" by a foreign and reactionary power. Also in the north was the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia (with Turin as capital) ruled by the house of Savoy, who eventually triumphed as kings of a united kingdom of Italy. In central Italy the Papal States under Gregory XVI (1831-46) attempted to hold back the tide of change and reform. Gregory was able to ban railways in his territories but had less control over the forces of liberalisation and nationalism. In the South, the Bourbon family was restored to the kingdom of Naples. It was during this period that nationalist leaders like Mazzini (1805-72) and Garibaldi (1807-1882) appeared, conspiring to force change on the peninsula but with different ideas about that change.

With the election of a new pope Pius IX (1846-1878), some administrative reforms were introduced to the Papal States but any movement towards liberalism ended with the events of 1848 when revolutions ignited across Europe (including Ireland). All over Italy the demand was for constitutional reform and even the Pope complied, temporarily. In the north, Piedmont attempted to take advantage of turmoil in Austria and expel the

Hapsburgs from Italian soil. Pius IX indicated that he was not going to further the cause of nationalism in Italy and unrest in Rome was such that his prime minister was assassinated and the Pope had to flee in disguise from his city. A Roman republic led by Mazzini and Garibaldi was proclaimed. By 1850, troops dispatched by the French government (led by Louis Napoleon but not yet emperor) ended this brief interlude and the Pope was restored. Pius IX was convinced that the forces of reform, modernity, liberalism and nationalism were the work of the devil and must at all costs be resisted.

The preservation of the Papal States with French help was problematic: Napoleon was responding to clerical pressure in France and had no philosophical conviction about the policy, though probably not enthused about another strong nation-state in Europe. With the forces of reaction victorious in Italy, the exception was the kingdom of Piedmont where there was a parliament and by 1850, Count Cavour, a clever politician, increased Piedmont's international prestige by, for example, playing a role alongside Britain and France in the Crimean War (1854-56). All of this was in contrast to the policies of reaction and repression in Naples, Rome and the part of northern Italy controlled by the Austrians.

Remarkably, while Piedmont was engaged in increasing its profile and certainly wanted the Austrians out of Italy, Italian unification as such was not on the agenda. Conspiratorial groups continued to plot, wanting not just a unified and liberal Italy but an Italian republic. Two different agendas and neither regarded with favour by the Vatican which saw the machinations of Mazzini and Garibaldi like Lord Fitzgibbon viewed Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen. To get the Austrians out, Piedmont needed allies and in July 1858 a secret deal was hatched between Cavour and the French Emperor Napoleon III (a nephew of the great Napoleon and anxious to emulate his military success), the same man who had sent French troops to Rome in 1850 to save the Pope. The French gained some territory including Nice and the Austrians were goaded into war, thus providing the French with their excuse to intervene. And so the War of 1859 began in late April with the Austrians routed in a series of battles, Solferino (near Lake Garda) being the most famous and the most bloody. (The International Red Cross was founded as a reaction.) Press coverage in Ireland and popular reaction to these events sided with France, not least because one of the French generals was Patrice MacMahon. Napoleon was not minded to get bogged down in a long war and acting unilaterally, negotiated with the Austrians and in July the war was over. What had been achieved? Some territorial adjustments in the north of the peninsula but without anything approaching Italian unification – something France and Austria did not want and Piedmont did not think possible.

The view from Rome was one of great unease at these events but as 1860 dawned the Papal territories seemed safe. What happened next has been variously interpreted and while undoubtedly there was much background intrigue (thankfully not of concern in these pages), in May 1860 Garibaldi erupted out of the shadows and leading his famous



Pope Pius IX

"Thousand" clad in their red shirts, descended on the Kingdom of Naples in order to free its people from despotic and corrupt government. Piedmont's role is unclear but events appear to have gathered their own momentum, outside of the control of politicians. By August, with Sicily under his control, Garibaldi crossed to the mainland and by early September was in Naples, from which the Bourbon king had fled. It was not at all clear in whose name Garibaldi was acting – at times proclaiming the Piedmont king Victor Emmanuel as "king of Italy" and at other times indicating that his agenda was more radical. Though vastly outnumbered by ineptly led Bourbon troops, Garibaldi had the support of the peasants, only too willing to retaliate for generations of oppression and hopeful that land redistribution would be their reward.¹⁸

These events were watched from the capitals of Europe with alarm and from Rome with consternation. The Papal States were caught between Garibaldi's unpredictable but undoubtedly radical agenda in the South and in the North and Piedmont's need to exercise leadership and assert control. In mid-September, troops from Piedmont advanced south into papal territory. Among the troops who tried to stem their advance were the volunteers from Ireland. Back home the hitherto unfamiliar placenames Perugia, Spoleto, Castelfidardo and Ancona became the stuff of everyday conversation, however briefly. Of particular importance in Ireland was the fact that public opinion in Britain supported Garibaldi and when in late October, the British government gave their approval of Piedmont's invasion of the Papal States, this was seen in Ireland as motivated by anti-Roman Catholic prejudice. British opinion viewed the government of the Papal States in much the same way as opinion in the West today views countries like Iran and Saudi Arabia. When, on 27 October, troops from Piedmont reached Naples, Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel met, with the former greeting the latter as the first king of Italy. By then the Irish adventure was effectively over. What remained was getting the volunteers safely back home.

Momentum

"During the winter of 1859-60, the Irish people became involved in Italian affairs to an extent that had never prevailed before and never would again."¹⁹ Catholic opinion was stimulated and indeed agitated by a triple response to the Italian Crisis: firstly by public meetings across the country, then by parish and diocesan collections and finally by volunteers setting forth for Italy to save the temporal integrity of the papacy. In Cashel and Emly, very likely the earliest indication people had that a crisis was on hand was a circular letter from Archbishop Leahy read at all masses on 19 June 1859, asking for prayers for peace between France and Austria in light of the danger this conflict posed for the Pope.²⁰ Normally events in far-off Italy did not impinge on ordinary lives but the extent of public attention may be understood from the ballads of the day. These broadsides reflected popular concerns and from those purchased on the streets of Cashel by John Davis White, various aspects are reflected – for example: *A new song on the Tribute to His Holiness Pope Pius IX* (supporting the collections held to finance the Pope); *Recruiting Song for the Irish Brigade*; *Lines on the Policy of Napoleon against our Holy Father Pope Pius IX* (how Napoleon III will meet the fate of Napoleon Bonaparte for abandoning the Pope) and *A new song called the Irish Brigade in Battle*.²¹

Leading this concern about events in Italy was Ireland's pre-eminent churchman, Paul Cullen (1803-78), archbishop of Dublin since 1852 and prior to his return to Ireland in 1849, long-time resident of Rome. (He was made a cardinal in 1866.) More than anyone in Ireland Cullen understood the importance of the French role in providing protection for the Pope and he knew that everything changed following the deal between France and Piedmont and the withdrawal of this protection.²² In October 1859, Cullen issued a pastoral letter making the case that the preservation and independence of the Papal States was essential and that Pius IX had to be helped in the face of the "fury and perfidy of his wicked enemies".²³ The following month at a meeting with his clergy, Cullen repeated this message, calling on Roman Catholics for their help but not making reference to military intervention.²⁴ Cullen at this stage was minded to fulminate – admonish the British government for its selective support of revolutionary attacks on lawful governments and focus Irish catholic opinion on what was happening in Italy.



Cardinal Paul Cullen

According to one modern historian; "protestants generally looked on in stunned amazement at the sheer fury of Cullen's attack".²⁵ A threat to the Pope's status in Italy was one thing (in a history of nearly two thousand years, one expected institutional ups and downs) but probably more galling was the fact that English opinion and protestant opinion was resolutely allied with the enemies of the Catholic Church. The Anglican establishment in Ireland held its privileged position (Disestablishment was a decade away) and a decade or so on from the Famine, vocations were rising and churches were being built in an Ireland increasingly confident of its catholic identity but at a stage in which enemies had to be confronted. In Cashel and Emly, clergy would have been mindful of the battle waged in the early 1850s against the scripture readers of the Irish Society attempting to win converts to the Church of Ireland.

Doon was the battleground in that conflict and at one stage substantial numbers switched sides.²⁶ Other issues in contention included religious control of education and greater catholic input to the poor law system. In effect, there was a kind of cold war between the two sides and events in Italy were seen as another front in this war. Roman Catholic confidence was on display at a public meeting in Dublin in mid-November, chaired by The O'Donoghue, MP for County Tipperary.²⁷ One of the largest cheers was raised when it was resolved that if England could send money and arms to Garibaldi to assault the Pope, then Ireland would send money and men to defend him.²⁸

These sentiments were repeated, though perhaps not as stridently, at other public meetings around the country. In SS Peter and Paul's parish in Clonmel, some four thousand gathered on Sunday 11 December to witness the passage of a host of resolutions delivered by impassioned speakers, representative of the "professional and mercantile interests" of the town. Considerable preparation went into the meeting and a platform was specially erected covering much of the chancel. The chairman's speech (PP of the parish, Rev Michael Burke) lasted an hour and the resolutions declared support for the status quo and the Pope's enlightened rule over his Italian subjects. No mention of actually fighting for

him.²⁹ A few days later, *The Times* delivered a swipe at Burke, castigating his speech for the "coarseness and virulence" of his attack on the British Empire, declaring confidently that the government was watching him but that such attacks were not serious enough to prompt any response.³⁰ A feature of the coming months and a major vexation to Catholics was the sustained and strident attacks by this newspaper of record, known to be close to the government.

Resolutions similar to those in Clonmel were passed at a meeting in Thurles cathedral, representing the Archdiocese of Cashel and Emyl. On the surface, events in Italy provided the motivation but whoever drew up the resolutions seemed more exercised by attitudes in England, warning for example that those who attacked the power of the Pope were not friends of liberty but "of anarchy and infidelity".³¹ Translation: support revolution abroad and it will come back to bite you at home. A formal address of support was sent to Pius IX from the archbishop. The Thurles meeting on 8 December was deemed inadequate to express the full fury of Tipperary opinion and so another meeting was convened on Wednesday 28 December, attended by the bishop of Killaloe and every Catholic gentleman resident in the county "with one single exception" (unnamed). Generally public meetings were organised on the basis of parish or diocese but this gathering spoke for "We the Catholics of County Tipperary". The speech of The O'Donoghue, MP for the county, struck the note on which the year ended: the Pope had a divine right to temporal sovereignty and the fidelity of Catholic Tipperary would not be found wanting.³² Receiving special notice for his attendance was the seventy-two year old parish priest of Doon. Speeches delivered before the Catholic establishment of the county was one way of getting across the threat to the Pope. Another was on display outside the cathedral – two female ballad singers, probably mother and daughter, holding their audience with "Says the Shan van Voght/ If you give them half a chance/ They'll destroy the Papal power/ Says the Shan van Voght."³³

The new year began with more meetings all over the country. With priests having captive congregations to wind up and the nationalist press further increasing the pressure, public meetings had an important function in sustaining this pressure. On Sunday, New Year's Day 1860, a public meeting was held in Tipperary town in the parish church with the parish priest Dr Howley as chairman. With reference to the attacks in the British press about the despotic government of the papal states, Howley's counter-attack was, according to press reports, regarded by his listeners as particularly hard-hitting. In essence, his point was that any government that "doomed to starvation millions of the Irish during the Famine" was in no position to lecture the world about bad government. Remarks like this meant more to his audience than references to Italian politics however sympathetic people were to the plight of the Pope. With eighteen speakers, including John O'Leary's uncle, this Tipperary town meeting must have been a test of continence.³⁴ On 14 January, a meeting attended by several thousand people was held in the space beside Thurles Cathedral. Speeches followed the usual pattern, unkind things being said at length about Garibaldi. Of interest is the notion that towns in the county were in competition to show their loyalty to Rome. "Why is Nenagh silent?" was one pointed query.³⁵

As one of the more radical Tipperary newspapers, the *Tipperary Advocate*, pointed out in February, talk was cheap and attention was drawn to Archbishop Cullen's plan to hold a collection in Dublin for the Pope, on the first Sunday in Lent. Incidentally, of the county's

newspapers, the *Advocate* based in Nenagh and owned and edited by Peter Gill, a well-known Tipperary land activist and agitator, was the most committed to the papal cause. Gill's nephew John Augustus O'Shea (who became a well known international journalist and writer) was one of those who left Ireland in the summer of 1860 to fight for the Pope in Italy.³⁶ The editorial assumed other dioceses would follow this example of collecting a so-called "Papal Tribute".³⁷ Some weeks later Tipperary was criticised for the fact that nothing appeared to be happening in various parishes, Killenaule, Anacarty and Doon were mentioned specifically.³⁸

By June money was being collected in Killaloe diocese with the *Advocate* declaring that the choice was between supporting "Pio Nono or the Durham Pigmy" (a reference to the Foreign Secretary Lord John Russell who was not a tall man).³⁹ Toomevara parish appears to have one of the first to subscribe, £25 being collected on a Sunday in mid-March and of this sum, £17 was made up of small contributions.⁴⁰ The fact that volunteers were leaving Tipperary for Italy during June probably encouraged people to contribute generously. "At many a cottage fireside there has been a vacant chair for the past six weeks."⁴¹ The publication of subscription lists was also a less sentimental encouragement, especially the lists of shilling contributions. Peter Gill in publishing this information reinforced the point that the exercise was more about Ireland than about Italy, more about Killaloe than about Rome. Parishes like Lorha, from where contributions compared unfavourably with other parishes, were excused because of Famine depopulation.⁴² Bishop Flannery gave £50 and Fr. John Scanlan, administrator of Nenagh, gave £10.⁴³ The final sum contributed by Killaloe was £4,670 (at least a quarter of a million Euro) – an extraordinary sum and surely only explained because the issue had far more to do with Ireland than far-off Italy.⁴⁴

Similar scenes were witnessed in Cashel and Emly Archdiocese. In Tipperary town a preparatory meeting was held in the "chapel" on a Sunday in late May. The parish priest subscribed £10 and his curates £5 each.⁴⁵ The published subscription list suggested that individuals contributed according to their place in the local pecking order. Those giving £5 being the mercantile and farming elite – people like Michael Coleman and Michael Ryan of Rathnaveen (the former rich enough to leave money in his will to bring the Christian Brothers to the town in 1868 and the latter a generous patron of both the parish church and the local Mercy Sisters).⁴⁶ In June Maurice Lenihan of the *Tipperary Vindicator* told his readers that the Pope was in immediate need of large sums of money and quoted a "farmer" as remarking that if two or three pounds might be presented to a curate to buy a horse, then a similar amount was hardly adequate for "the head of the Church of Christ."⁴⁷ In Thurles the collection raised £349, the archbishop contributed £50, the staff and students of St Patrick's £31 and pupils of the Ursuline Convent gave £10.

In early August Archbishop Leahy sent £4,530 to Pope Pius IX and a few weeks later Leahy had a letter from Dr. Kirby, who was in charge of the Irish College in Rome and the primary line of communication between Rome and Irish bishops, describing how he had personally given the money to the Pope.⁴⁸ The sum sent from Cashel Archdiocese was marginally less than from Killaloe, a fact that cannot have pleased. How much was subscribed in a particular parish depended on such factors as the skill of the parish priest in extracting money from his flock, existing demands on generosity such as paying for a new church and the level of subscription from the catholic landowners (if any) in the parish.

For example, in Knocklong, John Ryan of Scarteen gave £18, in Moyne Captain Power Lalor and Dixon O'Keeffe each subscribed £30 and in Boherlahan Bianconi gave £50. Even a cursory examination of the table below suggests that £33 from Knockavilla (Dundrum) and £45 from Golden are fairly miserable. In 1860 the Knockavilla PP was nearly eighty years of age and not on good terms with his archbishop (he left his property to the archbishop of Dublin), while the Golden pastor was unable to prise money from his flock, Pope or no Pope.⁴⁹ The total raised in Ireland for the Pope was around £80,000 – an enormous sum (well over four million euro if looked at in terms of modern spending power).⁵⁰ As one historian remarked: "It is doubtful if any single collection between 1845 and 1882 in aid of any Irish political aim, raised a more impressive sum from public subscriptions in Ireland."⁵¹

Table: Cashel & Emly Parochial Collections for the Holy Father⁵²
(Tipperary and Limerick)

	£		£
Thurles	349	Fethard	137
Cashel	141	Moycarkey	97
Tipperary	255	Bansha	89
Doon	119	Drangan	89
Galbally	78	Loughmore	51
Knocklong	99	Mullinahone	58
Anacarty	50	Kilteely	88
New Inn	77	Clerihan	65
Moyne	168	Boherlahan	107
Borrisoleigh	114	Kilcommon	96
Holycross	87	Knockavilla	33
Gortnahoe	131	Golden	46
Killenaule	91	Cappamore	56
Ballingarry	121	Oola	116
Upperchurch	83	Lattin	110
Drum & Inch	90	Hospital	215
Newport	68	Clonoulty	97
Templemore	193	Cappawhite	74
Murroe	89	Caherconlish	63
Ballybricken	48	Ballynahinch	37
Ballina	48	Kilbeheny	24
Knockainy	75	Pallasgreen	78
Emly	71	Ballylanders	50

Recruitment

In a dispatch from the Vatican dated 31 January 1860, British representative Odo Russell reported to his Foreign Office that the Pope had spoken to him about his wish to enlist volunteers from Ireland in the papal army to help in the defence against Piedmont. The

Pope emphasised that he wished to do this without giving offence to Queen Victoria.⁵³ In a subsequent report Russell emphasised the Pope's doubts – not just about the reaction of the British government but how the cheapness of wine in Italy might prove a fatal attraction for Irishmen.⁵⁴ In order to recruit in Ireland certain mechanisms were put in place. An Austrian notable with the obviously Irish name of Nugent was made grand prior of the Military Order of St John of Jerusalem (also known as the Order of Malta) in Ireland and another Austrian of Irish descent, Count MacDonnell, was appointed his representative in Ireland. (When John Augustus O'Shea of Nenagh, with other men from the county and elsewhere in Ireland, travelled to Italy to fight for the Pope, they were met in Malines in Belgium by a representative of the Order who inducted them into it.)⁵⁵

A.M. Sullivan, owner and editor of *The Nation* newspaper described what happened next:

One day, early in March 1860, two gentlemen entered my office in Lower Abbey Street, Dublin. One was a friend . . . the other was a stranger, apparently a foreigner. 'Here,' said my friend, 'is a gentleman who shares some of those views you have been so hotly urging about defending Rome.' I found in my unknown visitor Count Charles MacDonnell, trusted attache of Field-Marshal Count Nugent and a chamberlain of the Holy Father . . . He came to see what Ireland would do – what aid she would contribute in the military defence of the Roman patrimony. 'We know in Rome,' said he, 'that Garibaldi, with the connivance and secret assistance of the Turin government, is organising an aggressive expedition, but whether to strike at Naples or at us in the first instance, we cannot tell. In any case we shall be attacked this summer. What will Ireland do for us?'

In his account, Sullivan opined that volunteers would not be a problem, assuming the British government did not actually do anything to prevent this but a bigger problem would be the attitude of the Irish bishops, cautious as ever, at least in public, and doubtful about the ability of the papal forces to hold back the enemy at the gate.⁵⁶ Sullivan and Nugent visited some parts of the country, including spending two days with Archbishop Leahy in Thurles.⁵⁷ Archbishops Leahy and Cullen were careful. The former telling the latter: "If anything is done . . . it ought to be done with the utmost caution and within the law."⁵⁸ Cullen set up "Emigration Committees" to facilitate "emigration" to Italy, which of course was perfectly legal.⁵⁹ Sullivan rightly pointed out that the Pope was not in a position to take on a modern military power, even a second-rate one like Piedmont.

The fate of Rome was in the hands of General Christophe de Lamoriciere (1806-65) who was put in charge of its defence. He was French and had fought in North Africa and served as a government minister but when Louis Napoleon came to power in 1850, found himself out of favour and in exile. With an imminent invasion by Garibaldi and/or Piedmont, de Lamoriciere was in need of soldiers from whatever source he could get them.⁶⁰ Ireland with its catholic and martial reputation was a likely source and by the Spring of 1860, Sullivan and a handful of others operating in Dublin were busy with the paperwork necessary to allow a large number of young men emigrate to Italy. One of the earliest to depart was Myles O'Reilly (1825-80), a well educated County Louth gentleman farmer with ties to the catholic establishment, who also had some military experience. He became the officer in charge of the Irish volunteers, known as St Patrick's Battalion.⁶¹

Churchmen in both Rome and Ireland anxious not to break the law about recruitment, had something of a fright when on 16 May, the British government took action. Days prior to this, newspaper reports were of "hundreds" of young men, mainly from Tipperary, Cork

and Kerry and many from "comfortable" farming backgrounds, travelling to Dublin en route to Italy.⁶² The nationalist press was anxious to emphasise the "respectable" backgrounds of these men. A point frequently made was that the calibre of volunteers was much superior to men serving in the British army. Suitability of volunteers was to a large extent the remit of parish clergy who vetted and provided them with recommendations. According to the *O'Carroll Diary*, that priest was approached by around sixty applicants in his parish of Clonoulty but recommended about ten. Undoubtedly, this reflects more than suitability. Personal circumstances such as elderly parents or widowed mothers must have been taken into account.⁶³

On 16 May, from both the Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police, an official "Caution" was issued and circulated. This reminded everyone that the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819 (59 Geo. III, c. 69) was still in force. The fiction was that any such warning was of no interest to individuals emigrating to Italy to work in railway construction. Very large-scale emigration from Ireland was a fact of life during these years. As a Tipperary newspaper commented: "The tide flows onward".⁶⁴ Available statistics confirm the concern expressed in the press that a decade and more after the trauma of the Famine, the island continued to bleed people. Each week, noted one newspaper, departures from Queenstown (Cobh) numbered up to 600 people, mainly between eighteen and thirty years of age, more people than populated many villages.⁶⁵ The actual figure is that 4,578 individuals emigrated from Tipperary in 1860, up by 1,156 on the previous year and the 1859 figure was up by 533 on the year before that.⁶⁶ O'Shea's account described one young man at Thurles station ready to leave for America, when he decided he take the place of a volunteer for whom a passport had been procured but who had not turned up. "Shure if God spares me I can go there (America) afterwards," he declared and calling his sister aside, said "Mary alanna, here's my passage money, give it to the ould woman and tell her I'm gone with the rest of the boys to fight for the Pope."⁶⁷ This enthusiast also left his baggage behind, supporting a point made by other accounts, that many of the volunteers had little or no luggage.⁶⁸

A press report from Thurles on Friday 1 June, noted that there was a kind of fever of desire across the county to "emigrate" to Rome and defend His Holiness but that these same young men, "many of them holding respectable positions" were unsure how to effect their wishes.⁶⁹ This raises matters of motivation and organisation. People like Sullivan and members of the core organising committee in Dublin were anxious always to deny any mercenary motivation on the part of volunteers but as de Lamoriciere later complained, some of the men were a source of trouble when they arrived in Italy because unrealistic promises had been made during recruitment.⁷⁰ Also, some of the more middle class recruits appear only to have thought of themselves as officers once in service to the Pope. The first-hand account written by John Augustus O'Shea (see elsewhere in this Journal) suggests other motivations. With volunteers flocking to serve the Pope from other parts of Catholic Europe, could Catholic Ireland be found wanting in this "new crusade"? Also, the promise of a distinctive "Irish Brigade" would be a wonderful international manifestation of Irish identity. In this context, Rome was advised that it would be a disaster if the volunteers from Ireland were subsumed into other units, or even worse, have English officers put in charge.⁷¹ Finally, in chapter four of the O'Shea account, there is the sustained attack on

British rule in Ireland by a volunteer from Nenagh, making the point that for him at least, the whole enterprise was more about saving Ireland than saving the Pope.

Another aspect of the recruitment phenomenon was noted with satisfaction by the nationalist press. "A sort of defection, if I may so term it, is spreading among the police" and a report continued that from rural areas, resignations were "pouring in" with six resignations cited specifically from Clonmel.⁷² One can see the appeal in the notion that the papal cause was undermining the fabric of the British presence in Ireland and the matter was one where the legend was potentially more influential than the truth. Thomas Larcom the Under Secretary (official in charge of the administration of Ireland) was at the centre of establishing the truth about resignations from both the Dublin and national police forces. During the first six months of 1860, three hundred and sixteen men resigned from the constabulary (excluding Dublin). Comparative figures for 1859 were two hundred and ten and for 1858, two hundred and fourteen. Figures for the Dublin force were 46 resignations in the first half of 1860, compared to 26 for the previous year and 22 for 1858. Larcom was told that it was unclear how many of these men resigned to serve the Pope in Italy. A guess was that one hundred or so of the resignations from the constabulary and half of the resignations from the DMP were of men bound for Italy. Quite a large number of resignations appear to have come from police stationed in Limerick, twenty nine, but from Tipperary only two. The authorities were clear that for these men there would be no return to their pensionable jobs. This makes the point that however many ex-policemen there were in the Irish Brigade, all had made considerable sacrifices, something Archbishop Leahy was aware of.⁷³

By June 1860, local newspapers were reporting what seemed like a rush to Rome. On 4 June a large crowd gathered at Clonmel railway station to see eighty seven volunteers crammed into a third class carriage on route to Italy via Waterford. Some local clergy were at the station to wish the "emigrants" well.⁷⁴ The following day thirty four young men began their journey from this same station.⁷⁵ For many young men it must have seemed a perfect combination – adventure while doing God's work. By mid-June the *Tipperary Advocate* was proclaiming that one hundred volunteers had enrolled in Tipperary and noting with satisfaction the numbers joining Waterford trains in Clonmel station.⁷⁶ During these weeks large numbers of volunteers also joined Dublin trains in Thurles and Templemore, coming from all parts of the county. One of these was John Augustus O'Shea, who with some companions set off from Nenagh on Monday 25 June and whose account is published elsewhere in this Journal.⁷⁷

The response of *The Times* was especially vicious.⁷⁸ "These men (are) setting forth to their deaths and deserve to die without pity from their fellow subjects or from mankind . . . The trade of a mercenary is not a happy one . . ." and so on, putting the case that the Irish volunteers would be cast aside when no longer part of the political game; that the heat and fever of Rome would get them if bullets did not and that there would be no help from home.

The final part of this article will be published in *Tipperary Historical Journal* (2010), the 150th anniversary of the Irish Brigade.

References:

1. Published in *Irishman*, 29 Sept 1860. Also in Maher (ed), *Romantic Slievenamon* (1954), p158.
2. Variously referred to as "Battalion" or "Brigade" – the latter sounding much more impressive. See Appendix.
3. G.F.H. Berkeley, *The Irish Battalion in the Papal Army of 1860* (Dublin, 1929).
4. M.J. Cryan Pancani, New light on the background to the Irish participation in the papal army of 1860 in *The Irish Sword*, xvi, 64 (1986), p.155.
5. *The Standard* (1929) begins 2 February and continued weekly to 16 March. The new series began 4 May and continued to 25 May.
6. *The Standard*, 9 Feb 1929.
7. *The Standard*, 16 Feb 1929.
8. *The Standard*, 16 March 1929
9. Edited by R.D. Edwards.
10. Rev C.P. Crean, The Irish Battalion of St Patrick at the Defence of Spoleto, September 1860 in *The Irish Sword*, iv, 14 (1959), pp. 52-60 and I, 15 (1959), pp. 99-107.
11. See note 4 above.
12. E.R. Norman, *The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion 1859-1873* (London, 1965), pp. 38-52.
13. C.T. McIntire, *England against the Papacy 1858-1861* (Cambridge UP, 1983).
14. E. Larkin, *The Consolidation of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1860-1870* (Dublin, 1987). Some twenty years previously, some attention had centred on Cullen's role in P. MacSuibhne, *Paul Cullen and his Contemporaries* vol iii (Naas, 1965)
15. J. O'Brien, Irish public opinion and the Risorgimento 1859-60 in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxiv, 135 (2005), pp. 289-305; C. O'Carroll, The Papal Brigade of St Patrick in D. Keogh & A McDonnell (eds.) *The Irish College, Rome and Its World* (Dublin, 2005), pp. 167-87.
16. Mentioned for example in J. O'Shea, *Priest, Politics and Society in Post-famine Ireland* (Dublin, 1983), pp. 193-4; also M. Larkin, *Mullinahone: Its Heritage and History* (Committee, 2002) and W.J. Hayes, *Moyne-Templetuohy A Life of its Own*, II (Committee, 2001), pp.41-6. I. Murphy, *The Diocese of Killaloe 1850—1904* (Dublin, 1995), pp.29-30.
17. J.A.S. Grenville, *Europe Reshaped 1848-1878* (London, 1976), pp.229-60; J. Ridley, *Garibaldi* (London, 1974); C.T. McIntire, *England against the Papacy 1858-1861* (Cambridge UP, 1983); G.M. Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy June-November 1860* (2001 ed.).
18. In so far as these events are familiar it is through the di Lampedusa novel *The Leopard* (1958) and the movie version by Visconti, starring Burt Lancaster (1963).
19. Larkin, *Consolidation*, p3.
20. Circular letter, 19 June 1860 (Calendar of *Leahy Papers*, 1859/22, Tipperary Studies, Thurles).
21. D.G. Marnane, The Ballad Collection of John Davis White in THJ (2005), p.70; D.G. Marnane, *An Index to the Ballad Collection of John Davis White of Cashel held in the Early printed Books Department, Trinity College Dublin*, p. 66 (Typescript, Tipperary Studies, Thurles.)
22. O'Brien, *Irish Public Opinion*, p. 290; O'Carroll, *Papal Brigade*, p168.
23. *Morning News*, 10 Oct 1859.
24. *Morning News*, 5 Nov 1859.
25. D. Bowen, *Paul Cardinal Cullen and the Shaping of Modern Irish Catholicism* (Dublin, 1983), p. 200.
26. D. Bowen, *Souperism: Myth or Reality?* (Cork, 1970), pp. 109-10; W.G. Skehan, *Cashel & Emly Heritage* (1993), pp. 271-72.
27. Daniel O'Donoghue was a grand-nephew of Daniel O'Connell and called "The O'Donoghue" in recognition of his headship of a Gaelic family who managed to hold some of their ancestral lands in Kerry. In 1860 he was still in his twenties and the recognised leader of the independent opposition. See R.V. Comerford, *The Fenians in Context* (Dublin, 1985), p.57.
28. *Morning News*, 16 Nov 1859.
29. *Morning News*, 13 Dec 1859; *Tipperary Examiner*, 14 Dec 1859.
30. *The Times*, 15 Dec 1859.
31. *Morning News*, 15 Dec 1859.
32. *Morning News*, 29 Dec 1859; *Irishman*, 7 Jan 1860; *Tipperary Advocate*, 14 Jan 1860; *Tipperary Examiner*, 31 Dec 1859
33. T.A., 3 March 1860. (This report appears to have been reproduced from a Canadian newspaper, written by their correspondent – hence the delay.)

34. *Tipperary Advocate*, 7 Jan 1860. However, it does not appear that volunteers to fight for the Pope were forthcoming from this parish.
35. *T.A.*, 28 Jan 1860; *Tipperary Free Press*, 27 Jan 1860.
36. See O'Shea's account elsewhere in this volume of *THJ*.
37. *T.A.*, 4 Feb 1860
38. *T.A.*, 21 April 1860
39. *T.A.*, 16 June 1860. "Pio Nono" was of course Pius IX.
40. *The Catholic Telegraph*, 17 March 1860.
41. *T.A.*, 14 July 1860.
42. *T.A.*, 30 June, 7 July 1860.
43. A multiple of perhaps 60 has to be used to see these amounts in terms of modern spending power. The bishop's contribution therefore was around three thousand euro.
44. I. Murphy, *The Diocese of Killaloe 1850-1904* (Dublin, 1995), p.29.
45. *Freeman's Journal*, 1 June 1860.
46. Marnane, *To Do and To Teach – a history of the Christian Brothers in Tipperary Town 1868-1994* (Tipperary, 1994), pp.3-5; Marnane, *St Michael's Church Tipperary* (Tipperary, 1999), p.17.
47. *Tipperary Vindicator*, 12 June 1860.
48. Leahy to Pius IX, 6 Aug 1860 and Kirby to Leahy, 20 Aug 1860 (Calendar of Leahy Papers, 1860/24 and 1860/27, Tipperary Studies, Thurles).
49. Skehan, *Cashel & Emly Heritage*.
50. Larkin, *Consolidation*, p.13
51. Comerford, *Fenians*, p.60.
52. *Tipperary Free Press*, 17 July 1860 A small sum was unrelated to any parish.
53. Norman, *Catholic Church*, p.49.
54. Cryan Pancani, *New Light*, p.156.
55. See O'Shea's account elsewhere in this Journal.
56. Sullivan, *New Ireland*, chapter "Papal Ireland".
57. Rev C. O'Dwyer, *Archbishop Leahy* (thesis) "The Influence of the Papacy".
58. Leahy to Cullen, 3 March 1860 – quoted in O'Dwyer, *Archbishop Leahy*.
59. Larkin, *Consolidation*, pp.15-16.
60. *Catholic Telegraph*, 14 April 1860.
61. DNB, xli, pp.930-31; O'Carroll, *Papal Brigade*, pp. 179-80.
62. *The Irishman*, 12 May 1860.
63. O'Dwyer. *Archbishop Leahy*
64. *Clonmel Chronicle*, 24 May 1860.
65. *Cork Examiner*, 20 May 1860.
66. W.E. Vaughan & A.J. Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Irish Historical Statistics Population 1821-1971* (Dublin, 1978), p.306.
67. O'Shea account.
68. *Catholic Telegraph*, 9 June 1860; *F.J.*, 14, 20 June 1860.
69. *Freeman's Journal*, 2 June 1860.
70. Berkeley, *Irish Battalion*, p.39
71. Archbishop Leahy to Dr Kirby, 6 Aug 1860 (quoted in O'Dwyer, *Archbishop Leahy*)
72. *F.J.*, 2 June 1860.
73. *Larcom MSS 7581* (NLI)
74. *T.A.*, 9 June 1860
75. *F.J.*, 6 June 1860.
76. *Catholic Telegraph*, 16 June 1860; *T.A.*, 23 June 1860.
77. *T.A.*, 23, 30 June 1860.
78. *The Times*, 5 June 1860

APPENDIX

Applications for Foreign Passports 1 May – 30 June 1860
(R129/60, Box 830, CSORP 1860, NAI)

Priests listed making recommendations for passports for volunteers

(Addresses of applicants are not given. Therefore this information about particular parishes is the only way to connect the men to specific parts of the county.)

	Number of Applicants
Fr John Power Borrisoleigh (CC 1847-68) PP Ballingarry 68-7	[29]
Fr John Fennelly Templemore (CC Templemore 1849-65) PP Anacarty 65-92 "ardent repealer" "active Land Leaguer"	[12]
Fr Thomas Mullaney Drom (PP Drom 1827-69)	[21]
Fr William Wall Thurles (Adm 1857-64) PP Murroe 79-90 "ambitious but of mediocre talent"(Fr James O'Carroll diary)	[24]
Fr Edmond Maher (Meagher) Mullinahone (CC Mullinahone 1859-62) PP Ballina 82-09 "holy but impractical"	[12]
Fr John Butler Gortnahoe (PP Gortnahoe 1847-77)	[20]
Fr John Phelan Clonmel – Waterford diocese (CC Clonmel SS Peter & Paul 1857-64)	[4]
Fr William Cooney Clerihan x2 (PP Clerihan 1859-69) PP Caherconlish 69-89 Bad relations with PPs when CC – Croke disliked him – pro Ten Rt movement	[15]
Fr Andrew Walsh Clonmel – Waterford diocese (CC Clonmel SS Peter & Paul 1856-72)	[15]
Fr John Scanlan Nenagh – Killaloe diocese (Adm Nenagh 1855-61) PP Toomevara 61-71	[7]
Fr Richard Cahill Thurles (CC Thurles 1851-63) PP Tipperary 84-03 very political	[9]
Fr Thomas O'Carroll Clonoulty (PP Clonoulty 1855-65)	[13]
Fr Philip Fitzgerald Ballingarry (PP Ballingarry 1852-69)	[27]
Fr John Ryan Moyne (CC Moyne 1857-63) PP Ballingarry 71-85	[16]
Fr John Ryan New Inn (PP New Inn 1855-91) very political	[4]
Fr William Kirwan Boherlahan (PP Boherlahan 1829-69)	[12]
Fr John Bourke Moycarky (PP Moycarky 1853-91)	[10]
Fr Philip Scanlan Killenaule (CC Killenaule 1856-67)	[15]
Fr Thomas Finn Ardfinnan –Waterford diocese (CC Ardfinnan 1856-67) PP Newcastle 74-84	[10]
Also	
Surgeon Thomas J. Crean Clonmel - MD of Brighton Place married to Clara Kickham 1st cousin of CJ – brother Michael J. a volunteer	[11]
Total 286	

PASSPORT APPLICANTS

Fr Power Borrisoleigh [29]

Ryan John
 Maher Michael
 Ryan Stephen
 Delany John
 O'Connor Andrew
 Burke James
 Maher Michael
 Burke Michael
 Maher Patrick
 Lee Thomas
 Ryan Patrick
 Kennedy Patrick
 Brien James
 Doyle Nicholas
 Ryan James
 Kelly Patrick
 Guilfoyle John
 Kennedy Patrick
 Harrington James
 Kelly Patrick
 Neal Richard
 Hogan Daniel
 Quinn James
 Ryan Thomas
 Ryan John
 Murphy Michael
 Kenny Jeremiah
 Ryan Patrick
 Ryan John

Fr Fennelly Templemore [12]

Guilfoyle Patrick
 Burke James
 Sullivan Michael
 Fogarty Michael
 Doolan Michael
 Tracy John
 Meade Mark
 Peterson Peter
 Walsh John
 Kennedy Timothy
 Tracy John
 Doheny Edward

Fr Mullally Drom [21]

Ryan John
 Long James
 Cahill Philip
 Ryan Jeremiah
 Ryan Joseph
 Ryan John
 Hickey Patrick
 Carroll Michael
 Shanahan Lawrence
 Ryan Joseph
 Ryan Thomas
 Stapleton John
 Casey James
 Egan Michael
 Ryan Michael
 Maher William
 Duggan Richard
 Corby Timothy
 Gleeson John
 Bourke Thomas
 Bohan James

Fr Wall Thurles [24]

Crofts Michael
 Boles John
 Dillon John
 Keane John
 Walsh Stephen (Interviewed
 1912)
 Ryan Patrick
 Scott William
 Stokes John
 Hunt James
 Maher John
 Hayes Nicholas
 Dwyer Patrick
 Lacy James
 Cahill John
 Brien John
 Heaney William
 Ryan John
 Doherty Michael
 Brien Michael

Shanahan William
 Grogan Daniel
 Delahunty Ned
 Walsh Patrick
 Walsh James

Fr Maher Mullinahone [12]

Sullivan Cornelius
 Ryan John
 White John
 Day Nicholas
 Kennedy Richard
 Carbery John
 Kelly Nicholas
 Cashin Martin
 Hanrahan John
 Canfield John
 Cryan Michael
 Kickham John (James)

Fr Butler Gortnahoe [20]

Lalor James
 Hayes George
 Maloney John
 Manton John
 Cormack John
 Ryan James
 Manton Michael
 Murphy Edward
 Kennedy John
 Kerwick Denis
 Brennan Malachy
 Buckley John
 Alexander Mathew
 Rochford James
 Murphy Richard
 Carroll James
 Dunne William
 Holihan Michael
 Maher Thomas
 Murphy James

Fr Phelan Clonmel [4]

Sheedy Stephen
 Mahony Richard
 Smyth Michael
 Stack Michael

Fr Cooney Clerihan

x2 [5] [10]
 Noonan Thomas
 Waters Peter
 Ryan William
 Hackett William
 Kirby Michael
 Burke James
 Waters James
 Ryan Patrick
 Hartigan John
 Lonergan William
 Cormack Thomas
 Crowe James
 Bon?? Richard
 Ryan John
 O'Neill Stephen

Fr Walsh Clonmel [15]

O'Brien Denis
 O'Brien William
 Flynn John
 O'Neill William
 Keffe Patrick
 Walsh Patrick
 Conway Andrew
 O'Donnell Thomas
 Butler John
 Butler John
 Maloney Michael
 Fitzgerald Gerard
 Synan William
 Mara Daniel
 Neill Patrick

Fr Scanlan Nenagh [7]

Hector Daniel
 Gleeson John
 Grady James
 McMahan Joseph

O'Shea John A
 O'Leary John
 Toohy James

Fr Cahill Thurles [9]

Dwyer John
 Hogan Thomas
 Kennedy Thomas
 Hackett Edward
 Kett (?) John
 Wall Patrick
 Dwyer James
 McCormack William
 Riordan James

Fr T O'Carroll Clonoulty [13]

Ryan John
 Duggan Patrick
 Devane Thomas
 Nevin Peter
 Trichy William
 Ryan Michael
 Croagh William
 Toohy Michael
 Dee Cornelius
 Ryan Daniel
 Ryan Joseph
 Ryan John
 Turner John

Fr Fitzgerald Ballingarry [27]

Frisby Richard
 Finn Thomas
 Ryan Martin
 Walsh Michael
 Purcell Tom
 Brit Michael
 Kelly John
 Dempsey Joseph
 Costello Patrick
 Falkiner William
 St John Michael
 Doran Malachy (?)
 Duggan James
 Marnell Joseph
 Bryan James

Gleeson James
 Quealy (?) Michael
 Quealy (?) James
 Slattery John
 Cavanagh Denis
 St John James
 Smyth William
 St John John
 Ryan Denis
 Blake Thomas
 Bourke Thomas
 Brit Michael

Fr Ryan Moyne [16]

Fogarty John
 Lowry Michael
 Bourke Richard
 Liston John
 Egan James
 Maher Denis
 Purcell John
 Mara Thomas
 Purcell Thomas
 Dunn Michael
 Cormack John
 Connel Patrick
 Dogharty Denis
 Egan Mathew
 Tierney Patrick
 Doyle Patrick

Fr Ryan New Inn [4]

Butler Michael
 Connors David
 Ryan Patrick
 Heffernan Thomas

Fr Kirwan Boherlahan [12]

Walsh Michael
 Kelly Daniel
 Bolland Cornelius
 Brien Thomas
 Ryan John
 Carew John
 Hall (?) John
 Kennedy Michael

Heffernan Patrick
 Cashen William
 Kennedy Patrick
 Gleason Thomas

Fr Bourke Moycarkey [10]

Griffin James
 Fogarty Philip
 Hayes Edmund
 Maher Michael
 Donahoe Daniel
 Barron Patrick
 Dwyer Edmund
 Carroll James
 Flanagan James
 Hogan Michael

Fr Scanlan Killenaule [15]

Ackins Patrick
 Cantwell Thomas

Maher Denis
 Doheny James
 Ryan Edmund
 St John John
 Egan Thomas
 Maher Edmund
 Walsh Patrick
 Guinan Timothy
 Minay (?) Denis
 Tobin John
 Dalton John
 Comans Edmund
 Keanney (?) William

Fr Finn Ardfinnan [10]

Hennessy William
 O'Brien James
 Whelan William
 Murphy Philip
 McGrath Patrick

Gridera (?) Cornelius
 Dillon Peter
 Maher John
 Carroll John
 Fitzpatrick Thomas

Surg. J Crean Clonmel [11]

Mockler James
 Keating James
 Gavin Edmund
 O'Meagher James
 Cormack Andrew
 Power Matthew
 Hackett Patrick
 Keating William
 Meehan James
 O'Dwyer James
 Power John

This official British government source returns 1,131 names, whereas Berkeley (his Appendix E) gives the number of Irish engaged in the campaign as 1,036. Appearance on the government list does not automatically mean that the individual went to Italy. Berkeley also states that an Italian source dated 1 August 1860 gave 1,108 as the number.

A large proportion of the volunteers from Ireland were from County Tipperary. During the celebrations in Mullinahone to mark the return of the volunteers in November 1860, James Mockler a Brigade member declared that 450 men from the county had served in Italy. This same number was mentioned by the *Tipperary Advocate* in April 1861.

The government source above gives 286 names, to which some others may be added. Stephen Walsh in his November 1912 interview in the *Tipperary Star*, remembered some names, men who had left Thurles with him a half-century earlier. He was the last surviving volunteer living in Thurles and some of the names mentioned do not appear in the government list. (See Part Two in THJ (2010))

Stephen Walsh's List (Thurles & District)

James Hunt, Quarry Street
 John Maher, Church Lane
 James Cleary, Stradavoher
 Tom Cahill (employed as drapers' assistant, Main St)
 John Gleeson, Fishmoyne (John H. Gleeson)
 Joe Gleeson, Fishmoyne
 Philip & Thomas Kirwan, Main Street
 Thomas Kennedy, Westgate (shoemaker)
 Treacy brothers, Garryvicleheen, (masons)
 Mick Cummins, Pudding Lane
 Dan Gwydir (sic), Littleton
 John Butler, Turtulla
 Tom Dwyer, Pudding Lane
 Michael Crofts, Railway Road

In Mullinahone in November 1860, with Charles J. Kickham as chief organiser, the return of local volunteers was celebrated. (See Part Two in *THJ* (2010)) A document written by Kickham but purporting to come from the volunteers, was signed by the following:

James Kickham, James Mockler, John O'Donnell, Pierce Quirke, Thomas Bolger, Thomas O'Shea, Richard Carrigan, William Crotty, John Phelan, Patrick Freney, John Guider, John Dea, James Strapp, Michael Hogan, Martin Funchion, James Funchion, Richard Kennedy, Thomas Goolsberry, John Maher, Nicholas Dea, Owen Shea, Michael Doran, Patrick Morris, Denis Kerwick, Edmond Maher, Con Sullivan, John White, Edmond Kelly, Patrick Moroney.