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*John Blake Dillon and the '48 rising**

By Brendan Ó Cathaoir

In 1848 John Blake Dillon came to Tipperary as a rebel leader. Towards the end of his life he returned to be elected MP for the county. Charles Gavan Duffy wrote: "The same courage which placed him in the front of the barricade at Killenaule, without a spark of fanaticism to blind him to the peril, enabled him to do his duty" in Westminster.[1]

Dillon was the hero of the Killenaule encounter, the closest approximation to a rebel victory during the attempted rising in Tipperary. On being told that a troop of cavalry was on its way to arrest William Smith O'Brien, Dillon shouted: "Up with the barricades".[2]

John Blake Dillon.

While James Stephens covered the dragoons' commanding officer with a rifle, Dillon mounted the barricades and asked him if he had a warrant for the arrest of O'Brien. Captain Charles Longmore denied he had any warrant and said they were merely passing through the village. This explanation satisfied Dillon and a passage was opened through the barricade.

The crowd cheered as Dillon, a proclaimed traitor with a reward of £300 on his head, escorted the captain and the apparently sympathetic Royal Irish Hussars out of Killenaule. Patrick O'Donohue claimed that if a collision had taken place the insurgents would have killed or captured the entire troop.[3]

But according to Terence Bellew MacManus, the most determined leader present, Dillon acted with reckless bravery. To engage a troop of 45 fully-equipped cavalry with one rifle and two muskets would have amounted to suicide. The dragoons maimed an insurgent when they returned next day.

What brought Dillon and his Young Ireland Confederation to South Tipperary during that fateful week in July 1848? He was born in Ballaghaderreen, County Roscommon, in May 1814, the fourth of seven children of Luke Dillon, tenant farmer and shopkeeper, and his wife Anne Blake, of Dunmacrina, County Mayo. Being a bright, earnest young man he was sent to Maynooth in 1830 – the year after Catholic Emancipation. On discovering that he did not have a vocation to the priesthood, he transferred to Trinity College, Dublin, an unusual move in that sectarian age.

*A talk delivered in Ballingarry in 1998 on the 150th anniversary of the rising. – *Editor, THJ.*

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A prizewinner in political economy, he obtained a BA in logic and ethics, and was called to the Irish Bar. At Trinity he made life-long friends, such as John O'Hagan and John Edward Pigot. But the most important friendship of his political career was with Thomas Davis, a Protestant, whom he succeeded as president of the Historical Society.

This student debating forum played an important part in their transition from undergraduates to political figures. In his address as outgoing auditor, Davis emerged as a teacher of Irish nationality "indifferent to sect and independent of party". Dillon was his earliest confederate. The two friends served their apprenticeship in journalism on the Whig *Morning Register.*

At this time Davis and Dillon gained a new ally in Gavan Duffy, who wished to found a national weekly after making a little money from his Belfast newspaper. Duffy, an Ulster Catholic, was born in Monaghan town on Good Friday 1816. His boyhood friends included Bellew MacManus, who was then serving an apprenticeship to a woollen draper. MacManus emigrated to Liverpool and returned for the rising. Duffy recalled that the Orange drum was heard on every hill from June till August to remind Catholics of their inferior position.[4]

One day when Duffy was aged 18 Charles Hamilton Teeling, a veteran of the 1798 rising, walked into his mother's house. He was establishing a journal in Belfast and asked Duffy to accompany him on a round of calls to promote it in Monaghan. Teeling inflamed his imagination with recollections of '98 and launched Duffy in journalism by inviting him to contribute to the *Northern Herald.*

A portrait of the English essayist William Hazlitt – the son of a Tipperary father – hung over Duffy's desk, with the caption: "Hazlitt was a man whose heart was tortured by the injustice with which the world was governed, and he was proportionately abhorred by all who profited by injustice".

In 1842 Davis, Dillon and Duffy met in the Four Courts in Dublin and planned the *Nation* during a walk to the Phoenix Park. There, Davis recalled, "they discussed it over again on a bench under a big elm, facing to Kilmainham . . . The pushing of the [land] tenure question was due entirely to Mr. Dillon and of nationality to me".

The editorship of the *Nation* was assigned to Duffy as the proprietor and more experienced journalist, but he acknowledged generously: "Davis was our true leader. Not only had nature endowed him more liberally, but he loved labour better, and his mind had traversed regions of thought and wrestled with problems still unfamiliar to his confederates".

The first issue of the *Nation* appeared on 15 October 1842, its name derived from a Paris newspaper. Its print-run of 12,000 copies sold out on the day of publication. Thus began what Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich called the most famous newspaper in Irish history.[5]

In sympathy with the romantic nationalism which was transforming European political thought, and in opposition to British utilitarianism, Davis taught an appreciation of Ireland's ancient civilisation: "If we live influenced by wind and sun and tree, and not the passions and deeds of the past, we are a thriftless and hopeless people".[6] Allied to his love of history and antiquities, he cherished the Irish language at a time when it was still spoken in half the country but despised by the middle classes.

The Young Irelanders, as the group came to be called, met in each other's houses on Saturday evenings for editorial conferences. Someone christened these evenings "Tea and Thomas": Fr. Mathew's temperance crusade ensured there was no strong drink, and Thomas Carlyle's literary style influenced their writings. Ultimately the *Nation* succeeded, Davis said, "because it was written by men smarting under the sight of the people's misery and mad at their country's degradation".

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The Young Irelanders took up the United Irishmen's ideal of reconciling Orange and Green. Their latent tone was Wolfe Tone. Furthermore, they introduced an intense, emotional content into Irish nationalism, which presaged the split with Daniel O'Connell and their '48 protest.

Initially O'Connell welcomed this ginger group as vigorous advocates of Repeal. Young Ireland was part of the first serious attempt to undo the Union. O'Connell promised Repeal in 1843 and the *Nation* writers achieved spectacular success in reporting his "monster" meetings. They supported him enthusiastically until he called off the Clontarf meeting, after it was proscribed by Dublin Castle.

In the ensuing atmosphere of anti-climax, differences in age, experience and outlook emerged. The ageing Liberator grew tired of the intellectuals who produced the *Nation* "less as a paper of news than of education". O'Connell's movement developed an overwhelmingly Catholic character, while his young critics sought a pluralist Ireland. But they were not much more successful in wooing Irish Protestants to the nationalist cause, their only notable converts being John Mitchel, John Martin, Smith O'Brien and, for a time, Samuel Ferguson.

The sudden death of Thomas Davis was an epiphany of the Great Famine. He died of scarlet fever on 16 September 1845, a month before his 31st birthday. His death deprived the Young Irelanders of the one leader who might have directed their energies effectively during the terrible years which followed.

Davis enriched the national imagination during his brief political career. He burnt himself out defining a nationality which would embrace "the Irishman of a hundred generations and the stranger who is within our gates". His last words on the North were: "Surely our Protestant brethren cannot shut their eyes to the honour it would confer on them and us if we gave up the old brawls and bitterness, and came together in love like Christians, in feelings like countrymen, in policy like men having common interests".

Duffy said Davis's first object had been to rouse his country: "his second was to unite in one brotherhood of love her warring children, to allay the groundless jealousies of race and creed". Like most of the Young Irelanders, Davis was essentially a man of the pen rather than the sword. But his inclusive nationalist philosophy had an immense influence then and on subsequent generations.

For instance, Yeats said Davis's poems helped the Tipperary Fenian John O'Leary to endure his years of dangerous work as a Fenian, his five years' imprisonment and 15 years of banishment. Davis's assertion that "A people without a language of its own is only half a nation" inspired the revival movement, which in turn stirred the embers that blazed in 1916. Pearse, who was steeped in Davis, wrote: "The highest form of genius is the genius for sanctity, the genius for noble life and thought. That genius was Davis's".[7]

Year of Revolutions

Dillon's own health deteriorated after his friend Davis's death. He recovered in Madeira, while his poor countrymen were left to cope with the failure of the potato crop – their staple food. He concentrated on his legal career, and Mitchel replaced Davis as the chief writer of the *Nation*.

Dillon was not present when Young Ireland seceded from the Repeal Association in July 1846. Although no one seriously contemplated using physical force at this time, O'Connell's peace resolutions – rejecting force in all circumstances – were unacceptable to the Young

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Irelanders. Dillon played a leading part in the Irish Confederation, which the secessionists formed in January 1847 after failing to achieve reconciliation with O'Connell.

A year later the fever of revolution which swept across Europe gave new hope to the divided and dispirited repeal movement. The sudden collapse of established regimes led Irish nationalists to believe that repeal could be won with similar ease. The Young Irelanders were particularly heartened by events in France, where Louis Philippe was overthrown in an almost bloodless revolution and a poet, Alphonse de Lamartine, installed as head of the provisional government of the Second Republic.

With France as a model, it appeared as if the armed yet peaceful peoples of Europe were to be led to victory not by men of action, but by poets, reformers and workers. Fearful of attack by revolutionary France, fearful of social revolution by domestic Chartists, and fearful of nationalist revolution in Ireland, Britain would repeal the Act of Union.[8] The *Nation* became almost as inflammatory as the *United Irishman*, which Mitchel had launched after quarrelling with Duffy, who now wrote: "Ireland's opportunity, thank God and France, has come at last. Its challenge rings in our ears like a call to battle".

Dillon's wife, Adelaide, would recall that the Parish revolution created a storm of excitement in Ireland "and carried all before it – even the wise and calm resolves of moderate men". As revolutions broke out on the Continent, raising unrealistic expectations in Famine-ravaged Ireland, Lord Clarendon's anxiety increased. The "lower orders" were excited in Dublin, the Lord Lieutenant reported to the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, "and say now that the French have got their liberties, they will come and help us to get repeal [*sic*]". The disaffection was "shared and promoted by the young priests everywhere and by the old ones in many districts".

It quickly became clear, however, that the French Republic, valuing good relations with Britain, would not openly support Irish nationalism. In April O'Brien, Thomas Francis Meagher and others presented a fraternal address of the Irish Confederation to Lamartine; his reply was non-committal. The most significance outcome of the Paris mission was the tricolour of green, white and orange brought back to Dublin by Meagher and presented to the Irish people as a symbol of "new life".

Lamartine, although sympathetic to the Irish, had set himself against providing any effective help because of the necessity to maintain Anglo-French relations. He told the deputation: "Be assured, then, that you will find in France, under the republic, a return of all the sentiments you bring hither. Tell your fellow-citizens that the name of Ireland and the name of liberty, courageously defended against privilege, are identical in the mind of every French citizen. Tell them that the reciprocity they invoke, the hospitality they remember, will ever be proudly extended by the republic to the Irish people . . . As to other encouragements, it would not be fitting in us to give it, or in you to receive it."[9]

While the delegation was in France Dillon outlined policy to Confederates in Tipperary from his sick bed. To exploit the present opportunity it was necessary to heal the divisions between Old and Young Ireland, and thus regain the support of the predominantly O'Connellite clergy. Let the summer be spent organising a national council and a national guard, and by September they would be able to say – "an Irish parliament or else". Dillon failed to see that circumstances were different from 1782, when Irish Protestants had gained legislative independence by the threat of force.

Significantly, as the Parish revolution degenerated into the bloodstained "June days", culminating in the shooting of Archbishop Denis Affré at a barricade, the militant section of the Irish clergy drew back. Mitchel was the first to be silenced under the new Treason Felony Act.

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When Dillon and Meagher visited him in Newgate prison, he observed that both were "eager for a decent chance of throwing their lives away".

Mitchel hoped his conviction would precipitate a rescue attempt by the Dublin Confederate clubs, and thus ignite the country. Instead, Dillon had the unenviable task of proposing a resolution, carried unanimously by the council of the Irish Confederation, that an outbreak at that stage would be disastrous. After Mitchel's deportation representatives of the Young Ireland factions met secretly to plan for an uprising in September.

Mitchel's fate had a catalytic effect. His conviction by a packed jury and the severity of his sentence – 14 years' transportation – aroused widespread indignation and helped to close the ranks of the repeal movement.

Fighting Tipperary

Tipperary had a reputation as a fighting county. For instance, there are two large files of 1848 "Outrage Papers" relating to Tipperary in the National Archives, compared with one slim volume for Dublin. A justice of the peace wrote to Dublin Castle from Shinrone in Offaly in April with "information of a most alarming character . . . that it is the fixed determination of the people to break out into open rebellion".[10] A nervous loyalist wrote from Roscrea: "timely vigilance will save all. Think of 1,500 Protestants in this town and neighbourhood and all the property nearly of the country in our hands".

He need not have worried, given O'Brien's respect for private property. But prior to the rising, when the clubs were vociferous, the chairman of Clonmel's John Mitchel Club declared that the landlords ought to join the people before they were swept away by a revolution. The intensification of political activity in Clonmel led to the setting up of a second club in June. It was called after Hugh O'Neill, the town's defender against Cromwellian forces two centuries previously.

The poster announcing enrolment of members quoted the Four Masters as well as Duffy, Meagher and O'Brien, and went on to assert: "Men of Clonmel. The spirit of Hugh O'Neill invokes you to the cause. The destiny of your country is in your hands; join and share in the coming struggle and be participators in its victory – be free – be no longer slaves of foreign oppression. Rally that another year of Famine may not desolate the fruitful fields of fatherland – rally that you may have an Irish parliament".

An assiduous magistrate, William Ryan, added in his covering letter to Dublin Castle that the chairman Robert Mercer was a Protestant and a baker "but of no great stability"; the secretary John Browne was a barber.[11] Two of the last subscriptions to the Irish Confederation came from the Clonmel clubs.[12]

The sheriff of Tipperary, Richard Pennefather, reported, that "considerable excitement exists throughout this county in consequence of the establishment and organisation of political clubs in every part of it under the directions of a body of demagogues, having for their object . . . the plunder of all descriptions of property". On 14 July a Carrick-on-Suir resident informed the Under-Secretary Thomas Redington that the town was "a hot-bed of sedition", with 12,000 club members. "Should unhappily the flame of rebellion burst forth, the effects here will be instantaneous . . .[13] Club membership estimates proved to be wildly misleading.

The British government suspended the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland on 22 July after reports of a demonstration on Slievenamon, attended by 50,000 people and addressed by Meagher and

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Michael Doheny. A poster announcing the meeting (preserved in the National Archives) said its purpose was to demonstrate to the government their determination to obtain repeal by constitutional means "*if possible*".[14]

The few leaders available in Dublin met hurriedly at the council room of the Confederation in 9 D'Olier Street to consider their options: arrest, flight or insurrection. On the same day the *Nation* published an article from Duffy, already lodged in Newgate, entitled "The Casus Belli", in which he declared for war "as the last alternative". His warning went unheeded by his friends: "Ireland, in this terrible crisis, may fall a victim to consciences whose sensibility is not healthy but morbid; and the greatest of all human afflications may come of the amiable fear of doing wrong".

Honour, in view of Young Ireland rhetoric, demanded a principled stand. Dillon and Meagher took the stage coach to County Wexford, where O'Brien was staying, and persuaded him to lead the rising. Descended from the ancient line of the O'Briens of Thomond, he was a Protestant landlord and had been an MP for 20 years.

The reluctant leaders had made hardly any preparations and drifted halfheartedly towards insurrection. In Kilkenny Dillon offered to attempt to capture the garrison if 500 armed men would follow him; but only 50 could be found. When that scheme was abandoned the leaders set off to test opinion in the neighbouring towns.

A torrent of humanity greeted them in Carrick; "it was the revolution if we had accepted it", Meagher wrote later. This was the defining moment of '48. As to why they did not act, Patrick O'Donohue thought Meagher sensed defeat and great loss of life, and his humanity urged him not to risk the shedding of innocent blood. Mitchel would comment in his *Jail Journal* that the leaders were "good and brave men, but not sufficiently desperate".

In Mullinahone the youthful Charles Kickham greeted them: "O'Brien seemed to me to be like a man in a dream; while Dillon looked calm and bright and earnest". According to one of the Mullinahone constables, after the chapel bell was rung O'Brien told a crowd of 200 that a warrant had been issued for his arrest. If it was not the wish of the people that he should surrender, "he would resist any attempt to arrest him". Accordingly, at least 2,000 men entered the village armed with pikes, pitchforks and guns.[15]

But the crowds melted away before clerical admonition and O'Brien's failure to feed his ragged army. The indecision of the rebel leaders contrasted with the determination of the British state. Eventually the intervention of the Catholic clergy, fearful of repression on a scale with '98, probably averted a massacre.

Military camps were formed near the towns to overawe the populace, with special constables sworn in. Ultimately the clubs proved to be short-lived talking shops, rather than the nucleus of a national guard. They were dissolved quickly when the government issued a proclamation on 26 July suppressing them. John O'Mahony believed their leaders were puppets in the hands of the priests. Duffy was joined by a prisoner who told him: "The towns bade us try the rural districts; in the rural districts the farmers would not give up their arms, and the labourers had none; the priests opposed us, and the clubs sent us about one per cent of their number to our aid".

When the dejected leaders met in The Commons, Dillon proposed that they fall back on Kilkenny, fortify a large house and issue a proclamation. This plan, with its hint at blood sacrifice, was in turn rejected. Dillon then left Tipperary for the west, thereby missing the encounter with armed police at the Widow McCormack's house which ended the rising on 29 July. On the way he confirmed that Fr. John Kenyon of Templederry, after all his bombast, would not become involved.

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The Aftermath

While none showed a "more perfect contempt" for his life than Dillon, his enthusiasm ended in flight, disillusionment and a determination to withdraw from public life. As Meagher observed, his friend was "too much inclined to despond when things go wrong". In a letter to his wife, Dillon confided he had lost all faith in the people and that his "career as a patriot was almost closed. After what we have witnessed, I think it would be madness to hope for any manly effort on the part of the Irish people . . .

"The poor fellows who were immediately around us would have fought if they had arms. But what is to be said of the clubs of Kilkenny, Cashel, Clonmel, Waterford, etc., etc. Not one of them came near us. Up to the last they would hear of nothing but *blood*, and threatened to assassinate anyone who spoke a moderate word, and when the hour came they hid themselves in their houses".[16] On reflection, he would say: "We failed and I am afraid we deserved it". Likewise, O'Brien admitted in retrospect to having "totally miscalculated the energies of the Irish people".

As revolution, the rising was a pathetic farce; as revolutionary theatre, however, it was a gesture against death and despair, evictions and emigration. Its political effects were profound and far-reaching. Although some of these were slow to mature, others manifested themselves quickly. It re-established republican links to the United Irishmen; James Fintan Lalor and Mitchel brought the issue of land ownership into the political arena; after his acquittal, Duffy revived the *Nation* in 1849 and laid the basis of the tenant right agitation.[17]

Moreover, the dispersal of the Young Irelanders gave them authority to interpret emigration as exile. Many, including Dillon and Doheny, evaded capture and escaped to the United States. Stephens and O'Mahony, later co-founders of the Fenian movement, fled to Paris. Four of the leaders, O'Brien, Meagher, McManus and O'Donohue, were captured, sentenced to death but eventually transported. They joined Mitchel and others in Van Diemen's Land.

The 1848 rising politicised the Famine experience. In the New World it inspired embittered and impoverished Irish-Americans to seek freedom for Ireland.

Dillon, comparatively well-off, regarded exile as liberation. In September after six weeks as a fugitive he boarded an emigrant ship in Galway Bay disguised as a priest. He had been rowed in a currach from the north Clare coast. (In 1923 his grandson James Dillon was approached in Chicago by an old Clare man, Pat Behan, who told him: "My father pulled an oar for your grandfather".[18]) On 31 October 1848, Dillon walked into the New York lodgings of his brother-in-law, Charles Hart, looking "wonderfully well considering all he had gone thro' ".

In New York Dillon remained aloof from the faction which grew up around the political refugees. He intervened once publicly in defence of O'Brien, who was being blamed by some of the "discomfited revolutionists". In Dublin Lord Clarendon commented on Dillon's letter in the New York *Nation*: "It is perfectly true that the insurrection was forced on before the preparations were complete and that accounts for its being of the paltry character described by Dillon, but that was not the fault of the leaders. They meant to wait till the harvest was got in and the club organisation was completed throughout the country".

On being admitted to the state bar in 1849, Dillon joined the 2 per cent of professional men among the Irish in New York. He was helped by members of the Irish-American elite, such as Robert Emmet, son of Thomas Addis Emmet. He soon prospered as a lawyer in partnership with Richard O'Gorman.

Dillon received congratulations from John O'Hagan in Dublin: "Of all the men implicated in the late affairs there was *no one* who excited more interest among friends and foes than you; no one for whose escape more joy was expressed. That you have a great career before you and will

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not only be a happy man, but an eminent man in your new sphere I feel assured. Still you must keep your eye on Ireland. To serve her is your true mission".

In the era of reaction which succeeded the year of revolutions, however, Dillon went through a period of disillusionment with the Catholic Church and Irish nationalism. He urged Duffy to campaign for a federal republic of Britain and Ireland. He observed that American advocates of ultramontane Catholicism were provoking a backlash, which would find expression in the Know-Nothing crusade against Irish immigrants.

Visions of domestic bliss were clouded by Adelaide's ill-health. His wife joined him in the U.S., but usually went home for the birth of their children. She never settled down in New York and eventually persuaded him to accept a British government amnesty. Dillon and Duffy met in Paris in 1855: Duffy, despairing of Ireland, was emigrating to Australia; Dillon was returning home. Duffy recorded in his diary that his friend preserved "the sweet serenity that distinguished him of old".

They next met a decade later at the hustings in Tipperary. Dillon had been persuaded to re-enter politics and stand for parliament; Duffy, home on holidays, canvassed for him. They encountered Fenian hostility; Fr. Kenyon supported Peter Gill, the eccentric editor of the *Tipperary Advocate.*[19]

In Clonmel Dillon was shouted down with cries of " '48 renegade" and "Go back to Paul Cullen". Dillon, who in his youth supported non-denominational education and translated the liberal Catholic, Felicite Lamennais, had formed an alliance with the conservative archbishop Cullen of Dublin. The best explanation for this paradox is perhaps that Dillon and Cullen were both deeply religious men and, essentially, constitutional nationalists. During his solitary life in the U.S., Dillon had been influenced by the Anglo-American press which viewed the papacy as opposed to the advance of civilisation; at home, in the changed circumstances of the 1860s, he gravitated towards a "faith and fatherland" perspective.

Furthermore, he was convinced the Fenian conspiracy would fail. On the other hand, he believed Protestant disestablishment and land reform were attainable. "A few small victories of this kind", he explained to O'Brien shortly before the latter's death in 1864, "would inspire the people with confidence".

Nevertheless, Dillon's speech in response to Fenian arrests showed, Mitchel remarked from Paris, "that the fire of '48 is not yet quite extinguished under the snows that now whiten his head". While differing politically, they remained friends. Mitchel wrote after Dillon's death: "Of all our confraternity of '48 he was perhaps the most beloved, had most friends and fewest enemies". As Duffy observed, Dillon's "generous nature made him more a philanthropist than a politician". His performance during one year in parliament, however, influenced Gladstone's reshaping of Irish policy and left its mark on that stateman's first reforming ministry.

John Blake Dillon contracted cholera at a church meeting near where he lived in Killiney, Co. Dublin. He died suddenly on 15 September 1866, aged 52, and was buried in Glasnevin cemetery. The inscription on his monument records that Adelaide, "who in love of country and deep religious faith was one heart and one soul with him", died six years later. Their son, John Dillon, became a lieutenant of Parnell and a leading figure at Westminster for nearly 40 years.

After a successful career in Australia, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, the third co-founder of the *Nation*, retired to France, where he became the historian of Young Ireland. William Carleton considered there was "not one atom of sectarianism or bigotry about him", and he had "probably given a greater impulse to Irish literature than any other man in this country".[20] His son, George Gavan Duffy, was Roger Casement's lawyer and a signatory of the 1921 Treaty and later a High Court judge.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Charles Gavan Duffy, *Four Years of Irish History, 1845-49* (London, 1883), p. 771.
2. Brendan Ó Cathaoir, *John Blake Dillon: Young Irelander* (Dublin, 1990), p. 84. Many references for the present article can be found in this volume.
3. Patrick O'Donohoe's narrative of the 1848 rising, in *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1998), p. 40.
4. Duffy, *My life in Two Hemispheres* (London, 2 vols., 1898), i, p. 13.
5. Tomás Ó Fiaich's lecture, in *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1998), p. 21.
6. Quoted in John N. Molony, *A Soul came into Ireland: Thomas Davis, 1814-45* (Dublin, 1995), p. 144.
7. P. H. Pearse, *Political Writings and Speeches* (Dublin, 1924), p. 328.
8. James S. Donnelly, Jr., 'A Famine in Irish politics' in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A New History of Ireland*, v (Oxford, 1989), pp 366-70.
9. Alphonse de Lamartine, *History of the French Revolution of 1848* (London, 1883), p. 428. I am indebted to Louis McRedmond for this reference.
10. Charles Atkinson to Under-Secretary Thomas Redington, 3, April 1848 (National Archives, Outrage Papers, Tipperary, 1848, MSS 27/566/1519).
11. Outrage Papers, MS 27/1047.
12. Royal Irish Academy MS 23H62.
13. Outrage Papers, MSS 27/1224/1289.
14. Ibid., MS 1520.
15. Ibid., MS 27/1345.
16. Ó Cathaoir, *Dillon*, pp 92-9.
17. Ó Cathaoir, *Famine Diary* (Dublin, 1999), pp 366-70.
18. Interview with James Dillon shortly before his death in 1986.
19. Ó Cathaoir, *Dillon*, p. 161.
20. J. E. P. Wallis (ed.), *Reports of State Trials*, New Series, vii (London, 1896), p. 940.

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