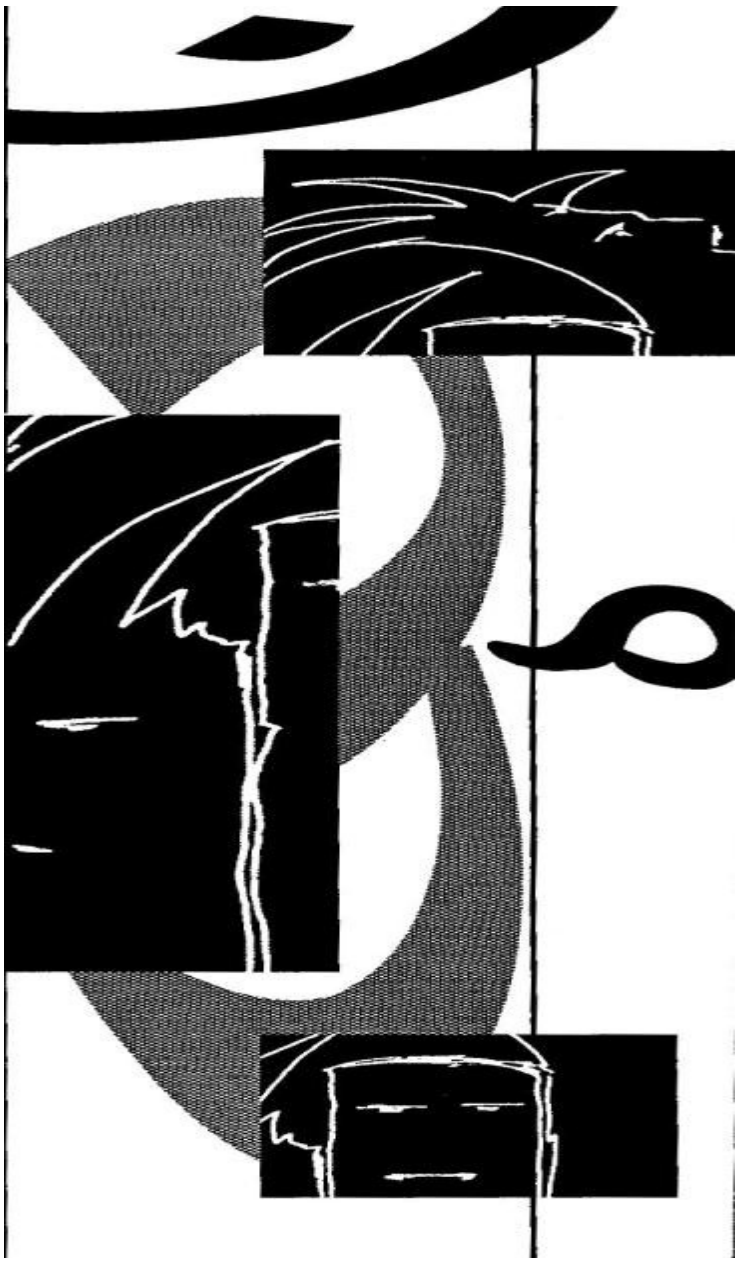
History Studies



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Cover design by Jennifer McCaffrey and Nora McGillicuddy, Limerick School of Art and Design, Limerick Institute of Technology. The cover incorporates the concepts of past, present and future, which is depicted, firstly by the use of the Buddhist symbol Aum. The idea is secondly represented by the illustrative heads looking in different directions. They symbolise the search for history by past, present and future historians.

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Foreword

The seven contributions to *History Studies* Volume 16 continue the tradition of showcasing the very best of undergraduate and postgraduate talent in Ireland, and specifically, at the University of Limerick. In contrast to previous years, the narrower focus of the present volume digs deep into the nation's history, showing a range and diversity of interest of both archival research and analytical reflection that build on the impressive record of History Studies since its inception at the University of Limerick at the end of the 1990s. As a peer reviewed journal, History Studies is entirely produced by postgraduates with a rotating editorship, and this makes it unique within the island of Ireland.

Therefore it brings me enormous pleasure again to introduce *History Studies*, especially in this centenary year of the 1916 Rising. The present volume is a response to the celebrations with its special focus on the 1916 Rising and its legacy. As such, it is an important contribution to the History Department's own endeavours to take part in and to shape the national and local debates. Thus three of the articles focus on separate aspects of the Rising at a national level, while three others deal with incidents and organisations that were ultimately precipitated by the immediate legacy of 1916, and are all associated with Limerick. The final contribution to the volume moves to America, thus offering an international context.

The volume opens with a brief study of the Limerick Volunteers and the Rising – its 'contested history' according to its author, Robert Collins. Collins examines the May 23, 1915, Volunteer protest march in Limerick against the treatment of Robert Monteith that ended in a debacle for the 1,200 or so marchers. The crowds who gathered that Sunday, expressed their hostility towards the marchers, who included Patrick Pearse and Tom Clarke, among them and instead showed their preference for the Royal Munster Fusiliers – not surprising given Limerick's garrison status. Nevertheless, the occasion was pivotal, according to Collins, in reshaping the Volunteer force and little more than a year later under Michael Colivet, the force was readied for an uprising in the provinces – that never really came. John Harrington examines the impact of Hibernianism and the role of the Hibernian Rifles in the 1916 Rising, while contextualizing the latter in the broader period of 1912-1922. His discussion is wide ranging and sketches in Hibernianism's history before 1916, its role in key events, not least the 1913 Lock Out, before focusing on the Rising. Harrington provides a

vivid picture of the personalities involved such as Joe Devlin, the founder of Board of Erin, or ordinary members of the Hibernian Rifles such as Cathleen Healy and Teresa Byrne. A very different picture is provided literally by Deirdre Kelly in her contribution on 'Art as social commentary'. Taking a visual turn, Dr Kelly compares two very different representations of the Rising through the canvasses of Kathleen Fox and Sean Keating. Fox is best known for her depiction of the arrest of Countess Markievicz in 1916, while Keating's work in 'Men of the West' was an allegorical representation of Irish nationalism and as such can be seen as part of the legacy of the Rising. Kelly's discussion provides a fascinating insight also into the way both artists inscribed themselves into this momentous episode, thus using art not merely as illustration but as a constituent element of the Rising and its consciousness. Daniel Murray in his contribution takes a case study, that of the assassination by members of the IRA of James Dalton in Limerick in May 1920 to probe larger a question. Murray reconstructs the event and the motives for the assassination (alleged spying for the British) through careful scrutiny of the local press, as well as providing an excoriating account of the police investigation that followed. Was Dalton's murder the result of 'a dire miscommunication between Limerick and Dublin or a breakdown in IRA discipline'? This is the question that drives the gripping narrative here. Policing in Limerick in the years 1921-22, the period that saw the transition from English dominance to the creation of the Free State, is the subject of Oisín Bates' contribution to *History Studies*. Bates looks at transitional policing as the Irish Republican Police (IRP) took over the mantle from the RIC. He examines the social composition of the new force, the debates surrounding its formation, role, and its co-existence with the RIC, before it finally transitioned into the Limerick City Police Force in May 1922. The latter year was a difficult one for the new force, as Bates shows; caught between pro- and anti-Treaty forces. But it also was constrained by inadequate finances and other shortages, including manpower and like its predecessor, was destined to remain a 'stop-gap'.

The contributions to this volume of *History Studies* provide in many cases what the American anthropologist Clifford Geertz has called 'thick description' of the Rising and its aftermath. David Dineen's study of the miscarriage of justice perpetrated against Patrick Maher in 1921, takes the reader into the by-ways of Soloheadbeg, Co. Tipperary where two RIC officers were killed in an ambush in January 1919, to the dramatic escape at Knocklong (in which further RIC were killed) to the security forces sweep of the county that resulted in Maher's arrest. Maher had nothing to do with the events, yet the authorities accepted the

word of two witnesses and Maher's eventual trial by Court Martial in Dublin ensued. Dineen offers a careful reconstruction of the witness accounts and the ins-and-outs of the trials (there were two), the minutes of which are held in the archives, comparing the inconsistencies in the evidence provided in the police testimonies in particular. Dineen shows that the authorities were bent on revenge and this drove the investigation; there was also the question of identification: with Maher probably mistaken for one of the wanted IRA men. Meanwhile, like Murray, Dineen uses this case to illuminate a larger issue: he tells us that the IRA men knew of course that Maher was innocent but sacrificed him not only to save themselves but to serve a higher cause, namely that of not endangering IRA fundraising in America. Meanwhile, the British were intent on blood. Thus Maher became a pawn in a larger game. Finally, the closing contribution to the volume by Emily Paul takes us out of Ireland and into American cinema and its role in shaping cultural identities between the wars. Paul provides an interesting platform that launches us into the media age after the tumultuous years of warfare in Europe, and in so doing, is suggestive of how future graduates might look at the cinematic response to 1916 and its legacies.

Professor Anthony McElligott, FRHistS, MRIA

Head of Department

Acknowledgements

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Editorial

The centenary of the 1916 Rising has reignited national, in fact worldwide interest in Ireland's revolutionary period of 1912-23. Amid the media driven narratives and politically ambitious criticisms of the Irish independence movement that have been occasioned by the widespread interest in the Rising, gladly there is also a strong body of scholarly work emerging that aims to deliver the past, as it was. This edition of *History Studies* sits within the recent scholarly work. What emanates from this year's submissions to *History Studies* is the growing awareness among recent scholars of the positon of the 1916 Rising within the history of Ireland's struggle for independence. Among the articles that deal with the Rising, such as the little-known role of the Hibernian Rifles in the insurrection, Limerick's role in 1916 and the reading of the history of the Rising through art, there are articles that cover the roles of the republican police, British judicial fallacy, as well as war-time murder and the birth of the media revolution. Grouped together in *History Studies* Vol. 16, this body of research delivers an insight into the scope and appetite for scholarly historical research into recent Irish history.

The editors,

Gerald Maher and John Harrington

Limerick Volunteers and the 1916 Easter Rising: a contested history

Robert Collins

Despite its size and population, Limerick did not appear to have a large Fenian presence at the turn of the twentieth century. The IRB were considered relatively weak in the city and although prominent republican families such as the Dalys lived there, it was not a stronghold for republican activity in the early 1900s. The 1916 Rising is considered by many as a flagship moment in the struggle for independence from British rule in Ireland. The lack of any discernible activity in Limerick during Easter Week 1916 has long been debated, especially as the city later formed part of the Munster Republic which played such an active role in the War of Independence. A committee was established in 1917 to investigate the actions of Kerry, Cork and Limerick during the Rising. Consequently, a report was released in March 1918 and although it did not single blame at any one individual in the case of Limerick, it stated that 'it is to be deprecated that at any time arms should be given up by a body men without a fight.'[1]

This was a clear criticism of at least some of the actions taken by leading members of the Limerick Volunteers during the Easter Rising. It is important to begin by detailing the formation and growth of the Limerick Volunteers from their inception in 1913 until the events of Easter week 1916. In discussing events such as the Whit Sunday march of 1915, we get a clearer picture of the mind-set of the populous of Limerick and the dedication of the Volunteers to their cause. Following on from this, the planning and preparation for a potential insurrection in Limerick and the importance of what happened on Banna Strand also need to be discussed. The arrest of Roger Casement and the seizure of German arms in Kerry appeared to have a significant impact on the planned actions in a city which was to become very active in the republican struggle a few short years later.

There were two organisations involved in the establishment of a regiment of the Irish Volunteers in Limerick, the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH) and the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) in 1913. The AOH, although only recently founded locally, was larger in numbers than the relatively weak IRB.[2] The first meeting, held on 17 December 1913, discussed a public meeting place as well as co-opting a number of members including

[1] James Gubbins (Military Archives, Bureau of Military History, WS 765). (M.A., B.M.H., hereafter).
[2] A.J. O'Halloran, 'The Irish Volunteers in Limerick city' in *Limerick's fighting story: told by the men who made it* (Cork, 2009), p. 31.

Michael Colivet, who was later to become Commandant. A number of other meetings also took place, where issues such as John Redmond and the Irish Parliamentary Party were debated. However, there was little conflict of opinion amongst members until a meeting of the provisional committee on 26 May 1914, where a number of members were unhappy that a march was not held to celebrate the passing of the third Home Rule Bill.[3]

Due to the Parliament Act passed in 1911 in the British House of Commons, Home Rule was to become law in Ireland. Following the outbreak of World War I, there was a large number of Volunteers who went to fight in the British Army and of the estimated 1,400 members of the Limerick Volunteers – roughly 250 remained – however they were treated with contempt by many of the people of Limerick because anyone who was not 'pro-Ally' was labelled a traitor.[4] This undoubtedly affected the numbers of people who were at least public supporters of the Volunteers. An example of this animosity towards the Volunteers was evident during a march through the city in May 1915.

On Sunday 23 May 1915, a Volunteer march through the city sparked a major conflict. The arrival of Captain Robert Monteith to Limerick was a crucial factor in the motivation for the march itself. Monteith had enlisted in the British Army in 1896 and had fought in the Second Boer War but had retired from the army on his return to Ireland. Once he had joined the Volunteers, he was fired from his job with the Ordnance Survey and left Dublin for Limerick.[5] Monteith became a valuable asset to the Limerick Volunteers, as not only had he served in the British army, but he was an instructor for 'A' company of the Dublin Brigade. Furthermore, with the exception of William Lawlor, the other military instructors had sided with the majority, who were 'pro-Ally.'[6] Liam Manahan, a Volunteer who was involved in the establishment of a corps in Ballylanders, spoke about how he managed to convince Monteith to aid training of volunteers in the county and stated that 'training revived as a result of Monteith's efforts.'[7] In addition, Monteith formed a special section of each company that usually consisted of the younger and more active men and they were trained with greater regularity and became known to other Volunteers as 'Monty's Pets.'[8]

[3] Ibid., p. 35.
[4] Ibid., p. 37.
[5] *Limerick Post*, 23 May 2015.
[6] O'Halloran, 'The Irish Volunteers', p. 38.
[7] Liam Manahan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 456).
[8] *Limerick Leader*, 14 July 1952.

Whit Sunday 23 May 1915 witnessed the staging of a Volunteer march in Limerick in protest at the treatment of Monteith in Dublin. Liam Manahan documents that there were regiments from West Cork as well as Galbally and Ballylanders, with the West Cork regiment being accompanied by Seán Hales. The march assembled at Pery Square at approximately 1 p.m., with the march containing up to 1,200 Volunteers, with a number of members of Fianna Éireann also present. It was met with a large amount of resistance from the general populace, who cheered for the Royal Munster Fusiliers and other regiments involved in fighting in World War I and began throwing stones and bottles at what they perceived as 'pro-German Sinn Féiners.'[9]

Among those who attended were Pádraig Pearse, Tom Clarke, Liam Mellows and Terence McSwiney, all of which were to play major roles in the republican struggle in the succeeding years. This highlighted that this parade was seen as a significant one for the Irish Volunteers. Once many of the trains had left and only a handful of Volunteers remained, they returned to John Daly's house on Barrington Street, where Clarke remarked that 'I've always wondered why King William took Limerick. I know now.'[10] Nonetheless, it is fair to say that the Volunteers showed incredible discipline and reserve in the face of what was an angry mob and as A.J. O'Halloran remarked, the Volunteers' 'conduct and bearing under very great provocation could not have been surpassed by any body of veteran troops in the world.'[11]

This parade was significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, it seems implausible that less than a year after this event, the Easter Rising was to occur, which would sow the seeds of republican struggle in a city where there appeared little or no appetite for such a thing among the general population. The next section of this paper will analyse the effort put in by a number of important parties which nearly put in place a full-scale rising in Limerick similar to that which occurred in the capital. Secondly, prominent members of the Irish Volunteers who were present at the march including Clarke and Pearse showed incredible resolve and this can be viewed as a pre-cursor for their defiance during the Easter Rising. The march on Whit Sunday in Limerick highlighted once again the determination from the leadership who aimed to achieve the goal of Irish independence from British rule.

The impact of Monteith in the reorganising and training of the Volunteers in Limerick cannot be underestimated. Consequently, his departure to Germany was a viewed as a major

[9] O'Halloran, 'The Irish Volunteers', p. 41; *Limerick Post,* 23 May 2015.
[10] *Limerick Post,* 23 May 2015.
[11] O'Halloran, 'The Irish Volunteers', p. 44.

blow to the organisation. Liam Manahan felt that the Limerick branch would have been much better organised and prepared had Monteith remained in the city instead of being sent to Germany.[12] According to Kathleen Clarke, Monteith was sent by her husband Tom to the USA and then to meet Casement in Germany. In October 1914, Casement, without the approval of any revolutionaries, went to Germany to seek aid for Ireland and had hoped to establish an Irish Brigade from the prisoners-of-war. This upset Clarke as the Supreme Council of the IRB only wanted arms and not men. Subsequently, Monteith was sent in August 1915 with the orders to inform Casement that he was to gain arms only, but if he insisted on a brigade, that Monteith would help in advising and training this newly formed group of prisoners-of-war.[13] Clarke was impressed with Monteith and his role in training the volunteers in Limerick, and clearly felt he was the most suitable for the job.

However, the attempts by Casement in relation to the establishment of an Irish brigade proved unsuccessful but he did manage to convince the Germans to send arms to Ireland. Hence the *Libau*, now commonly known as the *Aud,* set sail for Ireland, carrying 20,000 rifles, ten machine guns and one million rounds of ammunition, posing as a Norwegian vessel.[14] However, due to a number of issues including communication and its failure to reconnoitre with the U-19 carrying Casement, Monteith and others, the ship did not land on 21 April and Casement was arrested a few hours later. Aine Ceannt recounts that her husband Eamonn revealed this news to her some time on Holy Saturday, the day after Casement's arrest, stating 'the man who landed in Kerry was Roger Casement and the man who got away was Monteith.'[15]

That same day, the news also reached Tom Clarke, where his wife Kathleen outlined that Tom felt 'they could overcome the loss of the arms, as their arrival had been really a gesture to create confidence.' However, the countermanding order issued by Eoin MacNeill as a result was described by Clarke as a 'death-blow to their hopes' and furthermore, he told his wife the action was 'despicable, and to my mind dishonourable.'[16] Additionally, according to his friend and member of the IRB Supreme Council Sean McGarry, Clarke viewed the action 'as one of the blackest and greatest treachery.'[17]

[12] John O'Callaghan, 'The Limerick Volunteers and 1916' in Ruán O'Donnell (ed.), *The impact of the 1916 Rising among the nations* (Dublin, 2008), p. 5.
[13] Helen Litton (ed.), *Kathleen Clarke: revolutionary woman* (Dublin, 2008), pp 72-3.
[14] Gerard MacAtasney, *Tom Clarke: life, liberty, revolution* (Kildare, 2013), p. 87.
[15] Aine Ceannt (M.A., B.M.H., WS 264).
[16] Litton, *Kathleen Clarke*, p. 109.
[17] Sean McGarry (M.A., B.M.H., WS 368)

John Hosty, a courier in 1916, was given the message from MacNeill 'that all operations were off' and he was instructed to travel to Limerick to inform Colivet of the order. Once he arrived, he met with Fr. Hennessey and was brought to meet Colivet, where Colivet stated that he had already received the countermanding order from The O'Rahilly the previous evening.[18] Despite the expectations of many within the Volunteers, there was no violence in Limerick during the Rising in spite of the planning that had gone on the previous week by Colivet and others to start an uprising in the area.

The planning for a potential uprising in Limerick had begun during Easter Week 1916. Up until Tuesday of Easter Week, Colivet was under the impression that if a rising was to begin, the instructions were to take Limerick and to maintain this control along the Shannon. However, he met Pearse on the Wednesday and was given orders that his unit were to receive the German arms in Abbeyfeale and transport them to Galway, while simultaneously attacking barracks and disabling telephone lines in the area.[19]

On Holy Thursday, following a general parade in the city, Seán Fitzgibbon, a member of the IRB Executive, spoke to the Volunteers and Patrick Whelan recalls that he told them 'the hour we were all waiting for had come' and furthermore, they were told they should parade on Easter Sunday 'fully armed and equipped, and carrying two day's ration.'[20] Clearly, a plan had been put in place for a full-scale rising in the city with the intention of linking up with Dublin once they had been successful. However, the capture of Casement and Monteith appeared to prompt a change of heart for Colivet and the events surrounding this decision are important in understanding why no action took place in Limerick during the Rising.

Lieutenant Whelan was sent to Tralee by Colivet in order to gain some information on what had occurred with Casement in Kerry. Once he arrived, he received word that Austin Stack and Con Collins had been arrested and that the shipment had been captured by the authorities. While in Tralee, Whelan held discussions with various important figures such as Patrick Cahill, who was Vice O.C. of the Kerry Brigade and Nicholas Stack, brother of Austin, but all the information he received was largely unconfirmed.[21] Consequently, Colivet sent James Gubbins and Liam Forde to Dublin to confirm these details and to inquire as to whether the Rising the next day was still going ahead. Additionally, Colivet provisionally

[18] John Hosty (M.A., B.M.H., WS 373)
[19] O'Callaghan, 'The Limerick Volunteers', p. 9.
[20] Patrick Whelan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 1420); O'Halloran, 'The Irish Volunteers', p. 49.
[21] Patrick Whelan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 1420).

cancelled all the planned operations in Limerick for Easter Sunday, but left it open to change depending on what he heard from Dublin.[22]

Once word reached him from O'Rahilly and also a coded message from Fitzgibbon to say that the events were off, this eliminated the prospect of any action on Easter Sunday at least. In order to maintain some semblance of normality, Colivet decided to go ahead with the march in Kilonan and in addition roughly one hundred and thirty Volunteers paraded at the Fianna Hall.[23] It was apparent at this stage that no activity was going to take place throughout the country and that appeared to be the understanding of the leadership of the Limerick Volunteers.

However, on Easter Monday, Gubbins returned with an order from Seán MacDiarmada that the Rising was to go ahead and this was further confirmed when a dispatch was received from Pearse stating that the activities were to go ahead as planned.[24] However, Whelan, who was sent back to Tralee to pass the countermanding order to Patrick Cahill in Tralee, encountered Monteith, who himself had evaded British capture following Casement's arrest. Monteith relayed that he felt the 'Germans wanted cheap Irish blood' and all they wanted was for the Irish to cause 'some diversion or upset the British war machine at the time'. He advised Whelan to inform Colivet that he should not go ahead with any rising and to 'bluff his way through as best he could.'[25]

Given Monteith's prevalence and importance within the Limerick Volunteers, his advice would have been taken seriously upon Whelan's return to Limerick. A number of figures from other battalions came to Limerick at this time to seek advice including Eamon O'Dwyer from Tipperary. O'Dwyer refers to a meeting he had with Colivet and other members of the Brigade Council including James Leydon. The previous evening, O'Dwyer had discussed the possibility of a rising in Tipperary with Jim Condon, a Volunteers member, who when asked if any action was possible, replied, 'Certainly… there is a bunch of fellows will come out here.'[26] However, when O'Dwyer reached Limerick he was told by the Limerick Council that

> there was no possibility of anything being done, that the Volunteers were all disbanded and they could not possibly be got together again. They didn't think the fighting in Dublin would come to

[22] O'Callaghan, 'The Limerick Volunteers', p. 10.
[23] O'Halloran, 'The Irish Volunteers', p. 49.
[24] O'Callaghan, 'The Limerick Volunteers', p. 10.
[25] Patrick Whelan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 1420).
[26] Eamon O'Dwyer (M.A., B.M.H., WS 1403).

> anything, and Michael Colivet said that their information was that there was nobody out in Dublin only Larkin's men.[27]

Later, O'Dwyer relayed this information to the IRB Supreme Council but Colivet revealed that it had not in fact been the truth. He informed him that the Daly sisters had called to see Colivet a couple of hours before O'Dwyer and had informed him of the growing situation in Dublin and, knowing that there was little the Limerick Volunteers could have done, he lied stating that 'it was a question of having to say something to put you off.'[28] On Tuesday 25 April, Colivet convened a meeting of the Battalion Council, where a vote was held and it was decided by ten votes to six that nothing more could be done and that they were forced to follow MacNeill's orders.

While all this was going on, an order came from Colonel Anthony Weldon, commander of the British forces in Limerick, for the Volunteers to surrender arms and was passed onto the Battalion Council by Mayor Stephen Quin. This was initially rejected by Colivet but eventually, thanks largely to the efforts of Bishop O'Dwyer in facilitating contact between both sides, the decision was taken by Colivet and the council to surrender their arms to Mayor Quin and did so on Friday 5 May 1916.[29] Subsequently, Colivet defended his decision following criticism from the Supreme Council as he felt a lack of direct communication and the sinking of the *Aud* left Limerick in a very difficult situation. Additionally, James Gubbins stated that the events of Easter Week should be 'recorded as a tribute to the courage and loyalty of the Limerick Battalion' and that the volunteers were 'ready and willing to do their part.'[30] Unfortunately, it remains unclear what impact it would have had if Cork, Kerry and Limerick had been active participants in the rising. In the year we celebrate the centenary of the 1916 Easter Rising, the inactivity of such an important stronghold during the War of Independence remains controversial.

[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] James Gubbins (M.A., B.M.H., WS 765).
[30] Ibid.

Hibernianism, the Hibernian Rifles and the 1916 Rising

John Harrington

> The Irish Republic was proclaimed in Dublin on Easter Monday, April 24 at 12 noon, simultaneously with the issue of this proclamation of the provisional government, the Dublin Division of the army of the Irish Republic including the Irish Volunteers, Citizens Army, the Hibernian Rifles and other bodies occupied dominating points in the city.[1]

Late on Easter Monday, 1916, Padraig Pearse issued the above statement. It was a concise summary of the events that had happened that day. Pearse, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizens Army's (ICA) involvement in the events surrounding the Rising are well known and have been well researched and documented. The Hibernian Rifles on the other hand are almost completely missing from the popular narrative of 1916. In March 1967 Padraig O'Snodaigh, assistant keeper of the National Museum and noted Gaelic scholar, delivered a paper to the Old Dublin Society on the subject of the Hibernian Rifles, he called it a preliminary report.[2] To date this remains as the only substantial work conducted on the Hibernian Rifles. O'Snodaigh never published his paper or it seems expanded upon it. Expanding on O'Snodaigh's work, this article will explain the origins of The Hibernian Rifles and chronicle their part in the events of Easter Week 1916 and its aftermath. It will endeavour to convey how important Hibernianism was in the years leading up to 1916 and how it provided a connection between Ireland and Irish America through Clan na Gael. It will also evaluate the vital role of the American link for both strands of Hibernianism in Ireland prior to the Rising.

The Hibernian Rifles have their roots in the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH). The AOH is an Irish-American fraternal organisation which describes itself as a friendly benevolent society with the motto 'friendship, unity and true Christian charity.'[3] The AOH established its first lodge dedicated to these principles in New York in 1836.[4] From its formation, the AOH promoted brotherhood and unity among the Irish in America. It provided

[1] *Irish Examiner,* 3 May 1916.
[2] *Irish Times,* 6 Mar. 1967.
[3] Baron Ashtown Fredrick Oliver Trench, *The unknown power behind the Irish Nationalist Party: its present work and criminal history* (London, 1907), p.v.
[4] Ashtown, *The unknown power,* p. 109.

a social outlet, held regular meetings and organised among other events the annual Saint Patricks Day parade in New York.[5]

In 1904 Michael Davitt described it as the largest pro–Celt organisation in the world.[6] The origins of the AOH are shrouded in legend. The organisation claims direct descent from the group of the same name founded by Rory Og More who resisted English attempts to colonise Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth I.[7] It claims that the same group carried on resistance to British rule in Ireland under an number of epitaphs and as a number of differing secret organisations including the Defenders, Ribbonmen and other various agrarian secret societies that flourished in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[8] Michael Davitt accepted as fact that a union of the Defenders of Ulster and the White Boys of Munster lead to the formation of the Ribbonmen.[9]

Belfast nationalist and Irish Parliamentary Party MP Joseph Devlin, while on a fund raising trip to the USA, came in contact with the AOH and was impressed by its organisation. He believed that an Irish version of the AOH could be used to attracted members away from Republican organisations. He reasoned that by use of pageantry and unity an Irish AOH could be used to reinvigorate the struggle for Home Rule.[10] Devlin also hoped that having an Irish AOH would attract Irish-American support both political and financial.[11]

To this end in 1905 Devlin founded his style of The Ancient Order of Hibernians in Belfast. Devlin dubbed it the Board of Erin to emphasise that it was completely different and a separate organisation from the AOH in USA. The American Board of the AOH through its National President James E. Dolan at its national convention in Saratoga Falls, New York in July 1906, emphasised this separateness. He flatly denied there was any connection, bond of union or federation with the AOH Board of Erin. He also ruled out there being any such future union with the Board of Erin claiming to 'enter in to any negotiations would bring controversies in to our ranks.'[12]

While Devlin's Hibernians were nationalist and supported Home Rule, the American Ancient Order of Hibernians was more republican and separatist and had links to Clan na

[5] *The Ancient order of Hibernians, division* # 1 New York, (http://aohnyc1.org/) (7 November 2015).
[6] Ashtown, *The unknown power, p.vi.*
[7] Ashtown, *The unknown power,* p.161.
[8] Kevin O'Shiel (Military Archives, Bureau of Military History, WS 1770). (M.A., B.M.H., hereafter).
[9] Michael Davitt, *The fall of feudalism in Ireland* (London, 1904), p. 41.
[10] A. C. Hepburn, *Catholic Belfast and Nationalist Ireland in the era of Joe Devlin, 1871 – 1934* (Oxford, 2008), p. 94.
[11] Hepburn, *Catholic Belfast and Nationalist Ireland,* p. 94.
[12] *National Hibernian,* Aug. 1906.

Gael. Following the foundation of the Board of Erin an offshoot of the American organisation was also founded in Ireland, this American Alliance was according to its national vice – President Francis J. Healy open to all Irish nationalists, Fenians, Clan Na Gael, O'Brienites, Redmondites Healyites, Gaelic Leaguers and Sinn Feiners, but not to members of the Board of Erin.[13]

The American Alliance was soon spreading across the country establishing lodges. In Armagh one of the founding members was Harry Dobbyn a noted republican.[14] In Blackwatertown Camp county Armagh in 1913, the local Sinn Fein organisation transferred its allegiance from the Board of Erin to the American Alliance.[15] At the formation of the Irish Volunteers in Tralee the majority of the officers came from the American Alliance and the GAA.[16] Austin Stack was a prominent member of both the American Alliance and the Irish Volunteers.[17] The American Alliance was also to the fore in the promotion of nationalism and republicanism; it promoted a lecture given by Pearse on the 'nature of freedom' at the Rink in Tralee in February 1916.[18]

The American Alliance was particularly strong in Cork. Lieutenant Colonel John Newman, a Conservative MP, speaking in the House of Commons brought the Chief Secretary of Ireland, Augustine Birrell's attention to an official statement by Francis Healy censuring the Lord Mayor of Cork for honouring the toast of the King at the St. Patrick's Day banquet.[19] Healy was a barrister who later defended Terrance McSwiney in 1920. Under his stewardship the American Alliance acted closely with Clan na Gael in the USA and Healy was a correspondent and close friend of John Devoy.[20]

Clan na Gael was founded in 1867; it was the American counterpart to the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB).[21] John Devoy was a veteran fenian who had been sentenced to fifteen years penal servitude in 1866 for republican activities, on his release in 1871, he went to the United States and joined Clan na Gael.[22] Devoy was soon the leader of the

[13] *Skiberrian Eagle,* 5 Oct. 1912.
[14] J.J. Murray (M.A., B.M.H., WS 1096).
[15] Charles McGleenan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 829).
[16] Eamon Lynch (M.A., B.M.H., WS 17).
[17] Tadgh Kennedy (M.A., B.M.H., WS 1413).
[18] Michael Doyle (M.A., B.M.H., WS 1038).
[19] Hansard House of Commons Debate. 24 April 1913, Volume 53, CC 516-7.
[20] William O'Brien ((M.A., B.M.H., WS 1766).
[21] John Devoy, Joseph McGarrity and Clan Na Gael, *National Library of Ireland, (http://www.nli.ie/1916/pdf/3.2.2.pdf) (13 November 2015).*
[22] Desmond Ryan, 'Stephens, Devoy and Tom Clarke' in *University Review,* 12 (1957), p. 52.

organisation and he proved to be an exceptional and talented commander.[23] Under Devoy's tutelage Clan na Gael became the most important and influential Irish American nationalist organisation in the lead up to 1916. It was Devoy who sent Tom Clarke to Dublin from New York in 1907 to reorganise the IRB and prepare for the Rising. Clarke became the trusted link between Clan na Gael in the US and the IRB in Ireland.[24] Clan Na Gael supported a number of Irish nationalist organisations, including the Gaelic Athletic Association, the Gaelic League, and the Irish Volunteers. In fact Clan na Gael it is estimated sent $100,000 to various nationalist projects between 1913 and 1916.[25]

The American Alliance held a national conference in Dundalk in 1911, at which J.J Scollan was elected as a national director for Dublin. Scollan moved there from Derry and began organising the American Alliance in Dublin. He discovered that the constitution of The Ancient Order of Hibernians made provision for an organisation of a military nature. It allowed for one company of armed men organised on a soldierly basis in each division. The American Alliance had three divisions in Dublin: the Red Hand in modern day Pearse Street; Clan Na Gael in Parliament Street; and the O'Connell Division in Rathfarnham. Scollan duly organised a company in each division. Each company contained around twenty carefully selected men. By 1912, the Hibernian Rifles had set up their headquarters and drilling hall at 28 North Frederick Street. From the outset the provision of arms was a problem. Scollan had appealed to the AOH in America to supply weapons, but all they received was American Military text books. Scollan proved however to be a resourceful individual. At the time British soldiers were notoriously poorly paid, and targeting The Enniskillen Fusilers who were stationed in Dollymount, Scollan began purchasing rifles from individual soldiers for £5, a piece.[26]

During the 1913 Lock Out the Hibernian Rifles were among the many trades involved in the dispute. The American Alliance received $1,000 to supplement the strike pay of its members from its parent organisation in the USA during the stand-off.[27] It was as result of this involvement in the Lock Out that Scollan became friendly with James Connolly. Scollan, claimed after the Rising that he had throughout 1915 and early 1916 been a secret courier

[23] Ryan, 'Stephens, Devoy and Tom Clarke', p. 53.
[24] Joseph E.A. Connell Jr 'Countdown to 2015, Thomas Clarke returns to Dublin' in *History Ireland,* 1 (2012), p.66.
[25] John Devoy, Joseph McGarrity and Clan Na Gael, *National Library of Ireland, (http://www.nli.ie/1916/pdf/3.2.2.pdf) (13 November 2015).*
[26] J. J. Scollan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 318.).
[27] Ibid..

between Connolly and Arthur Griffith.[28] This would have been quite conceivable as Clan na Gael had supported both Connolly and Griffith's Newspaper, *the United Irishman,* with funding.[29] In 1915, word reached Connolly that the Royal Navy were constructing a number of 'Q' ships at Harland and Wolfe Belfast. The 'Q' or mystery ship was essentially a disguised merchant ship that was heavily armed. Its purpose was to force U boats to the surface and engage them in deadly combat.[30] Connolly wanted to get news of the 'Q' ship construction to the German Ambassador in Washington. Connolly proposed sending his daughter with the information. However Connolly was unable to provide the £30 passage, he approached Scollan who paid the passage and in return Connolly supplied the Hibernian Rifles with thirty Italian Rifles.[31]

On 1 November 1913, nationalist, Irish language supporter and academic Eoin MacNeill published his now famous 'the North began' article in *An Claidheamh Soluis,* the newspaper of the Gaelic League. He advocated the establishment of an Irish Volunteer Force to defend Home Rule and nationalists against the threat of Ulster Volunteer Force. MacNeill was also an ardent supporter of Redmond and Home Rule. He was, for the IRB, the ideal leader of a nationalist Volunteer movement as his leadership would not attract the unwanted attention of the British military.[32] Leading IRB man Bulmer Hobson approached MacNeill with the view to the establishment of the Volunteers. On 25 November 1913 a public meeting was held in the Rotunda Rink to establish the Irish Volunteers. It was envisaged that the organisation would not be factionalist but open to all. The manifesto of the Irish Volunteers that was accepted at the Rotunda declared that:

> the object proposed for the Irish Volunteers is to secure and maintain the rights and liberties common to all people of Ireland. Their duties will be defensive and protective and will not contemplate either aggression or domination. Their ranks are open to all able bodied Irishmen without distinction of creed, politics or social grade.[33]

The original provisional committee contained members from the full spectrum of Irish politics. While there were a number of IRB men on the committee it also contained a number of United Irish League / Irish Parliamentary Party members including John Gore, Tom and

[28] JJ Scollan, Hibernian Rifles, (Military Archives, Military Service Pensions Collection, MSP34/REF463). (M.A., M.S.P.C., hereafter).
[29] John Devoy, Joseph McGarrity and Clan Na Gael, *National Library of Ireland, (http://www.nli.ie/1916/pdf/3.2.2.pdf) (13 November 2015).*
[30] *Daily Telegraph,* 27 Jan. 2013.
[31] J. J. Scollan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 318).
[32] Bulmer Hobson (M.A., B.M.H., WS 51).
[33] *Manifesto of the Irish Volunteers,* 25 November 1913.

Larry Kettle and Colonel Maurice Moore who were also prominent Hibernians. Also on the original committee were AOH American Alliance members Michael J. Judge, James Lenehan, and George Walsh.[34] Peter O'Reily was also on the provisional committee, even though he was also on the National Executive of the Board of Erin.[35]

Despite an American Alliance presence on the provisional committee of the Irish Volunteers, the existence of a number of prominent Board of Erin Hibernians on the committee did not sit too well with the membership of the Hibernian Rifles who as a consequence refused to join the Volunteers. In effect as Scollan claimed later 'the Volunteers did not want them and they did not want the Volunteers'.[36] Despite this the Hibernian Rifles were very similar in appearance to the Irish Volunteers, the only difference was that their uniforms had blue facings on the cuffs, collars and slacks.[37]

MacNeill, a committed Home Ruler, along with Casement offered an alliance between the Volunteers and the IPP. It appears MacNeill was operating the Volunteers in a personal capacity and not as Chairman of the organisation. He did not have the authority of the Provisional Committee to offer such an alliance. It is unclear whether Redmond was aware of this but a national convention of Volunteers was held in early June 1914 to debate the matter. Redmond issued an ultimatum to the Provisional Committee to allow him to co-opt twenty-five members on to the body. At a meeting held in the Volunteer office in Brunswick Street the committee agreed to this ultimatum on a vote of 18 for, 9 against.[38] Among the new members added to the committee by Redmond were his brother Willie, James Creed Meredith Lord Mayor of Sligo, The Lord Mayor of Dublin and most importantly of all, Joe Devlin.[39]

In effect Joe Devlin's Board of Erin were now in control of the Irish Volunteers. The outbreak of World War One, however, set in train a series of events that would completely change the face of Ireland. Ulster Volunteers flocked to join the Ulster Regiment putting mounting pressure on Redmond to get the Irish Volunteers into the British forces. Fearing that the sacrifice of the Ulstermen would at the end of the war outweigh the non-participation

[34] Bulmer Hobson (M.A., B.M.H., WS 51).
[35] *Freeman's Journal,* 26 Nov. 1913.
[36] J. J. Scollan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 318).
[37] Edward Kelly (M.A., B.M.H., WS 1094).
[38] Bulmer Hobson (M.A., B.M.H., WS 51).
[39] J. Lyons, *The enigma of Tom Kettle Irish: patriot, essayist, poet, British soldier, 1880-1916* (Dublin, 1983), p. 248.

of the Irish Volunteers at the front in the debates on Home Rule, he issued his now famous plea for enlistment at Woodenbridge County Wicklow:

> Your duty is at all costs to defend the shores of Ireland from foreign invasion…your duty is twofold…go on drilling and make yourselves efficient for the work. Then account yourselves as men, not only in Ireland itself but wherever the firing line extends in defence of right, of freedom and religion in this war.[40]

The Volunteers were now split in to a Redmondite, Devlin, AOH faction calling itself the National Volunteers and the Irish Volunteers, made up of the opposition groups to Redmond, consisting of the IRB, the AOH American Alliance, the Hibernian Rifles and the Fianna Eireann.[41] When the war continued beyond Christmas 1914 and dragged in to a second year the Irish Volunteers began to reorganise across the country. The initial meeting in Dundalk had about twenty attendees and was broken up by the local Board of Erin.[42] Despite this level of opposition the Irish Volunteers' reorganisation continued at a pace.

As the reorganised Irish Volunteers and leadership began to prepare and plan for the Rising, the Hibernian Rifles began to adopt a public presence in the events leading up to the insurrection. At O'Donovan Rossa's funeral the American Alliance and the Hibernian Rifles played a small but prominent part. By August 1915 the Hibernian Rifles had a membership of only 150 men and 50 rifles.[43] They paraded on Capel Street before joining the cortege in its movement towards Glasnevin Cemetery.[44] Reports of the funeral were carried worldwide and the *Independent* of Butte Montana described the presence of 15,000 Volunteers and notably the Hibernian Rifles at proceedings.[45] In November 1915 Thomas McDonagh lead the Manchester Martyrs commemoration which was attended by Irish Volunteers, Irish Citizen Army and the Hibernian Rifles.[46]

The events of Easter Week 1916 would prove to be yet another pivotal moment among so many that occurred between 1912 and 1922 in Ireland. Devoy and Clan Na Gael had been instrumental in getting Casement to Germany in 1914 to elicit German support for a nationalist rising in Ireland. He was partially successful in his endeavours.[47] The German ship

[40] *Irish Independent,* 21 Sept. 1914.
[41] Sean Cusack (M.A., B.M.H., WS 9).
[42] Francis McQuillan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 338).
[43] J. J. Scollan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 318).
[44] *Irish Independent,* 31 July 1915.
[45] *Butte Independent,* 14 Aug. 1915.
[46] *Irish Independent,* 22 Nov. 1915.
[47] Angus Mitchell, 'A strange chapter of Irish history: Sir Roger Casement, Germany and the 1916 Rising' in *Field Day Review,* 8 (2012), p. 7.

Aud reached Tralee Bay County Kerry on Good Friday laden with rifles for the Irish Volunteers. Due to confusion over the proposed landing date, coupled with the fact that *Aud* carried no wireless equipment it had arrived too early and there was no one there to greet it. The Royal Navy intercepted it and Spindler, the Captain, scuttled it.[48] Casement was arrested and all the plans for a nationwide rising or for that matter any kind of armed demonstration appeared to be at an end. [49] Eoin MacNeill, who had been up until this point been kept in the dark concerning the plans for the insurrection, was informed that the landing of the German arms and ammunition made the Rising inevitable and agreed not to impede its progress. When the word arrived in Dublin of events in Kerry, MacNeill realised that the Rising could not go ahead and for once he took a decisive step he issued an order on Holy Saturday cancelling all Volunteer mobilisations for Easter Sunday. This sowed widespread confusion across the Volunteer ranks.[50] This was further compounded by Pearse's order to mobilise on Easter Monday.

Scollan and the Hibernian Rifles, not being affiliated to or part of the Irish Volunteers, and while aware of MacNeill's countermanding orders, preceded to hold their normal Sunday morning parade at their headquarters in North Frederick Street.[51] Connolly who while not giving much of the Rising planning away, did give Scollan broad hints that an insurrection was imminent. With this in mind orders were issued by Scollan to parade again on Easter Monday at noon.[52] It was at this Easter Monday parade that news reached them of the beginning of the rising. Close to thirty members of the company of sixty elected to join the fight and at midnight on Easter Monday received word from Connolly to make their way to the GPO.[53]

The Hibernian Rifles were not a male dominated organisation, they had a number of female members who also mobilised on Easter Monday in North Frederick Street, among them Cathleen Healy. She then proceeded to St Stephens Green and St Matthews Hall where she carried out first aid on wounded Volunteers and ICA members for the duration of Easter Week. Healy was to remain a lifelong committed Republican.[54] Cathleen's sister, Teresa Byrne, another member of the Hibernian Rifles also mobilised on Easter Monday. She too

[48] Florence O'Donoghue, 'Plans for the 1916 Rising' in *University Review,* 1 (1963), p. 14.
[49] William Mullins (M.A., B.M.H., WS 123).
[50] Nicholas Manseragh, 'Eoin MacNeill: a reappraisal' in *Irish Quarterly Review,* 250 (1974), p. 137.
[51] J. J. Scollan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 318).
[52] Scollan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 318).
[53] Scollan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 318).
[54] Cathleen Healy, Hibernian Rifles, Military *Archive, Military Service Pensions Collection, MSP 34 Ref 58085.*

was involved in the St. Stephen's Green and Father Mathew Hall areas during the week. She, like her sister, was a lifelong republican joining Cumman na mBan in 1921.[55] Among other women who were members of the Hibernian Rifles who continued their involvement in the republican movement after the rising included Mary Chadwick, Mary Margaret MacSherry and Mary McLoughlain.[56]

In Maynooth County Kildare the local Volunteers had mobilised on Easter Sunday and only received MacNeill's countermanding order while on parade. They also received Pearse's order not to leave their district and wait further orders, which never came. On Easter Monday the word reached Maynooth that the rebellion had started. The Volunteers decided to make their way to Dublin.[57] Following an arduous and danger filled trek - which involved spending the night in Glasnevin Cemetery - they arrived at the GPO at around six am on Tuesday morning.[58]

As part of the initial plans for the Rising Captain Sean Connolly and his company of The Irish Citizens Army were detailed to seize and occupy Dublin City Hall and the Evening Mail offices on Parliament Street. Connolly had only thirty men for this task and by Easter Monday night his position was coming under increasing pressure from British attempts to dislodge his command. In fact Connolly had been killed on Monday night and the British had retaken City Hall.[59] James Connolly detailed the Maynooth Volunteers who numbered about fifteen and the thirty Hibernian Rifles to leave the GPO proceed to the City Hall as a relief force for the ICA. This small force made its way from the GPO at 6am on Tuesday Morning, on to the Quays and a cross the Halfpenny Bridge where a busy Corporation employee manned his booth and attempted to collect the toll; to which Scollan produced his revolver and informed the toll collector he was not getting paid.[60] Arriving at their destination, the Exchange Hotel, from where they would be able to aim fire in to the City Hall and the Evening mail offices, they broke down the door barricaded the windows and made their way on to the roof. From their vantage point the insurgents began to rain fire down on their targets in the City Hall and Evening Mail office. The British forces continued to fire on the Evening mail offices. Eventually realising where the firing was coming from, the British turned their

[55] Teresa Byrne, Hibernian Riles (M.A., M.S.P.C., MSP34/REF55038).
[56] Mary Chadwick, Hibernian Rifles(M.A., M.S.P.C., MSP34/REF19311); Mary Margret McSherry, Hibernian Rifles (M.A., M.S.P.C., MSP34/REF54707); Mary McLoughlain, Hibernian Rifles (M.A., M.S.P.C., MSP34/REF153891).
[57] Patrick Colgan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 850).
[58] Patrick Colgan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 850).
[59] The National Library of Ireland, (http://www.nli.ie/1916/1916_main.html) (05 November 2015).
[60] J. J. Scollan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 318).

attention towards the insurgents' position in the Exchange Hotel.[61] Units of the Irish Fusiliers and the Enniskillen Fusiliers attempted to storm the hotel and suffered heavy casualties, with over twenty or more dead or wounded. Ironically many of the Enniskillen Fusiliers were killed with the very same guns that Scollan had bought from them in 1912. It was during this engagement that the Hibernian Rifles suffered their only casualty of the Rising. Edward Walsh was wounded and died later that evening.[62] The British now concentrated their efforts on both the Exchange Hotel and the newspaper offices. The fight continued all day from 09:00 until 16:30 when the order was given to evacuate the Hotel. The Hibernian Rifles and the Maynooth Volunteers made their way back to the GPO without suffering another casualty. Interestingly, the ICA Company that had being occupying the Evening Mail offices had abandoned their position at around 08:30 on Tuesday; the Maynooth men, Hibernian Rifles and the British forces had been engaged in a day long battle for an empty building.[63]

The Hibernian Rifles made it back to the GPO almost intact; two of their number became detached from the column and were arrested by the British. Nicholas Burke was one of the two men arrested by British forces outside the telephone exchange on Crown Lane. He was released without charge the following Sunday on account of his age.[64] Burke would play no more part in the republican struggle. Wednesday passed relatively peacefully in the GPO and on Thursday morning Connolly tasked Scollan with a mission to check the situation at Broad Street Railway station. On arrival he found the station to be occupied by British forces. Scollan was arrested, transferred to Ship Street Barracks for eight days, then on to Arbour Hill and finally Richmond Barracks. From Richmond Barracks, he and a large number of other prisoners including Sean T. O'Kelly were deported to Britain, eventually being interned in Frongoch after spending time in Wandsworth Prison.[65]

The 1918 election proved to be the death knell for the Board of Erin; support for the IPP had been in constant decline since 1916. The 1918 general election was the first in the United Kingdom since December 1910. It was the first election to be held under the Representation of the Peoples Act 1918. This act removed the property qualifications for voting and enfranchised all men over the age of 21 and some women over the age of 30. At a stroke the electorate in Ireland rose from 683,767 in 1910 to 1,926,274 in 1918.[66] The

[61] *Sunday Independent,* 8 Apr. 1928.
[62] J. J. Scollan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 318).
[63] *Sunday Independent,* 8 Apr. 1928.
[64] Nicholas Burke, Hibernian Rifles (M.A., M.S.P.C., MSP34/REF19903).
[65] J. J. Scollan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 318).
[66] F.W.S. Craig, *British Electoral facts, 1832 -1987* (Dartmouth, 1989), p. 60.

majority of these first time voters were young and natural supporters of Sinn Fein, a more dynamic, younger and vibrant party. This was in diametric opposition to the Irish Parliamentary Party which consisted of old parliamentarians who had been at the heart of nationalist politics since the previous century.

Ironically the result of the election also signalled the demise of Hibernianism in general. All across the country the America Alliance began to lose membership to Sinn Fein. In Wexford all through 1917 and 1918 Sinn Fein clubs were being established in every parish, attracting membership and support away from both branches of the AOH.[67] In previously ardent strongholds of the Board of Erin like South Armagh, Volunteer companies were organised in Crossmaglen, Dorsey, Mullaghbawn, Camlough and various other areas in the constituency.[68] The Hibernian Rifles disbanded in 1919. Scollan did not have any more involvement with the Volunteers or with the ongoing struggle. Hibernian Rifles member and another 1916 veteran Patrick Garland joined the IRA.[69] Francis Devine also joined the IRA on the disbandment of the Hibernian Rifles.[70] Christopher Walsh, 1916 Hibernian Rifle veteran, joined the IRA in 1921 and the National Defence forces in 1922.[71]

Between 1900 and 1922 Ireland underwent a political, cultural and social revolution. It contained pivotal moments aplenty; the Home Rule Crisis, the outbreak of World War One, the Easter Rising, the 1918 General Election, establishment of an independent Irish Assembly, a War of Independence and the establishment of a Free State. In less than a generation Ireland went from being part of the British Empire to the southern two thirds of the island being independent. The main organisations in this transformation, The IPP, the IRB, the Irish Volunteers, the ICA, Cumann na mBan, Sinn Fein even the Fianna have for the most part been well researched and have been given their rightful place in the historical narrative of the age, Hibernianism has not. The Ancient Order of Hibernians American Alliance and its rival the Board of Erin have for the most part been forgotten. In the years prior to 1916 these organisations came to be an important and valued source of American influence and most importantly finance. Hibernianism also provided a social outlet for men and women. Each of the rival organisations recognised how each could be used to organise a grass roots organisation for the support of political ideologies. The Board of Erin identified itself with the Irish Parliamentary Party and its support of Home Rule. The American

[67] Patrick Ronan (M.A., B.M.H., WS 1157).
[68] James McGuill (M.A., B.M.H., WS 353).
[69] Patrick Garland, Hibernian Rifles (M.A., M.S.P.C., MSP34/REF20509).
[70] Francis Devine, Hibernian Rifles (M.A., M.S.P.C., MSP34/REF20284).
[71] Christopher Walsh, Hibernian Rifles (M.A., M.S.P.C., 24/SP2744).

Alliance had connections with Clan na Gael was a more separatist organisation and supported the desire for an Irish Republic. Each had lodges across the country and Hibernian Halls were a common sight in most towns and villages. Pearse recognised the importance of the Hibernian Rifles and mentioned them by name in his Easter Monday statement. The *Butte Independent* also recognised their importance to Irish Americans and specifically mentions the Hibernian Rifles in its reporting of O'Donovan Rossa's funeral even though they had only 150 men in uniform in contrast to the Volunteers' 15,000. Their influence in Irish America far outweighed their perceived lack of numbers in Ireland. Their connection to Devoy and Clan na Gael proved to be invaluable. By 1918 however Hibernianism has served its purpose and Sinn Fein was now the recognised political, cultural and social organisation in Ireland and Irish America began to switch its allegiance to it and away from the AOH.

Art as social commentary: two visual interpretations of the 1916 Rising

Deirdre Kelly

'…walking through Harcourt Street onto the Green and I was overwhelmed by his great cloud of khaki yellow soldiers and in the centre, a little streak of dark green . . . '[1]

Kathleen Fox (1888-1963) quoted the above reflection some months before her death in 1963. She was referring to the 1916 Easter Rising when a group of approximately sixteen hundred volunteers rose up against the British authorities to fight for an Independent Ireland, an event which divided even the most ardent nationalists of the time.[2] Ireland's sense of nationality, Republican separatists believed, was threatened as never before by the encroachment of British power and values; the so-called 'Anglicisation' of Ireland.[3] The summary executions of the leaders of the Rising changed the attitudes and mind-set of the ordinary citizens who were appalled at the callousness shown to their fellow countrymen. As Jacques Derrida affirms, 'the rapport of self-identity is always a rapport of violence with the other.'[4]

The summer and autumn of 1916 saw the beginning of a far reaching transformation of nationalist attitudes in Ireland.[5] Much has been written about these events and the resulting dramatic shift in tide towards the Sinn Fein party in the General Election some two years later which it can be claimed changed the course of Irish history.[6] Fintan O'Toole asserts that history does not stop, but can change the way we look at the present just as the present has always determined the way we look at the past.[7] In Ireland the interpretation of the past has always been at the heart of national conflict.[8] However, not a lot of weight has been given to

[1] Kathleen Fox quoted in an interview with Nora Niland, 1963, from private collection of papers and sketches courtesy of Susanna Pym, grand-daughter of Kathleen Fox.
[2] For a step-by-step re-enactment of Easter week see Shane Hegarty and Fintan O'Toole (eds), *Irish Times Book of the 1916 Rising* (Dublin, 2006). For an analysis of the event and its aftermath see Tim Pat Coogan, *The Easter Rising* (Dublin, 2005), Michael Foy and Brian Barton, *The Easter Rising* (London, 2000), Clair Wills, *Dublin 1916 – The Siege of the GPO* (Dublin, 2009).
[3] Charles Townshend, 'Making Sense of Easter 1916' in *History Ireland,* xiv, no.2 (March/April 2006), p. 40. Douglas Hyde had given a famous lecture in November 1892 'On the Necessity of De-Anglicizing the Irish People'. In 1916 Ireland had a real fear of the imposition of conscription which had already begun in Britain.
[4] Jacques Derrida in Richard Kearney and Paul Ricoeur, *Dialogues with contemporary continental thinkers* (Manchester, 1984), p. 117.
[5] Townshend, 'Making Sense of Easter 1916', p. 44.
[6] M. E. Collins, *An Outline of Modern Irish History: 1858-1951* (Dublin, 1974), p. 239. Sinn Fein secured seventy-three seats in the 1918 election whilst the Home Rule Irish Parliamentary Party was reduced to six members.
[7] Fintan O'Toole, *In A State: an exhibition in Kilmainham Gaol on national identity* (Dublin, 1991), p. 11.
[8] Ian McBride (ed.), *History and Memory in Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001) p. 1.

the interpretation by artists, specifically visual artists, in documenting and reflecting the attitudes and ambiguities surrounding this event. This essay will look at two images from the period of the Rising. The first, Kathleen Fox's, *The Arrest of Countess Markievicz,* painted directly from a first-hand witness account describes in detail a specific dramatic moment, while Sean Keating's *Men of the West* presents an allegorical and romanticised version reflecting the so-called 'spirit of the time'.[9] An analysis of both of these images will give a clearer understanding of the prevailing attitude of the changing public mind-set which also articulated an increasingly explicit nationalist consciousness.

Researching for a larger project for an MA dissertation based on Irish identity through visual responses to the 1916 Rising, resulted in the accession of a rare taped interview by Fox now in a private collection, which explained the context of her work.[10] At two o'clock on Sunday 30 April 1916, Fox happened upon a dramatic scene of a group of British soldiers surrounding a small number of poorly clad men with two key figures at their helm, one of whom was a woman. They were gathered outside The Royal College of Surgeons on St. Stephen's Green, Dublin. Fox had been running an errand for her family and recognised the lady being led away with some surprise as the same woman who had frequented the School of Art in the evenings with her husband and son. 'She was a jolly sort of character', she noted recalling Markievicz (1868-1927), 'she used to come and amuse herself . . . she wasn't seriously an artist . . . but she just used to come in and talk to everybody.' Markievicz had in fact studied art at The Slade, London in 1893. Along with her husband Casimir (1874-1932) and George Russell (AE) (1867-1935) she exhibited annually in Dublin from 1904 to 1909 at The Leinster Lecture Hall, Molesworth Street. Arguably, it was only her political activities that prevented her pursuing her art further.

Fox's description of one of the most momentous events of the key week in Irish history, Easter 1916, is insightful in its clarity. She witnessed how Irish Citizen Army Chief of Staff, Michael Mallin (1874-1916) and Markievicz, conspicuous by their Volunteer's uniform, 'a little streak of dark green,' were overwhelmed by the force of the British Army, 'a great cloud of khaki yellow soldiers' as described at the beginning of this essay. Fox had studied at the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art with fellow students Willie Pearse (1881-1916), Grace Gifford (1888-1955), later Mrs Joseph Plunkett (1887-1916), and the sculptor Albert Power

[9] Fox's painting can be viewed under google images at www.abc.net.
[10] This taped interview was kindly supplied by Fox's grand-daughter, Susanna Pym to the author. See Deirdre Kelly, 'Defining an Irish identity through the visual response to the 1916 Rising' (MA thesis, University of Limerick, 2009).

(1882-1945). She was born in Dublin, daughter of Captain Henry Charles Fox of the King's Dragoon Guards. She left Dublin for London in 1911 and went to Paris for a couple of years where she had a studio. She married a British soldier, Lieutenant Cyril Pym in 1917 who died in the First World War before returning home for good to Brookfield, Milltown, Dublin in the 1920s.. She excelled in many areas of art including enameling, stained-glass, portraits and still-life. Fox was one of the few women artists to paint the Rising. Muriel Brandt's (1909-1981) *The Breadline 1916,* is also based on actual scenes at the time and is housed in the Crawford Art Gallery, Cork. *The Arrest of Countess Markievicz,* is perhaps Fox's best known work and is a direct recording of a contemporary event which has since become a valuable visual document.

Like the majority of citizens that week, Fox was unaware that there was anything untoward occurring. Immediately understanding the monumental nature of the situation she found herself in, she vividly recounted the scene which played out before her. Ordinary people were out doing ordinary everyday things when an extraordinary scene developed before their eyes. She indicates this in a number of ways; firstly, by the discarded bicycles thrown haphazardly in the right hand foreground as people were told to move on quickly. Secondly, an apparently hastily parked car cutting across the centre background draws the eye and links the onlookers on the right with the officer commanding his soldiers on the left. This serves to balance the composition as it gives a sense of perspective.

Onlookers group on the right; children gesticulate in wonderment to their parents about what they are witnessing. Ostensibly, as Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch points out, at first glance, Fox's painting appears to be an objective visual documentation.[11] However, upon closer analysis it is clear that there is a subjective predisposition to the painting because Fox has included herself in it. She is seen at the back right hand side under the sole tree, wearing the straw boater hat and gazing out at the spectator rather than the scene taking place, to draw the viewer into the event. This suggests a deliberate attempt to make a statement, to encourage both herself and the viewer to participate or empathise with those who had taken part in the insurrection. 'It was something I had to put in,' she said, 'not looking towards Markievicz,' who impressed her as she 'was a fine stature of a woman'. By including herself in the image, Fox can perhaps be compared to Jan Van Eyck (c1395-1441) whose subtle signature in *The*

[11] Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch, *Ireland's art, Ireland's history: representing Ireland, 1845 to present* (Dublin, 2007), p. 141.

Betrothal of the Arnolfini is an example of how the artist, although witness, becomes part of what he is witnessing and therefore, no longer remains objective.

The only uniforms evident among the group of Volunteers present at the College belonged to Markievicz and Mallin though in fact Markievicz had borrowed an old jacket of Mallin's. Mallin had served in the British Army, joining in 1889 and was in the Royal Scots Fusiliers; he spent six years serving in India. As Chief-of-Staff of the Irish Citizen Army he trained the Volunteers from 1915 onwards in mock street fighting and strategies on how to take over buildings.[12] Most of the Volunteers wore ordinary working clothes and some of them wore hats. Others were wounded with bandages around their heads as they had no time to wash or get food. For example, one man has his head wrapped in a white cloth directly behind Mallin. In contrast, Fox presents well turned out uniformed soldiers flanking both sides of the accused and they continue back towards Grafton Street as far as the eye can see. Her diagonal composition enables the viewer to take in a broader vista and get some idea of the scale of the army in a relatively small expanse of space.

Mallin and Markievicz were originally posted in St. Stephen's Green itself but had to abandon their plans within twenty-four hours as the park was surrounded by tall buildings which exposed their cover. The majority of the Irish Citizen Army then occupied the solid Royal College of Surgeons instead where Markievicz is said to have blown out the lock on the door. They held out before reluctantly surrendering at two o'clock on Sunday 30 April to Captain Wheeler, a relative of the Countess. Harry de Courcy-Wheeler was Staff Captain to General Lowe during the course of the Rising. His wife, Selina Knox, was the daughter of Hercules Knox of Rappa Castle, County Mayo and first cousin of Countess Markievicz.[13] Wheeler asked Markievicz if she would like to be driven to Dublin Castle under escort given his family relationship with her. She replied, 'No, I shall march at the head of my men as I am second in command, and shall share their fate'.[14] As she handed over her weapon, Markievicz kissed her revolver reverently and also gave Wheeler a German Mauser pistol which she had in her possession. As Fox observed these proceedings from an artistic perspective, it was important for her to emphasise the fact that neither Markievicz nor Mallin had actually surrendered. 'If you notice,' she said, 'I've never used defeated [in her discussion of the events to Niland]. They did not surrender. They asked for a truce and if you

[12] Roy Foster, *Vivid faces* (London, 2014), pp 183;189.
[13] Wheeler's account of his part in The Rising and Markievicz's arrest'. (http://www.findlaterbook.com/chapter9.html) (accessed 21 0ct. 2015)
[14] Ibid.

notice in my picture, you see the little white flag up beside the tricolor, but when that little flag went up the British Army came along and the Citizen Army marched out of the College'.[15] While Mallin was executed on 8 May 1916 in Kilmainham Gaol, Markievicz who was also sentenced to death, was later commuted to life imprisonment but was released in 1917 when a general amnesty was granted. Her only defense at her court martial was that she had gone out to fight for Ireland's freedom and she stated that she did not care what happened to her.[16] She was the first woman to be elected to the House of Commons following the 1918 General Election but did not take up her seat. Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (I.T.G.W.U.) organiser William Partridge (1874-1917) also fought in The College of Surgeons and was sent to Lewes Prison after his arrest. He died due to ill health in 1917 soon after his release. Mallin and Partridge were finally honored in 2011 with plaques at Emmet Hall, Inchicore, Dublin in recognition of their roles in the Rising.[17]

Fox made thumbnail sketches comparing the scale of relative groups and heights of buildings as she stood watching, using any scraps of paper she happened to have in her pocket which she later developed into the full painting in her studio. Photographs taken at the time record the accuracy of her composition. It is painted on a grand scale, accentuating the monumentality of the event she is conveying. The grand Palladian façade of The Royal College of Surgeons is accurately depicted with its imposing pediment supporting the three statues that embody the spirit of the building; Athena, on the left, the goddess of wisdom and war; Asclepius in the centre, the god of medicine; and Hygiea to the right, the goddess of health. The white flag to which Fox refers to is hard to distinguish but appears to be in the right hand of Asclepius, the middle figure of the three.

Niland asked Fox what the general feeling was among the onlookers as they witnessed the dramatic arrest. She believed that the majority were confused, wondering why 'those poor little boys' were being attacked and why they were being arrested. Most of the spectators were drawn to the figure of Markievicz as it was so strange to see a woman dressed in uniform as the Victorian spirit still instilled at that time and even the presence of a woman wearing trousers was unusual. However, Fox felt that Markievicz was recognised by the onlookers as she was popular among the poor and most of the spectators were in that category. She had befriended all the wives of the Citizen Army and had sent them out to the

[15] Some books have titled the work inaccurately as *The Surrender of Countess Markievicz*.
[16] (http://www.irish-society.org/home/hedgemaster-archives-2/people/countess-constance-markievicz)
[17] The plaque honouring Mallin and Partridge was unveiled on the 4 November 2011 at 22 Emmet Road, Inchicore, Dublin.

Wicklow hills for safe-keeping at her own expense. She was also well known because of her work with the poor during the 1913 Lockout. For Fox it was quite clear that 'Madame' Markievicz was the authoritative figure despite being second in command to Mallin. All eyes, including her own, were drawn to Markievicz because her personality seemed so forceful and because she was a lone woman among such a large gathering of men and boys. Fox could not understand why this relatively small group of unarmed 'boys' could not have been arrested by the police instead of a huge swathe of British soldiers. It made her question her own ambiguous thoughts about the insurrection.

Because of this, after she returned to Art College following the Easter holidays, Fox found a strange atmosphere pervading. She was met by close friends who declared that it was awful the way the Irish had behaved. She however, thought they were magnificent and from that day on there existed a chilly atmosphere because the College was run by what she termed the Vice Regal Lodge and officials who she considered very pro-British. She earned the nickname 'little rebel' because of her views. According to Roy Foster, however, it is interesting to note that The Dublin Metropolitan School of Art unlike the Royal Hibernian Academy, was a less elite institution and as such high profile nationalists such as the Gifford sisters and Countess Markievicz were able to share common interests and mix in influential nationalist circles there.[18]

Niland asked if Willie Pearse had discussed politics in the College of Art but Fox maintained that he kept his thoughts to himself. Occasionally his brother, Pádraig would show up at a céilidh but Willie worked in the sculpture department so Fox's dealings with him were limited. No one knew she was painting the scene except her friend, Albert Power who did not disclose it to anyone. She worked in her studio as far away from her family as possible. They would have been displeased had they known what she was doing as she came from an Anglo-Irish background. Her brother was a prisoner of war in Germany during the First World War, her brother-in-law a commanding officer in Ireland. The former, while a Guard's Officer in the most conservative regiment in the British Army, was nicknamed

[18] Foster, *Vivid Faces*, p. 69; see Anne Clare, *Unlikely rebels: The Gifford girls and the fight for Irish freedom* (Dublin, 2011). The Gifford sisters were Sydney, an influential journalist who wrote revolutionary articles under the name, 'John Brennan'; Grace, an artist who married Joseph Mary Plunkett on the eve of his execution; Muriel's husband, Thomas MacDonagh was also executed for his part in The Rising; Nellie Gifford cleaned up the rebels before they left The Royal College of Surgeons.

'Major Sinn Féin' because he was always seen as pro-Irish and may have been more understanding than others but she still did not confide in him.[19]

In the following weeks after the Rising, Fox studied every individual soldier as the scene would have been presented and sought expert opinion as to what uniforms they wore and how they conducted themselves. To paint such a picture was as John Turpin points out, 'a clandestine act' so it took months to make the drawings, posing men and getting the correct sketches of the buildings in terms of scale and composition.[20] Fox retraced her footsteps through St. Stephen's Green, watching the people strolling by and noting their gestures and enactments.

In later years, she argued a purely painterly justification for her work. Yet, she admitted that she knew she was making more than just a nice picture and it expressed her feelings at that time as she watched the scene unfolding. Therefore, *The Arrest of Countess Markievicz* can be regarded as a social commentary in so far as she attempted to transfer her emotions and that of her fellow onlookers at the precise moment of Markievicz's arrest onto canvas. The painting was sent to America shortly after completion for safekeeping, given the uncertain climate of the time. She shipped it to a fellow student of the School of Art in Dublin, Frank Rigney who had gone to New York to work as an illustrator. He in turn passed it on to a lady friend who kept it rolled up for years and forgot about it. When Rigney did eventually come across it again, he wrote to Fox who received a letter through the Department of External Affairs confirming its arrival at Alexander Base in Dublin in 1946. Whether the involvement of the Department was a significant factor in its return, is not certain.[21] It was included in the Thomas Davis Centenary Exhibition at the Dublin School of Art that year alongside other historical paintings. It arrived too late for cataloguing but hung on a screen near the entrance where it was singled out by the President, Sean T. O'Kelly, his wife, and the then Minister for Education. As Nora Niland pointed out, it is perhaps surprising that the State did not acquire it for its National Collection given its historical importance, but Fox admitted they made her an offer which she did not consider sufficient. The painting remained in her home until its purchase in 1963 by Niland for her gallery in Sligo.

[19] From taped interview.
[20] John Turpin, 'Irish history painting' in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* (1989-90), p. 242.
[21] From taped interview.

Due to the absence of the painting in any public forum for such a long period of time, it is perhaps not surprising that it was somewhat supplanted as a key icon of the 1916 Rising until its return to Ireland and public viewing. In contrast, Sean Keating's image, *Men of the West*, housed in the Dublin Municipal Gallery, The Hugh Lane, reputedly painted in 1915 with additions thereafter, was recognised immediately as a powerful illustration of Irish nationalism of this period.[22] It exemplifies the stony landscape and rugged inhabitants of the western isles of Ireland. Fintan O'Toole claims that there is at the deepest level, a close connection between the artistic imagination and the nationalist impulse. Nations, he maintains, are not really the product of blood and soil but emerge from the construction of a given historical reality and imagination, and from memories and desires. There is always a strong temptation to pretend that the nation is eternal, that its truth is contained in its glorious past and that the main task of artists and cultural institutions is to preserve the purity of a timeless, immemorial impulse by cutting away either metaphorically or literally anything or anyone who does not conform to these measures.[23] Irish writers and artists were consumed with an expression of a distinctive Irish landscape and way of life because of the very fact that the sense of a national identity or collective identification with the nation is synonymous with the emergence of nations.[24]

Keating's *Men of the West* is a highly romanticised and unrealistic image, more of an allegory of an ideological link between the remote West of Ireland, seen as a true repository of ancient Irish culture, and the new Ireland being born by force of arms.[25] In spite of The Rising occurring in a mainly urban setting, Keating implies in his depiction that the agile men of the western islands are embodiments of the 'true' Irishman; heroic, stoical and resilient.[26] The rugged landscape provides the greatest contrast to the landscape of England and formulates the creation of a new Irish cultural identity, separating both the colonial past and the reality of the industrialised urban present. Keating first travelled to the Aran islands in 1914 and was inspired by the people and natural beauty he discovered there.

Both Fox and Keating studied under William Orpen (1878-1931) and both worked as his assistant for a period of time. Orpen's superb draughtsmanship is evident in Fox's

[22] Dublin Municipal Gallery, The Hugh Lane online catalogue of artists and their works. (http://emuseum.pointblank.ie/online_catalogue/work-detail.php?objectid=910) (accessed 20 Oct. 2015) (cat.no.226)
[23] Fintan O'Toole, *Culture: art and conflicts* (Dublin, 1999), p. 3.
[24] Marie Bourke, 'A growing sense of national identity in the visual arts in the early twentieth century' in Neil Garham and Keith Jeffrey (eds), *Culture, place and identity* (Dublin, 2005), p. 47.
[25] Turpin, 'Irish history painting', p. 242.
[26] Bhreathnach-Lynch, *Ireland's art, Ireland's history,* p. 81.

complicated composition and Keating's dramatic 'tableaux'. Like Fox, Keating also positioned himself in the painting; he is the figure on the left, gazing directly out at the viewer. Once again, this inclusion of the artist within his/her own work serves to subvert the nature of the image, turning it from one of objectivity to subjectivity, placing the artist as a representative of the onlooker in the image. Explicitly, *Men of the West* depicts three men in traditional Aran dress; báinin jackets and knitted belts. Their commitment to the Republican cause is symbolised by the tri-colour behind Keating. Eimear O'Connor states that this flag was actually added to the painting after the 1916 Rising.[27] There is a better balance to the painting without its inclusion as can be seen when one examines the left arm of Keating. If extended in reality, this arm would be much longer than its counterpart. The other two models were Keating's brother, Joseph who was a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) at the time, and a friend. Each figure is posed dramatically and positioned within the frame as if in a scene from a tableaux or play. The figure to the foreground has his back to the viewer in order to expose the rifle resting under his arm. He is leaning nonchalantly on one of the stony West of Ireland walls, apparently on the look-out and primed for any developments which might appear from the right of the composition. The central figure is shown in profile and appears to be 'on-guard' like that of a sentry, keeping a watchful eye on the left-hand side of the image. As stated, Keating himself is looking out and watching what might come from any 'outside' attack. Limited posters of the painting were circulated and issued through Davis publishers in Dublin but were subsequently withdrawn by the authorities for being too subversive.[28]

In subsequent years, the painting has been criticised for seemingly representing the Wild West of America rather than the West of Ireland.[29] Certainly Keating has created an imagined romantic image with overt nationalist overtones to inspire and inculcate a sense of pride in being Irish. Arguably, his romanticised allegory was in keeping with the Hegelian view of reflecting or representing the spirit of the time. A staunch nationalist, Keating was fervent in his commitment to establishing a new Irish identity in painting and was chosen as the Official Free State artist during Eamon de Valera's political reign.[30] Keating's images

[27] Dr Eimear O'Connor, lecture Hunt Museum, 14 July 2009.
[28] Eimear O'Connor, *Sean Keating in focus* (Dublin, 2009), p. 47.
[29] A claim purported by the artist Robert Ballagh form an unpublished paper *The Irishness of Irish art* (1980), Ballagh File, National Irish Arts Visual Library, National College of Art and Design, Dublin (NIVAL)
[30] Elizabeth Francis Martin, 'Painting the Irish West: nationalism and the representation of women' in *New Hibernia Review*, vii, no.1 (Spring, 2003), pp 31,33,36.

fitted into the ideals of the new state as advocated by de Valera as did Paul Henry's (1882-1975) landscape images, one of an idealised, simple, rural life.[31]

In conclusion, from an examination of two visual responses to The 1916 Rising, it is clear that the artists were depicting much more than their own visual interpretations. By including themselves within the paintings, they arguably 'over-stepped' the boundaries between objectivity and subjectivity and thus their work can be regarded as a social commentary on the prevailing attitudes, modes and concerns of those of a nationalist inclination. As Ken Baynes pointed out in his book, *Art in society*, art is

> not merely a description of reality, but a parallel reality of its own, existing in an organic relationship with experiences and activities of other kind . . . art is part of society: it not only articulates and helps to make possible the communications on which human relationships are based, but is also a part of the nature of these relationships.[32]

While Keating's work was lauded in his time as an icon of this seminal event, it is perhaps unfortunate that Fox herself was not acknowledged in some way for her foresight in recognising the significance of the event she found herself witness to. As an artist she epitomised her role as the outsider looking on; as a woman she empathised with the unique stance taken by the Countess; and as a citizen she identified with both. Her legacy now resides in its present position in the nearby Sligo County Museum where it remains an important and notable chronicle of historic documentation. Some years later, she painted *The Ruin of the Four Courts* in 1922 during the Civil War now in the Art Collection of University College Dublin, Newman House, St. Stephen's Green.[33] Keating continued to produce work which documented the increasing nationalist spirit reflecting the acknowledgement by the new state on the importance of art in the construction of what Eric Hobsbawn described as 'invented tradition' which he advocates as a necessary element when defining national identity.[34] Art is therefore much more than mere painted imagery and arguably can reflect and state quite clearly the events and social concerns of the era it is produced in, sometimes

[31] Michelle Dowling, '"The Ireland that I would have": de Valera and the creation of an Irish national image' in *History Ireland*, v, no.2 (Summer, 1997), pp 40,41.
[32] Ken Baynes, *Art in society* (London, 1975), p. 23.
[33] Bhreathnach-Lynch, *Ireland's art, Ireland's history*, p. 148. Fox's depiction of the Four Courts is devoid of human presence creating an overwhelming sense of foreboding. The view is from across the River Liffey and dramatically outlines the building against a backdrop of ominous clouds into which the black smoke emanating from the dome of the courts subsumes.
[34] Eric Hobsbawn, 'The nation as invented tradition' in John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith (eds), *Nationalism* (Oxford, 1994), p. 79.

even more clearly than written or oral documentation. For, as artist Robert Rauschenberg (1925-2008) so eloquently stated, 'the artist's job is to be a witness to his time in history'.[35]

[35] Paul Taylor with artist Robert Rauschenberg in *Interview,* 8 Jan. 2008 (http://www.interviewmagazine.com/art/robert-rauschenberg-/#) (accessed 23 Oct. 2015)

Paddy Maher: a judicial murder

David Dineen

'our souls go to God at 7 o'clock in the morning, and our bodies when Ireland is free shall go to Galbally.'[1]

The above statement was taken from the final letter written by Patrick Maher, on the night prior to his execution in Mountjoy Jail, 7 June 1921. Maher had been found guilty of being part of an Irish Republican Army (IRA) unit which was responsible for the murder of two Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) constables. However, what makes this story so intriguing is that Maher had no involvement in the murders. Furthermore, Maher was an unassuming young working man from County Limerick who found himself caught up in a series of events over which he had no control, and in which he appeared to have been used as a pawn in a game far greater than himself. While history records the movements and events that shaped nations, it often omits from its narrative the ordinary people who drove the events and Maher is one such man. Paddy Maher went about his life as best he could against the backdrop of the Irish Revolution as the British establishment and the Republican movement contested the right to rule in Ireland. This paper will chronicle the events that placed a simple egg grader and packer from a small parish in Ireland at the end of an executioner's rope for a crime he did not commit. An in-depth analysis will be made of the prosecution case against Maher. It will be argued that while the government went out of its way to incriminate and execute Maher in a bout of judicial revenge, the republican movement used Maher's predicament to elicit sympathy and support from Irish Americans while making very little effort to clear him.

The First Dail convened in Dublin on 21 January 1919, the same day as the ambush in Soloheadbeg, County Tipperary, where the first shots of the War of Independence were fired. During the attack, two members of the RIC, James McDonnell and Patrick O'Connell were shot dead.[2] Dan Breen later stated the purpose of the operation was to kill the policemen, and thus provoke a response from the British administration in Ireland.[3] Following the action at Soloheadbeg the perpetrators, Robinson, Breen, Sean Tracey and Sean Hogan went 'on the run' to evade arrest.[4]

[1] *Irish Independent*, 7 Jun. 1921.
[2] Joseph McKenna, *Guerrilla warfare in the Irish War of Independence 1919-1921* (Jefferson, 2011), p. 129.
[3] Carlton Younger, *Ireland's civil war* (London, 1986), p. 86.
[4] Seamus Robinson (Military Archives, Bureau of Military History, WS 1721). (M.A., B.M.H., hereafter).

Sean Hogan was eventually tracked down and arrested by the RIC.[5] Following his arrest Hogan was taken to Thurles RIC barracks, where he was to be transferred to Cork.[6] A message was sent to the IRA in Tipperary that Hogan was being conveyed to Cork by train on the evening of the 13 May 1919.[7] His comrades vowed to make a rescue attempt before Hogan reached Cork. Having aborted a first attempt in the village of Emly County Tipperary, it was decided that the rescue would be attempted at the next station on the line in Knocklong County Limerick. Along with Robinson, Tracey and Breen, five men from Galbally, Ned O'Brien, James Scanlon, and J. J. O'Brien, Sean Lynch, and Edward Foley joined the rescue party.[8] When the train arrived at Knocklong at approximately 20:15 Sean Hogan was in one of the end carriages guarded by four members of the RIC.[9] Sean Treacy boarded the train followed by the five other men to attempt the rescue. The group proceeded along the train to the carriage where Sean Hogan was being held.[10] One of the RIC men, Constable Enright placed his gun against the neck of Sean Hogan. The actions of Constable Enright resulted in Sean Treacy and Ned O'Brien opening fire and killing Constable Enright.[11] Following the shooting of Enright, a violent struggle ensued between Sean Treacy and another of the RIC guard, Sergeant Wallace. Wallace was shot twice by Treacy and died of his wounds the next day. While this action was taking place, another member of the RIC, Constable O'Reilly, managed to get off the train and began firing at the rescuers on the train, wounding Ned O'Brien and Jimmy Scanlon. The same RIC man also began firing at innocent bystanders at the station.[12] On hearing the gun fire, Breen and Robinson, who had not been in the station when the rescue attempt began, rushed to lend assistance. Dan Breen and Constable O'Reilly exchanged gun fire and Breen was wounded. Breen continued firing and was successful in forcing Constable O'Reilly to leave the platform.

The rescue had been successfully completed and Hogan had been taken to the local butchers where his handcuffs were removed.[13] In the completion of the rescue, Constable Enright died instantly and Sergeant Wallace died the following day in Kilmallock hospital.[14]

[5] Thomas F Meagher (M.A., B.M.H., WS 1541).
[6] Edmond O'Brien (M.A., B.M.H., WS 597).
[7] Charles Wyse-Power (M.A., B.M.H., WS 420).
[8] Dan Breen, *My fight for Irish freedom* (Tralee, 1964), p. 61.
[9] *Skibbereen Eagle*, 17 May 1919.
[10] John Joe O'Brien (M.A., B.M.H., WS 1647).
[11] Desmond Ryan, *Sean Treacy and the Third Tipperary Brigade IRA* (Tralee, 1945), pp 98-9.
[12] Joseph Kearney (M.A., B.M.H., WS 704).
[13] Edmond O'Brien (M.A., B.M.H., WS 597).
[14] *Skibbereen Eagle*, 17 May 1919.

The rescue party, along with the newly liberated Hogan, were sported away and taken to safe houses in the local area where they were treated for their injuries.[15]

The RIC and British army conducted a security sweep in Galbally, Emly, Ballylanders and Knocklong in their search for the killers of Wallace and Enright. The operation involved door to door searches on homes and local businesses and a number of premises were visited on more than one occasion.[16] Throughout the summer of 1919 these searches continued without any substantial results for the authorities as they were unable to locate the men that had carried out the rescue. Despite this the RIC began to piece together what they thought had happened and who was involved at Knocklong.

As a result of their investigation the RIC had a list of twelve suspects. On the morning of the 24 September 1919 the RIC arrested four suspects in their homes; Patrick Maher, Edmond Foley, Michael Murphy and Michael Shanahan. Two further suspects, Thomas Shanahan and Michael O'Connell, were arrested at a later date.[17] Following their arrest the six men were taken to William Street RIC barracks in Limerick city, where they were brought before a special sitting of the court. The six men were charged with 'feloniously and wilfully murdering and killing Sergeant Peter Wallace and Constable Enright on the 13th May 1919 at Knocklong in the County of Limerick.'[18]

During this court sitting two witnesses identified Patrick Maher as being involved in the rescue. One of the same witnesses also identified another member of the accused, Edmond Foley, as one of the rescue party.[19] Following the adjournment of the court the six men were held in RIC custody. For several months these men remained in detention until they were set to return to trial on a date fixed for 24 January 1920 in Limerick. This did not take place and despite the best efforts of the defence team, the trial of these men was fixed to be held in Armagh. John J. Power, Solicitor of Kilmallock, representing the accused made an application for the men to be sent for trial to Cork, which would have been their preferred option. This application was refused and it was ordered that the case of the four men would take place before a special jury in Armagh.

[15]Jimmy Scanlon (M.A., B.M.H., WS 435).
[16]*Cork Examiner*, 19 May 1919.
[17]Plea for Clemency from Powers solicitors, letter to General Neville McCready (National Archives, England, Colonial Office/904/41/29171O). (NAE, CO/ hereafter).
[18] Ibid.
[19]*Limerick Leader*, 24 Oct. 1919.

W.E. Wiley, law advisor to the Attorney General, in overruling Power's objection declared that in his opinion Armagh was the venue where a fair and impartial trial could be had.[20] Power, in an effort to get as fair and competent a defence as possible, enlisted Richard Best as counsel for the accused. Best was an Ulsterman and a member of the Orange Order. Despite objections in some quarters Best alleviated the fear that the jury would be prejudice against the accused and stated that 'not all Orangemen were prejudiced, but many were honest men.'[21] The first court sitting fixed for Armagh was adjourned following an application made by the crown prosecutors and was set for the next sitting of the court. The following court was held in July 1920 and found there was enough evidence to proceed with the trail of Patrick Maher, Edmond Foley and Michael Murphy for the killings. The jury found that there was not enough evidence to proceed in the cases of the other three. Consequently Michael Shanahan, Thomas Shanahan and Michael O'Connell were released from custody.[22]

The trial of Maher, Foley and Murphy took a very strange turn when one of the key witnesses for the prosecution, Sergeant Reilly mysteriously disappeared before he was due to give evidence. Sergeant Reilly, it seems was also viewed as a vital witness for the defence.[23] Reilly reappeared at the Killylea RIC barracks claiming he had been kidnapped by several men the night before the trail and released two days later.[24] The prosecution were happy to continue without Sergeant Reilly's evidence.

The proceedings in Armagh ended in deadlock when the jury disagreed on the verdicts. Best argued that under Irish and English law this should have been an end to the trial and all three accused should have been released.[25] This did not happen and the men were recharged under the Restoration of Order in Ireland Act (ROIA). Under the terms of the act, defendants were no longer tried in the civil courts but in front of Court Martials consisting of six British Army officers. The burden of proof was greatly reduced under the act and the accused need not have struck the fatal blow, simply being involved in the conspiracy was

[20]The King versus Patrick Maher and Edmond Foley, Memorial from Powers solicitors (NAE, CO/904/41/291710).
[21] Memorandum from Powers solicitors, given by the son of John J. Power, received from Maurice Powers grand daughter, Elaine Power B.I. unpublished.
[22]*Limerick Leader*, 10 Jul. 1920.
[23]The King versus Patrick Maher and Edmond Foley letter to General Neville McCready from Powers solicitors (NAE, CO/904/41/29171O).
[24]*Irish Independent*, 9 July 1920.
[25]Ibid.

enough to warrant the death penalty.[26] Maher, Foley and Murphy now faced a Court Martial in Dublin on 15 March 1921.[27]

The Court Martial lasted for five days and resulted in the convictions of Patrick Maher and Edmond Foley on the charge of murder. The remaining accused Michael Murphy was tried separately and acquitted of all charges.[28] Maher and Foley were sentenced to death by hanging with the executions set to take place on the 7 June 1921.

On the morning of the 7 June 1921 Patrick Maher and Edmund Foley were taken from their cells following prayers and visits from family members the previous night and led to their deaths. Prior to their executions both men were weighed with their clothes on, height, age, and sex were documented. The length of the drop for a successful execution was also measured and documented by the hangman, and in the case of Patrick Maher it was estimated at seven feet.[29] After Patrick Maher entered the execution cell he stated 'I am innocent'.[30]

Both men were hanged at seven in the morning at Mountjoy prison and went to their deaths with great dignity. The two men were hanged side by side with white caps on their heads and died instantly; their executions were witnessed by nine people. Before their execution the two men praised the behaviour of their captors and the fair treatment they received while in custody. The same day the two men were buried together in a single grave in the grounds of Mountjoy.[31]

Despite several pleas for clemency and also a plea for a reprieve on behalf of the two men, signed by over two thousand influential members of the community, including the Archbishop of Cashel, the executions went ahead.[32] Even a letter from the father of Sergeant Wallace who was one of the RIC men killed at Knocklong did not aid the convicted men. This letter was sent to General Macready who was the commander of the British forces in Ireland and pleaded for mercy for the convicted men. It was also stated in this letter 'may God forgive those who were really guilty'.[33]

While Foley had been an active participant in the rescue of Hogan, Maher had not. Circumstances had conspired to condemn an innocent man to death. The evidence against

[26]Tim Carey, *Hanged for Ireland: the forgotten ten, executed 1920-21* (Dublin, 2001), p. 161.
[27]Joseph Kearney (M.A., B.M.H., WS 704).
[28]Plea for Clemency, letter to General Neville McCready (NAE, CO/904/41/29170.
[29]Record of execution at Mountjoy (NAE, C0/904/41/ 291710.
[30]Carey, *Hanged for Ireland*, p. 177.
[31]*Skibbereen Eagle*, 11 June 1921.
[32]*Freemans Journal*, 6 June 1921.
[33] Letter from Edward Wallace to General Neville McCready (NAE, CO/904/41/29170).

Maher was at best flimsy and at worst false and contrived. Patrick Maher was from Glenlara, Knocklong and was thirty years old at the time of his arrest. Despite the fact that he was a member of the local Cush Company of the Irish Volunteers he had never taken part in any operations.[34]

Following the rescue of Sean Hogan, Maher was questioned during the month of June 1919 in relation to his movements on the day of the rescue. Maher's home was also searched on the same day by the RIC where they examined a coat which they claimed contained a bullet hole; Maher explained he had caught it on an exposed nail. Following this initial questioning Maher heard no further correspondence from the RIC until his arrest on 24 September 1919.[35]

Maher initially came to the notice of the RIC when they received a private statement claiming that he had been an active member of the rescue party. This was a lie and it appears that someone in the Knocklong area had a grudge against Maher. During the period leading up to the rescue and indeed following the rescue, Maher had worked for John O'Riordan in the Knocklong creamery. His duties included the packing and crating of eggs, which he then brought to the train station. In order to bring the eggs to the railway station Maher had to cross a picket line at the creamery. This resulted in Patrick Maher being boycotted in the locality. Maher was ostracised by the community to such an extent that he was unable to purchase goods in the vicinity.[36] Indeed as a result of this boycott Patrick Maher received death threats and was under the protection of the RIC. This may have prompted a neighbour of Maher into giving incriminating evidence to the RIC. It is highly unlikely that the IRA would have involved a man under the protection of the RIC in one of their operations and it is extremely unlikely that an individual under their protection would commit a murder.[37]

Constable Reilly, the witness who was kidnapped at the height of the trial in Armagh, was a member of the group of four RIC men escorting Sean Hogan on the day of the rescue. In his original statement given on the 12 June 1919 he admitted he could not identify anyone.[38] He later gave an added statement which contained clear descriptions of the men involved. However, the clear descriptions matched no one at the scene. The defence obtained

[34]Carey, *Hanged for Ireland*, p. 160.
[35]Ibid., p. 171.
[36]The King versus Patrick Maher and Edmond Foley, Memorial from Powers solicitors (NAE, CO/904/41/291710).
[37] Ibid.
[38]Statement of Constable Reilly (NAE, CO/904/41/291710).

a copy of this document, the alleged kidnapping of Constable Reilly took place and the defence could not use this evidence.[39]

Constable Reilly actively took part in the identification process of Patrick Maher, following his initial arrest. This identification it would appear was tainted. Maher and Foley claimed that while they were in custody for a period of a month they were left unshaven and were being watched by two RIC men from a window. On the day of their identification they were put in a cell and again watched by the RIC. Constable Reilly and another RIC man spent a period of time in the cell with the accused men prior to their identification a fact which was denied by the RIC.[40] Additionally, RIC District Inspector Nyon wrote 'very careful arrangements will have to be made for the identification of those arrested.'[41] Confirming that the identification processes were not as they should have been, it is unsurprising that Reilly was prevented from cross-examination by the defence.

A further key factor in the conviction of Patrick Maher was the evidence provided by Constable Ring who was also a member of the RIC escort on 13 May 1919. Ring testified that he could identify at least one if not more of the attackers on the train including Patrick Maher of whom he gave an extremely detailed description.[42] Constable Ring later added to his statement that while he was struggling with one of the rescue party he began to get control of the attacker at which point the attacker called out 'Paddy, Paddy come back.' This resulted in the man allegedly called Paddy returning and knocking the constable unconscious with a blow from a rifle. Constable Ring later identified Patrick Maher as the 'Paddy' he saw on the train. This evidence was given on the 24 October 1919 at which time Patrick Maher was already in custody.[43] It has already been established that the rescue party did not contain anyone named Paddy.

Ring's version of events may not be quite what they seem. Ring it seems lost his nerve and far from the heroic tussle with one of the IRA men, he jumped through the train window as soon as the firing started and ran down the railway line 'roaring like a maniac.'[44] The train driver on the day of the rescue described how 'he saw a policeman running down

[39]The King versus Patrick Maher and Edmond Foley, Memorial from Powers solicitors (NAE, CO/904/41/29170).
[40]Carey, *Hanged for Ireland,* p. 171.
[41]Letter by J. Nylon D.I to the W.I Constabulary Office, 16 June 1919 (NAE, CO/ 904/41/ 291710).
[42]Letter by J. Nylon D.I to the W.I Constabulary Office, 12 June 1919 (NAE, CO/904/41/291710).
[43]County of Limerick Summer Assizes 1920, evidence for the Knocklong murder trials, statement of Constable Ring (NAE, CO/ 904/41/ 291710).
[44]Breen, *My fight for Irish freedom*, p. 66.

the tracks shortly after the firing began.'[45] As Wallace and Enright lay dead or dying on the train and Reilly was involved in a gun fight with Dan Breen on the platform, it stands to reason that Ring was the RIC man seen fleeing down the railway line. Constable Ring turned up at Emly RIC barracks the following morning missing several items of clothing and in a distressed state. At one of the trials it was commented by a member of the jury that the accounts given by both Constable Reilly and Constable Ring 'was an attempt to paint their own story in their own way.'[46]

Coincidentally, there was by chance another RIC officer on the train that day; Constable O'Sullivan who was travelling home to Cork. O'Sullivan also identified Maher as the man he saw rushing down the corridor. O'Sullivan picked out Maher from a line-up of seventeen men on the 22 October 1920.[47] John Farrington, a corporal in the Royal Defence Corp, was also a passenger on the train the day of the rescue. In his police statement Farrington indicated 'that he distinctly saw Patrick Maher.' John Farrington also claimed he saw a man running from the train into a field and that he later saw the same man hiding behind a hedge.[48] He saw a man on the platform with blood on his right hand and face and also identified him as Patrick Maher.

Maher attended work the day after the rescue, and indeed up to the time of his arrest, unlikely actions for a wounded man. The wounded man on the platform could have only been Dan Breen and unfortunately for Patrick Maher, he bore a striking resemblance to Breen. The man John Farrington observed running from the train was in fact Joseph Kearney who had left the train and had been fired upon by Constable Reilly forcing him and several other students to run into a field. Kearney then returned through the fields, from behind a hedge to get back on the train once the firing had stopped.[49] Here again it appears that Maher fell foul of an extraordinary coincidence as not only did he bear a striking resemblance to Breen, he also seems have the same gait and build as Kearney.

Joseph Kearney, a medical student, was a member of the IRA in Cork and was travelling on the train with several colleagues. Kearney was asked by the defence team to give evidence at the trial. Following consultations with the IRA, Joseph Kearney was allowed

[45] Statement of engine driver John Cogan, 14 May 1919 (NAE, CO/904/41/291710).
[46]Breen, *My fight for Irish freedom,* p. 67.
[47]County of Limerick Summer Assizes 1920, evidence for the Knocklong murder trials, statement of Constable Edward O'Sullivan (NAE, CO/904/41/291710).
[48]County of Limerick Summer Assizes 1920, evidence for the Knocklong murder trials, statement of John Farrington (NAE, CO/ 904/41/291710).
[49]Doctor Joseph Kearney (M.A., B.M.H., WS 704).

to give evidence so long as it did not incriminate anyone. Kearney later gave evidence in Armagh and again in Dublin at the military court martial. Following his appearance at the Dublin trial, he was asked to leave the court as soon as possible due to the fact that the defence were going to say that he was the man which Constable O'Sullivan had seen on the train.[50]

Despite the fact that the evidence against Patrick Maher was tenuous, other factors aided in his eventual execution. The decision by the court not to recognise the alibi provided by Patrick Maher on the day of the rescue is important. Despite several witnesses stating that Patrick Maher was not at the station in Knocklong at the time of the rescue this evidence was ignored. One possible factor in the disbelief of Patrick Maher's alibi lays in the statements of two people in particular. One of these was given by Mr Mulvihill who was the owner of a public house in Garryspillane three miles from Knocklong. At the time of the rescue Patrick Maher claimed he was drinking at Mulvihill's bar.

When Mr Mulvihill was questioned by the RIC he stated that 'there were a good many in the bar on that evening, but I don't remember the name of any particular man that was in it.'[51] This evidence was later added to and said that Patrick Maher was in the public house but the damage had already been done in relation to placing doubt in regard to Maher's alibi. Also as part of Patrick Maher's alibi he stated that a Mr. Riordan had travelled with him from work and was with him drinking in Mulvihill's bar at the time of the rescue.[52] This fact was denied in a statement given to the RIC by the same William Riordan when he stated 'he did not go into Mulvihill's and he walked home alone.'[53] The reason these statements were given is unknown but perhaps it was due to the fact that the witnesses did not want to incriminate anyone including themselves, but it is clear that they had an effect on the alibi provided by Patrick Maher.

The IRA was of course well aware that Maher had played no part in the action at Knocklong station. None of the surviving principal players in the drama, Breen, Hogan or Robinson could for obvious reason come forward and clear Maher. One of the men who had been involved in the rescue, Edmond O'Brien from Galbally, had fled the country and had taken up residence in the United States of America, where he had been following the trial of

[50]Ibid.
[51]Witness statement 35 from Cornelius Mulvihill, 18 June 1919 (NAE, CO/904/41/29170).
[52]Carey, *Hanged for Ireland*, p. 169.
[53]Witness statement 34 from William Riordan, 8 June 1919 (NAE, CO/904/41/29170).

Patrick Maher in the American newspapers. While in the US, O'Brien was actively involved in fundraising activities for the IRA under Harry Boland.

O'Brien asked if he could give a statement to help Patrick Maher. This request was refused by Harry Boland and he stated 'it would not help and may render the fund raising useless.'[54] O'Brien also contacted Sean Treacy in Ireland who in turn contacted Michael Collins in relation to O'Brien's request. Collins replied 'lie low for the moment.' Three days before Patrick Maher was due to be executed Edmond O'Brien received permission from Harry Boland to give a statement. This statement was given through Hearst Press and cabled to both Dublin and London. In this statement O'Brien took full responsibility for the shooting and also that the RIC evidence against Patrick Maher was wrong. This statement was not released in Dublin or London until two days after the executions of Maher and Foley and so it had no effect.[55]

Patrick Maher, in the summer of 1919 found himself swimming against the tide of history. He faced the perfect storm of circumstances, which would eventually lead to his wrongful conviction and execution. The British Government, already stung by the Soloheadbeg ambush, were highly embarrassed by having one of the perpetrators snatched from their custody. The RIC hierarchy accepted the less than solid evidence given by Constables Riley, O'Sullivan and Ring; their stories were added to and embellished to a degree where it was impossible to detect where truth ended and lie began. Identity parades were manipulated so it would have been impossible not to pick out Maher as one of the culprits. Maher's uncanny resemblance to both Breen and Kearney lead to a case of mistaken identity. The British government were determined to gain revenge on the IRA for the murder of four of its policemen, so much so that they engineered the judicial murder of Patrick Maher. The trail was moved to Armagh and when that did not secure a conviction Maher and Foley were charged under ROIA, and handed over to the military to be court martialled. Following the trail and sentencing all pleas for clemency were rejected, British Justice was going to have its 'pound of flesh' one way or another.

Closer to home Maher had attracted local disdain for his crossing of the picket line at Knocklong creamery. He was subject to a local boycott; he had received death threats, and was under the protection of the RIC. All this had led Maher to somewhat of a hate figure in local community, one that could not be trusted. The original report sent anonymously to the

[54]Edmond O'Brien (M.A., B.M.H., WS 597).
[55]Ibid.

RIC naming Maher an active member of the IRA rescue party indicates that a local grudge was at play. Pub landlord Mulvihill did not confirm Maher's presence in his premises at the time of the rescue. William O'Riordan denied that he had joined Maher in the public house. All cast doubt on Maher's alibi. Mulvihill and Riordan did later change their statements but by then it was too late; a doubt was implanted in the Court Martials' mind concerning Maher's credibility. It is still unclear why Riordan or Mulvihill did not initially give Maher an alibi. It may have been either self protection by wishing not to be seen to break the boycott for fear of being ostracised. Or perhaps they had a genuine grudge against Maher.

Maher's physical appearance also inadvertently conspired against him as it was reported that he bore an uncanny resemblance to Dan Breen and coincidently, he also bore a passing resemblance to Joseph Kearney. Both of these men were involved in the central actions of 13 May 1919 and either genuine eye witness errors or sinister lies placed Maher at Knocklong station.

It was well known in republican circles that Maher had not played any part in the events at Knocklong. In reality, there was little that the IRA could have done to help Maher. Breen, Robinson, Tracey and Hogan were becoming folk heroes because of their IRA activities and as such they could not risk capture. Therefore, they could not come forward to clear Maher. Collins and Boland were left in a difficult position; they had to balance efforts to clear Maher's name with the necessity to raise funds in America. They consciously delayed any efforts by the actual perpetrators in America to send testimonials home that would have aided the exoneration of Maher.

Thus Paddy Maher became the last republican prisoner executed in Ireland by the British Government before the creation of the Irish Free State. Maher was a simple working man who found himself in a maelstrom of events, caught in the eye of a revolution. He was ensnared in a deadly game of political chess involving the British establishment's efforts to maintain the status quo in Ireland and the republican's desire to create a new Ireland through revolution.

Republican policing in Limerick City, 1921-22

Oisín Bates

Amid the turbulence of the Anglo-Irish War and the establishment of the Irish Free State, the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) proved unable to sufficiently police non-political crime while the Free State would take most of 1922 to train and deploy its replacement force, the Civic Guard. This police void was filled in part by Irish Republican Police (IRP), a police force administered loosely by Dáil Éireann's Department of Home Affairs and manned mostly, but not exclusively, by members of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The IRP would eventually be replaced in all areas of the Free State by An Garda Síochána. This however was not the case in Limerick City, where political uncertainty and ongoing social turmoil would see three different police forces attempt to keep law and order in the city. This article concerns itself with the IRP, which notionally replaced the RIC in 1921, and the Limerick City Police Force (LCPF) which was formed from existing IRP members in the summer of 1922.[1] This article will chronicle the difficulties faced by the Provisional Government to provide a replacement police force until the Civic Guard was successfully deployed to the city in September 1922. In undertaking such a focused case study, this article will assess the financial, political and practical challenges of administering the Mid-Limerick IRP and the LCPF during such a turbulent period.

When the Truce came into effect July 1921, the IRP attempted to establish itself in the city. The RIC had a very low opinion of the new 'police' force. In October 1921, the District Inspector reported that 'Republican police are active but they do not interfere with the RIC. They are composed, in the city of Limerick, of people from the lowest class of society, the chief for its area being a ganger of scavengers.'[2] Policing public house licensing was a common activity for the IRP. One weekly report, from the British Army's Sixth Division, in July 1920 claimed that Limerick's 'Sinn Féin police' would only attempt to enforce licensing laws if there stood little chance of their actions being witnessed by British forces. Their opinion stood that Republican policemen would typically caution publicans before 'run[ning] away as fast as their legs can carry them as they have no desire, apparently, of coming into

[1] I am grateful to Richard Gillman for granting me advice and access to the letters of Morgan Costelloe.
[2] [RIC] Inspector General's monthly confidential report, October 1921.

contact with military or police.'[3] The RIC reported a noticeable jump in police activity in light of the Truce. In the wake of the Truce, the RIC District Inspector reported:

> The I.R.A. "Police" became very active in enforcing "licensing laws" and generally interfering in things that did not concern them. This was resented by some of those who had thereby become "law-breakers" and the services of the Liaison official was called in to put a stop to the provocative action.[4]

In the months that followed the Truce, the RIC and the IRP co-existed in Limerick without serious conflict. Though some members of the IRA were engaged in armed encounters with the RIC after the Truce, confrontation was avoided for the most part by the IRP.

Though a level of coexistence was achieved between the Limerick IRP and their RIC counterparts, some Black and Tans became frustrated with subordination at the hands of the IRP. The *Limerick Leader* reported in November 1921 that 'two members of the I R Police [who] were serving a summons yesterday on a Limerick city publican, were set upon by parties in the house concerned and seriously assaulted. One of the two was so seriously injured that he had to be admitted to Limerick Union Hospital for treatment.'[5] These attackers were Black and Tans who had been attempting to intimidate the IRP for some time. Alongside this attack, these Black and Tans also sent the head of the IRP, Morgan Costelloe, a coffin accompanied with 'the usual threatening notice'. Following the Anglo-Irish Treaty, the publican involved in the assault attempted to broker a cash settlement with the assaulted victims. Costelloe mused that 'The sudden change in the political situation has made him nervous.'[6]

A common view of the IRP among republicans was that of an outlet for those physically unfit for membership of the IRA. In the East-Limerick Brigade area, Republican police were recruited from Volunteers 'unsuitable for military duties for one reason or another'.[7] Mid-Limerick Brigade Police O/C, Morgan Costelloe, was very much an exception to this rule. Academically, Costelloe came first in Ireland in his year sitting the intermediate grade exams, alongside winning 'first place in chemistry and physics.' Costelloe also won four Munster Senior Cup medals with Garryowen Rugby Club and the Senior Union Cup

[3] John O'Callaghan, *Revolutionary Limerick*: *the republican campaign for independence in Limerick, 1913-1921* (Dublin, 2010), p. 86.
[4] [RIC] Inspector General's monthly confidential report, July 1921.
[5] *Limerick Leader*, 2 Nov. 1921.
[6] Costelloe to Chief of Police, 13 Jan. 1922.
[7] O'Callaghan, *Revolutionary Limerick*, p. 86.

with Athlunkard Rowing Club, rowing alongside Mid-Limerick IRA O/C, Liam Forde, who in February 1922 split with Costelloe in opposition ot the Treaty.[8]

Ideally Costelloe wanted his recruits to be 'sober and intelligent and not too young', but given the circumstances of the time, those recruited to the IRP were not always up to this standard.[9] Indeed, in December 1921 Costelloe felt it necessary to review the ranks of the City Battalion's IRP, some of whom were believed to be 'not desirable.'[10] Perhaps most interesting is that it was no longer 'necessary to be a member of the IRA to be taken into the IRP.'[11] As a result of this policy, there existed in the ranks of the Mid-Limerick IRP some who were 'dismissed IRA men.'[12] The success of the Mid-Limerick IRP was hampered by internal divisions within the republican movement itself. There existed a social divide between the Second Battalion who were predominantly working class and the First Battalion which 'was nearly confined to the rugby clubs of the city.' In contrast, the Second Battalion's five companies were based upon five hurling teams and were formed after 1916 and the tension between these two battalions appeared undeniable. Peadar Dunne, IRA O/C of the Second Battalion and later of the Mid-Limerick Brigade, deemed some of Limerick's 1916 officers to be incompetent. As a result of these tensions, the two battalions operated separately until the spring of 1921. Though cooperation was agreed between the two battalions at this point, some tensions remained throughout the years that followed.[13]

The operation of the IRP in Limerick proved only possible through negotiation and compromise with the local IRA leadership. In addition, there were clear difficulties between the courts and the police and as a result of a number of court decrees going unenforced. A meeting was arranged in October 1921 between the District Court's committee and IRP representatives 'to have co-operation between the courts and the police arranged in a business like fashion.'[14] During the months of February and March 1922, the political climate of Limerick City experienced significant flux. On 18 February Liam Forde, O/C of the Mid-Limerick Brigade IRA, released a statement repudiating his men's allegiance to the IRA General Headquarters. Five days after this, the RIC vacated its five Limerick City barracks. On 1 March the Oxford and Buckinghamshire light infantry relinquished control of the

[8] *Limerick Chronicle*, 16 May 1967.
[9] Costelloe to Mid-Limerick Brigade IRA O/C, 16 Mar. 1922.
[10] Costelloe to City Battalion Police O/C, 29 Dec. 1921.
[11] Costelloe to Chief of Police, 19 Dec. 1921.
[12] Ibid.
[13] O'Callaghan, *Revolutionary Limerick*, p. 65.
[14] Costelloe to Limerick District Court Registrar, 19 Oct. 1921.

Clancy Strand army barracks to Free State Forces. Tensions neared tipping-point on 7 March as the arrival of 200 Free State troops in the city was countered by the reinforcement of the anti-Treaty resistance by IRA columns from Galway and Kilkenny.[15]

It was Limerick's anti-Treaty mayor, Stephen O'Mara, who managed to mediate matters, facilitating negotiations which retained relative peace for the coming months.[16] The IRP remained largely removed from this dispute, though it did split. The city battalion sided with the Treaty. At this point the City IRP moved into the newly-vacated William Street RIC barracks. These barracks were used under the mission of Mayor O'Mara, who in light of the political conflict was holding the barracks 'on behalf of the Corporation.'[17] The presence of the IRP in these barracks was of political significance as pro and anti-Treaty forces had disputed access. In this regard, the IRP was deemed to be serving a function removed from the Treaty fighting. The vast majority of the force's work was concerned with cases of theft and public disorder. The IRP reports recount work of varied importance from retrieving stolen property and arresting criminals to cautioning youths for playing hurling in the street. Crimes recorded by the Mid-Limerick IRP included arson, theft, assault, murder, drunken disorder, loitering, school truancy, and car and bicycle theft. In one case a woman was charged with 'keeping an improper house', and ordered to leave town within three days.[18]

One common problem was that of illegal fishing. Local fishermen at Plassey, today part of the University of Limerick's campus, fished outside of season and refused to purchase fishing licenses, claiming a right to fish their local waters freely.[19] As a voluntary police force, the IRP struggled to provide a fulltime police presence. In one case, Costelloe admitted that the IRP was struggling to catch vandals as 'most of our men have their own business all day.'[20] With regards to minor offences, it is difficult to determine how evenly police work was split between the RIC and the IRP. In August 1921 the RIC District Inspector reported that 'minor offences are being prosecuted with vigour: as many as 150 cases are heard weekly at Limerick.' In the same month though, the Inspector's report also recorded that 'the

[15] Pádraig Óg Ó Ruairc, *The battle for Limerick City* (Cork, 2010); Thomas Toomey, *The war of independence in Limerick, 1912-1921* (Limerick, 2010), pp 28-30; 33.
[16] Ciarán Ó Gríofa, 'Stephen O'Mara and the Limerick Crisis, March 1922' in David Lee (ed.), *Remembering Limerick: historical essays celebrating the 800th anniversary of Limerick's first Charter granted in 1197* (Limerick, 1997), p. 271.
[17] Costelloe to Chief of Police, 19 March 1922.
[18] LCPF weekly report, 26 May – 1 June 1922 in 'Limerick Police Force, 1922', p. 24.
[19] Costelloe to Chief of Police, 11 Feb. 1922.
[20] Costelloe to Town Clerk, 6 Dec. 1921.

assumption of civil functions by the IRA is increasing by leaps and bounds and their organisation is being perfected daily.'[21]

The detainment of prisoners proved a dilemma for the Mid-Limerick IRP. Various punishments were adopted as alternatives to detention. In one case, two men arrested for the theft of cattle were sentenced to 'hard labour by stone breaking', while two 'noted robbers' guilty of multiple thefts were sentenced to 'three months hard labour and thirty lashes each.'[22] On 20 January 1922 the Provisional Government 'agreed … that arrangements should be made whereby prisoners sentenced at these [Republican] courts [should] be received in the jails of the Provisional Government.'[23] The application of this policy was made difficult in the Mid-Limerick Brigade area by internal opposition from Republicans who did not wish to use Provisional Government jails. The IRA Brigade Adjutant threatened to 'no longer cooperate with the IRP' if prisoners were 'committed … to the County Jail.'[24] Faced with such a dilemma, Costelloe complained, 'the I.R. Government has provided us with no jails … we have no money to deport them and if we flog them, well some will object on humanitarian grounds.'[25] Within three weeks of this, permission was granted by Mid-Limerick IRA Brigade staff for use of the county jail.[26]

Though it was a pre-dominantly voluntary organisation, money was still a necessary component in the operation of the IRP. One means of securing money was its deduction from fines paid to Republican Courts. In one case, Costelloe advised, for the purpose of 'police expenses', to deduct 1*s.* from each pound paid in a fine ordered by the local court.[27] One option, if fines remained unpaid, was to seize possessions for resale. Given the economic and political climate of the time, this was not always a fruitful pursuit. In one case a 'horse and car' was seized in lieu of an unpaid £20 fine. Subsequently, having been unable to sell the seized possessions, both were returned and the debtor ordered to repay the fine in smaller instalments of ten shillings per week.[28] In other cases voluntary contributions were sought from those who had received police assistance. For example, in the case of one eviction, the

[21] [Limerick] Inspector General's monthly confidential report, August 1921.
[22] Costelloe to Chief of Police, 30 Dec. 1921.
[23] Provisional Government cabinet minutes, 20 Jan. 1922.
[24] Costelloe to Chief of Police, 31 Jan. 1922.
[25] Costelloe to Adjutant, Mid-Limerick Brigade, 31 Jan. 1922.
[26] Costelloe to Chief of Police, 25 Feb. 1922.
[27] Costelloe to Second Battalion Police O/C, 28 Oct. 1921.
[28] Costelloe to Limerick Court Registrar, 26 Nov. 1921.

relevant solicitor was contacted to request a 'voluntary subscription towards defraying the cost of the visit.'[29]

From 16 January 1922, Costelloe was directed by IRP Chief of Police, Simon Donnelly, to take on his position as a fulltime role. Costelloe accordingly sought a leave of absence from his 'present employment', and was paid a weekly wage of £4 10*s* by the Department of Home Affairs.[30] Collecting money from the Department of Home Affairs proved an arduous and time-consuming pursuit. Money was not always readily available from the department and anti-Treaty departures led to administrative disruption. On 4 May 1922 Costelloe wrote to IRP Chief of Police requesting the payment of the many expenses which the Mid-Limerick IRP had been accumulating.[31] Simon Donnelly had previously agreed to approach the Minister of Home Affairs for the funds, prior to his leaving the pro-Treaty IRP, but nothing had come of this and the debts remained outstanding.[32] Nonetheless, the performance of the IRP was being regularly called into question and many organisations, including the Workers' Housing Association in Limerick, refused to cooperate with the Provisional Government 'until a properly-established paid police was formed'.[33]

In May 1922 a paid police force – the Limerick City Police Force (LCPF) – was organised from the remnants of the IRP and it was immediately tasked with proving its worth.[34]. In June 1922 worker's activist W.J. Larkin rallied an estimated 300 supporters and attempted to 'take forcible possession' of Limerick Town Hall on behalf of the Workers Housing Association.[35] Larkin's crowd were dispersed from Limerick Town Hall only after revolvers were drawn by the LCPF and warning shots were fired. The LCPF also had the thanks of the city's anti-Treaty Mayor, Stephen O'Mara, who congratulated the force on their efforts in removing Larkin's 'undesirable deputation' from the council chamber which they were forcibly removed prior to marching on the town hall.[36] Stephen O'Mara, Mayor and member of Éamon de Valera's anti-Treaty Cumann na Poblachta party, played a central role in the foundation of the LCPF.[37] O'Mara had opposed the Treaty from early on, 'we have not

[29] Costelloe to R. McNamara and Co. Solicitors, 2 Feb. 1922.
[30] Costelloe to Chief of Police, 16 Jan. 1922.
[31] *Dáil Éireann,* vol. S2, 26 Apr. 1922.
[32] Costelloe to Chief of Police, 4 May 1922.
[33] Mary Kotsonouris, *Retreat from revolution: the Dáil Courts, 1920-1924* (Dublin, 1994), p. 77.
[34] The LCPF was staffed from the ranks of the local IRP and can be seen, to an extent, as a continuation of the Limerick City IRP under a different name and governing body.
[35] Costelloe to Chief of Police, 20 June 1922.
[36] LCPF sub-committee minutes in 'Limerick Police Force, 1922', p. 8.
[37] Ó Gríofa, 'Stephen O'Mara and the Limerick Crisis', p. 269.

all been allured by the fleshpots'.[38] Despite this opposition to the Provisional Government, O'Mara lent his support to the formation of the LCPF. At a meeting of the city's merchants and traders on 5 May 1922, a sub-committee was appointed for the purpose of establishing a police force for the locality and the organisational committee was both pro and anti-Treaty.

This force can be seen as a continuation of the local IRP. In its first days, Costelloe reported 'The Force is composed entirely of the former Republican Police and all senior officers are select men loyal to An Dáil.'[39] Indeed the organisational sub-committee noted that the force was established under Costelloe's 'commission from An Dáil', with the committee serving to supply 'the necessary monies to maintain it.'[40] Costelloe echoed this, reporting to IRP Chief of Police, Peter Ennis, 'The duty of the committee is only to provide funds. They have left the management of the force entirely in my hands.'[41] With this in mind it must be noted that though the LCPF was advertised as a civic police force, there were obvious pro-Treaty sympathies in its leadership. The LCPF was thirty-eight men in size. A report from 18 May describes the allocation of these men: one District inspector 'as officer in command', one adjutant, one clerk, one sergeant 'as intelligence officer', eight sergeants 'in charge of sections patrolling the city', twenty-four men 'for patrol and general police work', and two more 'for station duty and emergency work'. Police patrolled in shifts from 9am to 3am the following morning. The force was divided into two alternating shifts of twelve men and four sergeants. Within these shifts, patrols were one sergeant and three men. Each patrol policed a quarter of the city.[42]

In a city of approximately 39,000 people the thirty-eight man LCPF could not possibly hope to provide a policing service along the lines of that which had been provided by the RIC.[43] To place this figure in context, An Garda Síochána numbered approximately twenty-two per ten thousand of the state's population, as opposed to twenty-eight for the RIC.[44] Consequently, funding the LCPF would prove a challenge. On 15 May 1922 Deputy Mayor Paul O'Brien wrote an open letter to the city's merchants and traders, citing the 'urgent need for such a force to protect the citizens and their property'. O'Brien's letter called for subscriptions from local merchants and traders, to fund the police force for ten weeks.

[38] Ibid.
[39] Costelloe to Chief of Police, 9 May 1922.
[40] LCPF sub-committee minutes, 12 May 1922 in 'Limerick Police Force, 1922', p. 8.
[41] Costelloe to Ennis, 19 May 1922.
[42] LCPF weekly report, 9-18 May 1922 in 'Limerick Police Force, 1922', p. 120.
[43] Approximate population for 1922 calculated from census figures of 1911 (38,518) and 1926 (39,448), see: Vaughan and Fitzpatrick, *Irish Historical Statistics* (Dublin, 1978), p 35; 45.
[44] Denis Gwynn, *The Irish Free State, 1922-1927* (London, 1928), p. 172. *Dáil Éireann*, vol. 15, 30 April 1926.

The value of individual subscriptions was assessed 'on the basis of rateable valuation.'[45] The rates were envisaged to be a once-off payment to fund the LCPF for ten weeks. Subscriptions ranged from £2 10*s* for valuations of under £50, to £50 for valuations over £300. It was estimated that these subscriptions would raise £2350 if all rates were paid.[46]

Ultimately, all rates were not paid. A list of defaulters was compiled, but it is not apparent whether these were successfully pursued for payment or not.[47] Interestingly, in considering the viability of a locally-funded police force, Great Southern and Western Railways refused to pay a subscription to the LCPF on grounds that 'it is not a question of contributing to one place alone but practically at every town served by the Coy's line'.[48] The LCPF struggled as a self-funding entity. In early May, General Eoin O'Duffy offered to fund the wages of the LCPF if the force was 'placed under the authority of Dáil Éireann.' This offer was turned down by Deputy Mayor O'Brien on the grounds that it was a 'purely civic' police force.[49] As circumstances changed over the coming months, the force found itself without sufficient funding. Accordingly, the Provisional Government took responsibility for the LCPF on 1 August 1922.

Over the eight weeks and three days that funds existed, wages and expenses came to a total of £1633 17*s* 11*d*, and though wages varied slightly on a weekly basis, they typically amounted to between £145 and £146.[50] With this money the LCPF was able to buy valuable equipment which the IRP had previously been unable to attain. Upon formation, the sum of £35 11*s* was designated for the purchase of 'armlets, leather belts, holsters and automatic pistols.'[51] Alongside these items, permission was granted for the purchase of six more revolvers and six 'electric torches'[52]

On 11 July fighting broke out in Limerick City between Free State forces and the anti-Treaty IRA. It is not clear how effective the LCPF was in wartime Limerick. At this point O'Mara issued a proclamation advising those, living in the vicinity of the city's barracks, to vacate their homes for their personal safety.[53] With civilians warned from the streets, it is not likely that the city's civilian police force was hugely active in supressing crime. Regardless,

[45] LCPF circular letter, 15 May 1922 in 'Limerick Police Force, 1922', p. 4.
[46] LCPF sub-committee minutes, 15 May 1922 in 'Limerick Police Force, 1922', p. 9.
[47] LCPF sub-committee minutes. 30 June 1922 in 'Limerick Police Force, 1922', p. 51.
[48] Subscription letter, 19 June 1922 in 'Limerick Police Force, 1922', p. 48.
[49] LCPF sub-committee minutes, 15 May 1922 in 'Limerick Police Force, 1922', p. 8.
[50] Police Force Fund, 10 July 1922 in 'Limerick Police Force, 1922', p. 71.
[51] LCPF sub-committee minutes. 12 May 1922 in 'Limerick Police Force, 1922', p. 7.
[52] Ibid., p 7; 10.
[53] Ó Gríofa, 'Stephen O'Mara and the Limerick Crisis', p. 272.

the LCPF operated, in theory at least, through the worst of Limerick's Civil War fighting and past the surrender of Limerick's anti-Treatyites on 20 July 1922.[54]

The thirty-eight LCPF men were relieved of police duties on 23 September.[55] Their police duties were assumed by members of the Civic Guard who were finally mobilised in Limerick. Costelloe was invited to apply to the Civic Guard but replied that he 'could only join Civic Guards if assured of a position equivalent to my present rank.'[56] He instead worked until retirement as a Limerick District Court Clerk.[57] In contrast, Mayor Stephen O'Mara was arrested and interned by the Provisional Government in December 1922. After his release the following March, Mayor O'Mara resigned from office in October of 1923, stating a reluctance to work with a government who pursued 'a policy that destroys all hope of peace'.[58]

Amid the confusion and administrative disruption of 1922, and the setbacks of the Treaty split, police activity was restricted by staffing shortages and financial constraints. Though Costelloe evidently had high ideals for the IRP and the LCPF, he was forced to compromise on regular occasions and to accept the harsh realities that came with the political and administrative disintegration of the day. Ultimately a lack of resources kept the Mid-Limerick IRP and LCPF from achieving anywhere near their full potential. Both could have provided a greater level of service had they greater access to funds and manpower. While the LCPF was an improvement of sorts, it also did not have the full support of the Limerick business class nor the Provisional Government. Like the IRP it also did not have access to a pool of manpower from which to recruit suitable officers. By July 1922 it was solely a case of holding on until the Civic Guard was ready to assume the role. The LCPF had been organised in direct succession to the IRP and was meant to be a paid unbiased police force but it too proved just as ineffectual. The Civic Guard was a far more appealing alternative and when they arrived in the autumn of 1922; they appear to have been much more welcomed by the citizenry of Limerick. The IRP and LCFP were never at any stage anything more than a stop gap which in the end and, largely through circumstances beyond their control, proved to be largely inadequate.

[54] Ó Ruairc, *The Battle for Limerick City*, p. 123.
[55] *Dáil Éireann*, vol. 1, 15 Nov. 1922.
[56] Costelloe to Captain Peter Ennis, 8 Sep. 1922.
[57] *Limerick Chronicle*, 16 May 1967.
[58] Ó Gríofa, 'Stephen O'Mara and the Limerick Crisis', p. 273.

In the presence of his enemies: the controversy of James Dalton, May 1920

Daniel Murray

The exploits of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), between 1919 and 1921 have passed into folk memory and have come to be mythologised in the cultural memory of the Irish people. However, what has been less explored or is seldom mentioned is that the War of Independence was a brutal, bitter engagement, consisting of assassination, reprisal and counter reprisal. Examples include the taking and executing of hostages by both sides and the extra judicial execution of prisoners, suspected spies and informers. Many of these killings were conducted at close quarters i.e. up close and personal. These events occurred with regularity across the country and the city of Limerick did not escape. This paper will record the events surrounding one of the more controversial killings of a suspected informer, James Dalton a seemingly staunch republican, who was accused of being a spy but had been cleared by both the IRA and Dáil Éireann of any wrong doing. He was however assassinated on the streets of Limerick following his exoneration. It is the contention of this critique that Dalton's death was as the result of an internal Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) feud confined to Limerick and not due to any treachery on the part of Dalton.

On 15 May 1920, James Dalton was making his way back to his home on Clare Street, Limerick from his employment as a clerk in the Electric Power Station on Frederick Street. A couple of hundred yards from his home, Dalton was accosted. His thirteen year old daughter, Kitty, who witnessed the attack, testified later that there were three men involved, one in front of her father and the other two were stationed on either side. Kitty was unable to provide much of a description other than that they were young and one was tall. The men opened fire on Dalton at point-blank range with revolvers. It was a particularly brutal attack and one of the attackers lingered. As the others made their escape, the attacker that remained stayed long enough to put two more rounds into the back of Dalton's prone body. The firing had been reckless as a six-year old neighbour of Dalton's, Elly Lowe, had been hit by a stray round. Both victims were rushed to hospital. Elly Lowe's wound was ruled not to be a serious one. Dalton died of his wounds. The 48-year-old Dalton, left behind a widow and eleven children.[1]

[1] *Limerick Chronicle*, 18 May 1920.

Members of the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) arrived at the scene of the crime. Though the police appeared to carry out an extensive inquiry, no arrests were ever made. There was shock at the slaying of a man who was well known in local sporting and political circles. A skilled and versatile athlete, James Dalton had been a champion middle-weight boxer. He had been a trainer of Limerick's All-Ireland winning hurling team. He had been heavily involved in the organisation of Sinn Fein's East Clare and North Roscommon Parliamentary election victories, as well as the unsuccessful South Armagh bye-election campaign.[2] He was a prominent member of the Limerick Irish Volunteers and had mobilised during Easter Week 1916. Dalton's brother Joseph in evidence to the Crown Inquest claimed that his brother had lost some of his interest in the Volunteers once the movement flourished after the Rising, although he had remained with them.[3]

As Joseph recounted in the Crown courthouse his brother's multiple careers, it would have seemed baffling that anybody would want to kill such a prominent and well-connected individual.[4] Not included by Joseph in his testimony was how James had also been shot at two months before and wounded. Graffiti on the streets had labelled Dalton a spy and announced that the matter was far from over. Undaunted, he had continued on with his life as normal and believed the matter resolved.[5]

In December 1919, Dalton had been seen entering the house of a RIC officer and leaving it sometime later. This had given rise to what Joseph called a 'scandalous report' and though he did not spell it out, it was obvious that the scandal lay in the implication that Dalton was acting as a spy for the police. It was all rumour, but rumours were enough to give rise to suspicions, and suspicions were enough to get someone killed during the War of Independence, as Ireland became increasingly mired in insurgency and counter-insurgency. The RIC were viewed by many as the symbol of British rule across the island. As an armed paramilitary force, they were the eyes and ears of the government and played a conspicuous role in intelligence gathering. The RIC had been used to supress land and nationalist unrest throughout the nineteenth century.[6] This had been possible as the RIC was almost exclusively

[2] *Limerick Chronicle*, 27 May 1920.
[3] Kevin O'Shiel (Military Archives, Bureau of Military History, WS 1770). (M.A., B.M.H., hereafter).
[4] *Limerick Chronicle*, 27 May 1920.
[5] *Limerick Leader*, 17 May 1920.
[6] Kent Fedorowich, 'The problems of disbandment: the Royal Irish Constabulary and imperial migration, 1919-29' in *Irish Historical Studies,* 17 (1996), p. 89.

recruited from within Ireland and additionally, membership of the RIC was often seen as a way of social advancement for Irishmen from poorer backgrounds.[7]

Eager to silence these suspicions of being an informer, Dalton had met with a representative of Dáil Éireann on St Stephen's Day of 1919, demanding a full examination to clear himself in the eyes of his peers. Sometime later, Dalton was granted his investigation, the results of which were presented by Joseph to the Crown inquest:

> Dáil Éireann Official Verdict in case of Mr James Dalton. The main point was not in dispute that the plaintiff (Mr Dalton) had entered certain premises at 1am and remained there til morning, the fact which had brought suspicion upon him. Having heard the evidence I was of opinion that the plaintiff had been guilty of a grave indiscretion and error of judgement in acting as he had done, and that his conduct very naturally gave rise to much suspicion. As against this I was certain of opinion that there had been no guilty or dishonest notice on his part, and that the suspicions in this respect had been unfounded.[8]

Not everyone had agreed with the verdict of the Dáil. This was the first time this exoneration had been made public, although, according to Joseph, these findings had been common knowledge on the streets of Limerick a week before the shooting, further underlining for his audience the senselessness of the murder, and that an innocent man had died for nothing.

It was a peculiar scene, as Joseph Dalton was using the Crown court to vindicate his brother by airing the ruling of another court that was regarded as an illegal entity by the one he was standing in. Of those in attendance, only the Crown representative, District Inspector (DI) Marrinan, seemed to recognise the contradiction and rose to question the witness on the stand. When Marrinan asked Joseph if he had been present at the Dáil inquiry in question, J.J. Dundon, the solicitor for the Dalton family, objected, accusing the DI of trying to trick the witness into incriminating himself. Upon Marrinan promising as a man of honour not to take such an advantage, Joseph confirmed that he had indeed been present at the Dáil inquiry. Marrinan continued his line of questioning, only to be met by a wall of repetition:

> DI Marrinan: Was the verdict given in open court?
>
> Joseph Dalton: It was forwarded to the proper authorities.
>
> DI Marrinan: What I want to know – was it promulgated in open court at the time your brother was tried?
>
> Joseph Dalton: It was forwarded to the proper authorities.[9]

[7] Peter Hart, *The IRA and its enemies: violence and community in Cork 1916-1923* (Oxford, 1999), p. 11.
[8] *Limerick Chronicle*, 27 May 1920.
[9] *Limerick Leader,* 31 May 1920.

After getting Joseph to confirm that James Dalton had been present at his own trial, DI Marrinan pounced with an unpleasantly pointed question, questioning what the consequences would have been for his brother had he been found guilty by the Dáil inquiry. Consequently, it appears the District Inspector was insinuating that Dalton would have been executed accordingly had the verdict been guilty as opposed to inconclusive. Dundon objected again on the grounds that no witness could tell what anyone would do in hypothetical situations.

As the case continued, Marrinan pressed on, wanting to know what powers this underground court had. At this, Joseph rallied enough to make a sortie from the stand: 'It is the government of this country and it is recognised by the country.' However, when Marrinan repeatedly asked whether the power of this government included the power to sentence a man to death, Joseph retreated back to pleas of ignorance on the matter. Unable to lure his witness into saying anything beyond stock answers, Marrinan instead tried unsettling him with thinly veiled taunts:

> DI Marrinan: Were you aware that a good many evil disposed people had given your brother a lot of trouble – didn't they shoot him?
>
> Joseph Dalton: That was public property; I was aware he was shot.
>
> DI Marrinan: Were you not aware also that in different parts of the town there were written notices 'Dalton the Spy' and 'Dalton the Informer?'[10]

It was the first time in the course of the inquiry that the loaded terms 'spy' and 'informer' had been voiced. Joseph did not rise to the challenge and downplayed the aforementioned notices, dismissing them as the work of youngsters whose mothers had already apologised for them. Furthermore, the Sinn Féin Club had helped to wipe out the notices, a message to his onlookers that James had had the support of the new local authorities as well as the new national one. Hoping to cast a wider net, DI Marrinan began to ask about the men James had contacted when seeking his Dáil Éireann inquiry. When it seemed that Joseph might actually answer, Dundon cut them both short on this potentially sensitive matter. The solicitor then ignored the District Inspector to address to jury, reminding them of the brutality of a man shot down in front of his children, and how he did not think he had anything to add by speaking of it any further.

What Dundon did speak further on was how the lack of charges made against James Dalton by the political organisation and by this, everyone knew he meant Sinn Féin, and the

[10] Ibid.

steps he had taken to clear his name of the still-unspecified accusation against him all pointed towards an innocent man. Dundon closed his speech with the maxim of how 'nothing uncharitable be said of the dead.' In short: case closed. A naïve newcomer to the country might have found it peculiar that a solicitor in a murder inquiry would spend his time on the reputation of the victim and none on who might have actually done the deed. But then, Dundon probably knew that the Crown court in which he stood had little power on the matter, anyway. The District Inspector was not so easily deterred, however, when it came to his turn. How had it come to pass, he wondered out loud, that in a Christian and civilised city, a man had been executed in broad daylight by a shadowy court that presumed the power of life and death? Did not the jury consider this one murder to be a dangerous precedence, that to accept the situation as somehow normal would be to grant such assassination a form of legality? Marrinan implored his audience as Irishmen and Catholics:

> for God's sake have pluck and have public opinion, and stand up against these cold-blood murders that are disgusting and ruining our country. Let them accept no record of any secret court but only the record of a court that tries a man with the light of God on i.e. beg of you to take your courage in your hands, and I say damn these people who would shoot myself to-morrow if they could do it. Take your courage and do as I would do, and you will soon have Ireland a land that every man can be proud of.[11]

Unfortunately, it appears Marrinan was preaching to the wrong congregation. The District Inspector was yesterday's man, as out of touch as the system he was striving to defend. When the jury returned its verdict, it gave nothing more than a repeat of the obvious, that James Dalton had died of shock and haemorrhaging from multiple wounds by persons unknown – and the standard expression of sympathy for the bereaved family. For better or for worse, the jury had accepted the new status quo in their city. The sole whiff of comedy in the grim and often tense proceedings was provided when DI Marrinan refused to hand back the Dáil letter of James Dalton's innocence. When the court coroner protested such ungentlemanly conduct, the District Inspector replied that it would take a better man than the coroner to take it off him. Rather than risk the spectacle of two officials brawling in court over a sheet of a paper, the coroner merely accepted a second copy from the deceased's brother.[12]

The IRA practice of targeting spies during the War of Independence is a contentious and controversial issue. It is difficult for many to reconcile the vision of men that have been

[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.

lauded as heroes, being associated with such unsavoury events.[13] Further complicating such romantic notions are the questions to whether the victims were killed solely on the basis of their suspected espionage or if factors such as sectarianism, personal feuds, and unfounded paranoia were involved. The case of James Dalton is atypical for a number of reasons. For one, very few IRA members were charged by their own with spying throughout the course of the War. This made the IRA one of the safest places for an informant to have been, given how only a handful of Volunteers, perhaps only half a dozen, were executed up to December 1921.[14] As if this did not make Dalton's death enough of an anomaly, he had already received a 'clean bill of health' by the Dáil authorities, suggesting either a dire miscommunication between Limerick and Dublin or a breakdown in IRA discipline. DI Marrinan had tried to muddy the waters further by arguing that it had been the underground Dáil court that had had Dalton killed, whatever its own paperwork claimed.

Kevin O'Shiel, an acquaintance of Dalton's from when they had campaigned together for Sinn Féin in the 1918 South Armagh by-election, described his death as 'a tragic mistake, indeed, a crime.' Although not personally familiar with the details of the case, he was told by the IRA director for publicity, Pierce Beasley that Dalton had been a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) and it had been other members of this secret society who had killed him. Dalton's habit of visiting the Limerick RIC barracks canteen for a drink was enough to put him under suspicion. Quite why Dalton would feel the need to go to an enemy stronghold for a drink when there were presumably enough pubs in Limerick already, has never been successfully resolved. Despite vindication by a top level inquiry, which had included Pierce Beasley, an 'undisciplined group' from the IRB took it upon themselves to shoot Dalton all the same. Michael Collins, for one, was enraged, not only that an innocent man was dead, but how a decree of the IRB Supreme Executive, of which Collins was head, had been blatantly ignored.[15]

This breach in discipline was taken seriously enough by the IRA GHQ for Frank Thornton, the Deputy Assistant Director of Intelligence, and 'Squad' member Joe Dolan to be dispatched to Limerick for an investigation. After a week of careful survey, as Thornton put it, they were able to piece together something of the local scene. Dalton had not only been a member of the 1st Battalion of the Mid-Limerick IRA, but its intelligence officer, and his

[13] Oliver Coogan, P*olitics and War in Meath, 1923-23* (Dublin, 1983), p. 168.
[14] Eunan O'Halpin, 'Problematic killing during the Irish War of Independence and its aftermath: civilian spies and informers' in J. Kelly and M. Lyons (eds), *Death and dying in Ireland, Britain, and Europe: historical perspectives* (Dublin, 2013), p. 343.
[15] Kevin O'Shiel (M.A., B.M.H., WS 1770).

killers had been from the 2nd Battalion, the 1st and 2nd covering Limerick City and Castleconnell respectively. Thornton noticed the tension between the two battalions dating back to the Easter Rising, although he leaves that possible reason for the shooting unsaid, and says nothing about any role by the IRB. Instead, he identifies the motive as the result of a misunderstanding: Dalton had indeed been associating with enemy agents, but they had been his double-agents and he had been meeting them for information, and 'some very valuable information' at that according to Thornton, in his capacity as intelligence officer. Thornton and Dolan left Limerick confident that they had definite evidence to submit to GHQ that Dalton had been innocent like the earlier Dáil Éireann inquiry had said.[16]

Both O'Shiel and Thornton were too far removed from the Limerick scene to be ideal sources. O'Shiel's worth is primarily in what he tells us the reactions in Dublin, and he corroborates Joseph Dalton's claim that the victim had already been cleared of the charges against him. As for Thornton and Dolan, their week in the city was unlikely to be enough to fully gauge the situation there, despite what Thornton thought, but Dalton's membership of the 1st Battalion and the feud between the 1st and 2nd Battalions are corroborated by more local sources. Thornton and Dolan were hard-bitten intelligence men who lived by their wits in the ruthless world of Dublin in 1920 and it would be reasonable to believe that they would have smelled a 'cock and bull' story from a distance' which may have been true in Dublin, but in Limerick they were outsiders in an unfamiliar scene.[17] The 1st Battalion may have been inactive, almost redundant since 1917, making Dalton's activities as its intelligence agent unlikely. Furthermore, if Dalton had secured such information, none of it has since come to light.[18] Of course, there is no reason to believe that any such intelligence should do so, considering the clandestine nature of espionage, especially if Dalton had declined to keep written notes. Still, it is surely significant that none of the other sympathetic sources repeated this claim.

The murder of a man both the Dáil and the IRB Supreme Executive had already cleared was a challenge to their authority that could not go unanswered. Richard O'Connell, O/C of Limerick IRA 5th Battalion, was tasked with tracking down the main suspect. Given the inter-battalion rivalry, it is perhaps not surprising that this was the Quartermaster of the 2nd Battalion, Martin Barry. On the run and now wanted by both sides in the war, Barry

[16] Frank Thornton (M.A., B.M.H., WS 615).
[17] Thomas Toomey, *The War of Independence in Limerick, 1912-1921* (Limerick, 2010), pp 284-5.
[18] John O'Callaghan, *Revolutionary Limerick: the republican campaign for independence in Limerick, 1913-1921* (Dublin, 2010), p. 176.

proved himself elusive until O'Connell was able to arrange a meeting with him in Limerick City, from which he was taken to Castleconnell and placed under arrest. O'Connell does not say how willingly Barry went. The quartermaster need not have worried, as there was no clear evidence against him for Dalton's murder and the charges fizzled out after a week.[19] As a neutral observer to the friction between the 1st and 2nd Battalions, O'Connell had no problem believing that the feud was as much a factor in Dalton's murder as his poor choice of houses to visit. Another local source and part-time Volunteer, John J. Quilty, went as far as to accuse the 2nd Battalion of maligning Dalton's character in order to smear the 1st Battalion by association. Given the vitriol involved, this is not too hard to believe.[20]

O'Connell's account also sheds more light on the role of the IRB. He had been enrolled in the Organisation, by Liam Forde, one of the heads of the local IRB Circle. Forde was also Brigade Commandant of the Mid Limerick IRA, but O'Connell regarded his role in the case as an assignment on behalf of the IRB specifically. O'Connell's attitude towards the IRB was one of faint condensation. He remembered it as having little importance in Limerick and being largely limited to the 1st Battalion, himself being an exception. In line with that battalion's poor reputation, the IRB was regarded with the same low opinion accordingly.[21] The association in O'Connell's account of the IRB with the 1st Battalion, and the consensus in most of the sources that Dalton was killed by the 2nd Battalion, would seem to contradict Kevin O'Shiel's opinion that Dalton's shooting was an act by the IRB, this same IRB which supposedly had no real influence outside of 1st battalion. However, contemporary paperwork within the IRA would seem to argue against such a clear depiction.

Court-martial charge sheets signed on 27 May 1920 by IRA Adjutant General, Gearóid O'Sullivan, listed a series of alleged offences by six Volunteers, one of whom was Martin Barry. All six were charged with committing robberies without the sanction of the IRA GHQ and with keeping the money gained from said robberies. O'Connell's belief that he had arrested Barry on the charge of Dalton's shooting appears unfounded. The court-martial was held 5 June 1920 in Limerick, and letters were sent to Rory O'Connor, as IRA Director of Engineering, and Tomás Malone, Commandant of the East Limerick Brigade, to attend in their roles as senior officers. Barry's charge sheet is noteworthy in how it included the accusation that he:

[19] Richard O'Connell (M.A., B.M.H., WS 656).
[20] John J. Quilty (M.A., B.M.H., WS 516).
[21] Richard O'Connell (M.A., B.M.H., WS 656).

> attempted to coerce an Officer of the Limerick City, Batt, into joining another organization, by threatening him that he would not be acceptable for the position of Batt. Commandant, and that he would not be trusted by his officers unless he joined.[22]

Although this other organisation was not named, its description could only match the IRB, which had a policy of infiltrating other societies such as the IRA and encouraging the promotion of its own members to better control the secondary body.[23] The court-martial notes depict a sullen and uncooperative Martin Barry refusing to answer questions.[24] That Barry was in the IRB is supported by the recollections of Con McNamara, also of the 2nd Battalion and a lieutenant in its A Company, and Barry acted as witness for McNamara being sworn into the Brotherhood in 1917 by their commanding officer, John Sweeney.[25] Richard O'Connell's view of the IRB in the Mid Limerick Brigade as largely limited to the 1st Battalion was an oversimplification. After all, not only were at least three 2nd Battalion officers in the Organisation, but one was accused of threatening an officer of 1st Battalion into joining. Kevin O'Shiel's belief that Dalton's murder was a case of the IRB turning on its own now appears a more solid one. That IRB members would defy so blatantly an order from their superiors in the Executive casts the Brotherhood in a different light to its usual image as a slick, well-oiled machine under the firm control of its leadership. Here, it is a body of men as prone to infighting, vendettas and uncertain discipline as any in this period.

In light of what O'Connell had to say, it would be tempting to regard these court-martials as being for Dalton's murder, particularly as the dates are so close together. But nowhere in the paperwork does it suggest anything of the sort, and it is hard to imagine the murder of a fellow Volunteer being considered of less importance than the misappropriation of funds. The final verdict has been unrecorded. Some clue, however, may be gleaned from how Barry was identified in April 1921 as still being the Brigade Quartermaster. Clearly, the court-martial had done his career no harm at all.[26] There was to be no justice for James Dalton. His family continued the fight to clear his name, going so far as to write to Arthur Griffith. Dalton's widow was granted £500 by the Dáil in recognition of the unlawfulness of his death. Their eldest daughter, who had been among those who had witnessed their father's murder, heard the names of those responsible from her father as he had lain dying in the

[22] National Library of Ireland Manuscripts (MS 11, 410/6/2).
[23] Séamus Robinson (M.A., B.M.H., WS 1721).
[24] National Library of Ireland Manuscripts (MS 11, 410/6/2-7).
[25] Military Service Pensions Collection, (M.A., M.S.P.C., RO/134).
[26] Morgan Portley (M.A., B.M.H., WS 1559).

street. She never revealed who they were. According to her son, she never ceased to preach the virtues of forgiveness.[27]

A visiting reporter from the *Irish Times* in the days following Dalton's murder noted how the scene of the crime on Clare Street attracted hundreds of visitors, and the many standpoints from which the circumstances were debated. The discussion continues to this day, with none of the sources able to provide a clear picture.[28] Joseph Dalton was evasive on the stand in the Crown court inquiry. Frank Thornton described James Dalton as an intelligence officer who fell under suspicion when meeting his own spies, a claim that not even the other sympathetic sources repeat. O'Connell provided some illuminating details, particularly on the feud between the 1st and 2nd Battalions that served as the backdrop to the murder. O'Connell, however, underestimated the extent of the IRB. He believed it limited to the 1st Battalion, while there is ample proof that it was prominent throughout the 2nd as well. Kevin O'Shiel was perhaps the most accurate when he described the murder as resulting from conflict within the local IRB, but he could provide little more than that. Even the original question of whether Dalton was a police spy is disputed. Both Dáil Éireann and the IRB Supreme Executive found there were sufficient grounds to declare him innocent, but this was not enough to stop those who believed otherwise from shooting him dead in the street. An internal IRB feud concentrated and confined to Limerick would be the most likely motive for the death of Dalton. James Dalton learnt that sometimes in war, it is not only the enemy who is trying to kill you.

[27] O'Callaghan, *Revolutionary Limerick,* p. 175.
[28] *Irish Times*, 18 May 1920.

America's relationship with Europe after WWI: as reflected through interwar cinema and the film industry

Emily Paul

Arguably, there is no better lens through which to analyse events, which occurred in the twentieth century, than that of the cinema and film industry. Film as a medium emerged at the turn of the century, and the growth of cinema, both as an art form and as an industry, reflected events which shaped humanity in the 1900s. Therefore, an understanding of the interactions between the American and European film industries provides valuable insight into their post-WWI relationship. This understanding can be achieved through a discussion of the innovations in cinema up to WWI, as well as a discussion of the state of European and American interwar cinema, respectively, and finally the reception of American film culture in interwar Europe, and vice versa. These discussions allow keen insight into America's relationship with interwar Europe. Specifically, this analysis proves, through Europe's reception of American films, that Europe viewed America as an increasing threat both economically and culturally during the interwar period.

To begin, an understanding of what advancements were made in the Western film industry before and up to WWI helps contextualise later cinematic developments in interwar America and Europe. As noted earlier, films were still a new and novel invention at the dawn of the twentieth century. However, the film industry was growing rapidly at the end of the 1800s with the second industrial revolution resulting 'in a sharp increase in the demand for entertainment.'[1] In response to this growing demand, 'a few smart entrepreneurs developed cinema technology from a mere gadget, a trick, a novelty shown at fairs, into the motor of a new, highly organized, concentrated, and internationally integrated entertainment industry,' and these entrepreneurs were at work on both sides of the Atlantic. [2]

Yet, despite the fact that most Western cultures seem to have developed cinematic industries around the same time, the earliest film industry flourished predominately in Europe, and many innovations which would later thrive in American cinema were developed first in European countries.[3] Thus, most European nations did not sense a threat from America in this new cultural medium, and continued in the European psychological tradition

[1] Gerben Bakker, 'Entertainment industrialized' in *Enterprise & Society* (2003), pp 579-80.
[2] Ibid., p. 580.
[3] Ibid., p. 579; Gerben Bakker, 'America's master: the European film industry in the United States, 1907-1920' in M. Pokorny and J. Sedgwick, eds, *An economic history of film* (Oxford, 2004), p. 25.

of regarding America as culturally insignificant.[4] However, with the outbreak of WWI, European cinema was hindered, as 'employees were called into service, and sometimes studios and facilities were sequestered by the government.'[5] Although the European cinematic industry managed to stay afloat during the war, they found themselves performing jobs for governments by producing 'complicated devices such as bomb fuses' or making newsreels, whereas the American industry did not immediately suffer the same hindrances as their European counterparts.[6] Consequently, in the aftermath of the Great War, a weakened European industry was suddenly overshadowed by America, and the US was poised to dominate the burgeoning film industry.

In the interwar period, American cinema reflected the United States' changing culture and society closely. Interwar American cinema spanned over the 'roaring' 1920s, an era marked by decadence and luxury, into the 1930s, which was marked by the Great Depression. In the interwar years, American film budgets, ticket prices, and the length of feature films all increased.[7] Additionally, the 'talkie' became standardised for the majority of films released, and 'by 1931, theatres without sound were in the minority; by 1934, they had all but disappeared.'[8] The 1920s saw many major film corporations undertake the building of decadent 'movie palaces,' which reflected the opulent nature of the American 'roaring twenties.' However, the dawning of the 1930s, and the start of the Great Depression, changed American cinema and cinema culture, and the building of 'movie palaces' were soon halted.[9] In the 'Depression-struck United States, film was the tenth most profitable industry,' with people spanning across social and economic demographics seeking escape from the Depression.[10]

Many major film corporations resorted to strategic film making to maintain monetary income during this time of decline. For instance, major American film corporations developed formulaic films that were strategically made to provoke desired reactions from their audience.[11] In addition, film corporations such as Warner Bros. invested in making actors and actresses 'stars,' so that a big name 'star' would act like a brand name and draw in

[4] John Trumpbour, *Selling Hollywood to the world* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 1.
[5] Bakker, 'America's master', p. 31.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid., pp 27-9.
[8] Michael Pokorny and John Sedgwick (eds.), 'Warner Bros. in the inter-war years' in *An economic history of film* (Oxford, 2004), p. 151; Richard Butsch, 'American movie audiences of the 1930s' in *International Labor and Working-Class history* (2001), p. 109.
[9] Butsch, 'American movie audiences', p. 106.
[10] Bakker, 'Entertainment industrialized', p. 579; Butsch, 'American movie audiences of the 1930s', p. 119.
[11] Pokorny and Sedgwick, 'Warner Bros. in the inter-war years', p. 151.

a loyal audience.[12] With the popularisation of sound films, and the development of formulaic plots, as well as star-branding, audiences in 1930s America were able to distract themselves from their real-world troubles. This was reflected in the top three grossing American films of the 1930s, *Gone with the Wind* (1939), *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), and *The Wizard of Oz* (1939). Elements such as big budgets, romantic themes, and escapism link these pictures, and reflect the stressed interwar America.[13]

Similarly, the film industry in Europe also reflected the changing society and culture of interwar Europe. After WWI, there was an 'emergence of a new generation of socially and financially independent young working-class women,' and men, who had both the leisure time and the desire to attend the movies.[14] For example, in interwar Britain, the British peoples 'went to the cinema more than any other European country. By 1939 an estimated 20 million attended each week.'[15] As a result, there was a large demand for film production in Europe. However, European film companies had been hindered by the Great War, and many European theatres had to rely on American imports to meet the demand for entertainment. Artistically speaking, for instance, films crafted in interwar Germany are particularly noteworthy. For example *The Cabinet of Dr Caligari* (1920) and *Metropolis* (1927) are both cinematic pieces praised by film critics both contemporaneously, and for years afterwards.

These pieces are both set in a world that resembles the known world, and yet they are distinctly not the Earth humanity knew. The pieces reflect artistic movements prevalent in Europe at the end of WWI, such as Modernism, Expressionism, and New Objectivity, which sprung from the broken post-WWI psyche. Additionally, a main theme in scholarship about interwar European cinema is how many films produced in this period had a propagandistic purpose. For instance, articles by Corey Ross, Julia Roos and Steven Fielding look at a number of ways in which films were used by European countries, such as Britain and Germany, for various propaganda purposes.[16] Thus, the interwar European film industry was a reflection of post-WWI Europe, with the damaged European film industry reflecting the

[12] Bakker, 'Entertainment industrialized', p. 583; Pokorny and Sedgwick, 'Warner Bros. in the inter-war years', p. 151.
[13] According to figures given by Tim Dirks. (2015) Filmsite. (http://www.filmsite.org/boxoffice2.html) (30 March 2015).
[14] Selina Todd, 'Young women, work, and leisure in interwar England' in *The Historical Journal* (2005), p. 789.
[15] Mike Huggins, "And now, something for the ladies': representations of women's sport in cinema newsreels 1918–1939' in *Women's History Review,* (2007), p. 681.
[16] Steven Fielding, 'British politics and cinema's historical dramas, 1929-1938' in *The Historical Journal,* (2013), p. 487; Corey Ross, 'Mass politics and the techniques of leadership: the promise and perils of propaganda in Weimar Germany' in *German History* (2006), p. 184; Julia Roos, "Huns' and other 'Barbarian': A movie ban and the dilemmas of 1920s German Propaganda against French Colonial Troops' in *Historical Reflections* (2014), p. 67.

wounded Europe post-WWI. Subsequently, the dependence on American imports reflected the general European outreach for US aid, and the artistic nature of films, such as those being produced in interwar Germany, reflected the psyche of Europeans who had witnessed their once familiar world thrown into horrific distortion.

In general, America and Europe's relationship changed significantly after WWI outside the film industry. As Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht noted in her article, *Always blame the Americans,* the twentieth-century America rose, Rome-like, to become an international super power, which caused mixed reactions in Europe.[17] Gienow-Hecht stated that European nations, such as Italy, Germany, France, and Britain, were both grateful for American intervention in WWI, and afterward, but also harboured strong anti-American sentiments.[18] Although there were many reasons interwar Europe was distrustful of America, a key factor influencing this wariness was a fear of an American economic and cultural takeover. Moreover, 'fear of economic dominance has played a fair part in the way Europeans view America and Americans view Europe' in the twentieth century, and especially in the interwar period when American economic encroachment posed a threat not only to Europe's revitalization, but also to their long established cultural traditions.[19] This tension between America and Europe in the interwar period played out on many fronts of politics, economics, and culture. However, this tension is most strikingly played out through the interaction of American and European interwar cinema. Thus, with the cinematic relationship between the US and Europe up to the end of WWI established, as well as a discussion of what shape interwar European and American films were taking in their own countries, one can now undertake a discussion of how the reception of European and American films, specifically the reception of American films in interwar Europe, reflect the tension between these two Western powers.

As seen earlier, American interwar cinema was shaped by the major American film corporations who had, first and foremost, monetary gain on their minds. However, in order to achieve assured monetary gain, the US corporations were realising that the creation of Hollywood idols, the employment of formulaic plots, and the output of large production budgets usually resulted in better reception for a film, as well as having a larger audience pull. Arguably, this resulted in a cheapening of American cinema. It also resulted in

[17] Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, 'Always blame the Americans: anti-Americanism in Europe in the twentieth century' in *The American Historical Review* (2006), p. 1068.
[18] Ibid., p. 1074.
[19] Bakker, 'America's master', p. 24.

grandiose films that provided escapism and entertainment to the interwar world. These big budget, star-fuelled American movies were not just well received in the US, but also in Europe, where European theatres would show US movies, while the European film industry worked to regain their footing post-WWI.

Gerben Bakker noted that, 'while many European intellectuals despised the 'cheap' American films, to their horror they witnessed how the European masses queued to see them, in numbers so large that the production of European films became hardly possible without state production.[20] Subsequently, interwar American films were commercially successful in interwar Europe, offering Europeans, who were impacted by the Great War as well as the American Great Depression, similar 'mindless' distractions that US movie-goers enjoyed. As a result, as America stepped up as a player in the 'culture industry,' the European 'faith in the perpetual marginality of US culture was severely shaken.'[21]

Europe feared that with the rise in popularity of interwar American films in Europe, America would not only stagnate Europe's opportunity to be economically viable in Western cinema, but also that US films would alter and assimilate Europe's culture into an American one. Europe had strong reason to fear this for, as many Europeans living in the twentieth century noted, the film industry became stronger and more persuasive than government or religion.[22] In addition, Thomas Saunders described the US film industry 'as a vehicle for exporting the American way of life and stimulating demand for American products [film] proved unrivalled.'[23] Subsequently, the governments of many European nations undertook initiatives to limit the degree of exposure American films had in interwar Europe, and for years afterwards.[24] Thus, the relationship between Europe and America in the interwar period is closely mirrored by the interaction of the two Western powers' film industries.

Conversely, European interwar films were still being distributed in America. However, unlike the period up to the mid-1910s, when 'European film companies not only held the largest market shares in their home markets, but they also were the major film suppliers in the United States,' European films no longer had the draw they once enjoyed. Indeed, in this interwar period only a few European films were distributed within the US.[25] Furthermore, a tradition had been established in America's early film industry of illegally

[20] Ibid., p. 25.
[21] Trumpbour, *Selling Hollywood*, p. 1.
[22] Ibid., p. 2.
[23] Thomas J. Saunders, *Hollywood in Berlin: American cinema and Weimar Germany* (California, 1994), p. 1.
[24] Bakker, 'America's master', p. 25.
[25] Ibid., p. 25.

copying European films that were sent for American distribution, and this continued into the interwar period.[26] Therefore, even if European interwar films managed to break into an American audience, they often ended up losing profits and control of distribution. However, based on the reception of films, such as the previously mentioned German film, *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (1920), which had an American release in 1921, American critics were positively receptive to quality films coming out of interwar Europe.[27] Thus, while European films were still being brought to American audiences, and although they were even sometimes well received, they could not compete against the flashier American product.

Similarly, just as general European and American relations were altered in the interwar period, so too was the relationship between American and European film industries. Subsequently, there were many repercussions for the Western film industry, and Western culture as a whole. Due to the decline in the American audiences' demand for European cinema, the European companies failed to regain their dominance, and as a result these European companies found 'it difficult as a consequence to compete effectively with the Hollywood product'.[28]

Consequently, these European companies were impacted not just by a loss of the American market, but also by a loss of their home markets because of the demand for grandiose American films in Europe. Therefore, the Western film industry saw a drastic shift in the interwar years towards Hollywood dominance. Gerben Bakker noted that, 'since the mid-1920s, only protection, tax breaks and state subsidies have kept [the European film industry] afloat.' Thus, those who wonder why Hollywood has dominated the film industry for the majority of cinema's history could arguably find the root of the matter in the interwar period and the competition between the American and European interwar film industries.[29]

Additionally, as noted earlier, many Europeans feared the dominance of American films in the interwar period because of the persuasive power of films. Indeed, it would seem that despite the efforts of European governments to diminish the impact of American popular culture in Europe, the US film industry proved to be far too seductive. Through American films, not only were Western American values trumpeted as superior, these films also led to a reorganisation of society. Victoria de Grazia, in her article 'Mass culture and sovereignty', noted that twentieth-century European conservatives could be seen bemoaning 'the fact that

[26] Ibid., p. 27.
[27] *New York Times,* 21 Apr. 1921.
[28] Bakker, 'America's master', p. 25.
[29] Ibid., pp 25-6.

the parson's wife sat nearby his maid at the Sunday matinees, equally rapt in the gaze of Hollywood stars, and that intellectuals and workingmen alike delighted in Charlie Chaplin's antiauthoritarian antics.'[30]

Indeed, although theatres continued to be racially segregated, there was a co-mingling within the audience of social classes, which led to a breakdown of long-standing European notions about class categories.[31] Furthermore, this encroachment of American culture into Europe in the interwar period through films arguably contributed to strong anti-American sentiments which coloured US relations with Europe since, and throughout, the twentieth century.[32] Thus, the interactions between the European and American interwar film industries had huge repercussions both in the development of the film industry in the West, but also their interaction impacted huge cultural developments in the twentieth century, such as the breakdown of class lines in Europe, and in fostering pervasive anti-American sentiments in Europe.

In conclusion, viewing the relationship between the US and interwar Europe through the lens of the film industry is incredibly illuminating to the tensions between the two global powers post-WWI. The discussion of the state of American and European film industries respectively, as well as the discussion of general tensions between America and interwar Europe, establishes the context for the war that waged between Europe and America on the battleground of interwar cinema. As Gerben Bakker noted, 'in the perceived struggle between Europe and America, the film industry is a battlefield of both an economic and cultural character: it was the main clashing point for most of the twentieth century.'[33] Thus, this analysis of interwar cinema, with a strong focus on how interwar Europe responded to American cinema, clearly highlights the cultural and economic tensions that existed between the US and Europe in the interwar period.

[30] Victoria de Grazia, 'Mass culture and sovereignty' in *The Journal of Modern History* (1989), p. 55.
[31] Butsch, 'American movie audiences', pp 110-17.
[32] Gienow-Hecht, 'Always blame the Americans', p. 1075.
[33] Bakker, 'America's master', p. 25.

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