



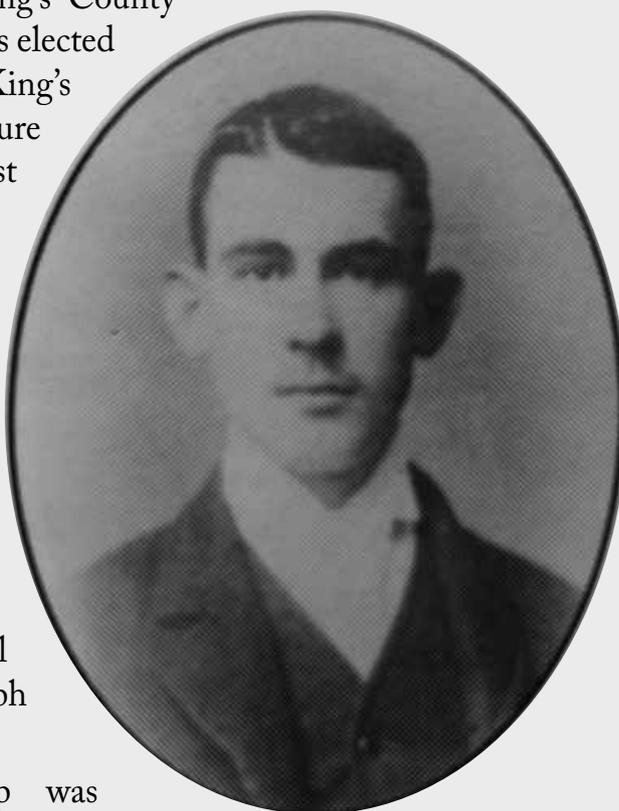
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P.J. Bermingham (1872 –1975)

Born at Ballycommon, Tullamore to parents Richard and Catherine, Bermingham was a public representative for many years with a seat on the boards of Tullamore Union, the rural district council, the agriculture and technical instruction committee and the county council. Bermingham was a founding member of the King's County Farming Society in 1912. He was elected to the chairmanship of the King's County Committee of Agriculture about 1912, but resigned in protest at the increase in salary given to its officer, E.J. Delahunty. He was not out for long as he was re-elected as chairman in 1917, following the death of Dennis Doorley, and to the chair of the county council in 1918, having earlier moved to Sinn Féin. His election to the chair, in place of John Dooly, was on the proposal of Michael Henry White seconded by Joseph Bulfin.



Bermingham's chairmanship was short lived as he had to give way to Eamonn Bulfin and the Sinn Féin majority on the council elected in June 1920. Bermingham, the former United Irish League (UIL) member had been an active supporter of Sinn Féin from 1917 and was chair of the Ballycommon club. His election to the chair was based on Sinn Féin support. Russell was in prison so there was less speechifying on the day. By 1919 change was in the air and although Bermingham was still moved to the chair at major meetings it was by virtue of his office. He was disqualified from membership of the Tullamore Board of Guardians in 1919 and did not run in the 1920 county council elections. His proposers for the chairmanship in 1919 were James Perry Goodbody and M.H. White. Bermingham fell foul of the clerical staff in the county council who went on strike in 1919-20 and James O'Connor of the transport union told a public meeting in O'Connor Square that Sinn Féin would be better without men like Bermingham. In the 1923 general election he represented the Farmers Union and polled about

2,000 votes of a quota of 6,720. Birmingham went to found the Ballycommon branch of Fianna Fáil in 1932 and was its first chairman.

He stood again in 1943 for Clann na Talmhan and secured a respectable 4,000 votes of a quota of almost twice that figure. His vote fell to 3,000 in 1944. He had served as the second chairman of the post-1930 County Agricultural Committee and was very much involved in farming organisations throughout his long career including the chairmanship of the Offaly Ploughing Association. Birmingham was the outstanding survivor of the three 1914 convention candidates, reaching almost 100 years at his death in August 1971. Witness statements from the non-combatants of the revolutionary era would have been a great boon to a better understanding of the 1912–23 period. One such was William Robbins, the secretary to the county committee of agriculture who was appointed by Birmingham (as chair) in 1917 and only retired from office in 1966 and died in 1975.

Midland Tribune, 22 Oct. 1927; *King's County Chronicle*, 31 Aug. 1912; *King's County Chronicle*, 29 Mar. 1913; *Tullamore and King's County Independent*, 3 Feb. 1917; *Tullamore and King's County Independent* and *Midland Tribune*, 15 June 1918; *Tullamore and King's County Independent*, 28 June 1919; *Midland Tribune*, 14 Feb. 1920, 8 May 1920; *Offaly Independent*, 16 Apr. 1932; Brian M. Walker (ed.), *Parliamentary election results in Ireland, 1918–92* (1992); *Midland Tribune*, 28 August 1971; Meehan, *The T.D.'s and Senators for Laois & Offaly (1921–1986)*; Michael Murphy and ors, *Grand Jury Rooms to Aras an Chontae* (Tullamore, 2003); *Offaly Independent*, 29 Oct. 1966, *Midland Tribune*, 12 July 1975; *Midland Tribune*, 6 June 1917.

Michael Byrne

Eamonn Bulfin of Derrinlough

Eamonn Bulfin (1892–1968), republican activist and revolutionary was involved in the Easter Rising in the GPO in 1916; Irish government delegate in the Argentine Republic from 1919 to 1922, elected Chairman of Offaly County Council in absentia in 1920, civil servant from 1935 until his retirement.

He was born in Buenos Aires, Argentina on 22 September 1892, son of William Bulfin (1864–1910) writer and journalist from Derrinlough, Birr, his mother was Annie O'Rourke from Ballymore, Moate, County Westmeath. William Bulfin had emigrated to Argentina in 1884 where he wrote *Rambles in Eirinn* and was an influential nationalist who corresponded with the leading advocates of Irish independence in the early 1900s. Eamonn Bulfin's uncle Frank (1874–1951) was a member of the IRB and later the I.R.A. and was TD for Laois-Offaly from 1921–27. Eamonn had four sisters – Mary, Anita, Aileen and Catalina.

The family returned to Ireland from Argentina in 1902 to raise their children. In 1904 Bulfin was enrolled in St Thomas of Aquinas College, Newbridge, Co. Kildare. When Saint Enda's School in Rathfarnham was opened by Pádraig Pearse in September 1908, Eamonn was enrolled there. Eamonn became a lifelong friend of the Pearse family and often visited the family home on Pearse Street, Dublin. At St Enda's, Eamonn was elected Vice-Captain on the Student Council in his first year and was then elected Captain for three successive years. He attended UCD for a Science Degree from 1911. While there he won both Sigerson and Fitzgibbon Cups and was Captain of the team that won the Sigerson Cup in 1915.

In 1912 Bulfin was sworn into the IRB by Art O'Connor of Celbridge. Later in 1912 he proposed Pádraig Pearse for IRB membership. He joined the Rathfarnham Volunteers when they were formed in November 1913. In 1915 he re-organised the Volunteer units in counties Dublin and Meath, raided for arms, trained Volunteers and manufactured munitions at St. Enda's. A short time before Easter 1916 he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant and helped transport weapons to Liberty Hall. On Easter Monday Willie Pearse asked Bulfin to raise the 'Irish Republic' flag on the roof of the GPO. After the surrender a total of ninety-seven prisoners including Eamonn were condemned to death, but this was later commuted to imprisonment. Margaret Pearse interceded with the Argentine Consul and he was issued with an Argentine passport.

From Richmond Barracks the prisoners were sent to Stafford Jail on 8 May 1916 and to Frongoch internment camp in Wales on 29 June 1916. He formed a strong bond there with Michael Collins. He was released at Christmas 1916 under a General Amnesty. Collins ordered Bulfin to take charge of all Volunteer activities during the East Cavan Election where he was required to protect the nationalist election candidates.

Derrinlough House was raided on 20 July 1918 as part of the so called 'German Plot'. Eamonn and Frank Bulfin were arrested after guns and explosives were found.

They were charged and on 23 July 1918 were sent to Maryborough jail before being transferred to Durham Prison. Frank Bulfin was released on 22 March 1919 and at the end of March 1919 Eamonn Bulfin was served with a Deportation Order. He was granted parole and intended to go on the run. However, Michael Collins advised him that he was to be appointed as Irish representative to the Argentine and gave him instructions in the purchase of arms. While on parole he played for the Drumcullen Senior Hurling team in the county final played on Sunday 20 April 1919. On 30 April 1919 Bulfin was arrested and was brought to Liverpool Bridewell. He was visited in Liverpool Prison by Margaret Pearse who gave him £105 and a letter from Eamonn De Valera appointing him as representative of the Government of the Irish Republic in the Argentine. On arrival in the Argentine he was arrested by the authorities on the excuse that he was a Communist and was sentenced to military service as a conscription deserter. His desertion service was ended after ten months.

His role in the Argentine was to represent the Dáil, inaugurate trade and co-ordinate Irish opinion to bring it into line with the Irish demand for a republic, a position he filled until 1920. When the Treaty was signed he wound up the affairs of the Legation, and arrived home at the end of July 1922. He opposed the Treaty and decided to take no part in the Civil War. At this time he was also offered, and refused, a commission in the Free State army. The death of Michael Collins in August 1922 is believed to have affected him greatly.

In 1927 he married Nora Brick of Caherbreagh, Tralee, county Kerry, a former member of Cumann na mBan. They had four children Edward, Michael, Jeanne and Blanaid. From 1935 Eamonn was employed as Collector of Taxes by the Revenue Commissioners. Later he worked as the Old Age Pensions Officer in Birr. In 1947 Eamonn and Nora Bulfin were founder members of Rath Muintir na Tire Guild. He loved shooting and keeping greyhounds. In 1966 he retired and with Nora moved to Donnybrook, Dublin. A farewell presentation was made to Eamonn and Nora by several hundred parishioners before their departure. He died in the Meath Hospital, Dublin on 24 December 1968 and is buried in the Bulfin plot in his native Eglishe.

Brian Pey



Eamonn Bulfin and Peter Slattery
at Saint Enda's on Easter Sunday
morning, 1916

Photo Jeanne Bulfin Winder

Eamonn Bulfin in 1915
Photo courtesy of Anita Bulfin



Father Thomas Burbage (1879-1966)

Thomas Hilary Burbage was baptised on 4 March 1879 in Borrisokane, Co. Tipperary. He was the son of James Burbage and Isabella Dunne. His father was an ex-RIC Head Constable from County Longford but when he retired from the R.I.C. and settled in Portarlinton and is recorded as a grocer in Main Street in 1894 and 1901. They remained there until their deaths in the early 1920s/1930s respectively and are buried in the New Cemetery in Portarlinton.

Thomas received his early education in the Portarlinton Christian Brothers School and was educated in Carlow from 1896 to 1897, in Maynooth from 1897 to 1904 and was ordained in St. Patrick's College, Carlow in 1904 for the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin. Young priests who had been Maynooth students in the first decade of the century came under influences, both cultural and political, which had turned several of the ablest among them into ardent Gaelic Leaguers and advanced nationalists. After the 1916 rising considerable numbers clergymen, especially younger ones, abandoned the cause of Home Rule and gave their support to the more radical courses advocated by Sinn Féin.

Father Burbage was devoted to duty, both religious and political. He was reported to be a noted speaker and writer, a charismatic and staunch republican, a prominent member of Sinn Féin and played an active role in politics. He did not confine his energy to the build up of the party but also expressed a genuine desire for the revival of the Irish language and was a noted Gaelic Leaguer in the county. Not only was he committed to the restoration of the Irish language, but also the revival of Irish industries. It was written that he was one of the great patriot priests who threw their full weight in the fight for freedom during the War of Independence. He placed his great abilities, talents and energy at the disposal of the young state. Father Burbage was a keen promoter of the *Catholic Bulletin* which had carried biographies of the executed rebels after the Easter Rising, and was not a man to mince his words during political speeches as is evident from the press censorship of the time. After the treaty he was an early platform speaker for the anti-Treaty party. In the presence of national troops, he vigorously condemned the Free State government from the altar in 1922 and 1923 for its execution of Republicans and was reported to his bishop by the military authorise for inciting his parishioners to rebellion.

Father Burbage was a curate firstly in Carlow in his early life, and later lived in Geashill, County Offaly, from September 1916 to June 1925. During

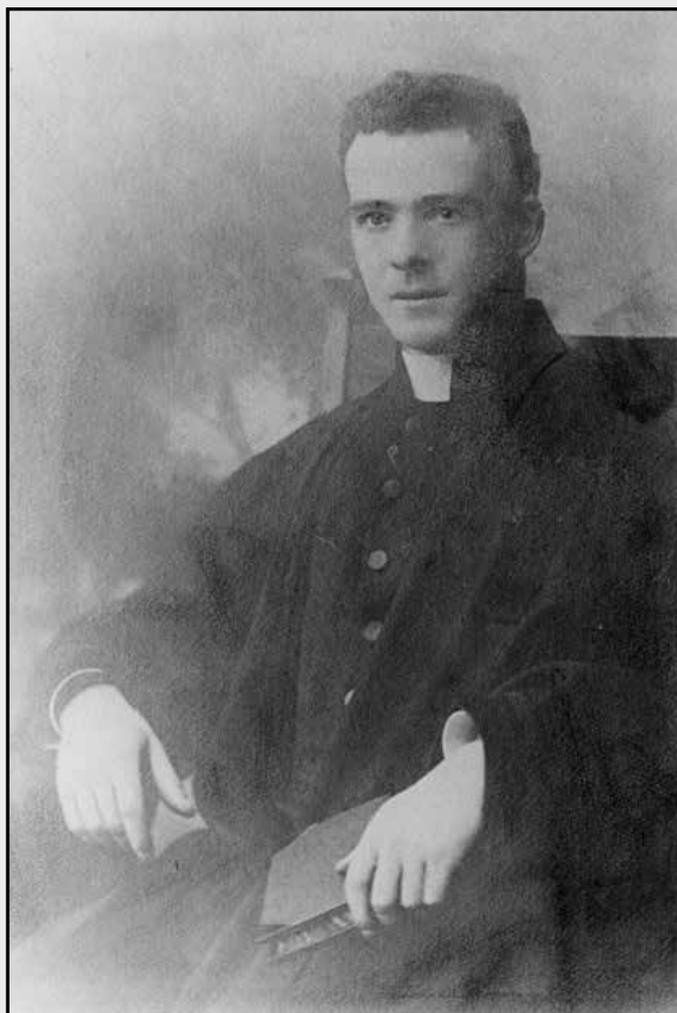
one such speech at Philipstown (now Daingean), near Geashill, in August 1917, he made a strong attack on British cabinet ministers, comparing them to 'Satan in furthering their own interests' before going on to advise his listeners to 'follow the rebels of Easter week even to death if you are true Irishmen'. Later in October, part of his speech at a meeting in Killoughy was also deleted from the press reports while the police again took note of his comments concerning their alleged strong arm tactics used on the occasion of the arrests of the county's leading Sinn Féin activist, T.M. Russell, during March 1918, when Burbage announced that 'it was clear to all the world that all tyranny did not cease when the Czar of Russia was driven from his throne'. These and similar sentiments by Fr Burbage earned him the respect of the country's leading republicans and it came as no great surprise that along with Fr Bergin, P.P., Philipstown, both were elected vice president of the north King's county Sinn Féin Executive in November 1917.

Father Burbage's staunch republicanism and implacable opposition to the Free State was unusual. Most of the Catholic Church, especially its hierarchy, were relentless in their bitter denunciation of the I.R.A. some of whose members they excommunicated. It was a rarity for priests such as Fr Burbage to have the courage of their convictions and denounce the ferocity of the Free State violence. It was most unusual for a Catholic priest to be seen to be supporting the I.R.A. who fought against the British Army, and it contradicted his religious duties.

Reports of these speeches troubled the local bishop, Foley, who took steps to ensure that Burbage would not pursue his career as a platform speaker. He drew up a document for him to sign to prevent him from speaking at public meetings. (Murray 2000 p. 139). The local parish priest also made it clear that he did not want to see priests taking part in republican meetings, although he did not object to their participation in Free State ones. Burbage, however, ignored the parish priest's ruling and accompanied de Valera whenever possible. In March 1923, Bishop Foley received a formal complaint from General Richard Mulcahy about alleged subversive activities on the part of Fr Burbage. The charge against Fr Burbage was based on a report by an army officer, from Geashill garrison, who attended a Mass at Ballinagar church on 25 February. Father Burbage encouraged the congregation to rise against the National Forces. The officer claimed that Burbage's sermon 'was more like a political speech'. He prayed for a man named Gibson who was executed in Maryboro (Portlaoise) saying 'it was a shame for to allow such things to be done'. He stated Gibson was 'unbalanced in mind, and that his mother had had been a patient in Maryborough Lunatic Asylum'. The execution 'shocked and disgusted everyone who knew him'. Fr Burbage condemned the policy

of executions as 'abominable' as 'it was altogether opposed to the tradition of our people – that even Cromwell's soldiers were not executed when they fell into the hands of the Irish troops'. Burbage answered the accusations against him to the satisfaction of his bishop. Other less determined diocesan priests than Burbage could suffer sanctions involving the temporary withdrawal of facilities to preach or hear confessions, or transfer to another parish. 'They could also find that promotion was unduly slow, especially when the bishop was a determined opponent of Republicanism'.

It was while he was stationed in Geashill that Burbage became very deeply associated with the republican movement in Offaly. During this period he claimed he found a British officer attempting to 'plant a revolver in a bag upstairs in his house'. It was also alleged he was fired on by uniformed men from a military motor lorry, while he was returning from Tullamore to Geashill. At Curragh Hill, near the village of Geashill, he met three motor lorries containing armed soldiers. When the last one had passed him, at a range of thirty yards, Fr Burbage stated that a



number of shots were fired at him. 'I was much startled' he told a reporter, 'and I thought I was hit when I heard the bang'. He claimed that his residence was raided on several occasions and after one search in 1920, he was arrested. He was first taken to the Curragh and from there to Arbour Hill.

In January 1920 Burbage was sent to Ballykinlar. With other prisoners he was put on a destroyer for an unknown destination, which turned out to be Belfast. Leaving Belfast docks the prisoners were pelted with lumps of coal by people on the quay. Many of the prisoners were scarred when they arrived

at Ballykinlair, Co. Down. Ill-treatment at the camp led to struggles and a tribunal headed by Fr Burbage later investigated the atrocities. It was reported that the presence of the priest at the camp proved to be a big consolation to the prisoners and he often administered Holy Communion to as many as 600 prisoners in a morning. During Father Burbage's detention the county inspector noted sarcastically that '..... in my opinion Father Smith of Rahan and Father Magee of Tubber should be sent to keep him company'. On Easter Sunday 1922, 'to mark the occasion of his release from Ballykinlar Internment Camp', he was presented with an address from the bishop and priests of the diocese, paying tribute to the manner in which his 'character and judgement contributed to make these (Republican) courts represented and obeyed' and celebrating his work for the Irish language, the revival of the Irish industries and a rebirth of a spirit of self-reliance in the people. The people of his parish also presented him with 'a beautiful two-seater Morris Cowley motorcar as a token of their esteem.

Fr. Burbage was appointed parish priest of Tinryland, near county Carlow in 1936. Five years later he was appointed to Mountmellick and was Diocesan Consulter in Kildare and Leighlin, and was parish priest of Mountmellick for twenty-six years. He continued his work amongst the people over his years in Mountmellick and raised over one hundred thousand pounds to extend St. Joseph's Church. Father Burbage also helped raised monies to build the new cinema, which opened in April 1951. When on 1 July 1954, he celebrated his golden jubilee Mass, the then President, Sean T. O'Ceallaigh, attended and the Taoiseach, Mr de Valera, was represented and sent a message of congratulations. On June 26 1964, Father Burbage celebrated the diamond jubilee of his ordination and when Mr de Valera returned from the state visit to the U.S. and Canada it was said that one of the first things he did was to visit Father Burbage who was then in Pembroke nursing home, Dublin). Father Burbage died on 8 January 1966 and is buried in the Church grounds in Mountmellick. It was reported that President de Valera was amongst the huge attendance at the funeral.

Margaret Mulligan White

Revd Philip Callary (1849–1925)

Revd. Hugh Behan, parish priest of Tullamore, died suddenly in May 1899, but no successor was appointed to the post until September of that year. The new parish priest was Revd Philip Callary who was well suited to the task of finishing the new church, the foundation stone of which had been laid in June 1898. Fr Callary had helped to complete the bell tower and spire at St Mary's Drogheda before his transfer to Trim in 1893. At Trim he took over a situation where a church had been started in 1891, but was proving difficult to complete because of lack of funds arising from the deep political divisions in the parish caused by the Parnellite split. The rift did not heal overnight but by the time Father Callary departed in 1899 the church was well on the way to completion (Trim church was dedicated in 1902). Within a few months of his arrival in Tullamore Father Callary had reactivated the building committee and threw himself into the work of building the church, which was finally completed in 1906. It had cost about £25,000 and was the largest building project in Tullamore since the completion of the new courthouse in 1835 and its rebuilding in 1927. As soon as the debt was cleared he set about erecting two secondary or intermediate schools and that for girls was opened in 1911, while the boys' school was opened in 1912. Both schools were built at Convent Road, but the girls' was demolished in 1960s when the new convent was built, while the boys' schools served as the De Montfort Hall from 1961 until the 1990s. Fr Callary departed from involvement in the county technical education committee when the department refused to sanction the use of St Brigid's National School for classes on the grounds that it was unsuitable.



Callary was a founder of the Tullamore Relief Committee in 1916 and this continued its work for the winters of 1916-19. He had perceived waste as much as piety in mind when he told his congregation in Tullamore in the lead up to Christmas 1916 that the practice of placing artificial flowers on the graves in Clonminch cemetery was to be deprecated. It was a pagan practice and far better to have an offering of masses and the giving of alms. Other church related activities included the promotion of temperance. At a great temperance parade in Dublin in July 1914 Tullamore and district is said to have had been represented by between six and seven hundred young men and women led by spiritual directors, Frs Daly and Lynam. Callary, in his role as chairman of the county infirmary proved unreceptive to the Local Government Board suggestion in 1919 (after the war) that venereal disease be catered for.

Philip Callary was born at Oldcastle, County Meath in 1849, and was ordained at Maynooth in 1873. He was secretary to Bishop Nulty for a time and when Bishop

Gaffney retired in 1906 Fr Callary was *dignior* or runner-up in the vote for a new bishop. The successful candidate, Dr Gaughran, appointed Fr Callary vicar general of the diocese in July 1906. He was popular in Tullamore and was said to have combined his interest in building projects with pastoral duties. Fr Callary was the author of a pamphlet on the life of Bishop Oliver Plunkett and wrote a number of articles on medieval Trim. He was associated with a number of public bodies and was chairman of the board of governors of the King's County Infirmary for eighteen years and up to June 1920. He was not nominated to the chairmanship of the infirmary by the new Sinn Féin dominated county council in June 1920, despite protests from his colleague, and rector of Tullamore, Dean R.S. Craig. Callary's experience in Trim may have put him off any association with politics and the national movement. He strongly condemned the shooting of R.I.C. man, Sergeant Henry Cronin, on 31 October 1920. Callary had taken no interest in local politics in 1916, unlike younger men such as Fr Burbage in Geashill and Fr Magee in Tubber/Tober. The views of their bishops were mixed with Gaughran of Meath and Foley on the conservative side and Fogarty in Killaloe much more supportive of the Volunteers, if not of the rising itself. All united during the conscription crisis, but divided again for the War of Independence and most favoured the Treaty.



When Tullamore experienced its first major strike in 1924 he offered his service as a mediator. He was ill for almost a year before his death, aged 76, on 9 September 1925. Fr Callary's funeral was a striking tribute to a man who had spent 26 years of his 52 years as a priest in Tullamore. Thousands attended the funeral including upwards of 100 clergy, together with Bishop Gaughran and all business was suspended until the funeral had ended. The altar boys, the children of the school, about 200 Foresters, the urban council, all marched in the funeral procession. The *Offaly Independent* noted that:

During the progress of the funeral to the graveside at Clonminch the doleful peals of the bells of the Church of the Assumption and St Catherine's church were heard at intervals, thus typifying that Protestant united with Catholic in giving expression to the general grief and mourning.

McCullen, *The call of St. Mary's* (1984); John Brady, *A short history of the parishes of Ardcath... Tullamore*; Michael Byrne, *The vocational education movement: the midland experience* (1980); *Tullamore and King's Co. Independent*, 25 Nov. 1916; *Tullamore and King's Co. Independent*, 4 July 1914; *Tullamore and King's County Independent*, 25 Jan. 1919; *Tullamore and King's County Independent*, 19 May 1919; Michael Byrne, *Tullamore in 1916* (2016); *Offaly Independent*, 19 Sept. 1925.

Michael Byrne

Cumann na mBan in Offaly

An oft-cited piece of proverbial wisdom tells us that ‘behind every great man is a great woman’, and this statement is particularly apt in regard to the Irish revolutionary period. For decades, histories of the 1916 Rising, War of Independence and Civil War were dominated by the activities of men who, let’s face it, caused the violence in the first place, while the women who kept the country going in the meantime were often relegated to the shadows. The works of authors such as Margaret Ward and Liz Gillis have helped to reinsert women into the heart of the historical narrative on a national level,¹ while on a local level, stories of women’s contributions to the revolutionary struggle are slowly coming to the surface.

One such attempt to explore the role of women in County Offaly during the revolutionary struggle was made four years ago when I wrote an article on the origins and early years of the Cumann na mBan organisation.² Cumann na mBan, a women’s auxiliary movement to the Irish Volunteers, was formed in Offaly in late 1915 when Mimi Plunkett, joint secretary of the national Cumann na mBan executive, visited Tullamore and helped to carve a foothold for the organisation in the town. The article in question was by no means comprehensive, but served as a foray into an aspect of Offaly’s history that had hitherto lain unexplored.

By July 1921 there were approximately 421 members of Cumann na mBan in the county. From primary source material in the forms of newspaper reports, Census data, Bureau of Military History testimony and relevant documents held in the Military Archives, we catch a tantalising glimpse into the lives of these Offaly women. They were mostly aged in their early to mid-twenties, were Roman Catholic, literate and lived in second-class houses as indicated by the 1911 Census. Over a third of members came from farming backgrounds, such as Katie McEvoy and Annie Byrne, while Tullamore Distillery provided employment for one eighth of members’ immediate (male) family members, including Mary Jane McBrien and Sarah Hogan. As part of their Cumann na mBan activities, these women engaged in activities such as fundraising, first aid, carrying of despatches, drilling, decoding, intelligence work and provision of safehouses. In doing so they provided the bedrock upon which the Irish revolution would occur.

Members often went above and beyond the call of duty. One such example was provided by Annie O’Connor, a member of the Athlone Brigade of Cumann na mBan whose homeplace was in Derrevane House in Tombeagh (about three miles outside of Ballycumber). In early 1921 Annie aided two wounded Active Service Unit men in Derrevane who were being pursued by Black and Tans, demonstrating personal courage and commitment in the face of dangerous circumstances.

1 Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries: Women and Irish Nationalism* (London, 1995) & Liz Gillis, *Women of the Irish Revolution, 1913* (Cork, 2014)

2 Ciara Molloy, ‘The Gallant Old Legion: Cumman na mBan in county Offaly, 1915-22’ in *Offaly Heritage* (9), pp 228-45.

The organisation also played a pivotal role in relation to Irish culture as well as politics. Áine Ní Riain, a member of the Tullamore Branch of Cumann na mBan, recalled in her witness statement made to the Bureau of Military History in 1953 that “although Tullamore was not very Nationalist [in 1915], there was a group of people who were active in keeping alive the feeling of nationality.”³ Alongside organisations such as Cumann na Gael, Cumann na mBan played a key role in promoting Irish cultural identity in the town through holding of céilís and Irish language classes. Áine herself would later play an active role during the 1916 Rising, providing first aid assistance and food for rebels in the GPO.

While conducting this research, I spoke to various surviving family members of the Cumann na mBan women. Those I spoke to remarked how their female relative had never spoken of her time in the organisation, or in the role she had played in pursuit of Irish liberty. This silence is striking and we can only speculate as to the reasons why. Perhaps it was the fact that members of the organisation broke gender norms – at a time when women lacked full voting rights, members of Cumann na mBan who smuggled guns and learned Morse code were not exactly partaking of ‘feminine’ activities. Perhaps it was the divisive legacy of the Civil War that contributed to the silence. Perhaps it was simply a result of the disorganisation and factionalism to which the organisation in County Offaly soon succumbed.

Whatever the reason, the reluctance of these women to preserve their stories for posterity in addition to the fragmented nature of surviving primary source material means we may never fully know the individual roles played by these Cumann na mBan members. We can only guess at their personal motivations for joining, the trials and tribulations they faced, their views and feelings on Irish independence, and how membership of the organisation impacted on their everyday lives. But while we may never know the full stories of these women, it is still a worthwhile pursuit to unearth as much about them as we can; they are, after all, the forgotten female heroes of our county.

Ciara Molloy, “The Gallant Old Legion: Cumann na mBan in County Offaly, 1915-1922.” *Offaly Heritage* 9 (2016), pp 228-45.

Ciara Molloy

³ Witness Statement of Áine Ní Riain, Document No. W.S. 887, Bureau of Military History, p. 2.

Thomas Dunne (1884–1968)

Thomas ‘Tommy’ Dunne was born in 1884 in Ballinagar, Tullamore, County Offaly. Like his father, who was an active Fenian and involved in the uprising of 1867, Dunne was a life-long republican. Ballinagar, being in the barony of Geashill, was part of the Digby Estate, where a long tradition of tenant unrest began to manifest itself again in 1914. Dunne had formed a Ballinagar branch of the National Volunteers in that year, and became involved in land agitation on the grazing lands of Ballydownan, which the absentee Lord Digby had negotiated for exclusion from the Land Purchase Act. The Geashill Cattle drive of 1914 with its bands and banners and near to 500 in attendance was a major disturbance on the estate. Several police-men were injured, and forty-six men were arrested including Dunne who was sentenced to six months imprisonment with hard labour. In 1916, along with locals James Scully and James Cooke, Dunne was ordered to march to Dublin to take part in the Easter Rising.

During the War of Independence, he organised five I.R.A. companies in Daingean, Walsh Island, Cloneygowan and Ballinagar, and held the rank of Batt. Comdt. in the Offaly IRA. He was also a judge alongside P.J. Bermingham in the local Sinn Féin or Dáil Courts. In June 1920 he was involved in the attack on Clara R.I.C. Barracks and the burning of the evacuated Geashill R.I.C. barracks the following month. He subsequently went ‘on the run’. Following the Truce, he took the anti-treaty side in the Civil War and was arrested by the Free State Army for illegal collections at Ballinagar Church in 1922. He did not apply for a military pension but wrote letters of support for other applicants such as Martin Meleady outlining their shared activities during the conflict.

Dunne was also involved in local government, elected by the Edenderry Electoral Area in the June 1920 election. One of his first suggestions in the council chamber on 19 June 1920, was to change the name of Philipstown to Daingean, following a proposal to change the name of the council from King’s County Council to Offaly County Council. In June 1924, he was elected Chairman of Offaly County Council but this was short-lived as the council was dissolved the following September following an investigation into its performance of duties by the Local Government Board.

With a long-standing interest in history and archaeology, Dunne was alarmed that the historic Geashill Cauldron would be removed from Geashill Castle to London in 1922 on the departure of the land agent Reginald Digby. While he was not directly involved with its secret custody over thirty years, he

instigated its removal and later became involved in the push for its rehousing in the National Museum in Dublin. An tAth. Eric MacFhinn recorded an oral history from Dunne in 1945, when he was about 60 years of age, for the Irish Folklore Commission. Not surprisingly, Lord Digby and his land agents feature strongly in his account, with stories of estate clearances, marriage rules for tenants and rent payment. He gives a detailed description of the seasonal workers from Connacht who used the old roadways or *tochair* to cross the country. Dunne's testimony also records his father's reminiscences of Ballinagar during the Famine, with descriptions of typhoid fever, potato blight and starvation. He also recounts Castlebrack Fair, faction fighting, the pattern day at Toberleheen, the meaning of local place names, and accounts of historical events such as the 1798 Rebellion and the Fenian uprising of 1867. Recurrent characters in his account are those of nineteenth-century local priest Fr Kinsella and his 'Book of Killeigh', the Widow Gumley, and well-known families such as the Tarletons.

Dunne did not marry and farmed eighty acres in Ballinagar with his brother, Richard Dunne. He died in 1968 at the age of 84. His funeral and burial at Annaharvey cemetery was well-attended by old-IRA comrades, such as Seán McGuinness, Brigade Comdt., Séamus Kelly, Quartermaster, and James Scully, Adjutant. He received the tribute of a soldier's burial from the Army, with a firing party rendering military honours at the church. A graveside oration was given by W. H. Milner of Portarlington, who said of him that: 'his every effort was bent towards the freedom of his country.'

Offaly Archives, Offaly (King's) County Council Minute Book, OCL OCC10/1/3, Feb. 1920–22 Oct. 1925; *Offaly Independent*, 'Death of Offaly I.R.A. Leader.', 7 Dec. 1968; John Kearney, *The Long Ridge: towards a history of Killeigh Parish*, Tullamore, 1992; University College Dublin, National Folklore Commission, NFC 1073: 227-257;

Military Archives, Letter by Thomas Dunne in Pension Application MSP34RF18658 (Martin Meleady), 18 Aug. 1935

Lisa Shortall

James Perry Goodbody (1853–1923)

James Perry Goodbody was the second son of Marcus Goodbody and Hannah Woodcock Perry (a daughter of James Perry) and a grandson of Robert Goodbody who came to Clara in 1825. He was born in 1853 and married in 1875 Sophia Richardson, a daughter of

Joseph Richardson, Springfield, Lisburn at the Lisburn Quaker meeting house. She

predeceased him in 1917. He graduated

with a B.A. from Trinity College,

Dublin. James Perry Goodbody was

the principal partner in the Clara

mills, M., J. & L. Goodbody, and

in the Goodbody businesses in

Tullamore and Limerick. The

three main businesses of M., J. &

L. Goodbody, J. & L.F. Goodbody

and T.P. & R. Goodbody (besides

the peripheral businesses) probably

employed about 1,500 people in

the 1920s. Of this number about

700 jobs were in Clara, down from

perhaps 1,000 in 1890 in the businesses,

the houses and the farms. This employment

figure may be conservative. He served on the

King's County Grand Jury and was high-sheriff in 1893–4. He was said to

have been the only member of the old grand jury to be returned in the 1899

county council election and served as a member of the council up to 1920.

He was elected by the members to the vice chair of the county council in

1912. The *Midland Tribune* commented at the time that his dissent from a

grand jury motion in 1895 against Home Rule was noted in his favour. He

was valued by the council members for his business acumen and chaired the

Finance and Proposals Committee from 1899. In 1916 he was instrumental

in securing a dispensary for tubercular patients in Tullamore built at no cost

to the council. He served for many years as chairman of Clara Petty Sessions

where his motto was 'fair play' to rich and poor alike and, it was noted, always

disposed to temper justice with mercy.

Goodbody blamed the land agitation and the driving of over 100 cattle on his

large farm at Tully (Tober, County Offaly) in 1918 for the loss of his council



seat in 1920, but it was one of the family's own employees, Sean Robbins, who headed the poll for Sinn Féin, well ahead of everyone else.

In 1902 Perry Goodbody bought the first car to be seen in the district and it was registered in 1904 as IR 1. He served as president of the Irish Flour Millers Association in 1904–05. He was a director of the flour milling firm of James Bannatyne & Sons in Limerick of which his son James P. Goodbody was managing director. He was also a member of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce and of the Corn Exchange, and for twenty-one years was a director of the Great Southern and Western Railway. He was also Deputy Lieutenant of King's County from 1897. His wife's death, the loss of his council seat and perhaps the business downturn in 1921–3, a critical period for the survival of Goodbodys, no doubt exacerbated health problems.

When Perry Goodbody died in April 1923 his estate was worth £121, 689, which put him as one of the richest men in the country. Some of this wealth came from inheritances and investments away from Clara such as his Marconi shares, but a large part came from the mills. His death, as Clara-born historian D.G. Quinn points out, marked the end of an era in Clara. This is a view shared by Michael Goodbody who noted that the death of Perry Goodbody and of his cousin Robert in December 1923 marked a watershed as – in their separate ways – they had been the two men most involved in employment in the town. It also marked the end of Inchmore as the 'Big House' of the town and the beginning of the end of the Goodbody ascendancy. James Perry Goodbody was survived by his three sons and three daughters.

Northern Whig, 3 Dec. 1875; Michael Goodbody, *The Goodbodys: millers, merchants and manufacturers, the story of an Irish Quaker family, 1630–1950* (2011): *Offaly Independent*, 21 Apr. 1923; *King's County Chronicle*, 24 Nov. 1892, 21 June 1894; *Offaly Independent*, 21 Apr. 1923; *Midland Tribune*, 22 June 1912; *Midland Tribune*, 7 July 1900; *King's County Chronicle*, 3 Oct. 1918; *Tullamore and King's County Independent*, 17 June 1916; *Offaly Independent*, 21 Apr. 1923; *Tullamore and King's County Independent*, 18 June 1918; *Offaly Independent*, 21 April 1923; *Offaly Chronicle*, 8 Sept. 1923; *Dublin Daily Nation*, 4 Dec. 1897; Margaret Stewart, *Goodbodys of Clara, 1865–1965* (1965), *Offaly Independent*, 21 Apr. 1923; *Offaly Chronicle*, 6 Sept. 1923; D.B. Quinn 'Clara, a midland industrial town, 1900–1923' in William Nolan and Timothy P. O'Neill (eds), *Offaly History and Society* (1998): *Offaly Chronicle*, 26 Apr. 1923.

Michael Byrne

Catherine Mahon (1869–1948)

Catherine Mahon of Laccah, North Tipperary was the first woman president of the Irish National Teachers Organisation and was elected to that post in 1912. She was born in 1869 and was the eldest of seven children of James Mahon, labourer, and Winifred Mahon (née O'Meara). She was educated locally and at the Convent of Mercy in Birr. She returned to Carrig, near Birr in 1892 and was the principal there until her retirement in 1934.

Catherine Mahon was a regular attendee at the meetings of teachers in Birr and Banagher in the first decade of the 1900s and held advanced political and social views. A forceful speech on equal pay at the 1906 INTO annual congress brought her to notice and soon she and another woman were brought on to the INTO national executive. She was also getting interested in politics. At the quarterly meeting of the Birr National Teachers Association in January 1906 she has a motion carried that 'The members of this association tender to Mr Michael Hogan MP their heartiest congratulations on his unanimous return as a member of Parliament for North Tipperary.'



In 1910 she was invited to the annual meeting of the Women's National Health Association where the Countess of Aberdeen, presided. Her speech gives some idea of the evolution of her thinking. Miss Mahon said she came before them by kind invitation of her Excellency as a delegate from the Irish National Teachers' Organisation to plead the cause of the Irish National school child and his teacher. There were in Ireland altogether over one million and a quarter children. Of these the number who attended secondary schools, or who were educated privately, was less than a quarter of a million attending school so irregularly, that they could derive practically no benefit from it. To remedy this appalling state of affairs – without parallel in any civilized country – and which would not be allowed in any free country, a proper Compulsory Attendance Act was necessary. But Mr Birrell, in his tenderness of heart, states that he could not think of supporting a Compulsory Bill till the schools are made fit to receive the children, above all, till they are properly heated and cleaned. But we want to know when will Mr Birrell see that the provision is made for the heating and cleaning? In 1908 Mr Birrell, the first Irish Chief Secretary, to translate Irish educational sympathy, into coin of the realm, raised the Irish Grant at one bound by 17½ per cent by the addition to the teachers' salaries, known as the Birrell Grant; but this left the schools still untouched. So that while progress in educational methods were increasing care for the comfort and health of the school children required that millions should be added to the English Grant and hundreds

of thousands to the Scotch Grant, year after year poor Ireland not only stood still, but actually retrograded. Elected president of the INTO in 1912 she was invited to remain for another term and was in fact a member of the INTO executive until her resignation in 1916.

Bridget Hourican has described her as:

A forceful and inspiring public speaker, a clear, incisive writer, a born administrator, and a smart dresser – she was once described as ‘most becomingly dressed in a Saxe-blue satin robe, with chiffon and oriental embroideries, over which she wore a white Claddagh coat [and] hat also of Saxe-blue, trimmed with ostrich plumes’. Mahon was a highly prominent executive member and did not shirk from controversy, so was sometimes resented.

What teachers were saying in school was reviewed by the school inspectors in the aftermath of the rising as some people, including the provost of Trinity, were blaming the schools for inculcating revolutionary ideas. Catherine Mahon spoke in Birr in June 1916 at a public meeting to found a branch of the National Aid Association which was strongly supported by Birr parish priest, Dean Scanlan and presented as a duty and not a charity to support the women survivors and their dependants. A few years later she would inform the press that it was not possible for her to speak at a Labour meeting in Edenderry as she had had a visit from Dublin Castle officials after a speech in Tullamore in favour of political prisoners.

The Tullamore Technical School’s public lecture series survived until the curfews of 1921 and Catherine Mahon was a speaker to the school union in March 1920. She remarked that since the war ‘truth had banished from the official life of the nations concerned’. Now that women had been given the vote they should occupy half the seats in parliaments, half the seats on the judicial bench, two-thirds of the membership of the boards of guardians and much more. T.M. Russell thanked her in his comments on her presentation while Brother Kelleher reminded the audience that whatever women could do in public life, and that was undoubtedly a lot, they must still keep the home.

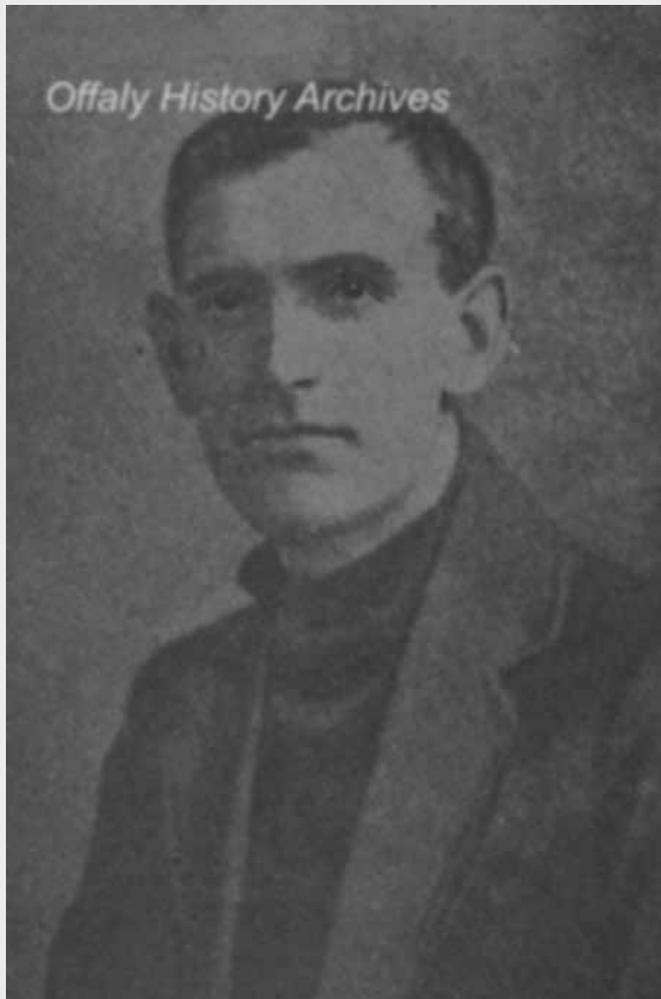
Following her retirement from teaching in 1934 she became the first woman to be elected to the North Tipperary County Council. After serving three years she resigned when she moved with her two widowed sisters to live in Balbriggan, Co. Dublin, where she died on 27 February 1948, and was buried in Balbriggan cemetery.

Irish Citizen, 12 Apr. 1913; *Irish School Weekly*, 13 Mar. 1948 and passim 1907–14; T. J. O’Connell, *History of the Irish National Teachers Organisation, 1868–1968* (1970), 274–80, 311–15, 322–5; Síle Chuinneagáin, ‘The politics of equality: Catherine Mahon and the Irish National Teachers Organisation, 1905–1916’, *Women’s History Review*, vi, no. 4 (1997), 527–48; Margaret Ward, *Hanna Sheehy Skeffington: a life* (1997); Síle Chuinneagáin, *Catherine Mahon, first woman president of INTO* (1998); *Midland Tribune*, 1905–20; *Tullamore and King’s County Independent*, 1905–1920, *King’s County Chronicle*, 1905–20.

Michael Byrne

Patrick McCartan (1878–1963)

Patrick McCartan a medical doctor, was born in Carrickmore, County Tyrone. Although on the IRB Supreme Council from July 1915 he did not see service in the 1916 Rising due to confusion over the countermanding order from Eoin MacNeill. He was the defeated Sinn Féin candidate in the Armagh South by-election in February 1918. He was in the United States in 1918 serving as the Irish republic's ambassador and did not visit his new found North Offaly constituency that year for either the by-election in April or the general election in December. He was elected on both occasions without a contest. He was again elected for North Offaly in May 1921 in a clean sweep for Sinn Féin with no opposition and no election. Those elected in 1921 for the four Leix-Offaly seats were McCartan (still Irish republic ambassador in America), Kevin Higgins, Frank Bulfin and Joseph Lynch of Mountmellick. Both Lynch and Bulfin were in custody at the time. McCartan reluctantly voted for the Treaty, but saw it as a betrayal of the North and of the republic. McCartan stood on the pro-Treatyite ticket in the 1922 general election and, with the benefit of some of Labour's William Davin transfers secured election to the fourth and final seat.



He had sent a telegram to the Tullamore-based Pro-Treaty committee in May to let them know he would stand. He now found himself in the company of, among others, T. English, John Lloyd, P.J. Egan, D. Williams, J. Shortall and James Rogers. Apart from Rogers his constituency committee must have seemed very like the old IPP of pre-war days. His support for the Treaty and

his particularly trenchant no-nonsense speech on the stepping stone theme set him apart from his former Republican colleagues. It was no surprise that the 1922 general election was the last he fought in County Offaly. Egan was the reluctant but winning pro-Treatyite candidate who replaced him in 1923. Thereafter, like Bulmer Hobson (and having shared misgivings about the Rising) McCartan never secured admittance to the republican Valhalla. His daughter Deidre (died 2007) married Ronnie Drew.

Michael Byrne



McCartan supporters at Harbour Street, Tullamore. Perhaps as early as April 1918
(Courtesy of Offaly Archives)

Seán McGuinness (1899–1978)

Seán (John) McGuinness was born in Kilbeggan, Co. Westmeath, on 21 January 1899, the fourth of five children of John and Mary Anne McGuinness. His father was a national school teacher and they lived on Main Street, Kilbeggan. McGuinness became an enduring presence in republican Offaly in the 1920s and 1930s. Although consistently active in the independence movement, he did not partake in the Easter Rising, joining the Irish Volunteers at the later date of 1917. He was Company Captain of 1st Battalion of the Kilbeggan Company, Offaly Brigade and was arrested for unlawful assembly and illegal drilling on a public street in Kilbeggan in 1918, which resulted in his imprisonment in Mountjoy and Belfast jails for a period of six months.

During the War of Independence, he was Battalion Commandant of 1st Battalion, No 1 Offaly Brigade, under Peadar Bracken and Seán Kelly. He was highly active and took part in many raids and ambushes on the R.I.C. in Westmeath and Offaly, notably the raid on Clara Barracks and Geashill Barracks in 1920. He also claimed to have been involved in the killing of spies and members of the R.I.C. in 1921.

He took the anti-Treaty side in the Civil War and continued as Batt. Comdt. of No 1 Offaly Brigade and saw much action against the Free State Army, including the destruction of Tyrellspass Garda Barracks in 1923 and the shooting of a Free State Officer in Killeigh in May of that year. He was also responsible for burning a number of 'big houses' in reprisal attacks such as Ballyburley, Greenhills, Tubberdaly, Rathrobin, and Durrow Abbey.

Although he was elected to Dáil Éireann as T.D. for Laois-Offaly in the 1923 General Election, he declined to take his seat due to his refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. During this period, he went on the run, drawing no salary as a T.D. He was disqualified from the Dáil in 1925, due to his arrest in late 1924 for assaulting a Garda, and was subsequently convicted and sentenced to eighteen months in prison and hard labour in October 1925. McGuinness saw himself as a political prisoner, went on hunger strike and refused to wear prison clothes. Not a month into his sentence, however, he and eighteen other Republican prisoners escaped from prison, and he resumed his existence on the run. Like many post-Civil War republicans, McGuinness left for the United States and arrived in New York 'on health grounds' in 1928.

He returned from the US in 1930 and began reorganising the I.R.A. in Offaly, having been reappointed as O/C of the Offaly Battalion. Around this time, McGuinness joined the Executive of Saor Éire, the IRA's newly formed

political organisation. The Cumman na nGaedhal government was alarmed by this activity and outlawed Saor Eire, the I.R.A. and other organisations and interned republican suspects including McGuinness in 1931.

Fianna Fáil came into power in 1932 and all political prisoners were released. McGuinness returned to Offaly and resumed his activities with the I.R.A. in Offaly. His political outlook was socialist and he wanted the I.R.A. to become more active in representing workers and small farmers, perhaps influenced at the experience of losing his own farm in 1925 when he went on the run. On his release, he lived with his brother, Patrick McGuinness, dispensary doctor in Kinnitty and Fianna Fáil councillor. His stay in Kinnitty was not without incident. He (unsuccessfully) organised the local I.R.A. battalion to prevent the eviction of a local man, Patrick Craven, and brought his brother and other local Fianna Fáil representatives into this episode of republican social agitation, in what was seen as a direct challenge to the new Fianna Fáil government of 1932. His 'communist' leanings caused a split in Offaly I.R.A. and in December 1933, most of the 'A' Company resigned. Ultimately McGuinness was frustrated with the I.R.A. and left in 1933 to join the Republican Congress.

Prior to his involvement in the independence movement, McGuinness had been employed by D. E. Williams, Tullamore, but after his release from prison in 1932, he failed to secure employment, suffered with his health, and relied on his brother, Patrick, for accommodation in Kinnitty. He applied for and was successful at obtaining a military pension for his service in 1935, after which he returned to Kilbeggan and renovated Ardnaglew House, where he lived for the remainder of his life. McGuinness married Margaret Whelan in 1938, had two sons, James and Noel. He died on 28 October 1978 at the age of 79.

Military Archives, Military Service Pension Collection, 'Sean McGuinness' File MSP34REF4688; Brian Hanley, *The IRA, 1926-1936*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2002; Brian Hanley, *Tullamore Tribune*, 6 Nov. 1999, 'Seán McGuinness – an Offaly Radical'; Timothy O'Neill, 'An Eviction in Kinnitty: Republican Social Agitation and the New Fianna Fáil Government, 1932-1933' in *Études irlandaise*, Vol.39.1 (2014); *Midland Tribune*, 18 Jul. 1925, 'Mr Seán McGuinness, T.D. Charged.'; *Offaly Chronicle*, 28 May 1931, 'Mr Seán McGuinness – Offaly County Council and Political Prisoners.'

Lisa Shortall

T.M. Russell (1868–1932)

The amount of work done by T.M. Russell, the president of North Offaly Sinn Féin, to build up the Sinn Féin movement in Offaly in 1917-18 was Stakhanovite in its intensity. At the time of the general election Sinn Féin according to the County Inspector had thirty-six branches in the county and 3,005 members. This was largely due to the organisational work of Russell helped, of course, by the impetus given by the April 1918 by-election for the North King's County seat vacant by reason of the death of E. J. Graham. Russell told the first AGM of Tullamore Sinn Féin in February 1918 that through its efforts the Gaelic Athletic Association had been re-united and put on a good financial basis (a reference to divisions in the Tullamore club). The same remarks applied to the pipers' band. The members had helped in the four contested by-elections and assisted in organising several *aeridheacht* including the big one in Tullamore on 29 July 1917 which de Valera attended. A county convention had been held during the year at which divisional executives were formed for North and South Offaly Parliamentary Divisions. In addition, the Standing Committee, lately formed, had taken over the working of the Gaelic League and he mentioned that the Irish Volunteers had been organised from the Tullamore branch as well as from others throughout the country. There were others more qualified to speak but it had met with great success. Sinn Féin, he said, had made its influence felt in the public boards not only in the immediate vicinity but throughout the entire county. Finally, Russell, as president, had personally attended at the formation of the thirty-one Sinn Féin clubs in the county and he had written no less than 1,200 letters. Offaly, with thirty-one clubs held third place in Leinster and sixteenth in Ireland (1,250 clubs). The IPP organisation, such as it was, could not even begin to match it. Russell was one of the few intellectuals in local politics and his loss to the county in late 1920 because of his move to Dublin was immense. The rise of Sinn Féin in the county in 1917 as a political movement and Russell's part in it deserve to be closely studied.

Russell might have come on a sealed train from Limerick, his native county, such was his impact on North Offaly politics over the five years, 1916-21. He was not long in Tullamore when he came to the notice of the police as 'having haranguing the members of the Farmers Association on the wrongs of farmers, and particularly their wrongs in connection with the price of barley'. In early 1917 he and P.F. Adams got involved in the Handy-Charleville land dispute at Croghan Hill and in February Russell was co-opted to the county council. After six months of observation the County Inspector's estimate of Russell

was that he was a professional agitator, an able Sinn Féiner, but someone who 'has made a good many enemies in the county'. This was probably because of his high intellect and single-mindedness in the promotion of Sinn Féin. He was a recent 'blow-in' or as the inspector put it 'a stranger and adventurer' and a man with 'no ostensible occupation' since he gave up the I.A.O.S. Russell was first imprisoned over the illegal ploughing of land on 12 March 1917 and was again arrested in 1918 as part of the so-called German plot. Papers were found in his house at Ballyduff at the time of the arrest, but in fact the contents of some of them such as the Sinn Féin AGM for the Tullamore branch had already appeared in the local press. Nonetheless, he was held in Birmingham prison from May to October 1918 and only released from a Bermingham prison in October to visit his dying child. By October 1918 his three boys were ill with flu and one of them died shortly after the father's release. The funeral march was a pathetic scene with the child's coffin borne on the shoulders of the local Volunteers from Ballyduff House to Tullamore Railway Station for burial in Glasnevin. Russell was elected to the county council in June 1920, receiving the second highest vote after Clara's Sean Robbins. It was soon after that his landlord, Mrs Molloy, wanted her house at Ballyduff back and in September 1920 the Russell family left Tullamore saying that it was impossible to get another house. Whether it was the slighting of Fr Callary in regard to his pre-June 1920 chairmanship of the county infirmary, a rent increase, or the need to have the house for a Molloy family member we may never know. Perhaps Mrs Russell wanted to be finished with the town. Based on his performance over the four years his loss to the county was very great. Russell joined the Irish National Assurance Co. in 1920, became an insurance inspector and director in 1922, and died at the age of 63 on 18 April 1932 at Sandycove, Co. Dublin.

PRO County Inspector's reports for King's County, 1910-21, CO 904/ Reel 68 Box 107, POS 8547, Sept. to Dec. 1918; *Tullamore and King's County Independent*, 2 Feb. 1918; *Tullamore and King's County Independent*, 19 Oct. and 26 Oct. 1918, 2 Oct and 9 Oct. 1920; *Ir. Independent*, 27 Sept. 1920; 20 Apr. 1932.

Michael Byrne