SAVING THE POPE:

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

PART TWO

by Denis G. Marnane

Introduction

In November 1912, Stephen Walsh of Thurles was interviewed by a local newspaper.[1] It was fifty two years since he and others had left Thurles on their great adventure, a journey to Italy to fight for the Pope. Born in 1838 and thus twenty-two in 1860, he was seventy-four when interviewed and described as probably the only survivor of the Brigade in Thurles. He was living alone and in poverty in Quarry Street. A native of the town, like many other volunteers in 1860, he was a shop assistant, old enough to be discontented and young enough to want some adventure. Walsh described how he and perhaps twenty-five others from the district departed from Thurles railway station on 17 June (a week earlier than John Augustus O'Shea's departure)[2] and looking back over half a century, he remembered the names of some of his companions: James Hunt, Quarry Street; John Maher, Church Lane; James Cleary, Stradavoher; Tom Cahill a shop assistant; John Gleeson, Fishmoyne who achieved some distinction in both the papal army and later in the United States army; Joe Gleeson, Fishmoyne; the brothers Philip and Thomas Kirwan whose family had a business in the town; Tom Kennedy, Westgate, a shoemaker; the Treacy brothers who were masons in Garryvicleheen; Mick Cummins, Pudding Lane; Dan Gwydir, Littleton; John Butler, Turtulla; Tom Dwyer, Pudding Lane and Michael Crofts, Railway Road.

Looking at these addresses, one is reminded of the line from Yeats about "hurl(ing) the little streets upon the great" (*No Second Troy*). This mixture of artisan and shop assistant was very much the background from which the Fenians were drawing their adherents during this same period. That Thurles produced a substantial number of volunteers (33 names in the list of passport applications, the largest number from the county[3]) is hardly surprising in the context of the large scale meetings in the town the previous December and January. The enthusiastic money collecting no doubt encouraged some young men to do more than pay – they wanted to play their parts in what was seen not just as a threat to their catholicism but closer to home, a challenge to their nationality. Also Archbishop Leahy was actively involved in planning and financing the recruitment of volunteers to join the papal army.[4]

The route as Stephen Walsh remembered it, was the same as that described by John Augustus O'Shea. By train to Dublin and the North Wall where together with some 150

other volunteers, he caught a ship ironically named "The Windsor" and with thousands to wave them off, began the long journey to the Papal States.[5] From Dublin to Liverpool where they joined other contingents and on by train to Hull. "Old Stephen Walsh has a vivid recollection of a hostile crowd with a band assembling outside the hotel in Hull where his squad was entertained. The band played and the crowd indulged in shouts of 'No Popery' etc." This is precisely confirmed by O'Shea, (whose contingent joined with those who had earlier left Ireland) and reinforced the idea held by the volunteers that attacks on the Pope were attacks on them. What happened to Stephen Walsh will be returned to but the nature of the choice made by Walsh and others should be understood. On the one hand, people were leaving home every day and emigrating, some to America or Australia but looked at another way, for someone like Walsh who presumably had never stirred far from his native town, travelling to Europe was in many ways a greater encounter with what was foreign than going to the States.

Just as foreign to ordinary people was the politics of Europe. Yes, the Pope was in Rome which he ruled but of more interest was France and the figure of Marshal Patrice (Patrick) MacMahon who led the armies of France and Piedmont to victory in June 1859 against Austria in the battle of Magenta in northern Italy. On a broader front, an Austrian defeat was not in the Pope's interest. With his Irish name and ancestors from Limerick/Clare, the Irish nationalist press took a great deal of pride in MacMahon and much attention centred on raising money to present him with a specially made sword.[6] The Emperor of the French Napoleon III was another matter. The safety of the Pope to some extent depended on him but he was not to be trusted. Early in 1860, Archbishop Leahy described him as "the incarnation of all wickedness" and speaking in his cathedral in October 1860, Leahy castigated "that dark man calling himself the Eldest Son of the Church" and reminded his congregation of the island of St. Helena where the first Napoleon ended his days.[7] By the late 1850s a host of factors came together to threaten the authority and independence of Pope Pius IX (1846-78). These included the increased resentment by Italian nationalists about the Austrian occupation of part of northern Italy; the historic political division of the Italian peninsula; the even more historic role of the papacy as a temporal power in control of central Italy and the ambitions of personalities such as the French emperor, Cavour the prime minister of Piedmont (capital Turin) the leading Italian state, together with Italian nationalists Mazzini and Garibaldi.

Late in 1859 and during the early months of the following year, catholic opinion in Ireland and of course Tipperary was stirred to do something. The response was threefold. First came public meetings, such as in Thurles on 28 December 1859, to proclaim loyalty to the Pope and outrage against his enemies, not least the English. There followed parish subscriptions to a "Papal Tribute", for example raising between four and five thousand pounds respectively in Cashel and Killaloe dioceses – an enormous sum of money (perhaps in aggregate a half million euro). Finally, and answering British gibes that talk was cheap and an Irish speciality, the recruitment in Ireland of volunteers to serve in the papal army.[8] This was successful, raising in total over one thousand volunteers. This figure could have been higher but in July, instructions were issued from Rome that more Irish recruits were not required.[9]

During May and June 1860, according to the record of passport applications, 1,131 individuals made preparations to leave Ireland for Italy.[10] The vast majority of applicants gave "the continent" as their destination, not wanting to cause trouble for themselves or those organising their departure, by breaking the *Foreign Enlistment Act* of 1819, which the government was kind enough to bring to public attention on 16 May. This reminded everyone of the penalties faced by British subjects enlisting in foreign armies and indeed by anyone providing transport for individuals intent on enlistment. The government's own legal advice, while recognising elements of a conspiracy such as the role of the catholic clergy in recruitment by using their pulpits to rouse members of their congregations to action, acknowledged the difficulty. After all, emigration far from being illegal was one of the central facts of life in post-Famine Ireland. That young men were leaving the country in batches intending to find work building Italian railways, was the thinnest of fictions and obviously such. However legal advice was that nothing could be done by the government.

Table: Tipperary Passport Applications – by parish.[11]

Parish	Number	Parish	Number
Thurles	33	Clonoulty	13
Clonmel	30	Templemore	12
Borrisoleigh	29	Mullinahone	12
Ballingarry	27	Boherlahan	12
Drom	21	Ardfinnan	10
Gortnahoe	20	Moycarky	10
Ballingarry	16	Nenagh	7
Killenaule	15	New Inn	4
Clerihan	15		

The number departing from Tipperary was totally disproportionate -a quarter of the passport applications. Stephen Walsh was among those listed for Thurles and John Augustus O'Shea for Nenagh. Between this paperwork and actual departure, it was probable that some of the applicants changed their minds – perhaps cold feet or family circumstances. O'Shea for example mentions one of those supposed to travel not turning up at Thurles railway station. Also, there were applications outside the period specified in this source. The Table also points towards all the parishes not listed, though it should be said that in some instances individuals from neighbouring parishes joined the primary contingent gathering in a locality. Nevertheless, there were many parishes in the county in which every young man was deaf to archepiscopal and papal pleas. Tipperary and neighbouring parishes for example - were the priests in these parishes less than enthused about the enterprise? One can imagine how the process might have worked – an energetic local priest, impassioned sermons, a few responsive young men stirred by religious, nationalist and selfish motives variously felt and lastly the undoubted impact of peer pressure.

In parishes throughout Tipperary in the summer of 1860, police watched and reported to their superiors in Dublin.[12] From Toomevara on 21 May, it was noted that Fr. Flannery denounced in very strong language the public notices about the *Foreign Enlistment Act* and

advised that it should be ignored as people could not be prevented from emigrating.

Flannery pointed out that when Irish bones were left bleaching in trenches in the Crimea or on the banks of the Ganges or along the canals of America, emigration was not an issue.[13] From Borrisoleigh by mid-May, priests had taken the names of twenty young men, a figure it was suggested that might rise to sixty. Eleven men departed in the company of a dismissed policeman named Bourke and a John Chadwick of Borrisoleigh was suspected of being employed to get recruits but there was no actual evidence. John Gleeson was reported to have left Borrisoleigh on 11 June, in the company of sixty volunteers. Whatever about all these rumours and stories, there were twenty nine passport applications for men recommended by Fr. John Power, curate in Borrisoleigh (1847-68).

Gleeson had formerly served in the Dublin Metropolitan Police and had a brother still in that force. That members of the police were resigning in order to volunteer was a matter of concern but was very exaggerated. *The Times* reflected this concern, for example quoted a Tipperary newspaper: "Throughout Tipperary and Limerick the police are everywhere resigning."[14] A few days later police in the former county were reporting stories that colleagues were being offered up to £20 to join the volunteers, together with other inducements. On 11 June ten individuals departed from Thurles, led by Michael Crofts whose father had served in the police.[15] From Clonmel, police, in a report dated 12 June, noted that twenty young men had departed on that day by train for Waterford, accompanied by John Walsh, who had purchased the tickets and that Walsh had a brother in the police. Two days later, another batch of ten had left and again Walsh appeared to be in charge.

Out of Ireland

For most of those who travelled to Italy, leaving Ireland was not a small thing. Not everyone was impressed with these Irish. On Saturday 16 June, an irate British subject wrote from Germany to the Foreign Secretary. He explained how the previous Tuesday he had been at the railway station in Dresden and encountered some two hundred Irishmen on their way to join the Pope's army. "It is long since I have seen such a miserable lot of ragamuffins, two-thirds at least boisterously tipsy and a considerable number so dead drunk that they could not stand." After describing the range of ages and that many were under-sized and sickly, the account continued: "In the whole assemblage I did not see ten who would have passed muster for the army, navy or police in England. The railway officials informed me that several other gangs had lately passed through, scarcely less ragged and drunken than these." The writer's point was that the passage through Germany of such men was a disgrace and embarrassment to England and that it would have been better had they gone by sea.[16] What cannot be known is the degree to which this witness was giving his prejudices an outing and turning high-spirited Irishmen on their way to save the Pope into a bunch of misfits and drunks. That alcohol was being consumed on the journey seems not beyond possibility but the splenetic description perhaps says more about anti-Irish and anti-catholic feelings than about the volunteers. Michael Crofts of Thurles, in a letter home, described how they encountered someone whom he took to be an English agent, who had done his best to get them drunk. Crofts and the other "Tipperary boys" had successfully resisted the temptation.[17]

The most detailed account of the early stages of the journey to Italy, from any part of the country, is that of John Augustus O'Shea of Nenagh.[18] Published in the *Tipperary Advocate,*

his uncle's newspaper in November and December 1860, the six articles end suddenly, probably because of the writer's illness contracted in Italy, and so the reader is abandoned in Belgium. The remainder of the journey was through Germany, Vienna and Trieste before finally arriving on papal territory. (Trieste was then Austrian.) O'Sullivan in his *New Ireland* reflecting Archbishop Leahy's opinion, explained that travel through France was avoided because of "deep mistrust" of Napoleon III. While it would have been wonderful to have as detailed a description of the rest of the journey and the campaign in Italy, O'Shea's narrative is very much in the voice of someone for whom the enterprise is a great adventure and an expression of Irish identity. Clearly, these were factors but the various voices orchestrated by O'Shea make it clear that the primary motivation related to a desire to slap England on the face – an England that encouraged the Pope's enemies; that supported nationalism in Italy while suppressing it in Ireland; that denied Irishmen the right to bear arms and that had allowed Famine and continued to encourage depopulation.

O'Shea and a few companions left Nenagh on the morning of Monday 25 June 1860 and along the way over the next few days, at Thurles, Dublin, Hull and Malines (Belgium) the contingent grew in number. At Antwerp, the volunteers were met by a man from Waterford, an agent for the Irish hierarchy who accompanied them by train to Malines. This was the major gathering point for Irish volunteers, the first contingent having arrived in mid-May and hundreds more, including the Tipperary men, during June.[19] It was only at that point that the Irishmen signed up for service with the papal army. This meant joining the military order of St. John of Jerusalem which committed the Irishmen to several years of military discipline in the service of the Pope. Known as the Battalion of St. Patrick, the Irish were promised that they would have a national identity and would not simply be absorbed into other units.[20] The entire enterprise – recruitment, vetting, financing, transport – required considerable organisation. The pay, amounting to a penny-halfpenny a day, was far less than many of the volunteers had been used to, not to mention possible discontent over conditions, especially the heat and the food.[21] Archbishop Cullen for example was pessimistic, not least because of over-selling by some parochial clergy. "I fear that many will go out warm friends and return enemies" he wrote in May 1860 to a colleague in Rome.[22]

O'Shea's account (published late in1860 when the adventure was over) ended with the volunteers having arrived in Malines in Belgium but his uncle's newspaper the *Tipperary Advocate* published occasional letters from him during the months he was out of Ireland. Writing from Bodenbach (then part of the Austrian empire) on 2 July, O'Shea explained about the journey since leaving Ireland a week earlier.[23] On 30 June, he and his companions were in Cologne and the following night was spent in Leipzig. He expected to travel on to Vienna where they would remain a week or so. Some of the men grumbled, O'Shea admitted, but this was of no consequence. Indicating a certain juvenile delight in uniforms, probably shared by all the volunteers, details included its green colour with red facings, rank being indicated by shamrocks on the collar. (Unkindly described by one witness as looking "like a salad garnished with eggs".[24]) This was theory, in practice the Irish volunteers had to make do.[25] An editorial in the issue of the newspaper that carried O'Shea's letter reinforced the symbolic importance of the Irish volunteers having a distinctive uniform. It might almost be said that the whole point of the volunteers going to Italy was to wear a distinctive military uniform. Tom Kennedy of Thurles whose letter to his

mother is referred to below, was certainly of this opinion, mentioning the hand-me-down uniforms they were presently wearing and was looking forward to entering Rome "with flying colours and the uniform of green."[26]

Michael Crofts who wrote to his mother in Thurles from Schottwien in Lower Austria on 30 June, explained that he was with some four hundred other volunteers and that they were spread out across several villages. He was at pains to emphasise the respectable social background of most of the men and their anxiety to be on their way to Ancona in papal territory. It was clear that for Crofts, the enemy was not Piedmont, about which he likely knew little. The enemy was England and he took delight in the thought that the mere fact of the "Irish Brigade" was an irritant. Even in non-metropolitan Austria, English treachery was at their heels. Crofts lodged in a house with ten other "Tipperary boys" and ten "Dublin lads" and a stranger began "feeding them wine" – more effectively with respect to the Dubliners who became "half-drunk". Crofts knew that this generosity was not locally generated "for the people here are great misers" and so he got his colleagues to see the light and chase their "benefactor" out of town.[27]

In a later letter, written from Ancona several weeks later (9 August), he looked back fondly at his two weeks in Schottwien.[28] "While there we had nothing to do" and the locals were very friendly and helpful. Subsequently, things became tougher. Deprived of adequate sleep and food, which he endured because of his belief in the importance of what they were doing. Unfortunately and shamefully others gave in and went home. Now however, everything had improved and Crofts ventured the opinion that an attack on the Papal States was unlikely. A number of reasons were cited: the leadership of the papal army by General La Moriciere "worth in himself a whole army"; the level of international support "(soldiers) are arriving here every day from Austria and the status of the pope "undaunted in the midst of storms". Perhaps Michael Crofts believed all this or he may have been reassuring the folks at home. Elsewhere in his letter he made a comment that should have pushed him towards a more pessimistic view. "The people of Italy are very much in favour of Garibaldi" and he finished by saying "but are greatly afraid of the Irish."[29]

William Hughes who had seen service in India wrote from Rome on 3 July to his sister in Clonmel recounting his journey, his route being through London where he and others were met by an agent of the organisers and getting five shillings each for expenses, they crossed to Boulogne in France. Travelling by road to Paris, they were met by a priest who looked after them and put them on the train to Marseilles. Their journey took two days and a night. Once in Marseilles, they signed the necessary papers that committed them to four years service "but we did not take the oath". Some one hundred and twenty men, including some ex members of the Dublin police, made the final part of their journey, to Rome where Hughes noted that the 500 or so Irish volunteers there were well treated but that a few were dissatisfied because they were not made officers. The previous night (2 July) they were presented with their flag, one side green with the figure of St. Patrick, the other side blue with the figure of the Virgin Mary. On 4 July, his company was to set off for Spoleto, a journey of some eighty miles.[30]

With considerable glee, *The Times* in late July reported that sixty-nine men had arrived back in Dublin, thus indicating disarray in the catholic cause.[31] Undoubtedly, some of the volunteers went to Italy expecting officer status and financial reward. With regard to some

others, the vetting process was inadequate and the combination of disappointed expectations, climate, food and of course wine probably encouraged any predisposition to ill-discipline (one report declared that men from Dublin, Kerry and Limerick City were the worst behaved – no mention of Tipperary!). Exact figures are unclear but those who left good jobs, such as the police, appear to have been especially unhappy. One newspaper report mentioned some forty former members of the Irish constabulary being discharged en masse.[32] For most if not all of the others, any romantic notions they had of "saving the Pope" were soon dissipated by lack of organisation on the ground, difficult conditions generally and the fact that local populations in the papal territories were not inclined to see the Irish as God's gift to the Pope.

Put starkly: were the volunteers mercenaries or crusaders? It was a point of honour for some Volunteers to refuse the so-called "Bounty", enrolment money worth between £4 and £5, claiming that accepting made them seem like mercenaries.[33] Just over 200 volunteers who left Ireland, changed their minds, refused to enlist and returned home, while another seventy five or so were later sent home.[34] By mid-July Vatican officials were writing to Cullen in Dublin to ensure that no more volunteers were dispatched from Ireland. This was not just a response to some Irish living up to and probably surpasssing their ethnic reputation but also was a matter of finance and logistics.[35] Also, working against a sense of esprit de corps was the fact that the Irish volunteers were split between various centres.

The papal territories spread across central Italy, included such provinces as the Marches, Umbria and the Patrimony of St. Peter (including Rome) and were held with the help of French and Austrian troops. One province Romagna had been lost in 1859. Without getting mired in international politics and Italian geography, by the summer of 1860 papal territories were threatened from the north by the troops of Piedmont and from the south by the army led by Garibaldi who had swept across Sicily and up through southern Italy and into Naples. The worst case scenario for Italian nationalists was that the Austrians would recover their nerve from their defeat at the hands of the French in1859 and together with papal forces defeat Piedmont in a conservative triumph. The role of the French was problematic. Napoleon for reasons of French domestic politics and contrary to his personal inclination found himself supporting the pope and thus was on the same side as Austria.[36]

The man with the responsibility of making something of the thousand or so volunteers from Ireland was Major Myles O'Reilly (1825-80).[37] From a distinguished catholic family, he was educated in England and Rome and in the 1850s established himself as a landed gentleman in county Louth becoming a magistrate and captain in the local militia. Socially acceptable, a committed Roman Catholic, with some military experience and Italian contacts, O'Reilly was involved in the enterprise from around April 1860 and arrived in Rome (with his wife) in late June. Over the following weeks he was faced with the task of turning the recruits from Ireland into professional soldiers. The "Battalion of St. Patrick" was divided into eight companies, four of which were sent to garrison the well fortified coastal town of Ancona in The Marches on the Adriatic coast, while the remainder went sent to Spoleto, a hill town in Umbria, north of Rome. The Irish were part of some eighteen thousand troops at the service of the Pope and totally inadequate. Most were Italian, with five thousand Austrian and the remainder Irish, Swiss, Belgian and a few hundred French.[38]

(A point of interest is that several hundred volunteers from Britain had also travelled to Italy – to join with Garibaldi – so that Her Majesty's subjects were to be found on opposing sides.)

In mid-August the press carried extracts from some letters from volunteers, among whom there was an expectation that their expedition to Italy might last several years.[39] One may imagine the extent to which these letters from far-off Italy were passed around. In a letter from Ancona dated 22 July Tom Kennedy a shoemaker from West Gate in Thurles wrote to his mother that neither the Kirwan Brothers nor Martin Brien were with him in Ancona but that he was sure they were safe and that John Gleeson from Borrisoleigh who had brought a batch of young men with him, had been made a junior officer. (Gleeson, then twenty-two years of age, was one of a number of veterans of the Italian campaign recruited in 1861 by the bishop of New York to fight for the Union in the civil war. Gleeson rose through the ranks becoming a major-general. He died in 1889 and is buried in Arlington.[40]) Kennedy continued his account by reassuring his mother that because there were so many Thurles, Nenagh and Borrisoleigh "boys out here, I feel quite at home". It was very hot and he was up each day at 3.30 a.m. and drilled until 7 a.m. The men had three meals a day and privates were paid one and a half pennies a day but as a non-commissioned officer he was paid twice this. He was hopeful of earning some extra money when a shoemaker's shop was "got up" in the barracks. He with others had refused the Bounty. Perhaps in reaction to the failure of local populations to greet them as saviours and to the difficult climate, "JW" described the Italians as "deceitful" and their wine "like cidar and vinegar mixed". (Another volunteer James Bourke of Borrisoleigh was equally unflattering about the Italians, deciding that they subsisted on vegetables [pasta?] and coffee – "they frequently stay up the whole night supping it".[41]) While admitting the wonderful churches in Belgium, Germany and Austria, the faith of the people was nothing like as deep as it was in Ireland.

Also writing from Ancona, in a letter dated 23 July, "DJH" (Daniel Hoctor) from Nenagh informed his parents that things were going well. He took comfort from the thousands of volunteers from all over "Catholic Europe" and reassured those at home that he was with very respectable young men. All his comrades from home were well and he specifically mentioned "JAOS" (John Augustus O'Shea) and "JG". This latter was John Gleeson who obviously made an impact, described as "a young man here from Borrisoleigh who brought some men with him" and six feet five and a half inches tall. Gleeson had been given a commission. The writer had heard that his cousin "JC" was stationed at Macarata, a hundred miles from Ancona (where relations between the Irish and the local population were not good because of ill discipline among the Irish – cheap wine not helping[42]). Details of their routine as given by the previous correspondent were confirmed.

Because of the heat, they were up at 3.30 a.m. and had drill from 4 until 7 a.m. and had breakfast at 8 a.m. Then there was guard duty all day. Clearly, on all of these men the summer climate of central Italy, together with unsuitable clothing, were sources of considerable difficulty. As James Bourke of Borrisoleigh put it in a letter to his mother, describing a march of four days between the port of Rome and Spoleto: "I often thought while on the march that the sun would strike me to the ground (but) I braved it like a man."[43]

Another correspondent, H.N. Treacy from Moneygall, was also in Ancona, one of around

500 Irish garrisoning the town. He was effusive about how wonderful things were and that to the old title of "Island of Saints" could be added "Island of Giants". Letters like these, extracts from which were published in the nationalist press, were anodyne and palliative and clearly a form of news management. The enemy (meaning the English, not the Piedmontese) were not to have the satisfaction of seeing their most bitter jibes about the Irish volunteers brought to life. For example, Tom Kennedy (Thurles) was especially incensed about the "traitors" who, wanting to go home, went to the British Consul for help. Another extract from a letter from an unnamed young farmer from Toomevara, expressed regret about those who returned home, especially one of his comrades, identified as "J – n S- y".This writer also described how he met up with some forty "Tipperary boys" on the journey to Italy, had a comfortable voyage and with 208 others spent two weeks in Austria.

Some of these letters were taken from newspapers other than the *Tipperary Advocate* but Peter Gill, owner and editor of that Nenagh-based paper had his own correspondent embedded (to use the current term) with the Irish Brigade, his nephew John Augustus O'Shea. Later in the year O'Shea wrote a detailed account for his uncle's paper of part of his journey to Italy[44] but because of illness he sent few letters while he was abroad. He did write home from Ancona on Sunday 12 August.[45] He was now in the "2nd battalion of the brigade" and had been promoted several times. He was in good health and of the 450 Irish in Ancona, only nine were in hospital. While they did have some problems because of lack of planning on the part of those arranging their arrival, matters were now sorted. The early morning drill was no problem and he had been promoted, first to lance-corporal and was now sergeant. Every day they had three meals (rye bread and coffee for breakfast; a main meal of meat and rice and in the evening "rice soup" and coffee[46]) and their pay which was enough to allow purchase of tobacco and alcohol, including wine and rum "not a bad treat for an Irish peasant". No doubt O'Shea was making the best of things but other reports mentioned excessive drilling in the heat, "wretched brown bread and bad soup".[47]

Clearly there was widespread concern about those who had volunteered and then either scrambled to get back home or were sent back as unsuitable and thus gave ammunition to the hostile British press. "Some of the scurviest, meanest rascals in Ireland came out to join the Brigade" was perhaps the mildest of O'Shea's charges, that also included references to blasphemy, pick-pocketing, cowardice and debauchery. He wondered how these men got references. Earlier that day (Sun 12 August), a bishop had come from Rome to say mass and some (religious) medals were distributed. O'Shea shared the common experience of soldiers, reliance on rumours. Still without their distinctive uniform of green, he was expecting it within a fortnight, when the Irish in Ancona would march to join their comrades in Spoleto and then the entire Brigade would "winter" in Rome. "I am supremely happy," the nineteen year old O'Shea declared, "and only feel the want of a few pleasant books to while away the mid-day." For all O'Shea's apparent good spirits, the Irish "never in reality reached the point of being a fully equipped battalion".[48]

On 9 September, Garibaldi and his revolutionaries entered Naples and the expectation was that from there he would strike at Rome.[49] However, when an attack came two days later, on 11 September, it was from the north when over 30,000 men in the army of Piedmont invaded the papal states. Their claim was that they were going to deliver the

Pope's subjects from tyranny. In Ireland, once the fighting began, matters were otherwise interpreted. With soldiers from Ireland (as distinct from Irish soldiers) fighting for the Pope and the Pontiff under attack, it was as if Ireland itself was in danger. A century and a half ago there was no instant news and people back in Tipperary had to wait for comprehensive reports of what transpired. On the last day of August, one of the four Irish companies in Spoleto, around 150 men, was sent to Perugia, one of its officers being Lieutenant Luther of Clonmel, member of a long established business family in that town, ironically originally protestant planters.

The Irish troops in Perugia were the first to come under fire. Battle began on 13 September, 12,000 ranged against the Pope's 1,600 so that matters were quickly decided and this was to be the situation throughout the conflict. Amid the rapid Papal collapse in Perugia, it was agreed that only the Irish put up much of a fight.[50] Among the Irish casualties were two men from Clonmel, Luther and Synan. Both performed bravely. Luther, whose "name will live on the lips of every man of the Irish Brigade, while there is one of them alive" and Synan who was wounded in the face.[51] (Synan eventually went to the United States and fought in the Civil War, dying at the age of twenty-three in 1865.[52])

After their surrender, prisoners were marched for a hundred miles before being taken by train to Genoa, where they remained until their return to Ireland was arranged.[53] A member of the Irish Brigade, Michael Murphy from Borrisoleigh, at one of the town gates, risking his own life, dragged one of his wounded comrades to safety. Murphy, known as "Mad Murphy" appears to have been something of a handful and had been involved in the earlier trouble in Macarata between the Irish and the local population. Murphy survived and returned to Borrisoleigh, where a year or so later, Archbishop Leahy on behalf of the Pope presented him with the Cross of St. Sylvester.[54] One would like to think that for decades to come, "Mad Murphy" sat in his local pub getting milage and free pints from telling again the story of his time in Italy fighting for the Pope.

With Perugia knocked off the board, Spoleto in Umbria some thirty miles away, was next. The town itself was not defensible but the medieval castle known as the Rocca on the hill above the town was in good repair. The garrison of 800 included Austrian, Belgian, Swiss and Italian troops together with some 300 Irish and was led by Major Myles O'Reilly. The attack, including an artillery bombardment, opened on 16 September. Outnumbered by more than four to one, the Papal force was unable to do more than make a brief resistance. William O'Brien a volunteer from Clonmel left an account of the situation in that town prior to the attack.[55] Leaving Waterford on 15 June, he was in London on the 18th and travelled to Boulogne and on to Paris (following the same route as William Hughes). In Marseilles, a thirty hour train journey from Paris, O'Brien and others spent the week-end and signed the necessary papers committing them to the military service of the Pope. Then on Monday 25 June they left by steamer for Civitavecchia the port that serviced Rome, a journey that took until the morning of the 27 June. They travelled by train to Rome where they remained for several weeks. On 18 July, they marched to Spoleto, arriving four days later.

O'Brien, like other correspondents was scathing about volunteers who could not stay the course. On 14 August forty "cowards" went home, followed by another forty-five on 23 August. Drilling occupied most of their time. They were on the parade ground from 4.30 a.m. to 7 a.m. and again from 4 p.m. to 6.30 p.m. Most of the volunteers had no military

experience and all this drilling was intended to create some measure of discipline and cohesion. Their pay was two and a half pence per day. (Two cigars could be purchased for a halfpenny.) Among those named in this account were Major O'Reilly, who was in charge, and from Thurles, the Kirwan brothers. Also there was Lieutenant Michael Crean[56] from Clonmel, whose brother was an important medical practitioner in that town (and married to a first cousin of Charles Kickham[57]) and the referee with respect to some of the Clonmel volunteers.[58] They were organised into four companies but the writer does not mention that most of the men were badly equipped, only a small number having rifles. Some of the others did not even have muskets. O'Brien also did not mention that there were some incidents between the Irish and Italian soldiers. Off-duty, in the cafes of the town below the Rocca or fortress of Spoleto, some Irish soldiers having imbibed too much became boisterous and alarmed the locals. Italian soldiers were called to the scene and some arrests were made thereby invoking alcohol-fuelled racial solidarity, so that a general melee resulted.[59]

Major O'Reilly's official report on the fall of Spoleto was dated 26 September.[60] On the night of 16 September, Spoleto was surrounded and as the defenders had no artillery, no response was possible. O'Reilly deployed his forces around the Rocca, sending the 300 or so Irish to defend the gate and walls near it, knowing this to be the point of greatest pressure. At 6 a.m. a message from the enemy asked for O'Reilly's surrender. It was not forthcoming. However O'Reilly's wife was allowed leave the fortress. Around 8 a.m. the Rocca came under sustained fire. Three hours later, the archbishop appeared under a flag of truce, asking them to surrender as their position was hopeless. O'Reilly refused, declaring that his orders were to defend the position. At 3 p.m. following hours of sustained enemy fire on the gate and nearby wall, the area was sufficiently weakened for the Piedmontese to launch a frontal assault on the battered gate, which the Irish troops had endeavoured to strengthen from inside the fortress. As the enemy attempted to break down the gate with axes, in O'Reilly's words: "Our men replied with shots and bayonet stabs through the holes." At this stage of the fight, Lieutenant Crean (Clonmel) was shot in the arm. Such was the vigour of the Irish defence that the enemy was forced to abandon this frontal attack and continue the safer bombardment of the fortress from a distance.

As darkness fell on 17 September, O'Reilly had to reflect on his dire position: while the gate was still intact and he had lost few men, the relentless bombardment had ignited fires, his men were exhausted and the other soldiers sheltering in safe places were disinclined to expose themselves to danger. At 8 p.m. O'Reilly surrendered on honourable terms to the Piedmontese general – the Rocca to be handed over the following morning. For the papal forces losses were five killed and twenty wounded. The enemy suffered around 100 dead and three times that number wounded. A century or so ago, writing about these events, the very English historian G.M. Trevelyan (his grandfather was the Trevelyan of the Irish Famine) dwelled on the "profoundest irony and pathos" that the men of Munster and of Piedmont should have fought and tried to kill each other "for an old fort".[61] The Irish were reasonably treated as prisoners of war. There was no question of they being treated as mercenaries. They were sent to Genoa and released in late October.[62]

The bulk of the papal army, under its leader, the French general Lamoriciere, centred its attention on the fortified port town of Ancona on the Adriatic coast. This was of strategic

importance because it would be used by the Austrians if they decided to militarily intervene on the side of the Pope. Writing from Ancona, where there were around 450 Irish, on 15 September, a volunteer from North Tipperary, declared that "I would not now go home if I were to get £50". He went on to describe their preparations for an enemy attack and cited Lieutenant Luther from Clonmel as a model to be followed – "We are willing to do or die". As discussed previously, extracts from letters home, sometimes (like this one) anonymous, have to be treated with caution but evident in all of the letters is an awareness by the writers of the burden of history – the legend as much as the fact of Ireland's martial record and fighting tradition and the need not to betray either. Hence the bitter reaction to those who had abandoned, not so much the papal cause as their country's good name, and had gone home.[63]

While leading some ten thousand troops towards Ancona, Lamoriciere the leader of the papal army, was intercepted by a much larger Piedmontese army.[64] This was on 18 September (the same day as Spoleto surrendered) and a fierce battle took place at Castelfidardo, a few miles south of Ancona. This was the decisive battle in the campaign of 1860 and resulted in the loss of the papal army. Among the Irish was Timothy Dwyer from Clonmel, who lived for another seventy-one years, and as a patient in a Liverpool hospital remembered this seminal event in his life.[65] He described beginning his journey from Clonmel on 10 May 1860 and months later, the "slow, forced and painful march" in Lamoriciere's army towards Ancona. On 18 September, at four in the morning, he remembered receiving Holy Communion, in preparation for a battle in which his side was hugely outnumbered. Lamoriciere escaped and reached Ancona which endured a siege for the following eleven days. Some one hundred Irish were not so fortunate and joined those already prisoners and being held in Genoa. Timothy Dwyer was not forthcoming about his own fate. This siege of Ancona was the final episode in a war that lasted from the 11th to the 29th of September. The port was bombarded from both land and sea. James Augustus O'Shea was in Ancona for the siege and according to his uncle's newspaper, escaped to Rome after the city fell.[66]

In 1888, O'Shea published *Military Mosaics* subtitled *"a set of tales and sketches on soldierly themes.*[67] It included a story called *"Much-a-wanted"* set in Ancona during the siege. Told in the first person, it is not flattering about the behaviour of the local population, described as "cower(ing) in dark cellars".[68] In the story, which conveys truth, the narrator encounters a nineteen-year old volunteer from Sligo, called "Much-a-wanted" (from a frequently used phrase of his), who has been wounded while fetching water and was lying in the square before the cathedral with "his leg shattered a few inches above the knee and hung on a thread of skin". From incidental comments,[69] it appears that O'Shea worked as a medical orderly and when he described the amputation of the leg and the young man begging for chloroform, which was reserved for officers, it has the ring of all too terrible truth. In the event, "Much-a-wanted" died and while the episode is presented as a story, there is no reason not to see it as reflecting the reality of the siege. Just after O'Shea returned to Ireland, his uncle's newspaper the *Tipperary Advocate* published similar stories, attributed to Nenagh volunteers and presumably told by O'Shea and providing the raw material for his later writing.[70] One of these stories had a volunteer, a tailor by trade, who had his leg blown off and when he was being taken to hospital, lifted up his stump and declared: "Thank God I can work at my trade and needn't be a pensioner on the poor Pope."

Stephen Walsh, the volunteer from Thurles with whom this article opened, was also in Ancona and was struck on the right arm by a piece of shrapnel, the scar still visible to his interviewer in 1912. With the surrender of the garrison, Walsh was among those marched out of the citadel and taken to Genoa where they spend some weeks in confinement before release and repatriation. He sailed to Marseilles and on to Paris, where he met John Mitchel, who of course was delighted to meet Irishmen who had worn military uniforms that were not British.[71] The Irishmen were well treated while in Paris, even by the locals, who saw something to admire in their quixotic adventure. Perhaps he shared the view of one journalist uttered amid the hysteria of the volunteers returning home at the beginning of November 1860: "Tipperary of 1860 is still the Tipperary of '48".[72]

There was nothing more the papal forces could do. With the fall of Ancona, the papal states were open to the enemy and only the presence of French troops in Rome prevented that city becoming part of the new Italian state. (This French protection lasted another decade and was withdrawn when the Second French Empire collapsed, thus allowing the completion of the unification of Italy. The final resolution between the Vatican and the Italian state did not come until the Lateran Treaty of 1929.)

Going Home

A modern scholar characterised the papal army of 1860 as "a shambles, ill-organised, ill-trained and ill-equipped".[73] Writing a decade or so after the war, A.M. Sullivan characterised the events of mid to late September 1860 as "a brief and disasterous campaign, in which, hopelessly outnumbered and taken by surprise, (the papal army) never had a chance."[74] The "taken by surprise" part of this related to the leadership of Lamoriciere and while he generally got a good press in Ireland, one Tipperary newspaper attacked his attitude to the Irish Brigade, claiming somewhat hysterically that he deliberately split them up so that they could not distinguish themselves.[75] The reference to "hopelessly outnumbered" was interpreted as reflecting credit on the Irish volunteers, what Sullivan called "the national honour". The point being that the Irish putting up a good show was much more important than "saving the Pope".

In all, Irish volunteers fought in four engagements; Perugia, Spoleto, Castelfidardo and Ancona. Back in Ireland, great emphasis was placed on Lamoriciere's good opinion of the Irish performance.[76] Above all, the Irish did not want to be thought ridiculous. Much was made of a statement from a Vatican source that "nothing more could be expected from (them)".[77] For Irish nationalists, whether constitutional or otherwise, there was a clear connection between the integrity of national identity and the military performance of the Irish volunteers in Italy. More radical opinion saw the returning volunteers teaching others military skills, a consideration for example in the mind of Charles Kickham.[78]

Popular pride was reflected in the street ballads of the day and the relevant titles in the collection of John Davis White the Cashel publisher and antiquarian are of interest.[79] These crudely printed and cheaply published "broadsheets" were more than likely purchased by White on the streets of Cashel in 1860 and reflected the attitude of the man in the street. Titles included *Recruting Song for the Irish Brigade; A new song on the Tribute to His Holiness Pope Pius IX; A new song called the Irish Brigade in Battle; A new song on the Pope and Napoleon; A new song called the Irish Volunteers letter from Rome and A new patriotic song Welcome Home Our Brave Brigade.* Kickham's offering, *A Song for the Irish*

Brigade was more literary. Published on 29 September, it invoked the military endeavours of the past, Yellow Ford, Benburb and Fontenoy and declaring that "the time is near old scores to clear", saw the action in Italy as a hoped-for prelude to military action in Tipperary.

Writing to his confidant in Rome, Archbishop Cullen expressed relief that returning members of the Irish Brigade did not carry with them cynicism or anti-clericalism.[80] What would Brigade members have thought had they seen Odo Russell's dispatches from Rome to the Foreign Office, to the effect that the Pope and his Secretary of State, having seen the "energetic" Irish at close quarters, now had some appreciation of what the British government had to put up with in Ireland?[81]

However, the *Irish Times* got milage from disturbances among students in St. Patrick's College, Thurles in late 1860 when students "rebelled" against conditions there. Viewing Thurles as "a town given up to Romanism" and correctly noting that the town and district had provided a "goodly number" of willing recruits for the Irish Brigade, that newspaper rather wishfully assumed that having seen the negative impact of papal power in Italy, some kind of anti-clerical virus had been brought back and was infecting the Thurles students. In reality the "rebellion" was literally and metaphorically about bread and butter issues, not the power of the papacy.[82]

An accurate display of how Thurles felt was the high mass in the cathedral on 17 October. Shops were closed and a huge congregation attended, including most of the clergy in the diocese and students from St Patrick's. This was to remember the dead and focus attention on the living, still prisoners of war in Italy. The cathedral was draped in black and a catafalque was centre stage. Archbishop Leahy spoke with some bitterness about the changed political situation in Italy and the loss of papal temporal power. Money was subscribed there and then by the clergy and collections were organised for the diocese, eventually returning about £1.000, money to help in the return of the volunteers to Ireland. The parish of Tipperary, busy collecting money for its new church, generously subscribed £70. Putting this in context, the collection for the curates in the parish, held two weeks earlier, raised £134.[83] Of rural parishes, Boherlahan was the most generous.[84] A similar mass was held in Killaloe diocese and in Clonmel (Waterford diocese) a special mass in SS Peter & Paul was a touch theatrical with a catafalque draped in black in the centre of the church and placed on top a military cap (shako) and crossed swords.[85]

The victorious Piedmontese, now effectively the Italian government (minus Rome) had no interest in holding on to the defeated Irish, most of whom were being held in Genoa. The question was how best to get them home and at the same time do a "Dunkirk" – turn defeat into some kind of victory. As the *Tipperary Advocate* editorialised, it was vital that the English government or any of its agencies not be called on to help with repatriation.[86]Given its editor, not surprisingly, this Nenagh-based paper saw conspiracy everywhere and thought of the British being fearful about a thousand or so men returning to Ireland, all now with some military experience. Of course, republican organisers also looked at this with interest, as did recruiters for the United States Union army. A unionist newspaper like the *Clonmel Chronicle,* did not try to conceal its pleasure at Roman Catholic discomfort and again wondered at the sight of Irish nationalists doing their best to subvert Italian nationalism. Essentially the message was that the volunteers were dupes of the Irish clergy and that they were returning to Ireland after exposure to papal autocracy more able

to see the benefits of the British constitution. But this same newspaper also allowed that "there were some (volunteers) who threw up good situations, left comfortable homes, influenced by higher feelings than their paltry pay."[87]

Like Stephen Walsh of Thurles, most volunteers who fought for the Pope in Italy, returned to Ireland via Paris. Given their circumstances, the men were short of everything.[88] Anecdotally, some of them travelled to Italy with no luggage – factually, many of them came home with none. Nationally and locally, committees came together to welcome the men home and make sure that they did not slink into the country as their enemies wished. Nationally, key figures in these committees included T.D. Sullivan of *The Nation* newspaper and in Cork, J.F. Maguire MP. Locally, ad hoc committees came together everywhere volunteers alighted from their trains on their return home. Most of the volunteers arrived back in Ireland, by a chartered steamer that landed in Cork on Saturday 3 November 1860. In that city there was huge excitement, with over-the-top speeches –"Irish catholics know how to die but not how to surrender"- and lots of bands playing. Volunteers from County Tipperary travelled home by special trains and at all the stations, similar scenes were repeated.[89]

Tipperary town and district had been remarkably restrained during the summer of 1860 but now that the heroes were returning home, the area wanted to share in the excitement and so on the night of 3 November, very large crowds rushed to Limerick Junction to meet the Cork-Dublin train and the passengers changing for Limerick.[90] Volunteers wishing to travel to Limerick missed a connecting train and so these men fell in and marched to Tipperary town (3 miles) where they were greeted around midnight with "wild excitement" and were addressed by Richard Dalton, the towns foremost nationalist and a successful businessman.[91] Finally they (the number is unclear, perhaps twenty five men[92]) were allowed to their beds in an hotel and the following morning marched back to the Junction to get their train to Limerick. With no record that there were any volunteers from Tipperary town or district (why, it is impossible to say but must have reflected a lack of enthusiasm on the part of the local clergy) there seems to have been an element of hysteria about this reception. Never was a missed connection at the Junction more popular as it allowed Tipperary town share in the excitement (even if it was for Limerick people).

Having deposited its Limerick-bound passengers, the special train continued to Thurles, where its arrival was greeted by scenes of unconfined joy. A telegram had confirmed that the train had departed Cork at 8.30 p.m. thus allowing the town illuminate itself with burning tar barrels and a huge crowd to converge on the railway station. A committee of local worthies ensured that accommodation for up to two hundred returning volunteers would, if necessary, be available in the town that night. With perhaps six thousand people crowded in and around the railway station and dramatic light and shadow from flaming torches, the train arrived shortly before midnight. (Thurles railway station has been the stage on which some extraordinary scenes have been played – the top three are surely the arrest of Smith O'Brien in 1848, John Dillon fleeing for his life from a mob in 1910 and this scene near midnight on 3 November 1860.)

Among those returning home to Thurles and their widowed mother were the Kirwan brothers, one of whom (according to press reports) was sixteen years old. They had been in action in Perugia and much was made of their middle class status and their generosity

towards their artisan colleagues. Such was the tumult and excitement that all plans for a formal welcome home had to be abandoned and eventually the men who were not town residents were conveyed to their lodgings for the night. The following morning there was renewed excitement as the volunteers came together and marched to mass. Yes, there was sympathy for the Pope and regret about his changed position in Italy but the huge, almost hysterical, crowd was reacting to an idea – that Irishmen could wear a military uniform that reflected a popular national agenda and that seemed to suggest that someday . . .

At 2 p.m. the men were given a substantial dinner, after which "cars were provided to convey them to their respective homes in Ballingarry, Killenaule, Gortnahoo, Borrisoleigh, Littleton and Moyne". The Moyne contingent of twelve reached home around 6 p.m. and the frantic demonstrations, though on a much smaller scale, were repeated.[93] It is not hard to imagine the feelings of regret and even jealousy on the part of the young men of the parish who had not responded to the call and thus missed a great adventure. All adjourned to the pub, where toasts were given and speeches made: "We do not return with triumph but we return at least with clean hands . . ." Considerable pride was expressed in the assertion that Moyne sent more men and contributed more money, comparatively speaking, than any other rural parish in the county. Other parishes were equally proud. Borrisoleigh was thrilled about John H Gleeson who had been given a commission and on his return home through Paris feted by John Mitchel.

Four Nenagh men, Hoctor, Clarke, Gleeson (Ballintotty) and P. Ryan (Dolla) returned home on this train and were met in Borrisoleigh by a welcoming party led by Peter Gill of the *Tipperary Advocate* and escorted to the town where the usual scenes ensued. (A few months later, the local press carried a story that Gleeson was emigrating to the United States, but in unusual circumstances. His father had emigrated many years earlier and after an adventurous life, partly in the military, had left his son money and land near Santa Fe.[94]) Three others reached Nenagh on Monday evening. James Augustus O'Shea returned to Nenagh a week later and was given a great welcome outside the *Tipperary Advocate* offices. Also returning a week later was Sergeant Major James Bourke of Borrisoleigh.[95]

Clonmel was not going to be left out of these celebrations.[96] Preparations got underway when news was telegraphed from Cork on the morning of 3 November that the volunteers had arrived home from Italy. The local committee organised the essential elements of any Victorian civic celebration: the hotel for the "banquet", the band for the parade and tar barrels and fireworks for commotion. That evening a crowd was gathered at the railway station when news arrived that the Clonmel men would not be leaving Cork until the following morning. The following afternoon (Sunday) thousands were gathered in and around the station and went wild when the train finally appeared after four o'clock.

> "The scene that ensued baffles description – fathers, mothers, sisters and friends rushed, each in search of some loved one, and on being discovered he was kissed, hugged and shaken by the hand with a vigor that threatened a dislocation of the arm. Shout on shout arose - the ladies waved their handkerchiefs – hats were tossed in the air and the most unbounded enthusiasm was on every side displayed."

With some difficulty, the volunteers, from various places in south-east Tipperary, around sixty in number, were marshalled through the mob. Some of the men were in military uniform – grey jackets with red trousers and white gaiters and many wore their blue and

braided "kepis" (military headgear now more associated with the French army , a round flat body with a visor). As the men marched through the town, they passed through Queen Street, where Lieutenant Michael Crean, wounded at Spoleto and home since the previous month, was recuperating in his brother's house. Cheers were delivered for Crean's speedy recovery before the parade continued through Main Street to its destination Cantwell's Hotel (at the corner of Parnell and Dillon Streets) and the formal banquet. Readers of the Unionist *Clonmel Chronicle* were given a very different picture – a reluctant march through the town with some of the volunteers slipping away and the banquet for the local committee rather than the volunteers. To give this paper some credit, the following week it published a letter of correction from "A member of the Committee" clarifying that funds were spent as intended, on the volunteers and costs included transport for volunteers home to neighbouting parishes such as Fethard and Clerihan.[97]

James Maher in his popular anthology *Romantic Slievenamon* reprinted Kickham's account of how the volunteers were received in Mullinahone.[98] Kickham's interpretation of events had much more to do with the volunteers meeting Mitchel in Paris than with saving the Pope in Rome. The ten men who returned to Mullinahone were greeted as heroes. "Thousands of people crowded into (the village), every window of which was illuminated, while a huge fire blazed and crackled in the middle of the Square. A beautiful arch of evergreens spanned the street, in the middle of which was a large Celtic cross, formed also of evergreens." Hundreds went out to meet the volunteers, who were led by James J. Kickham (first cousin of Charles J.), as they travelled from Clonmel and escorted them to the village. This enthusiastic and elaborate welcome home appears to have lasted several days and included a formal reception in the Market House, attended by eighteen volunteers from neighbouring parishes.

Charles J. Kickham composed an address on behalf of the volunteers and it was signed by them, making the case that having borne arms on behalf of the Pope, they should be able to do the same on behalf of Ireland. "The right to have arms or to practise any sort of military discipline is forbidden us . . .To say 'halt' or 'march' is an offence against English law in Ireland." At the time and in the context of English suspicions about France and fears that English defences were inadequate, in England there was an upsurge of patriotic young men joining volunteer groups and parading, drilling and practising arms. For example, Lord Derby, then leader of the opposition, formed the Knowsley Rifle Volunteers from young men on his estate.[99] This was in England. This same Lord Derby also owned an estate in Tipperary, at Ballykisteen (near Limerick Junction, in the parish of Solohead) but there was no question of young men from Solohead being allowed access to arms. So much for a "united" Kingdom.

Lasting for just a few months, the episode of the Irish Brigade, when around one thousand young Irishmen went off to Italy to save the Pope, was overshadowed by two other much greater events in the 1860s: the civil war in the United States and the Fenian Fever. Even had the remainder of the 1860s been featureless, the Italian episode would hardly have left a mark on popular consciousness. Large parts of Ireland were untouched, places where all the young men resisted the call to arms. Also, the episode was too brief, too foreign and too much of a defeat. It was also not enough of a defeat. Had Irish casualties been substantial, the episode might have been worth remembering.[100] The precise impact of these few months in 1860 on the rest of that decade has yet to be

examined. Of the several hundred names of volunteers from Tipperary, how many became Fenians? Writing in early December 1860 from New York, in a letter for public consumption, Michael Doheny having read accounts of the return of the Mullinahone contingent, congratulated the men on their conduct.[101] He went on to remind readers of 1848 and that the "national creed then announced" was unchanged. 1848 failed because of lack of men and arms but since then there was a new generation of Irishmen in the United States, most familiar with arms. What was needed was comparable militarisation in Ireland. Doheny concluded by issuing a challenge to the kind of young Irishmen who had returned from Italy. What would happen next was up to them.

References:

1. *Tipperary Star,* reprinted 12 August 1933.
2. See O'Shea's account in THJ (2009). O'Shea and a few others had travelled from Nenagh to get the Dublin train.
3. See Appendix attached to Part One of this article in *THJ* (2009).
4. Rev C. O'Dwyer, *Archbishop Leahy* (thesis)
5. *Freeman's Journal,* 19 June 1860.
6. *Sullivan, New Ireland,* chapter xviii.
7. Leahy to Cullen, 11 Jan 1860 quoted in O'Dwyer, *Leahy*
8. See Part One of this articles in *THJ* (2009)
9. J. O'Brien, Irish public opinion and the Risorgimento 1859-60 in *Irish Historical Studies,* xxxiv, 135 (2005), p.298.
10. F*urther statement containing an abstract from a list supplied by the agent in Dublin for foreign passports 1 May – 30 June 1860* (R129/60, Box 830 CSORP 1860, National Archives)
11. Addresses were not given in this source, just the name and parish of the priest who recommended each applicant. It is assumed that applicants were parishioners. For names see Appendix in Part One in *THJ* (2009).
12. *Law Officers Opinion giving summary of police reports, 13 Dec 1860* (File 21245, Box 830 CSORP 1860 NAI)
13. Fr. William Flannery left for America in November 1860 to raise money for a cathedral in Nenagh. (Murphy, *Killaloe 1850-1904,* pp.69-70.
14. *The Times,* 1 June 1860.
15. *Tipperary Advocate* on 14 July printed an extract from a letter Crofts had sent from Italy to his family in Thurles.
16. Charles Murray to Lord John Russell, 16 June 1860 *(Larcom MSS 7581,* NLI)
17. *Tipperary Vindicator,* 10 July 1860
18. Originally running to around 30,000 words, these six articles have been edited to about 8,000 words in *THJ* (2009).
19. *Freemans Journal,* 9 July 1860.
20. See Leahy to Kirby, 6 Aug 1860 quoted in O'Dwyer, *Leahy*
21. Archbishop Leahy was especially mindful of policemen who had resigned and thus forfeited their pensions and provided some financial compensation – see letter of 6 August.
22. Cullen to Kirby, quoted in E. Larkin, *The Consolidation of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1860-1870* (Dublin, 1987), p.19.
23. *T.A.,* 7 July 1860
24. E.R. Norman, *The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion* (London, 1965), p.50.
25. D. Murphy, *The Irish Brigades 1685-2006* (Dublin, 2007), p.63.
26. *T.A.,* 18 Aug 186
27. *Tipperary Vindicator,* 10 July 1860. Extracts from this letter were not first published in a Tipperary newspaper but in the *Morning News.*

28. *Tipperary Free Press,* 31 Aug 1860
29. From other sources also there is an impression that local Italian populations viewed the Irish as wild men.
30. *Irishman,* 28 July 1860 (taken from *Tipperary Examiner*)
31. *The Times,* 30 July 1860; *Irishman*, 4 Aug 1860. See also G.F.H. Berkeley, *The Irish Battalion in the Papal Army of 1860* (Dublin, 1929), pp. 60-70.
32. *T.A.,* 28 July 1860.
33. *T.A.,* 11 Aug 1860
34. O'Brien, *Irish Public Opinion*, p. 300.
35. C.T. McIntire, *England against the Papacy 1858-1861* (Cambridge UP, 1983), p. 204.
36. G.M. Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Making of ItalyJune-November 1860* (Phoenix Press ed.), pp. 213-16.
37. *DNB 41*, pp. 930-31
38. Berkeley, *Irish Battalion*, pp. 22, 36.
39. *T.A.,*11, 18, 25 Aug 1860.
40 See D.P. Conynham, *The Irish Brigade and its Campaigns* (1867)
41. *T.A.,* 8 Sept 1860.
42. *Irishman,* 14 July 1860.
43. *T.A.,* 8 Sept 1860
44. *THJ* (2009)
45. *T.A.,* 25 Aug 1860.
46. Berkeley, *Irish Battalion,* p.75
47. *Irishman,* 4 August 1860.
48. Berkeley, *Irish Battalion,* p.36
49. O'Brien, *Irish Public Opinion,* pp.300-01; Trevelyan, *Garibaldi,* pp.226-37.
50. Even the protestant *Belfast News-Letter* made this point.
51. *The Standard,* 16 Feb 1929; *Catholic Telegraph,* 3 Oct 1860.
52. *T.A.,* 7 Oct 1865.
53. *Tipperary Free Press,* 2 Oct 1860
54. Berkeley, *Irish Battalion,* pp.117-18; T.A., 19 Oct 1861.
55. *Irishman,* 15 Sept 1860
56. For an account by his grandson see Rev. CP Crean, The Irish Battalion of St Patrick at the Defence of Spoleto in The Irish Sword, iv, 14 (1959), pp. 52-60 and iv, 15 (1959), pp. 99-107.
57. S. O'Donnell, *Clonmel 1840-1900* (Dublin, 1999), p.256.
58. See appendix
59. *T.A.,* 18 August 1860
60. In most newspapers, here *T.F.P.,* 2 Oct 1860.
61. Trevelyan, *Garibaldi,* p.228
62. See a letter of 5 Oct from one of the POWs in Genoa, *Freeman's Journal,* 22 Oct 1860
63. *T.A.,* 29 Sept 1860.
64. O'Brien, *Irish Public Opinion,* p.301; Berkeley, Irish Battalion, pp.170-216
65. *Nationalist,* 19 August 1931.
66. *T.A.,* 20 Oct 1860.
67. J.A. O'Shea, *Military Mosaics* (London, 1888), pp. 131-41. See also his *Roundabout Recollections,* vol 1 (London, 1892), p.74.
68. In his letter of 22 November (see note 78 below), Cullen noted the universal contempt in which the returning Irish volunteers held their Italian compatriots. *Irishman* of 20 Oct 1860, for example described the Italians "hiding in cellars".
69. *T.A.,* 27 Oct 1860
70. *T.A.*, 10 Nov 1860
71. *Tipperary Star,* 19 Aug 1933.

72. *T.A.*, 10 Nov 1860
73. O'Brien, *Irish Public Opinion,* p.300.
74. Sullivan, *New Ireland,* chapter 18.
75. Quoted in *Irishman,* 20 Oct 1860. This was the *Tipperary Examiner* (Clonmel) owned and edited by A.T. Hartnett, one of the most obscure Tipperary newspapers and survived briefly 1858-60. Hartnett took a maverick line, being very pro-French. See The *Tablet*, 10 Nov 1860 where it was noted that Hartnett was abandoning his paper for a job in London.
76. McIntire, England against the Papacy, p.211; Sullivan, *New Ireland,* chapter 18.
77. *T.A.*, 27 Oct 1860
78. See editorial *Irishman,* 3 Nov 1860
79. The collection is in Trinity College Dublin, OLSX 1 -532 numbers 217- 23, 227-28, 235. See D.G. Marnane, The Ballad Collection of John Davis White in *THJ* (2005), pp.61-85.
80. Cullen to Kirby, 22 Nov 1860, quoted in D. Bowen, *Paul Cardinal Cullen and the Shaping of Modern Irish Catholicism* (Dublin, 1983), pp.201-02
81. Norman, *Catholic Church,* p.51.
82. *Irish Times*, 15 Dec 1860;
83. *T.A.*, 3 Nov 1860
84. *T.A.*, 26 Jan 1861
85. *T.A.; Catholic Telegraph,* 20, 27 Oct 1860; *Tipperary Free Press,* 12, 16, 19 Oct 1860
86. *T.A.*, 3 Nov 1860
87. *C.C.,* 10 Nov 1860
88. *Catholic Telegraph,* 3 Nov 1860
89. All newspapers carried reports of the return of the volunteers, see *Tipperary Free Press,* 9 Nov 1860; T.A., 10 Nov 1860
90 "Limerick Junction" because the Dublin-Cork and Limerick-Waterford lines intersected. These were separate private companies.
91 Dalton who died in 1875 spent three months in prison in 1849 for his support for William Smith O'Brien.
Dalton's son was one of the tenant leaders in the New Tipperary struggle of 1889-91.
92. *Catholic Telegraph,* 10 Nov 1860
93. See Appendix to Part One in *THJ* (2009) – where sixteen names are given.
94. *T.A.*, 13 April 1861
95. *T.A.*, 17 Nov 1860
96. *T.F.P.*, 6 Nov 1860
97. *C.C.*, 7, 14 Nov 1860
98. J. Maher (ed.), *Romantic Slievenamon* (Mullinahone, 1954) pp195-65; R.V. Comerford, *Charles J. Kickham* (Dublin, 1979), pp.51-55; *Irishman,* 10, 17 24 Nov 1860; *T.A.*, 1 Dec 1860
99. A. Hawkins, *The Forgotten Prime Minister the 14th Earl of Derby,* (Oxford UP, 2008), vol ii, p.251
100. In a few cases, returning volunteers fell ill and died. Joseph Deane from near Borrisokane died in late November 1860. He had resigned from the Irish Constabulary to go to Italy. Thomas Conway from Clonmel died in May 1861 and John Ryan from Clonoulty in October of that year. Conway had been at Spoleto and Ryan at Ancona.
101. *T.A.*, 5 Jan 1861. Referred to in R.D. Edwards (ed.), *Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento* (Dublin, 1960), p. 43.