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North Tipperary in the year of the Fenian rising – Part 1

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The year 1867 was an eventful one for North Tipperary, as for many other counties. From 1866 fenianism was a topic which received major coverage in the provincial press and even attracted debate in the House of Commons. A body of Fenians, between 800 and 900, all “well armed”, crossed the frontier between Buffalo and Fort Erie on 1 June 1866; but this invasion of Canada was halted by the U.S. authorities.¹

However, not only were there Fenians in Toronto jail; prisons in Limerick and Waterford also housed Fenian suspects. During a debate at Westminster it was pointed out that, while these prisoners were untried, they had been subjected to punishment reserved for hardened criminals after conviction.² This issue of prisoners and the conditions under which they were held was to play a crucial role in mobilising both popular and clerical support under the banner of the Amnesty Movement.

The abortive Fenian invasion of Canada and the British Government’s relentless pursuit of suspects had led to a false sense of security in some quarters in the opening months of 1867. “[T]he Fenian bubble is exploded . . . by the determined attitude of the Government, the incorruptible fidelity of the constabulary force, and the vast majority of the Irish population . . .” At the same time John Scanlan from Killaloe, brother of a priest from Cloughjordan, was arrested for the possession of 20 guns and a number of bayonets and swords. Scanlan, an elderly man, was much respected in the locality.⁴

Fr. Patrick Lavelle of Partry in Mayo was foremost among the priests with Fenian sympathies, and was prepared to challenge the Church’s rulings on fenianism. Archbishop Manning of Westminster had delivered a speech strongly condemning the Fenians: “Show me an Irishman who has lost his faith and I will show you a Fenian. For every lax sceptical Irishman that you show me I will show you a Fenian in return.” Lavelle was scathing in his reply. “We have it on the authority of Earl Kimberly, late Lord Lieutenant . . . that in the south and west of Ireland the bulk of even the respectable farmers were ready to join the Fenian standard, while under it has already enrolled the entire mass of intelligent artisans and operatives . . .”

Lavelle then turned his attention to the pastoral and pulpit denunciations. “Fenianism, they say, is condemned by the Church; therefore it is essentially evil . . . The Head of the Church himself . . . has studiously . . . abstained from condemning it . . . I tell your Grace there are no more determined foes of your country’s misrule amongst us than the priests . . . One Irish priest has spoken; a hundred more have their lips sealed.”⁵ However, the American Minister in Rome, Rufus King, reporting on Pius IX’s opinion of the invasion of Canada, showed that Lavelle was being optimistic regarding the Pope’s attitude towards Fenianism.⁶

In 1866 Archbishop Cullen had been appointed Ireland’s first cardinal. In April that year Odo Russell, British agent to the Holy See, launched a tirade against the Irish clergy while speaking of fenianism. He accused them of having “taught the people that all the misfortunes they brought upon themselves by their own idle celtic habits were attributable to the Government.”



Cullen's pastorals against secret societies in general, and the Fenians in particular, were numerous. He had hardly assumed the primacy in Ireland when, still in Rome, he warned the Irish against joining secret societies; and during the 1860s he intensified his efforts. In an address to the clergy early in 1866 he pointed to the evil consequences of fenianism. In February 1866 he preached against the Fenian organ *The Irish People* in his lenten pastoral. He adopted a similar vein in pastorals of December 1866 and May 1867 and in his 1867 lenten pastoral.⁷

Throughout the country there was an air of expectancy in the opening months of 1867 as the provincial papers reported an imminent Fenian rising. In North Tipperary, in and around Thurles, rumours circulated that pikes had arrived in the area and Fenian agents were holding meetings.⁸ One such suspect, Charles Osborne, was remanded in custody at Nenagh. He claimed he had come to Ireland as a travelling companion to a sick man, but gave a confused account of his business – and a false address.⁹ The “sick man” was a Fenian officer named Delahunty, who died in Fethard a month later. He had the largest funeral seen there for half a century and had fought in the American Civil War.¹⁰

The expected rising took place on 5 March 1867 and was more general than had been anticipated in Tipperary. In Thurles great excitement prevailed. “Country gentlemen” carried their arms to the police barracks and several remained in the town’s hotel. People did not go to bed, in anticipation of an attack on the barrack. Several “gentlemen’s” houses and barracks in the locality were attacked by a party of upwards of 150 men, and all the arms were captured.

Two police barracks in the Borrisoleigh neighbourhood were burned. It was reported that 4,000 to 5,000 men had assembled on the Hill of Barnane, and in neighbouring towns business was almost suspended as people began to draw their money out of the banks.¹¹

There was “considerable alarm” caused in Nenagh by reports of the rising. Letters had been sent to leading families in the area suggesting the expediency of leaving their homes and going into some of the towns for protection. Some of the gentry, acting on this advice, left for Limerick and Dublin. The mail-car was delayed in its arrival at Templemore because the rails had been torn up. Telegraph wires had been cut at the same time.

A body of 200 men, headed by two men wearing green sashes, one of them thought to be Captain Gleeson, a leading Fenian, marched through the village of Borrisoleigh in military order. General Godfrey Massey, another veteran of the American Civil War and a native of county Tipperary, was arrested at Limerick Junction. He was said to be the commander of the Fenians in Ireland and “much superior in appearance and apparent intelligence to the general run of those apprehended”.¹²

In other parts of the North Riding the effects of the rising were also felt. Rails were torn up at Holycross and the police barrack demolished by “500 Fenians armed with pikes, guns and mustering”.¹³ A large number of Fenians assembled at Cappamore Mines near Newport. A great number of “athletic young men . . . dressed like farmers’ sons” proceeded in bodies of twos and threes from near Barnane towards Kilcommon. Although there was no sign of a rising in the immediate neighbourhood of Nenagh, a general fear of an outbreak prevailed. Farmers withdrew money from banks, feeling their lodgements were not safe while the Fenian movement lasted.

Templemore was thrown into confusion by reports that large bodies of men were seen heading towards the Devil’s Bit. J.G. Jones, resident magistrate, with police and military hastened in that direction, fearing that “the marauders contemplated a descent on Barnane, the splendid residence of Capt. Andrew Carden.” Jones also received information that rebels from Holycross would attack Dovea House, the residence of landlord John Trant. Jones was reported



to have fired on a body of over 200 Fenians near Drom village; after dispersing them he pushed on to Dovea. It was reported that the rebels assembled at Devil's Bit were commanded by Capt. Gleeson, another American War veteran, and a young man named Rogers who formerly had a farm near Drom.¹⁴

A report a week after the rising claimed that upwards of 1,000 men had assembled at Keeper Hill, again under Capt. Gleeson, whose brother Brigadier General John Gleeson was believed to have arrived in the country.¹⁵ In Nenagh chapel the Fenian movement was strongly condemned by the officiating clergyman. A meeting of inhabitants of Cloughjordan district presided over by Lord Dunally (a leading landlord later reviled in the Land War) discussed measures to preserve life and property in the area. Fr. Michael Scallan PP told the meeting that the Fenians were opposed to all law and religion.¹⁶

Archbishop Leahy of Cashel and Emly told the people of his diocese that the events of the rising should make them ashamed of "such deplorable occurrences, amounting to open insurrection in several counties". He said it was the duty of every Catholic to withdraw from secret societies as membership was contrary to Catholic teaching, and warned that while England remained the power she was the Fenians only made matters worse.¹⁷

Despite pleas such as Leahy's, authorities in the region experienced great difficulty in procuring information on the movements of the insurgents. It was reported that country people were unwilling or afraid to tell what they knew, and that when military detachments reached points where Fenians were said to have been seen they invariably found the coast clear. It was also argued that there was sympathy from the peasantry towards the Fenians, because during the intensely cold weather they must have been given shelter in cabins and farmhouses scattered among the hills.¹⁸

The *Irishman* pointed out that in no case did the Fenians commit acts of violence to private individuals, nor had they been guilty of the slightest act of plunder; they had obtained "an excellent character among a people only too willing to assist and shelter them". It was conceded, however, that "the feeling of the country is rather averse to the rising at present", but that if a more favourable opportunity presented itself there would be no doubt that a rising would receive general support.¹⁹

The claim that the Fenians had not committed acts of violence against individuals was, however, challenged. A man named Carroll, who was a servant to a farmer and a supposed Fenian, was seriously assaulted. Carroll had been one of a number of Fenian suspects arrested in the Borrisoleigh area, but was the only one released. It was reported that a party of Fenians still at large had approached him, suspecting him of being an informer.²⁰ Fenian sympathisers in the district dismissed the allegations and claimed that the incident was merely the result of a drunken brawl.²¹

Fenian sympathisers and activists continued to be arrested in North Tipperary. Two men of "the labouring class" were brought into Nenagh from Templemore and accused of the burning of the police barracks at Roskeen and the murder of a man named Patrick Treacy. John Young from Borrisoleigh when searched was found to be in possession of a Catholic prayerbook "for the purpose of swearing in Fenians, a seditious ballad and a black veil to cover his face when making midnight visits". Michael Gleeson, father of General Gleeson, was brought before the bench for boasting in public that he was the father of seven rebels. Timothy, one of them, was arrested in Ballymackey near Nenagh. Con Maher and John Darmody from Upperchurch area were detained on suspicion of Fenianism.

Patrick Grady, labourer; Michael Maher, labourer; James Butler, labourer; James Butler, farmer; Laurence Butler, farmer; Philip Maher, labourer; Patrick Woodlock, blacksmith – all



from the Borrisoleigh-Upperchurch area – were sent for trial in connection with the burning of Roskeen barracks.²² The occupations of others arrested in connection with the rising were listed – farmer’s son, shoemaker, servant, tailor, carpenter, draper’s assistant, porter, miller, cooper, butter-buyer and baker.²³ Some prisoners were said to have an American appearance.²⁴

Michael Maher, a butcher from Thurles, was lodged in Nenagh jail. William Dunne and John Hayes, “respectable farmers”, were among six prisoners arrested near Annefield and conveyed to Nenagh.²⁵ In Thurles another twelve prisoners, “appearing to belong to the labouring class”, were committed for trial in connection with the March rising.²⁶

Soldiers Sworn In

In the early 1860s, when the Fenian movement was being organised, a large number of Irish soldiers in the British army were sworn in as Fenians. This happened extensively in Templemore Barracks. In December 1865 the 11th Depot Battalion stationed there was transferred to Newry and Enniskillen and replaced by the 59th regiment from Glasgow. The reason given for the change by the *Nenagh Guardian* was that “. . . those troops are tainted with fenianism . . . The majority of those soldiers are recruits drafted from several parts of Ireland, but Tipperary men predominate. Several . . . were constantly entering public houses and associating with persons whose feelings of loyalty were not strong. The officers knew this and . . . Col. W. Irwin spoke to the men on the subject, but his words had no effect . . .”²⁷

Apparently when the troops were moved to Enniskillen they still retained their “taint of fenianism”. The *Guardian* commented: “Two private soldiers, lately remanded from Templemore to Enniskillen on account that some of their battalion was tampering with Fenianism, were arrested in Enniskillen for singing Fenian songs . . . one of the soldiers remarked that the whole company to which he belonged might as well be arrested as him.” After the ‘67 rising the 59th regiment was busy pursuing Fenians in frightful weather of snow and frost around Barnane and the Devil’s Bit.²⁸

The authorities spared no effort tracking down Fenians and their sympathisers. Dublin Castle, in a memorandum on the duties of special constables and magistrates, drew attention to the “valuable provisions” in the Whiteboy Acts. People caught with firearms, or assuming any name not usually assumed by “ordinary persons”, could get penal servitude, imprisonment and whipping; unlawful assembly carried the same punishment, and anybody writing, posting or publishing material considered seditious was also liable to the same punishment.

People arrested received considerable sympathy once the rising was quelled. It was reported that “a great many collected about the roads [and] their sympathies were evident with those victims of the . . . movements of the 5th and 6th of March.” An insight was given of the social status of some prisoners: “The overwhelming majority of them are of the down-trodden, wretched and persecuted labouring classes . . . whose conditions could hardly be worse than it has been . . . who as a class have been neglected as well by their employers as by the government . . . fitter objects for the workhouse than the prisons . . . When the trains drove off which carried the . . . prisoners to Clonmel, there was loud wailing.”²⁹

At Nenagh Assizes Judge George, a bitter opponent of popular rights, alluded to the Borrisoleigh outrage and the rising in that part of the county as having been perpetrated by “the off-scourings of towns”. He was adamant that no farmer or respectable agricultural labourer was connected with it. Yet Borrisoleigh was a small place and nearly all who lived there were farm labourers. It had been reported that between 500 and 1,000 men from the



locality had joined the rising.³⁰ A *Freeman's Journal* correspondent said the Fenians had sympathisers everywhere in both town and country.³¹

A local priest, Fr. Horan, believed he knew what caused this sympathy. He addressed a letter headed "How Fenians Are Made" to a leading provincial paper. Notice to quit had been sent to his tenants in Killoskehan parish by Andrew Carden. Horan asked: "Who are to blame for fenianism but landlords like Carden . . . Should [he] be allowed . . . by the government . . . by placing power in his hands . . . the people . . . cannot be but disaffected." He concluded that a solution would be "to give security to the tenant . . . and restore to us our own parliament . . ."³²

Not all the clergy agreed with Horan, however, Fr. Mullany, PP of Drom and Inch, wrote that Carden had asked that the priest use his influence on the tenants. He had been empowered to offer them liberal compensation, but his efforts had failed.³³ But Peter Gill, proprietor of the *Tipperary Advocate*, believed that Fr. Horan had acted as a patriot and agreed that ejection and the crowbar brigade helped to create Fenianism. "Glory to Father Horan . . . for exposing . . . the cause of an oppressed and persecuted people".³⁴

A letter from Barnane said that people in the district were surprised that the magistrate Gore Jones had attached his name to the notices to quit on Carden's estate. By acting thus, the letter claimed, the magistrate was "helping to make Fenians".³⁵ Patrick Grady, who was charged at Nenagh Assizes with involvement in the rising, had some years before been accused of being implicated in shooting at Gore Jones.³⁶

At Nenagh Spring Assizes the grand jury of the North Riding expressed confidence in the steps taken to suppress the rising.³⁷ However, the impartiality of the law was questioned from several quarters. During the Fenian trials the *Tipperary Free Press* complained about the frequency of the order to jurors to "stand aside". It was argued that, besides being a slight on the creed of those concerned, the order was not calculated to win respect for the law. Ordering a Catholic to stand aside was, it was claimed, tantamount to the Crown considering him to be of Fenian proclivities.³⁸

Nenagh Town Commissioners followed the example of Cork Farmers Club in petitioning parliament against the grand jury laws. It claimed that they were unjust and oppressive and that many landlords admitted change was necessary.³⁹ The Earl of Derby, who held lands at Doon near the Tipperary-Limerick border, said in a Commons debate that, while he was desirous to uphold the rights of property, he was also anxious to remove all pressure inflicted on the tenant farmer.⁴⁰

The question of rents was also raised in a letter to a French newspaper from Col. Thomas Kelly, understood to be the director of the Fenian organisation in Ireland. He claimed that the aims of the body were the acquisition of the national soil, the abolition of rents and the establishment of an Irish republic based on universal suffrage. Another member of the organisation "deep in the Fenian secrets", when asked how he could justify paying the landlord nothing for the soil left him by his ancestors, answered: "The first ancestor who took it was a robber, and the present landlord is in the exact position of a receiver of stolen goods".⁴¹

Lessons from fenianism

In explaining the lessons of fenianism, the *Tipperary and Clare Independent* argued that if a vigorous life had been thrown into the parliamentary agitations of the past by priests and people, "the dread front of rebellion would not have reared itself among us in the present year". However, the same editorial stated in conclusion: ". . . where unfair land laws . . . deprive the tenant of that security in his position which sweetens labour, where each



succeeding year sees human beings replaced by sheep and oxen, it requires little influence to nurse dissatisfaction into disaffection".⁴²

The "honourable members" for Tipperary were embroiled in their own debates in 1867. Three elections took place in Tipperary just before the rising. There was a county by-election in 1865, a general election the same year and another county by-election in 1866. In the 1865 by-election the National Association candidate Charles Moore, a Tipperary landlord, defeated the nationalist Peter E. Gill.⁴³ The N.A. had been formed in Dublin in 1864 and, under the auspices of Archbishop Cullen, bishops and priests combined with liberal politicians to agitate for a number of specific reforms: disestablishment of the Protestant church, land reform on the basis of tenant right and state-supported denominational education.⁴⁴

In the 1865 general election Moore and the sitting member, John Blake Dillon (former Young Irelander), both N.A. candidates, were successful and Gill again defeated. When Dillon died in 1866 Capt. Charles White, son of Lord Anally, defeated the conservative candidate, Laurence Waldron, in the by-election. Gill did not contest this election.⁴⁵

Although these three elections did not reveal any clerical onslaught on fenianism, solid support for the N.A. clearly underlined a firm clerical belief in parliamentary and constitutional methods. The N.A. was seen as a possible counterforce to the Fenian movement and was disliked by it.⁴⁶ After 1865 the N.A. made land reform a priority, but many N.A. candidates came from the wealthy landlord class (like the Tipperary MP, Charles Moore) and were unlikely to support radical land reform. In Meath clergy withdrew from the N.A. because its agrarian policy was not sufficiently advanced; but in Tipperary Archbishop Leahy imposed tight discipline on the priests.⁴⁷

By 1867, Ulster Protestant and former Young Irelander John Martin's National League was in its third year of existence, but had added few new members to its ranks or contributions to its funds. However, it still felt it had done "an opportune service" to the national cause. It argued that when patriotism seemed to be in danger among the educated classes the League had preserved "unmutilated" the tradition of Ireland's constitutional right.⁴⁸ In a letter to *The Nation* Martin stressed that he believed that revolutionary change would be disastrous for Ireland; rather he wanted his fellow countrymen organised so that they would be able to coerce the English to surrender "their usurped rule".⁴⁹

The National League's committee in its third annual report argued that the youth of the middle and upper classes were taught to be ignorant of Ireland's political situation. Habeas corpus had been suspended for over a year; nearly 1,000 persons had been arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned; court-martials had detected the existence of Fenian conspirators among the soldiers of nearly every regiment stationed in Ireland in the previous three years; the army of occupation had been increased to 40,000. The League believed that with the help of the Catholic hierarchy and clergy it would be easy to win back many of the Catholic middle class to repeal.⁵⁰

The arrests of 1867 and subsequent trials led to informed political comment by the North Tipperary press. It was argued that for 700 years the country had had alternatively blood and tears, a history of rebellion and reprisal. Eminent judges sat to try Irishmen for attempting to subvert the existing order, but their attempt was "a lunatic mockery". James Stephens and his "American coadjutors", it was argued, had been living in bar-rooms at the expense of their unfortunate, hard-working countrymen. It was claimed that the Fenian leaders had gone into the movement as a means of living, and concern was expressed for prisoners of "a different character" – "the credulous high-spirited young farmers' sons led by cooler heads, by such conspirators . . . as Stephens, who toasted his shins at a charcoal fire in Paris while they wandered in despair on the cold Galtees . . ."⁵¹



No effort was spared in tracking down the high-spirited Fenians of North Tipperary. Police from Thurles scoured the mountain districts; several arrests were made and men charged with treasonable designs.⁵² Many were arrested in Borrissleigh and charged with involvement in the rising. Pat Egan, a baker, arrested in Thurles, was later released. Four men arrested near Holycross were charged with taking arms from houses in the area on the night of the rising. St. Patrick's College, Thurles was searched for "a few American officers" supposed to be concealed there, but nothing treasonable was found.⁵³

The magistrate Gore Jones committed several more Fenians to Nenagh jail – Michael Sheehy, captured in female clothing; Michael Ryan, charged with aiding him in trying to escape; Patrick Smith, a carpenter aged 22; John Hayes, a farmer aged between 50 and 60; and William Burke, a 22-year-old Annefield labourer, indicted with Hayes for belonging to an armed party that burned Roskeen barracks. It was noted that Smith resided in Gortakelly, "where the ranks of the republicans had been so considerably swelled". Two informers were also in custody – John Darmody, a labourer and Con Maher, a farmer.⁵⁴

A memorial was sent to the Lord Lieutenant requesting that a special commission be held in Nenagh for the trials of Fenian prisoners. Thomas A. Larcom, the Government spokesman, wrote from Dublin Castle that the request would be considered.⁵⁵ *Saunders News-Letter* pointed out that people were still trying to tamper with men to induce them to take the oath of allegiance to the Irish republic, and that attempts were being made to seduce the soldiery and the police from their allegiance.

It was argued that it would be a mistake to assume that fenianism was nearly extinct; its agents had been working for six years under various names. The Government was urged to publicise the penalties for harbouring those involved in crime. Reference was made to a trial of 1848 in Limerick, when William Frewen, a wealthy farmer, was indicted for harbouring William Ryan ("Ryan Puck") who had committed murder, and was transported for his natural life.⁵⁶

The Special Commission relied heavily on informers to get convictions against Fenians. Reports claimed that one of the new informers who styled himself General Massey was a man named Corcoran, a native of Tipperary who had been a colonel in the American Army. It was feared that innocent as well as guilty would be compromised by disclosures by such informers.

The number and rank of those tried were compared to those tried in 1848. With the exception of four medical students, 14 drapers' assistants and four commercial clerks, all were either mechanics (who formed the vast majority) or agricultural labourers, of whom there were about a dozen. There were no gentlemen, orators, poets, public writers as in 1848.⁵⁷ It was claimed that the Fenians were "generally speaking a set of poor ignorant men, who lived by the sweat of their brow, many of whom have large and helpless families; and therefore there is no . . . sentimental sympathy for them as was the case for the leaders of '48 . . ."

In fact, in North Tipperary there was great sympathy for the prisoners in their own localities. Wholesale arrests continued in Thurles, and the separation of 18 prisoners from their families presented a painful spectacle. Female relatives showed great anguish as brothers, sons and fathers were lodged in the Bridewell awaiting removal to Nenagh jail. Other prisoners from Templemore were so wearied that they appeared indifferent to their fate. Crowds of rebels had evaded the police, but absent farmers and labourers were nearly all known by name and appearance, and their sudden disappearance helped the police to identify Fenian insurgents.

Scarcely a hiding-place around Thurles, Borrissleigh and Templemore was left unexplored until not a farmhouse or cottage within a 20-mile radius had not been visited. In some districts it was reported that half the working population had fled, and considerable tracts of country were



inhabited by only women, old men and children. The land lay untilled and “the places which not long before were the homes of thriving families presented every mark of desolation . . .”⁵⁸

Gore Jones remained vigilant in pursuit of Fenians. At an inquiry in Thurles he sent more men to stand trial for rising in rebellion. Others (captured by a barefooted policeman!) awaited the production of evidence to justify their removal to Nenagh jail.⁵⁹ More prisoners, “sons of farmers and labourers who . . . appeared in comfortable circumstances”, were sent for trial by the Special Commission for belonging to an armed party of Fenians at Drombane.⁶⁰

Arrests continued in the area around Barnane, Annefield, Upperchurch and the Devil’s Bit. As Thurles Bridewell cells were emptied of prisoners committed for trial, they were quickly filled again with new Fenian prisoners. Numerous people congregated outside the Bridewell, and there was gloomy speculation about the evidence which an informer named Fitzgerald would give. Denis Hogan, who had volunteered to be a Crown witness, was said to be “swearing hard”.⁶¹

Inspector Mullarkey, whose name was terror among the populace, continued his excursions into the surrounding neighbourhood to hunt down Fenian suspects.⁶² Borrisoleigh constabulary had been so rigorous in the searches that not even mounds and ditches had escaped. At the farm of Darby Quinane, a supporter of Peter Gill, an ingeniously-fashioned subterranean house was discovered. Although this cavern was empty, two men were discovered concealed under rubbish. One was James Burke, brother of the notorious Charles, a prominent Fenian, the other Patrick Butler, whose relative Charles had been hunted by Dovea police. Both were labourers and suspected of the burning of Roskeen barracks; Guinan had sheltered both.⁶³

FOOTNOTES

Footnote abbreviations: Buschkuhl = Buschkuhl, M.: Great Britain and the Holy See 1746-1870 (Dublin, 1982); LR = Limerick Reporter & Tipperary Vindicator; NG = Nenagh Guardian; O’Shea = O’Shea, J.: Priest, Politics & Society in Post-famine Ireland (Dublin, 1983); TA = Tipperary Advocate; TCI = Tipperary & Clare Independent; TFP = Tipperary Free Press; Walsh = Walsh, P.: A History of Templemore & Its Environs (Roscrea, 1991).

1. Hansard 3, Vol. CLXXXIV, 533 (1866).
2. *Ibid.*
3. NG 5.1.1867.
4. *Ibid.*
5. TA 16.12.1867.
6. Buschkuhl, p. 111.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-119.
8. TA, 23.3.1867.
9. NG, 23.3.1867.
10. *Irishman*, 16.3.1867.
11. *Ibid.*, 9.3.1867.
12. NG, 6.3.1867.
13. LR, 8.3.1867.
14. NG, 9.3.1867.
15. *Ibid.*, 13.3.1867.
16. *Ibid.*
17. LR, 15.3.1867.
18. *Irishman*, 16.3.1867.
19. *Ibid.*
20. NG, 16.3.1867.
21. *Irishman*, 23.3.1867.



22. NG, 23.3.1867.
23. *Irishman*, 23.3.1867.
24. NG, 13.3.1867.
25. NG, 16.3.1867 & *Irishman*, 30.3.1867.
26. NG, 1.5.1867.
27. Walsh, pp. 58-60.
28. *Ibid*, p. 60.
29. LR, 15.3.1867.
30. *Irishman*, 23.3.1867.
31. *Ibid*.
32. TA, 16.3.1867.
33. NG, 30.3.1867.
34. TA, 6.4.1867.
35. *Ibid*, 20.4.1867.
36. NG, 20.7.1867.
37. *Ibid*, 23.3.1867.
38. TFP in TCI, 27.7.1867.
39. TCI, 11.5.1867.
40. Hansard 3, Vol. CLXXXIV, 1456-7 (1866).
41. TCI, 20.4.1867.
42. TCI, 6.4.1867.
43. O'Shea, p. 156.
44. Moody, T.W.: *Davitt & Irish Revolution 1846-83* (Oxford, 1981), p. 117.
45. O'Shea, p. 156.
46. *Ibid*, p. 158.
47. *Ibid*, p. 64.
48. TA, 13.7.1867.
49. *Ibid*, 8.6.1867.
50. *Ibid*, 13.7.1867.
51. TCI, 27.4.1867.
52. *Ibid*, 20.4.1867.
53. NG, 3.4.1867.
54. NG, 30.3.1867.
55. *Ibid*, 10.4.1867.
56. *Saunders Newsletter*, in NG, 13.4.1867.
57. LR, 16.4.1867.
58. NG, 17.4.1867.
59. *Ibid*, 13.4.1867.
60. *Ibid*, 17.4.1867.
61. NG, 20.4.1867.
62. *Ibid*, 27.4.1867.
63. *Ibid*, 8.5.1867.

