

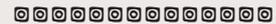
5 Limerick and the Rising

Bridge St., Newcastlewest, Co. Limerick ⁹³



The Rising and Limerick

Limerick's role in the Easter Rising is like Sherlock Holmes' 'dog that didn't bark.'¹⁴⁹ Because Limerick did not rise, it is sometimes assumed that the city and county contributed little or nothing to the Rising. In reality, Limerick men and women were heavily involved in both the preparations and the fighting. Also, the plans for the Rising envisaged Limerick taking a major role in the fighting. Although in the end Limerick did not rise, this was mainly due to the loss of the *Aud* and the conflicting orders emanating from Dublin, rather than any failure on the part of the local Volunteers.¹⁴⁶



In 1916, the Volunteer units in Limerick consisted of the City Battalion, Doon-Castleconnell Battalion, West Limerick Battalion, and Galtee Battalion, each with 200 men. Along with the four County Clare battalions, these constituted the Limerick Command, totalling around 1,600 men headed by Commandant Michael Colivet.¹⁴⁷



The IRB regarded themselves as the rightful government of Ireland as is demonstrated by this Irish Republican Bond, 1862 (Limerick Museum).

Michael Colivet (1884–1955)

Born at 11 Windmill Street, Limerick, Michael Colivet's family background illustrates the often conflicting loyalties of the time.¹⁴⁸ During Easter week when Colivet was commander of the Limerick City Volunteers, his father John was at sea serving in the British navy. He went down with his ship the following year. By contrast, Michael's mother was Anne Kennerk from Askeaton, 'a fiery patriot, who often recalled to her children that an ancestor of hers had been hanged in 1798'.¹⁴⁹

Originally a supporter of Home Rule, Colivet was always a moderate, who 'had not the extremist background of [IRB members] Ledden and Clancy'.¹⁵⁰ He joined the Volunteers in 1913 to defend the ideal of Home Rule, not to engage in rebellion.¹⁵¹ Later, he was enrolled in the IRB by Sean MacDiarmada and became a republican.¹⁵²

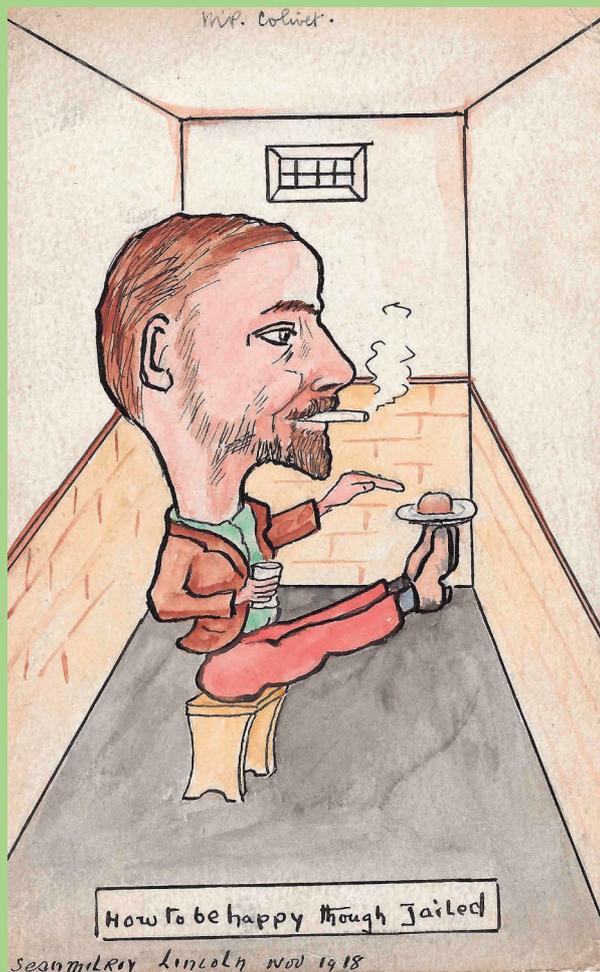
Colivet's day job as manager of Shannon Foundry was advantageous to the Volunteers in Limerick as he was:

Able to get pikes made for the men for whom no firearms of any sort could be obtained. I think he also made a type of bayonet which could be fitted on to a shotgun.¹⁵³

Colivet's role in obeying MacNeill's countermanding orders was central to Limerick not being involved in the Rising and was highly controversial. However, his actions in 1916 have to be seen in context. His decision not to lead the Limerick Volunteers into battle undoubtedly saved dozens of lives. He made up his mind after carefully weighing up the options as he had 'an almost fanatical adherence to facts' which was probably 'his chief characteristic'.¹⁵⁴ Central to his decision was his belief that the loss of the *Aud* had made a rising impossible.

His post-1916 career demonstrates that he was a brave man, whose actions in 1916 were not motivated by timidity. Following the Rising, he endured great suffering in the national cause and 'spent his best years in jail, in internment camps or on the run'.¹⁵⁵ He was imprisoned in various locations, both before and after his return as Sinn Fein MP for Limerick city in the 1918 general election. In Rathkeale, he was kept in solitary confinement, contracted a skin disease and was brought out to be shot before a last minute reprieve saved his life. When he was in Spike Island his first wife Annie died and he was denied release to attend her funeral. In Mountjoy prison, he went on hunger strike and was force fed.¹⁵⁶

Colivet sat in the Dáil from 1919 to 1923 and on Limerick City Council from 1920 to 1925. He opposed the Treaty but retired from politics in 1925. He moved to Dublin where he worked in the public service until his death. Colivet is buried in Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin.¹⁵⁷



Diary of the Rising in Dublin and Limerick

The Easter Rising was scheduled to begin on Easter Sunday 23 April 1916. In order to deceive Eoin MacNeill, who was unaware of the planned Rising, Pearse had ordered the Dublin Volunteers to assemble that day for 'parades and manoeuvres.' When MacNeill learnt of this ruse, he ordered the cancellation of all Volunteer activities on Easter Sunday. As a result, the Rising started a day late, and far fewer Volunteers took part than had been planned. The fighting lasted from Easter Monday 24 April until Saturday 29 April. The week before the Rising, Holy Week, was a very busy one for the IRB and Irish Volunteers.


HOLY TUESDAY
18 APRIL

In accordance with the plans for the Rising, Limerick was to have been a major centre for the distribution of the imported German arms. Accordingly, two messengers from Volunteer HQ travelled from Dublin to Limerick. One called to John Daly's house with a message from MacDiamada about the forthcoming Rising. The other, Sean Fitzgibbon, met Michael Colivet and told him that German arms were to be landed in Kerry. Colivet was to meet the arms contingent in Abbeyfeale, take his own requirements for the Limerick Volunteers and send the rest to Galway. Colivet protested that these were contrary to his previous orders, so Fitzgibbon advised him to travel to Dublin in order to clarify the situation.

Meanwhile in Dublin, Tom Clarke came home very late from his shop that evening and his wife Kathleen (one of the Dalys of Limerick) later recalled:

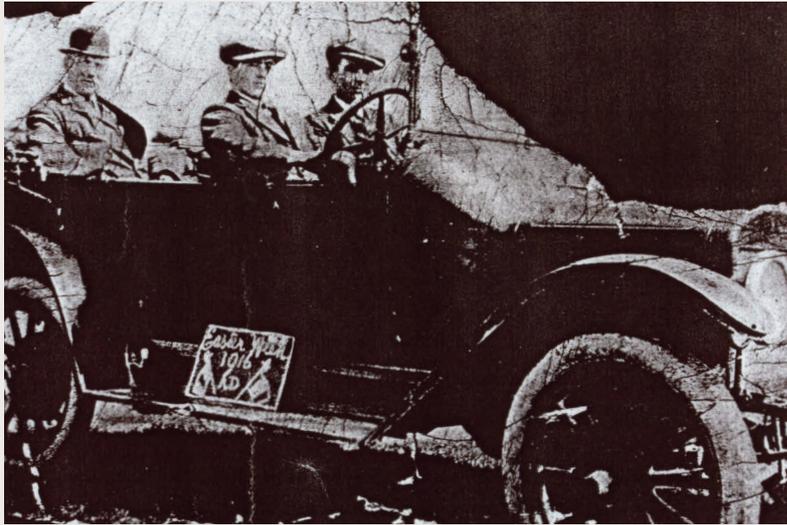
He seemed so joyous and excited, telling me he had great news, that I had not the heart to mention my anxiety and fear to him. On reaching home we settled down to supper, and during it he told me the great news, that the Rising had been arranged for the following Sunday, that a proclamation had been drawn up to which he was first signatory.¹⁵⁸

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Spy Wednesday 19 April

Colivet went to Dublin where Pearse told him of the revised plans but was vague on some of the details.¹⁶³ In Dublin, Ned Daly learnt from Clarke that the Rising was scheduled for Sunday. Kathleen Clarke later recalled that:

I could see Ned got a bit of a shock.¹⁵⁹



HOLY THURSDAY 20 APRIL

Back in Limerick, Colivet outlined the revised plan to his officers. It was also agreed that two motor cars would drive from Limerick to Killarney, where they would meet a group of Volunteers, storm Fitzgerald's Radio School in Caherciveen and make contact with the *Aud*—the German arms boat. Unknown to them, the *Aud*, which had arrived in

Tralee Bay on 20 April, had no radio.¹⁶⁰

Kathleen Clarke came to Limerick with despatches and her children. 'I took my three children to leave with my mother, so that I could be free to take on the duty assigned to me in the Rising.' She had a verbal message for the Limerick Volunteers: 'Tell them that John [Eoin] MacNeill has agreed to sign the proclamation and is quite enthusiastic.' Privately, she was unimpressed by the Limerick Volun-

teers, and later told MacDiarmada that she thought them 'slow and hesitating, especially for the work before them.'¹⁶¹

Good Friday 21 April

On Good Friday, Tommy McInerney and Sam Windrim, driving separate cars, left Limerick and picked up five Volunteers in Killarney as planned. They set out for Cahirciveen but due to bad weather and poor directions, McInerney got lost and drove the car into a river. McInerney himself escaped, but tragically his three passengers (Volunteers Donal Sheehan, Charlie Monagan and Con Keating) were drowned. The mission was abandoned, Windrim and McInerney returned separately to Limerick, and were both arrested.¹⁶²

The *Aud* was captured by the British and the arms shipment lost. Roger Casement, who had



arrived separately in Kerry on a German submarine was captured. Kathleen Clarke returned to Dublin, leaving her children with their aunts at 15 Barrington Street.¹⁶³

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Holy Saturday 22 April

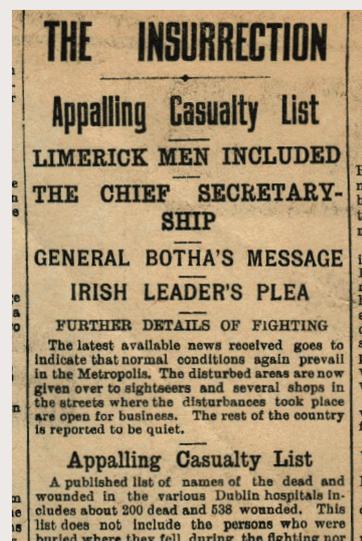
In Dublin, Eoin MacNeill, having learned of the loss of the *Aud* and the Rising planned for Easter Sunday, issued his famous order cancelling the

'parades and manoeuvres' scheduled for the following day. His order took the form of twenty hand-written notes, plus an advertisement in the *Sunday Independent*, due to appear the next day.¹⁶⁴

However, the IRB were determined to go ahead with the rebellion. Dublin republican and feminist Helena Moloney remembered that 'it was foolish of MacNeill and those to think they could call it off. They could not. Many of us thought we would go out single-handed, if necessary'.¹⁶⁵

In Limerick, news of the Kerry

debacle had come through and Colivet spent Saturday 'wondering what was going to happen the following day.' He asked Sean Fitzgibbon, from Volunteer headquarters who was returning to Dublin, to find out if the Rising was on or off and to inform him by coded message. Later, the frantic Colivet sent two of his own officers, James Gubbins and Liam Forde, to Dublin in search of further instructions. In Dublin, both of these were given ambiguous messages which added to the confusion when they returned to Limerick the following day.¹⁶⁶



Easter Sunday 23 April

Kathleen Clarke opened her shop on 77 Amiens Street, Dublin, fully believing that the Rising was going to begin at 4.00pm that afternoon. She opened the *Sunday Independent* and to her utter amazement 'read there John [Eoin] MacNeill's orders to the Irish Volunteers. I could not understand this, and was inclined to think it was not genuine'. Her initial reaction was that it was a British trick, designed to sabotage the Rising. However, her husband Tom returned home later that day and informed her that MacNeill's order was all too genuine. Clarke was distraught that Eoin MacNeill had secretly called off the Rising without his knowledge: 'he looked very ill and seemed scarcely able to speak.' Later, the decision was made to go ahead with the Rising the following day.¹⁶⁷

In Limerick on Easter Sunday morning, The O'Rahilly came down from Dublin by car and gave Colivet written instructions from MacNeill cancelling the Rising. Colivet, who believed that the loss of the *Aud* made rebellion futile, complied. On the same morning, he brought the Limerick Battalion out to Killonan for routine manoeuvres and camped out overnight until the following morning. It was cold and rained heavily so they spent a miserable night in Killonan.

Meanwhile, the West Limerick Battalion assembled at Glenquin Castle, near Newcastle West; the Galtee Battalion at Galbally and the Castleconnell Battalion at Castleconnell, but after some brief manoeuvres, all disbanded on receiving MacNeill's orders.¹⁶⁸

Easter Monday 24 April

Early in the morning, around 1,200 insurgents, made up of the Dublin Volunteers and James Connolly's Citizens Army, occupied six strongholds, each of which had outposts, in Dublin city centre. The total number of Volunteers and Citizens Army in Dublin was around 3,000, so MacNeill's countermanding order had been obeyed by about 50 per cent of his men. Around ninety women took part in the Rising, of whom sixty were members of Cumann na mBan.¹⁶⁹

At 12.30 Padraig Pearse, President of the Irish Republic, came out of the General Post Office (GPO) onto O'Connell Street and read the Proclamation declaring an Irish Republic.¹⁷⁰

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In Limerick, Agnes and Laura Daly received a message from Pearse in Dublin, which they delivered to Colivet and the Limerick Battalion in Killonan. It stated 'Dublin Brigade goes into action today. Carry out your orders.' Colivet and the majority of his men, cold and wet after having camped over-night in Killonan, decided that in view of the *Aud's* loss, it would be futile to rise. In consequence 'a very demoralized group of Volunteers marched back into Limerick to disperse when they reached their headquarters behind the Daly house in Barrington Street.'¹⁷¹

The final result was Limerick did not rise. The Daly sisters were furious.¹⁷²



Unit	Stronghold	Commanding officer
Volunteers / Citizens Army	GPO HQ	Padraig Pearse/ James Connolly
1st (Dublin City) Battalion	Four Courts	Ned Daly
2nd (Dublin City) Battalion	Jacob's Factory	Thomas McDonagh
3rd (Dublin City) Battalion	Boland's Mill	Eamon de Valera
4th (Dublin City) Battalion	South Dublin Union	Eamonn Ceannt
Citizens Army	College of Surgeons	Michael Mallin
5th (North Dublin) Battalion	Ashbourne, Co Meath	Thomas Ashe

A striking image of the GPO in ruins, guarded by a solitary British sentry, May 1916. Ironically, Nelson's Pillar, visible on the right, survived the fighting unscathed, but was blown up by the IRA at the time of the Rising's fiftieth anniversary in 1966. (Westropp Photographic Collection, Royal Irish Academy and Digital Repository of Ireland).

POBLACHT NA H EIREANN,
THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF THE
IRISH REPUBLIC
TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN : In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty; six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on Behalf of the Provisional Government,

THOMAS J. CLARKE,
SEAN Mac DIARMADA, THOMAS MacDONAGH,
P. H. PEARSE, EAMONN CEANNT,
JAMES CONNOLLY, JOSEPH PLUNKETT.

ON THE
MORNING OF
EASTER SUNDAY
1916, ONE
THOUSAND
COPIES OF THE
PROCLAMATION
OF THE IRISH
REPUBLIC WERE
PRINTED IN
LIBERTY HALL,
DUBLIN, OF
WHICH ONLY
THIRTY
SURVIVE

(Limerick Museum).

THE FIGHTING IN DUBLIN 24-29 APRIL

The British plan was to surround all the rebels' strongholds, concentrate on capturing the GPO first and then move on to the other insurgent positions. As a result, only the GPO was stormed and captured by the British. Most of the other rebel strongholds saw little action and surrendered on the orders of Pearse.

On Monday 24 April, the rebels failed to capture Dublin Castle, but took the nearby City Hall. Around 1.15pm, British cavalry charged down O'Connell Street but retreated after coming under fire from the GPO garrison. The principal fighting that day was at the South Dublin Union. The following day, Seán Heuston's outpost in the Mendicity Institute was captured. On both Wednesday and Thursday,

there was major fighting in and around the Four Courts, but Ned Daly's rebel garrison remained in control. On Wednesday, the bloodiest fighting of the whole Rising occurred in the Battle of Mount Street Bridge, when seventeen rebels killed or wounded 234 British soldiers. On Thursday, James Connolly was wounded twice, in the shoulder and the ankle. The GPO had been under attack all week and on Friday, its garrison retreated to Moore Street. By now, the rebels in all

the strongholds were exhausted and hungry.

On Saturday 29 April, Padraig Pearse decided to surrender, after being horrified at seeing a family carrying a white flag shot down. Some other leaders wanted to continue the fight, including Clarke, who cried bitterly when it was finally decided to surrender. Nurse Elizabeth O'Farrell met General Lowe, commander of the British forces in Dublin, who asked her to bring Pearse to him. At 2.30 pm Elizabeth



*Irish Rebellion ~ May 1916.
Soldiers holding a Dublin Street.*

O'Farrell returned to General Lowe with Pearse, who handed over his sword, pistol and ammunition and signed the document of surrender. Elizabeth O'Farrell delivered the message of surrender to all the rebel garrisons, none of which had been captured by the British.¹⁷³



Thomas Johnson Westropp (1860-1922) from Patrickswell, County Limerick, was one of Ireland's leading archaeologists and folklorists. He took a series of forty photographs depicting the buildings and streets of Dublin in the aftermath of the Rising. They form one of the most comprehensive and vivid records of the post-rebellion city.

(Westropp Photographic Collection, Royal Irish Academy and Digital Repository of Ireland).

LIMERICK PARTICIPANTS IN THE RISING

While Limerick was not a theatre of battle in the Rising, a number of Limerick people took part in the fighting on both sides. In most cases, their involvement was entirely fortuitous. As Limerick did not rise, the Limerick men who fought in the Rising were those who were working in Dublin and therefore members of Dublin Volunteer units, the only section of the Volunteers who took part in the Rising.

Likewise, most Limerick men in the Crown forces happened to be stationed in or near Dublin and got caught up the fighting. A few civilian casualties of the Rising were also from Limerick. The most prominent Limerick leaders in the Rising were Eamon de Valera, Edward Daly and Con Colbert.

EAMON DE VALERA (1882-1975)

Born in New York, Eamon de Valera was sent to Bruree, County Limerick at the age of three to live with his mother's family. His thirteen years in Bruree were 'a story of his struggle to flee the soul-destroying poverty of an agricultural labourer's life in rural Limerick.'¹⁷⁴ Highly intelligent and strong-willed, he won a scholarship to Blackrock College, County Dublin and later graduated from the Royal University with a BA degree.



De Valera came late to nationalism. In order to improve his career prospects, he joined the Gaelic League where he met and fell in love with his future wife Sinead. He joined the Irish Volunteers in 1913, and quickly became radicalised, moving from Redmondism to



Eamon de Valera under arrest in Kilmainham Jail after the Rising (Military Archives, Dublin).

separatism. He became obsessed with being a soldier, and although he had no part in the planning of the Rising, he prepared for it beforehand meticulously, making a detailed tour of Boland's Mills of which he was to be commandant. Through no fault of their own, de Valera and his garrison saw little action during the Rising. His military leadership was 'indecisive but hyper-active, and he went without sleep for five days.'¹⁷⁵ Boland's Mill was held by the Volunteers until Sunday 30 April, when Pearse's surrender notice was delivered.

Initially, de Valera was sentenced to death, but this was later commuted to imprisonment. The tradition that he avoided execution because of his US citizenship has been discounted by Fanning who considers that 'de Valera owed his survival more to luck' - due to the peripheral location of Boland's Mill he was not imprisoned with the other leaders. His trial was delayed

and the British decided to halt the executions, due to the public backlash.¹⁷⁶



De Valera only moved into political prominence during his post-Rising imprisonment. This was not only due to the 'iconic stature he acquired in its aftermath as the only surviving commandant' but more to his strength of character. 'He expected and received deference, loyalty and obedience.' He was also older and more educated than the other prisoners.

On their release 'a final gesture copper-fastened the prisoners unswerving allegiance when de Valera marched them into the first-class saloon of the ship at Holyhead and refused the captain's appeals to move to the third-class quarters for which they had been given tickets.'¹⁷⁷

On his release, he was elected

Sinn Fein MP for Clare in 1917. Soon after he became president of both Sinn Fein and the Irish Volunteers, setting him on the road to the political premier division where he remained for over fifty years.¹⁷⁸



Edward (Ned) Daly (1891-1916)

A native of Limerick city, Edward (Ned) Daly was born into the most prominent Fenian family in Ireland (see chapter 6). It was also a family in crisis. His father Edward, a younger brother of IRB leader John Daly had died of heart failure six months before at the early age of forty-two. He left a widow, Catherine who was three months pregnant with Ned and eight daughters aged between fourteen and one year.

Young Ned Daly grew up in a large, warm, closely knit family circle. Surrounded by



strong-willed sisters and uncles, he was somewhat spoilt and cossetted. His fiery uncle John Daly described him as a 'mollycoddle' and a 'sissy' and relations between them became very poor. Part of the problem was that Ned took his time finding a profession.

Educated in Sexton Street CBS and Leamy's School (now the Frank McCourt Museum), he was unable to enter the family bakery business due to health issues and the opposition of the Limerick Bakers Society (trade union), which only admitted bakers' sons to the

trade. Instead, he worked as a clerk at Spaight's timber yard in Limerick, but continued to infuriate his uncle by showing more interest in music, theatre and the cinema than in making a living. After a final row, Ned was 'essentially thrown out' of the house by John Daly in 1912. The young man moved to Dublin where he lived with his sister Kathleen and her husband Tom Clarke and worked as a clerk.¹⁷⁹

Here, Ned Daly finally blossomed. Inheriting the strong republican views of his family, he had always wanted to be a soldier, but joining the British Army was out of the question. Widely read in military matters, his chance came, when he joined the Irish Volunteers on their foundation in November 1913. He quickly earned the rank of captain, becoming an expert on tactics and strategy. Young and handsome, he grew a moustache to make himself look older to the men under his command and was always

immaculately turned out in his Volunteer uniform. He played a prominent role in overseeing the Howth gun running in 1914 and in the staging of O'Donovan Rossa's funeral in 1915.¹⁸⁰

In 1916, two of Daly's men, including his future brother-in-law Eamonn Dore, were ordered to escort James Connolly to a meeting called by the IRB to prevent Connolly from staging a pre-emptive rebellion and thus disrupting their own plans. Later rumours emerged that Connolly had in fact been kidnapped by the IRB and forcibly brought to the meeting. Regardless of how the meeting was arranged, it resulted in Connolly and his men agreeing to fight alongside the Volunteers in the Rising. Dore later testified that his services had not been required, as Connolly had gone voluntarily to the meeting.¹⁸¹



COMDT. NED DALY

TOM CLARKE

CAPT. CON COLBERT

LIMERICK MARTYRS OF 1916

During the Rising, Daly was commandant of the 1st (Dublin City) battalion which occupied the Four Courts, several buildings along nearby Church Street and North King Street, plus the Bridewell police station and Linenhall Barracks. Daly's garrison occupied a strategic position which controlled the route leading from various military barracks into the city centre. Consequently, they were involved in some of the most intense fighting of the rebellion at both Church Street behind the Four Courts and the Mendicity Institute, where Sean Heuston was in command. The British launched a major assault on Daly's garrison using an armoured car, but suffered huge losses and made little progress. In their rage, they massacred fifteen innocent civilians on North King Street.¹⁸²

During Easter Week, Daly demonstrated that he had reached maturity as a

professional soldier. 'His command was disciplined and concerned for civilian welfare, and neatly anticipated British offensive tactics, and his manner was sober and contained.' Major-General P J Halley of the Irish Army later wrote that 'Daly showed excellent military skill' during the fighting. Ironically, one of the British officers captured and imprisoned in the Four Courts was fellow-Limerick man Lieutenant Edward G Halpin (1888-1954) who later testified that Daly had treated him very well. Throughout the Rising, Daly was highly respected, even worshipped, by his men.¹⁸³

For three days, one of Daly's subordinates, Sean Heuston and his garrison in the Mendicity Institution fought furiously to prevent the British advancing on the Four Courts. Heuston had only twenty-six men and was surrounded by

hundreds of British soldiers. Eventually they were forced to surrender, though they had inflicted severe casualties on the British.¹⁸⁴

Daly's garrison held out until Pearse's surrender order reached him on Saturday. Though deeply disappointed, he obeyed without question. When a British officer shouted 'Who's in charge here?' Daly calmly replied 'I am, at all events I was.' Following the surrender, he was imprisoned in Kilmainham Jail, tried in Richmond Barracks and sentenced to death. His last days were very poignant. On the night before his execution, he was visited by his three sisters Madge, Kathleen and Laura, whom he told:

I did my best.

On 4 May, he was executed by firing squad in the yard of Kilmainham Jail and later buried in Arbour Hill.

Con Colbert (1888-1916)

Born in Castlemahon, near Newcastle West, County Limerick, into a family of strongly Fenian background, Con Colbert moved with his family to Athea at the age of three. From a young age, he showed an interest in the Irish language (which was still spoken by older people in West Limerick at this time), Irish pastimes, and cultural nationalism in general. As a teenager, he went to live with a sister in Dublin, where he completed his education and obtained work as a clerk in Kennedy's bakery, Parnell Street.¹⁸⁵

While in Dublin, Colbert joined the Gaelic League and Fianna Éireann, of which he eventually became chief scout. His politics became more radical and in 1909, he wrote that 'ten years time and Ireland will be ripe for a struggle with the cursed robbers who changed

this country into a desert from its great fertility.'¹⁸⁶ Having become friendly with Pearse and other leading figures, Colbert was inducted into the IRB in 1912 and elected to the provisional committee of the Irish Volunteers. A devout Catholic, he spent all his spare time on nationalist activities.¹⁸⁷

During the Rising, Colbert served under Eamonn Ceannt, and initially commanded an outpost in Watkin's brewery. Having seen little action, they moved to Marrowbone Lane on Wednesday 26 April where they were joined by members of the Fianna and Cumann na mBan. Over the next three days, Colbert and his garrison were involved in heavy fighting. When Pearse's surrender arrived on Sunday 30 April, Colbert burst into tears, before reluctantly obeying.¹⁸⁸

Colbert was taken into custody and later sentenced to be shot. The day before he died, he

wrote several letters to family and friends. To his sister Lila, he wrote:

I did not like to call you to this jail to see me before I left his world because I felt it would grieve us both too much, so I am just dropping you a line to ask you to forgive me anything I do owe you and to say goodbye to you and all my friends and to get you and them to say a prayer for my soul.



Captured Rebels. TRIALS IN DUBLIN. (OFFICIAL.)

Dublin, Tuesday. The following communication was issued yesterday afternoon from the official Press Office, Irish Command:— "Rebels considered suitable for trial are being tried by Field General Courts-martial under the Defence of the Realm Act in Dublin. As soon as the sentences have been confirmed the public will be informed as to the results of the trial. "Those prisoners whose cases could not be immediately dealt with are being sent to places of confinement in England. Their cases will receive consideration later. "The cases of the women taken prisoners are under consideration. "The work of dealing with these trials is one of great magnitude, and is being proceeded with despatch."

The Provinces.

Normal—Great Southern and Western Railway, Dublin, Cork, Tralee, Limerick. Quiet—Waterford, King's County, Queen's County, Wicklow, Carlow, Cork, W.R.; Galway, E.K.; Mayo, Belfast, and Ulster Counties.

WITHOUT TRIAL.

A Contradiction, (OFFICIAL.)

3 p.m. Tuesday. I. Reports as to the shooting without trial of any rebels after their surrender may be denied in the Press. II. Passes—(a) Communication is open and free inside Dublin City within the cordon of North and South Circular roads. (b) Passes will be required for some few days by people proceeding through that cordon, but examination posts have been established at convenient points along the North and South Circular roads, at which inhabitants of Dublin and environs may be passed through by the police.

Military Order.

Surrender of Arms and Ammunition

Before 6th May. ARMS AND AMMUNITION. I. General Sir John Grenfell Maxwell, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.V.O., D.S.O., Commanding-in-Chief His Majesty's Forces in Ireland, hereby orders that all members of the Irish Volunteer Sinn Fein organization, or of the Citizen Army, shall forthwith surrender all Arms, Ammunition, and Explosives in their possession to the nearest Military Authority, or the nearest Police Barrack. Any member of either of these organizations found in possession of any Arms, Ammunition, or Explosives after 6th May, 1916, will be severely dealt with. J. G. MAXWELL, General Commanding-in-Chief the Forces in Ireland. Headquarters, Irish Command, 2nd May, 1916.

IGNORING THE PROCLAMATION

Kerry Sinn Fein Volunteers Arrested.

Tralee, Monday. Notwithstanding the proclamation of martial law prohibiting the carrying of arms, some thirty members of the Castlegregory (West Kerry) Sinn Fein Volunteers paraded as usual yesterday with rifles and bayonets. They were reminded by the police of the consequences, but did not desist, and were not further interfered with. During the night, however, several motor cars conveying military and police arrived in the district, and seven of those who took part in the parade were arrested in their beds, and their arms and ammunition seized. They were lodged in Tralee jail this morning. No other incident of a disturbing nature has occurred in any other part of the county so far.

LEADERS SHOT. OFFICIAL STATEMENT.

Dublin, Wednesday. The following official communique was issued today:— "Through the notice proclaiming the Irish Republic—P.H. Pearse, T. MacDonagh, and J.J. Clarke—have been tried by Field General Court-martial and sentenced to death. "The sentences having been duly confirmed, the three above-mentioned men were shot this morning. "The trial of their prisoners is proceeding. "Yesterday there were still some small disturbances in the South and West of Ireland, in which some casualties have occurred. The rest of Ireland is reported quiet. "Larne has been ordered. The list of ports from which passengers may leave Ireland. "Further notice to aliens will be allowed to land in Ireland subject to possession of a permit, which can be obtained from the military permit officer, 19 Bedford Square, London, or from the Military Control Office, Room 347 Royal Liver Building, Liverpool. "All persons who intend to travel between England and Ireland should be in possession of papers proving their identity."

DUBLIN REVERTING

To Normal Conditions.

Cork County Quiet. (OFFICIAL.) London, Wednesday, 2.30 p.m. Dublin gradually reverting to normal conditions. Cork County quiet, with the exception of a stray in Fermoy district, where a Head Constable was shot dead on attempting to arrest two men—Sinn Feiners.

The O'Rahilly Dead.

The body of The O'Rahilly, one of the rebel leaders, has been found in Moore lane, adjacent to the General Post Office. It is believed that he was brought down by a shot from the military when he was trying to escape from the Post Office.

Twenty-Six Dead Rebels

Found in "Daily Express" Office. The dead bodies of 26 of the rebels were found in the office of the "Daily Express." The condition of the premises shows that it was subjected to a terrible fusillade from the military, who operated a machine gun against the building from the Castle.

Shooting the Wounded.

Heroism of Women.

A pathetic story of how some wounded men vainly tried to persuade the Dublin instructors to down arms was supplied on Saturday by a doctor who had just returned to London, and witnessed the disturbances on Easter Monday and Tuesday. At first, he said, nobody took the rebels seriously, and their movements were regarded as a bit of play-acting. "I saw the General Post Office taken," he continued. "together with the Four Courts and Jacob's factory. The rebels met with little or no resistance, and it was not until some cavalry appeared that some shots were fired. The military were greeted with a fusillade of bullets from the tops of buildings in which the rebels were concealed. In one case I saw a girl in charge of three little girls fall to the ground. Whether she was fired at or only collapsed I cannot say. The rebels fired on all traffic regardless of consequences, and tramcar after tramcar was riddled with shot. "Some men who saw this scene, although limping along on crutches, approached the rebels. "For God's sake don't shoot innocent people," cried one; whilst another called out in a pitiable voice, "You are killing your own mothers and sisters." But the rebels were heartless. The men advanced, and I regret to say that the miscreants fired on the helpless fellows, each of whom was incapable of defence. Red Cross nurses went to the assistance of the Tommies. I also saw other nurses rush to the aid of the occupants of a four-wheeler which had been overturned. One of the nurses was injured by a kick from the horse. "Two of the wounded men fell during the confusion, and a young girl wheeling a perambulator, which also had been overturned, ran up to the

Although a newspaper of unionist sympathies, the Limerick Chronicle while publishing detailed reports of the Easter Rising, refrained from any criticism

Toll of the Sniper.

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STOP PRESS NEWS

Mr Birrell made a personal statement, in which he said that an inquiry would be held into the history of Irish administration in which he could take part. It would not be wise and prudent for him at the moment to speak of grave events which were fresh in his mind. A small sensation was caused in the House of Commons yesterday (says to-day's "Daily Mirror") shortly after three o'clock by the entry of Mr Birrell, who, instead of taking his place on the Treasury Bench, sat amongst the private members behind the Speaker, and Mr Guinness created some disturbance, but after being twice reprimanded from the Chair he allowed Mr Birrell to proceed with the repeated sarcastic comment: "Give Birrell a chance."

RESIGNATION OF MR BIRRELL.

Mr Augustine Birrell has resigned his office of Chief Secretary for Ireland. He returned from Dublin on Tuesday night, saw the Prime Minister yesterday morning, and in the afternoon, took a corner seat above the gangway in the House of Commons—thereby demonstrating that he was no longer a member of the Government. This resignation was not unexpected (says the "Daily Sketch"). Indeed the Government could hardly have faced the House of Commons if Mr Birrell still held office. Rightly or wrongly, he was held responsible for the inaction of the Irish Government, while the rebels were preparing their insurrection, and of treating the Sinn Fein movement with a tolerant contempt. Mr Augustine Birrell is an amiable and brilliant writer, who has held the thankless position of Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for nine years. He is 68, the son of a Nonconformist minister, and his second wife, who died last year, was the widow of the Hon. Lionel Tennison. From 1905 to 1907 he was President of the Board of Education, and author of the Bill which nearly wrecked Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Liberal Government. Mr Birrell's avowed recreation is book-hunting, and to his friends he made no secret of the fact that his ambition was to be the last Irish Chief Secretary.

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IGNORING THE PROCLAMATION

Kerry Sinn Fein Volunteers Arrested.

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Casualties in the D.M.P.

KILLED. Constable James O'Brien, 168 B.—This was the first man shot on Easter Monday. He was on duty at the gate of the Upper Castle Yard when he met his death at the hands of the rebels. Constable Michael Lahiff, 125 B.—He was on duty at the Grafton street entrance to St Stephen's Green Park, and was ordered away by the rebels when they were taking possession. He refused to desert his post, and was shot dead. Constable Fred, 174 C.—He was on duty in Store street Police Station when he "sniped" through one of the windows.

WOUNDED. Station Sergeant Hughes, D Division.—This officer was returning from County Wicklow, after a short leave, and was travelling to the city in a motor car when he was held up, made a prisoner, and taken into St Stephen's Green Park. He sustained a severe wound in one of his arms, and is now in hospital. Constable Myles, 99 E.—Wounded in the left wrist at Portobello Bridge on Easter Monday. Constable John McGrath, 188 B.—Sniped at the Brunswick street Police Headquarters from a window in Westmoreland street.

DUBLIN'S FOOD SUPPLY.

Government Committee's Arrangements. The Food Supply Committee appointed by the Government, under the presidency of the Right Hon. Sir Henry A. Robinson, Vice-President of the Local Government Board, to provide for the needs of Dublin citizens during the recent disturbances, has completed its work in the direct free distribution of food, which is now being taken up wholly by the Society of St Vincent de Paul, and the Rathmines area by the Local Relief Committee in Rathmines.

Bread and Meat Supplies.

Since Saturday Mr Patrick Leonard, ex-President of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, accompanied them with a view to the purchase of the value of about £4,000. The beasts are being slaughtered at the Corporation Abattoir, and sold to the Dublin butchers at a price which is no reason for a scare as to shortage of meat. Arrangements were made on Tuesday for the bakers to resume work, and it is expected the supply will soon approach the normal.

Galway Outbreak Colapses.

The rebellion in Galway has been fizzling out since Thursday. It was a flash in the pan from the first. The only serious incidents were a constable shot and two injured, the tearing up of some yards of railway each night, which temporary stopped traffic, and the cutting of telegraph wires. The police have brought in about 50 prisoners.

In Ruined Dublin.

Dublin is gradually returning to normal conditions (says the "Daily Sketch"). A mobilisation of the Dublin City Police is being sent for the west. Yesterday it was much easier to move about the streets, and to gather some idea of the result of the week's fighting. Lower Sackville street was crowded with people viewing the wreckage of their once fine buildings.

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Toll of the Sniper.

Mr Thomas Moran Joss, a well-known chemist, having placed of business in Dame-street, and Arran quay, was shot dead by the rebels when he was going to his private residence at Arran quay. Mr Joss was afflicted with deafness, and it is supposed that he did not hear the challenge of the sentries. ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGYMAN SHOT. On Monday afternoon the Very Rev F J Waters, of the Catholic University School, Leeson-street, was shot with a rifle bullet in the head while he was standing at the door of his residence in Leeson-street. The Rev gentleman was promptly conveyed to the Royal City of Dublin Hospital, Baginbun, where he received every attention, and an X-ray photograph was taken, but the shot still stands at the door. His general condition is stated to be favourable, but no definite opinion as to the nature of the wound could be given, pending further examination of the radiograph.

COURAGEOUS NURSES.

A gentleman who was standing at the door of a hotel in Harcourt-street, on Thursday afternoon saw two men and a woman who are serious, fall in the street. Word was sent to the Children's Hospital further up the street, and a number of nurses courageously went to their assistance. Although under fire, they continued to attend to the injured persons until they were removed to hospital.

Limerick Officer Wounded in Dublin.

Lieut. George Malone, a son of Dr M J Malone, M.D., 18th Royal Irish Regiment, was one of the first officers to be wounded in Dublin on Easter Monday. He is being treated in St. Stephen's Hospital, and though his wounds are serious, his progress, we are very pleased to learn is satisfactory.

Sir Horace Plunket.

On Saturday Sir Horace Plunket's life was in danger. He had a marvellous escape. His party, in two motor-cars, came under fire. The screen of Sir Horace's car was shattered, and his nephew, Mr. Thomas Ponsonby, was rather seriously wounded, but is now doing well.

Cardinal Logue's Message to the Pope.

According to a Rome telegraph on the "Daily Mail," the following telegram from Cardinal Logue was received on Tuesday by the Pope:—"Insurrection happily terminated. I trust the cause has been suppressed unconditionally. Hope never re-established. The message has given great satisfaction to the Pope."

Sinn Feiners Arrested in Tipperary.

Tipperary, Wednesday. In Tipperary town and in several part of the county numbers of prominent Sinn Feiners were arrested by the police this morning and handed over to the military.

Prisoners Landed at Holyhead.

Holyhead, Monday (Delayed). At three o'clock this morning over four hundred Sinn Feiners arrived here as prisoners from Dublin, being carefully guarded by troops, who accompanied them with rifles and bayonets. The majority of them were ordinary Dubliners, who were sent to the military. A few were the uniform of the Irish Volunteers. Many were hatless and without overcoats and shivers as they stood on the railway platform in the chilly hours of dawn. Several were mere youths, and there was a

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To John Daly, he sent this touching note:

My dear friend,
Just a line to wish you
goodbye and to ask your
prayers for my poor soul.
God prosper you and yours.
May He love Ireland.

Goodbye.
Yours ever,
Con



Other Limerick Insurgents

The following is an account of other Limerick men and women who participated in the Rising. It is by no means exhaustive as the places of origin of many insurgents have yet to be established.



The GPO

Two of the Daly sisters and their future husbands served in the GPO. On Tuesday 25 April, Laura (1882-1967) and Nora Daly (1889-1977) took the train to Dublin to find out what was happening and also to obtain orders for the Limerick Volunteers. On the train, they met Eamonn Dore by accident. He had been home in Glin on holidays for Easter, but on hearing of the Rising, he travelled to Dublin to fight alongside his comrades. In Dublin, he brought the Daly sisters to the GPO, where they remained for less than twenty-four hours. Pádraig Pearse sent them to Cork with a message for the Cork Volunteers, asking them to join in the Rising. The Dalys took a train to Cork, but the Volunteers there were surrounded by British troops, and could not rise, so the sisters returned to Limerick. Meanwhile, Eamonn Dore went back to the GPO where

he remained until the surrender.¹⁸⁹

A farmer's son from Glin, Eamonn Dore (1896-1972) studied medicine in UCD but never qualified due to his involvement in the 1916 Rising. He was active in the Irish Volunteers and the IRB and became a close friend of Con Colbert. At the time of the Rising, Dore was serving as Sean MacDiarmada's bodyguard and fought with him in the GPO. Dore was arrested afterwards, but although he was soon released, his health was badly affected and he never returned to UCD. In 1918, he married Nora Daly and they had one son and two daughters. They lived in Limerick and Eamonn was involved in running Daly's bakery until it closed in 1959. Eamonn and Nora Daly are buried in Glin.¹⁹⁰



A Corkman, James (Seamus or Jim) O'Sullivan (1891-1974)



The destruction wrought by the Rising in Dublin city centre was unprecedented for a modern Irish city or town before the Northern Ireland Troubles (Westropp Photographic Collection, Royal Irish Academy and Digital Repository of Ireland).

worked in a Dublin grocer's shop. He served in the Volunteers with Ned Daly and they became close friends. He served in the GPO with the rank of captain and was afterwards sentenced to death, later commuted to imprisonment. Released in the post-1916 amnesty, O'Sullivan worked as an organiser with the Irish Volunteers. In 1918, while on the run from Crown forces, he married Laura Daly and they had two sons and two daughters. An admirer of Michael Collins, he remained neutral during the Civil War, as his wife and her family were all anti-Treaty. In 1939, he and Laura established O'Sullivan's Shoe shop in Limerick which traded until 2008.¹⁹¹

Two cousins from Killaghteen, Garryduff, Monagea, County Limerick served together in the GPO. James M Flanagan (1877-1950) was a member of 2nd (Dublin City) battalion of

the Irish Volunteers.¹⁹² Following the Rising he was interned for a period. During the Civil War, he fought in the anti-Treaty forces and left the army in 1924. Later, he worked as a clerk in a Dublin hospital. Matt Flanagan (1887-1963) was a member of the Irish Citizens Army. Later in life, he worked for the Land Commission in Dublin and lived at 56 Belmont Avenue, Donnybrook.¹⁹³



A native of Newcastle West, Garrett McAuliffe (1886-1952) worked as a domestic servant for a number of years before emigrating to England. Active in the Irish Volunteers before his departure, he returned to take part in the Rising. He was stationed in the GPO and was afterwards interned. Active during the War of Independence, he succeeded Sean Finn as Officer Commanding West Limerick Brigade IRA and later took the anti-Treaty side in the

Civil War. In the 1930s, McAuliffe worked as Water and Sewerage Inspector and Water Rent Collector with the Limerick County Board of Health. He lived at Maiden Street, Newcastle West.¹⁹⁴



Peter Slattery (1884-1954) was from 52 Thomas Street, Limerick. A civil engineer by profession, he later became a medical doctor. He worked for a time as a chemistry teacher in Padraig Pearse's school at St Enda's Rathfarnham. An admirer and friend of Pearse, Slattery was a member of the 4th Battalion, Dublin Brigade of the Irish Volunteers. During the Rising, he served in the GPO as direc-



Limerick city man Peter Slattery in Irish Volunteer uniform. A close friend and teaching colleague of Padraig Pearse, he served as headmaster of St Enda's School from 1917 to 1920 [Courtesy Slattery family].

tor of engineers where he sustained an accidental wound. After the Rising, he was imprisoned in Dartmoor and other prisons and was released in 1917. While in prison, he wrote to his brother Ralph thanking him for some family photos, telling him that 'every time I look at them, they make me feel much nearer to ye [sic] all again.'¹⁹⁵ Peter Slattery served as principal of St Enda's school from 1917 to 1920. During the War of Independence, he was involved in espionage work in London, and later purchased arms for the IRA in the USA. Subsequently he was involved in the manufacture of explosives for the IRA. He supported the Treaty and served with the pro-Treaty forces during the Civil War. Afterwards, he became a farmer in County Dublin. He died on 11 June 1954 and was buried in Glasnevin Cemetery.¹⁹⁶



From Broadford, County Limerick, Father Eugene Sheehy (1841-1917) was the uncle of suffragette Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington. He was so active in the land agitation that he became known as the 'Land League priest' and was also involved in the IRB and GAA. Eamon de Valera was one of his Mass servers in Bruree and admired him greatly, stating later that 'he taught me patriotism.'¹⁹⁷ In 1900, Fr Sheehy retired to Dublin, where he became friendly with Tom Clarke and Sean MacDiarmada. During the Easter Rising, Fr Sheehy was in the GPO 'to administer spiritual consolation' and only left when it was evacuated by the rebels. Shortly before his death, he is reputed to have said that 'I am sorry that I did not die with Tom Clarke.'¹⁹⁸

The Four Courts

A number of Limerick men served in 1st (Dublin City)

Battalion of the Irish Volunteers under the command of Ned Daly.

A farmer's son, from Tulligoline South, Templeglantine Maurice Collins (1885-1974) worked in the post office in Dublin and London, and was active in the GAA and Gaelic League. He spent the first few days of the Rising helping to guard Bulmer Hobson, who had been arrested by the IRB to prevent him from trying to stop the rebellion. Afterwards, Collins joined the Four Courts garrison and was involved in heavy fighting in Church Street/ North King Street. Following the Rising, he was imprisoned and dismissed from the post office. Later he opened a shop in Parnell Street Dublin, which became a centre of IRA activity during the War of Independence.¹⁹⁹



James (1892-1974) and Patrick McNamara (born 1898) were



two sons of an agricultural labourer from Knockaboula, Loughill, near Glin in County Limerick.²⁰⁰ Both moved to Dublin where they joined the Irish Volunteers. During the Rising, they were involved in some of the heaviest fighting in the Church Street/North King Street area. After the surrender, they were imprisoned and subsequently fought in the War of Independence. Patrick went to the USA in 1920. James fought on the anti-Treaty side in the Civil War and also moved to the USA in 1922. Both lived in the New York area for the rest of their lives.²⁰⁰

From Rosbrien, Limerick city, John William Moore (1886-1918) moved to Dublin, where he worked as a commercial traveller and kept a tobacconist shop at 26 Stonybattery on the Northside of Dublin.²⁰¹ His work as a commercial traveller took him all over the country and enabled him to work in Volunteer

organisation, intelligence and arms transportation. His sister was the secretary in Daly's Bakery in Limerick. During the Rising, Moore was involved in the Battle of Mount Street Bridge. Afterwards, he was captured and taken to Arbour Hill where he was brutally beaten, receiving several kicks in the region of his heart. He never fully recovered from this ill-treatment and died on 8 December 1918, leaving a wife and three young children.²⁰²



COUNTY KERRY

Four Limerick men served with the Volunteers in Kerry during the Rising. Three of them, Donal Sheehan, Tommy McInerney and Sam Windrim, were involved in the ill-fated plan to storm Fitzgerald's Radio School in Caherciveen and make contact with the *Aud*, while Con Collins was to assist with the landing of the ship.

Donal Sheehan (1888-1916) was born in Ballintubrid, near Newcastlewest and joined the Gaelic League while working in London as a book-keeper. In 1914, he returned to Ireland, and started working in Geary's biscuit factory, Limerick city. He frequently travelled between Limerick and Dublin, on IRB and Volunteer business. From Limerick city, Tommy McInerney (1896-1922) was the son of a fisheries manager and the family also owned a garage and public house. He was chosen for the Kerry mission as he was one of the few Volunteers who both owned and could drive a car. A native of Limerick city, Sam Windrim (1890-1955) was a fitter by trade.

On Good Friday 1916, McInerney got lost en route from Killarney to Cahirciveen and drove his car into the Laune river, near Killorglin. He escaped, but his three passengers, including Donal Sheehan, were drowned.



Windrim was arrested and interned afterwards. On his release, he played an active role in the War of Independence where his technical skills proved invaluable in repairing firearms for his colleagues.²⁰³ With the return of peace, he went to work with the technical branch of the ESB in Limerick.²⁰⁴

McInerney was also arrested and interned afterwards. On his release, he played an active role in the War of Independence as a captain of the Mid-Limerick Brigade of the IRA. He was also a Sinn Fein member of Limerick City Council from 1920 to 1925. In reprisal, Crown forces blew up his family home and public house on Lock Quay.²⁰⁵ McInerney was injured in a shooting accident and died three weeks later on 26 May 1922.²⁰⁶

From Arranagh, Newcastle West, Con Collins (1881-1937)

was from a staunchly nationalist family. He worked in the Post Office in Dublin, where he joined the IRB and Gaelic League. At the time of the Rising, Collins was sent to Kerry to rendezvous with Tralee's Austin Stack in order to co-ordinate the *Aud's* landing with the incoming Roger Casement. However, after messages between Casement and the IRB had been intercepted by British authorities, both Stack and Collins were captured en route from Tralee to the rendezvous point on Banna Strand. Collins was subsequently held in Richmond Barracks and deported to Frongoch prison in Wales. Released in 1917, he was elected Sinn Fein TD for West Limerick in 1918, and became a member of the First Dáil. He voted against the Treaty, but took no part in the fighting during the Civil War. Later, he was offered the post of Ministry of Post and Telegraphs if he changed sides, but refused to do so. He retired

from politics in 1923 and worked as superintendant of Limerick Post Office for the rest of his life.²⁰⁷

COUNTIES MEATH AND LOUTH

Outside Dublin, the biggest action of the Rising was the Battle of Ashbourne on Friday, 28 April, where the Volunteers under Thomas Ashe won the only rebel victory in 1916.

From Bruree, Richard Hayes (1882-1958) was a medical doctor, who served under Ashe in North County Dublin, when Swords and Donabate RIC barracks were captured and at the Battle of Ashbourne, where his main role was in treating the wounded on both sides. In 1918, Hayes was elected Sinn Fein MP for East Limerick. He supported the Treaty but took no part in the Civil War. In 1924, he resigned from the Dáil

Both Clery's Department Store and the Imperial Hotel occupied the imposing four-storey building pictured in this post-Rising image of O'Connell Street. In 1882, Clery's had been founded by Limerick entrepreneur Michael J Clery. Destroyed during the Rising, Clery's was rebuilt in 1918-22 (Westropp Photographic Collection, Royal Irish Academy and Digital Repository of Ireland).

and later served as Irish film censor (1941-54).²⁰⁸

Donal O'Hannigan (1888-1959) was one of five brothers from Anglesboro, County Limerick who took part in the Irish Revolution. In 1909, Donal moved to Dublin where he became active in the IRB, Fianna, GAA and Gaelic League. He joined the Irish Volunteers on their foundation. During the Rising, O'Han-

nigan and Sean McEntee (later a Fianna Fail cabinet minister) commanded a small rebel force in County Louth that captured a dozen RIC men and some British officers in the village of Lurgan Green and ten more RIC men in Castlebellingham. In later life O'Hannigan lived in Dublin where he died on 13 March 1959.²⁰⁹

Limerick men serving in the Crown forces

It was not only rebels who 'dreamed and died' in 1916. It is now thought that the number of Irishmen who fought in the British Army in the 1916 Rising may have equalled or even exceeded the number of rebels, as so many



units of Irish regiments were stationed in Ireland at the time.²¹⁰ A number of Irish policemen also fought with the Crown forces. Most of them would have regarded themselves as being as much Irishmen as their rebel opponents, who were simply protecting their fellow citizens from misguided fanatics, allied to the Germans. Thus it was that three young British army officers, all natives of Limerick city, found themselves fighting against the insurgents in Easter 1916.



George Malone (1896-1978) was a son of Dr Michael J Malone of 5 Pery Square.²¹¹ In 1916, he was a lieutenant with the 3rd Battalion, Royal Irish Regiment. During fighting with Eamonn Ceannt's forces in the South Dublin Union on Easter Monday he received severe wounds and was taken to Dr Steevens Hospital, where his leg was amputated. Later,

he was promoted to major.²¹²



Eugene Long (1895-1956) was the son of a prosperous farmer and leather merchant and grew up on the Ennis Road Limerick. His father Eugene J Long, sat on Limerick City Council (1902-11).²¹³ In 1916, Long was a student in Trinity College and a cadet in the Dublin University Officer Training Corps. He served under the notorious Captain John Bowen-Colthurst, who murdered a number of civilians during the Rising, including Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington's pacifist husband Francis. After the Rising, Long fought in the trenches with the South Irish Horse and the 7th Royal Irish Regiment.²¹⁴

Edward G. Halpin (1888-1954) belonged to a family of cork and bottle merchants on Upper William Street.²¹⁵ In 1916, he was a lieutenant in the Nottingham and Derbyshire Regi-

ment (Sherwood Foresters) home on leave. On Monday, he was walking along the quays of the Liffey with the intention of catching a train to Limerick from Kingsbridge (now Heuston) Station, when he was taken prisoner. He was kept prisoner in the Four Courts until Sunday, where he later testified that he had been very well treated by the garrison, commanded by fellow Limerick man Ned Daly.²¹⁶

All three of these officers survived the Rising, unlike another young Limerick man Charles O'Gorman (1894-1916). Reared at 4 Merchants Quay Limerick, son of a clerk, O'Gorman worked as a locomotive brake fitter with the Great Southern and Western Railway in Limerick.²¹⁷ At the outbreak of the Rising, O'Gorman was serving in the 10th Reserve Cavalry Regiment, based in the Curragh military camp, looking after the shoeing of horses. His regiment was ordered to Dublin where he

was killed on 24 April, only a few hours after his arrival. O’Gorman was buried in Grangegorman Military Cemetery.²¹⁸



From Abbeyfeale, County Limerick, Patrick Leen (1894-1916) was a private with the 5th (Royal Irish) Lancers. On the first day of the Rising, he took part in the cavalry charge down O’Connell Street, but was wounded as a result of rebel fire from the GPO. Leen died of his wounds on 1 May and was buried in the Royal Hospital Kilmainham Dublin.²¹⁹



Two Limerick policemen also died in the Rising. James O’Brien (1868-1916) has the sad distinction of being the first person killed in the 1916 Rising. Born in Kilfergus, Glin, County Limerick he had twenty-one years service with Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP) in 1916. On the first

day of the Rising, he was on duty at the entrance to Dublin Castle at Cork Hill. Helena Moloney of the Irish Citizens Army remembered what happened:

I, with my girls, followed Seán Connolly [no relation to James Connolly] and his party. We went right up to the Castle Gate, up the narrow street. Just then, a police sergeant [sic] came out and, seeing our determination, he thought it was a parade, and that it probably would be going up Ship Street. When Connolly went to go past him, the Sergeant put out his arm; and Connolly shot him dead.²²⁰

The gates of the Castle were then shut and the rebels failed to capture it. Constable O’Brien is buried in Kilfergus Graveyard near Glin.²²¹



From Ballycahane, Pallaskeenry, County Limerick, Chri-

stopher Miller (1887-1916) was a farmer’s son who joined the Royal Irish Constabulary. At the outbreak of the Rising, he was stationed in Belfast and attending a course in Dublin. He joined the British forces attacking the South Dublin Union, which was commanded by Eamonn Ceannt. Miller attempted to force open the door of the rebel headquarters but was shot dead by Ceannt himself on 27 April 1916. He is buried in the cemetery of the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham.²²²

LIMERICK CIVILIANS IN THE RISING

Civilians suffered more than any other category in the Rising, accounting for 54 per cent of those killed.²²³ These included forty children who died in Easter Week, caught in the crossfire.²²⁴ At least two Limerick civilians were killed and two were injured in the Rising.

Born in Glenfield, Kilmallock, Jane Costello (1892-1916) worked as a shorthand writer and typist in Dublin. She was accidentally shot dead at the window of her lodgings, at 117 Seville Place, on 27 April 1916, killed by a soldier, who had fired the shot from a doorway on the street. Ironically, two of Jane Costello's brothers had joined the British Army since the outbreak of the war. She was buried in Glasnevin Cemetery.²²⁵

From Ballyhahill, near Glin, Michael C O'Connor (1888-1916) was a secondary teacher who had been working in St Kieran's College, Kilkenny. He

travelled to Dublin with some friends during the Easter holidays and was sitting in Pheonix Park when he was accidentally shot dead by British soldiers. He was buried in Kilfergus Graveyard, Glin, where Constable James O'Brien is also buried.²²⁶

In 1916, engine-fitter John Lysaght (born 1871) from County Limerick and his wife Kate from Limerick city were living in Upper Kevin Street, Dublin with their children.²²⁷ On the first day of the Rising, John Lysaght went outside his door to bring in one of his children, presumably to avoid getting caught up in the fight-

ing. One of the rebels pointed a revolver at him, but Lysaght knocked it aside angrily. Another rebel then bayoneted him, injuring him badly. Lysaght was later treated in the Adelaide Hospital.²²⁸

Philip W Snell (1855-1922), the English-born manager of the Limerick Clothing Factory from 1899 to 1922 happened to be in Dublin during the Rising. He was caught in crossfire and sustained injuries 'which necessitated the amputation of his left leg.' He returned to Limerick, some months later, where 'he was given a hearty reception by his employees.'²²⁹

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IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY

Leaders in the Insurrection, May, 1916

IRISH REBELLION, MAY 1916



THOMAS McDONAGH
(Commandant of the Brigade)
Executed May 26, 1916.
One of the signatories of the "Irish Republic Proclamation."

IRISH REBELLION, MAY 1916.



J. J. HURSTON
(One of the signatories of the Proclamation)
Executed May 26, 1916.

IRISH REBELLION, MAY 1916



CORNELIUS COLBERT
(Who took a prominent part in the rebellion)
Executed May 26, 1916.

IRISH REBELLION, MAY 1916.



SEAN MAC DIARMADA
Executed May 26, 1916.
One of the signatories of the "Irish Republic Proclamation."

IRISH REBELLION, MAY 1916



THE O'CONNELLS
One of the Leaders, who was Shot in Arles, G.P.O. Area.

IRISH REBELLION, MAY 1916



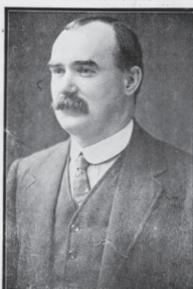
MAJOR JOHN MCBRIDE
(One of the signatories of the Proclamation)
Executed in Kilmarkinham Prison, May 26, 1916.

IRISH REBELLION, MAY 1916



P. H. PEARSE
Commandant-General of the Army of the Irish Republic.
Executed May 26, 1916.
One of the signatories of the "Irish Republic Proclamation."

IRISH REBELLION, MAY 1916



JAMES CONNOLLY
(Commandant-General, Dublin, Division)
Executed May 26, 1916.
One of the signatories of the "Irish Republic Proclamation."

IRISH REBELLION, MAY 1916



THOMAS ASHE
(Leader of the Volunteers in the Dublin, Dublin, Dublin)
Shot in the Dublin, Dublin, Dublin.
Executed in Kilmarkinham Prison, May 26, 1916.

IRISH REBELLION, MAY 1916



E. DALY
(One of the signatories of the Proclamation)
Executed May 26, 1916.

IRISH REBELLION, MAY 1916



RAMON XANXI
(One of the signatories of the Proclamation)
Executed May 26, 1916.

IRISH REBELLION, MAY 1916



COUNTESS MARKIEVICZ
(Who took a prominent part in the rebellion, Dublin's Green Army)
Shot in the Dublin, Dublin, Dublin.
Executed May 26, 1916.

IRISH REBELLION, MAY 1916



MICHAEL O'HANRAHAN
(One of the signatories of the Proclamation)
Executed in Kilmarkinham Prison, May 26, 1916.

IRISH REBELLION, MAY 1916



ED DE VALERA
(Commandant of the Republic Army)
Executed May 26, 1916.

IRISH REBELLION, MAY 1916



THOMAS J. CLARKE
(One of the signatories of the Proclamation)
Executed May 26, 1916.

IRISH REBELLION, MAY 1916



JOSEPH PLUNKETT (One of the signatories of the Proclamation)
Executed May 26, 1916.
Who was married a few days before his execution.

Printed and Published by the Powell Press, 22 Parliament Street, Dublin.

A COMPOSITE
IMAGE OF 1916
LEADERS. ALL
DIED AS A
RESULT OF THE
RISING EXCEPT
COUNTESS
MARKIEVICZ
AND EAMON DE
VALERA

(IMPERIAL WAR
MUSEUM, LONDON).

POST RISING EXECUTIONS

MAY 3RD 1916	KILMAINHAM GAOL	PADRAIC PEARSE THOMAS CLARKE THOMAS MACDONAGH
MAY 4TH 1916	KILMAINHAM GAOL	JOSEPH PLUNKETT EDWARD DALY MICHAEL O'HANRAHAN WILLIE PEARSE
MAY 5TH 1916	KILMAINHAM GAOL	JOHN MACBRIDE
MAY 8TH 1916	KILMAINHAM GAOL	EAMONN CEANTT MICHAEL MALLIN SEAN HEUSTON CON COLBERT
MAY 9TH 1916	CORK DETENTION BARRACKS	THOMAS KENT
MAY 12TH 1916	KILMAINHAM GAOL	SEÁN MACDIARMADA JAMES CONNOLLY
AUGUST 3RD 1916	PENTONVILLE PRISON, LONDON	SIR ROGER CASEMENT



THEY DREAMED AND ARE DEAD

The role of Irish soldiers, policemen and civilians in the 1916 Rising is a prime example of sociologist Peter Berger's observation that 'the past is malleable and flexible, changing as our recollection interprets and re-explains what has happened.'²³⁰ All but erased from the Irish collective memory for over ninety years, they are now regarded as an integral part of the national story, men and women who were as authentically Irish as Pearse, MacDiarmada and Clarke.



The Daly family in Kilkee, County Clare, c. 1901. In the 1790s, the Limerick middle classes began taking their seaside holidays in Kilkee (Special Collections, Glucksman Library, University of Limerick).