

ARMS, THE DUBLIN POLICE AND THE 1916 RISING

by

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ABSTRACT

In 1916, the bloody year of rebellion in Ireland, the police in the capital city of Dublin, threatening to strike for more pay, stopped a move to arm the men on the beat and also scored a bloodless victory potentially more significant than the Rising itself, being instrumental in changing the traditional sectarian character of the police and constabulary forces on the island. The modest success of their movement for better pay also brought about amendment of their Oath of Allegiance to the Crown and gave to a simple unopposed money Bill in the British House of Commons the status of a landmark in Irish police history.

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The dust of the 1916 rebellion had hardly settled in the ruins of O'Connell Street when Dublin Castle decided to arm the Metropolitan Police. Rifles were issued to each of the 24 stations in the Dublin police district, and urgent arrangements were made to train the Force in the use of firearms.¹ This ill-judged move had unexpected consequences for the police in the whole of Ireland.

The attempt to change the traditional character of the police in Dublin as an unarmed force failed when D.M.P. men, agitating for more pay, found a champion in John Dillon Nugent M.P., general secretary of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and held their meetings in the A.O.H. hall in Rutland, now Parnell Square.²

According to their rules, "The Ancient Order of Hibernians (Board of Erin) Friendly Society... was founded by the ancient princes and chieftians of Ireland."

They were "pledged to forward by every legitimate and honourable means the securing of religious equality and self-government of Ireland... (and) to unite the Catholic children of the Irish Race in an organisation for the defence of faith and fatherland, and mutual aid, also providing funds to relieve members, their wives and children during sickness and infirmity."³

Nugent himself justified the A.O.H. as necessary "to counter-act the Ascendancy Party... The Catholic Irishman must stand on an equal footing with his Protestant fellow countryman: he claims no ascendancy, but he demands absolute equality... The Castle system is overwhelmingly Protestant and is dominated by the compass and square of the Masonic lodges of Ireland." 4

The Ancient Order of Hibernians were also the grassroots organisation of the Irish Nationalist Party in the British House of Commons. On the 15th August every year they paraded in every town in Ireland, in full regalia with bands and banners, in imitation of the Orangemen's more strident triumphalism on the 12th of July.

Nugent assisted the D.M.P. in forming their organisation, the Catholic Police Benefit and Holiday Society, which reformed itself in 1917 as the Dublin Branch of the National Police and Prison Officers Union. He went out of his way to create the impression, and succeeded in misleading Dublin Castle into believing that the rebellious policemen were actually joining the Hibernians.

In the circumstances, it was not surprising that the Castle authorities were worried when information was received that a police strike, backed by the AOH was imminent, and that the supply of arms to the police on strike was discussed at a secret meeting in the city. The precaution had already been taken of withdrawing the rifles from the police stations, an inevitable response to the imagined threat from the AOH, but also welcomed by the rank and file in the force as a return to sanity.

When the AOH connection was raised in the House of Commons later in the year during the debate on the Constabulary and Police (Ireland) Bill, Nugent deliberately confused the issue for the government by encouraging the belief that what they were up against was attempted subversion of the Force by the Hibernians, and rejection by the DMP of their Oath of Allegiance.

From 1836 the D.M.P. and Royal Irish Constabulary had sworn identical Oaths to the Sovereign. As an undertaking to discharge their duties impartially the Oath was impeccable down to the final clause, which contained an unfortunate qualification.

"I (A.B.) do swear... that I do not belong to, and that... I will not join or belong to, any political society whatsoever, or any secret society whatsoever, unless the Society of Freemasons. So help me God." ⁵

It is clear that Sir Robert Peel, father of the Irish Constabulary, who was out of office in 1836, would never have countenanced a qualified Oath. On 14 August, 1829, when he was Home Secretary and at that very moment preoccupied with the launching of the New Police in London, he took the trouble to write to the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Lord Francis Leveson Gower:

"I would certainly (reconstitute the Irish Constabulary) in such a manner as to preclude all just objections to it on the score of partiality. I presume that at present all party distinctions in the police are forbidden, all attendance at Orange Lodges and so forth, and I think that the regulations in that respect... cannot be too scrupulously enforced." ⁶

In the Dublin of 1916 no police station was without its compliment of protestant members, some of whom were Freemasons and did not conceal the fact. The common purpose and a strong spirit of comradeship bonded the D.M.P., and Catholics and protestants got on very well together. But after 1912 and the resistance to Home Rule in the north of Ireland, relationships tended to be uneasy. The Catholic policemen always suspected the intentions of the Freemason among them.

The R.I.C. were "part of the armed forces of the Crown", as pointed out by James Craig, M.P. for East Down, afterwards Lord Craigavon, first Prime Minister of Northern Ireland. Craig was quoting from a circular of the Inspector-General of 5 January, 1915, in the House of Commons debate on the new police Bill. "Prior to that time there was some considerable doubt even at Headquarters in Dublin as to whether or not they were a civilian force." ⁷

Despite the problem of identity, the R.I.C. had not been rejected outright by anything like the whole of the Nationalist population. But the partisan character of their Oath must have confirmed a suspicion that was widespread even among those who were prepared to accept the force as a matter of pragmatic politics. The D.M.P. as an unarmed force in the British tradition was in a different category despite the similarity of their Oath.

Under pressure from Irish Nationalists in parliament, the government conceded the point. At the eleventh hour, even as the sands of power were running out for Dublin Castle, the Oath was amended in a Schedule added to the Constabulary and Police (Ireland) Act, 1916.

And in a series of classical moves foreshadowing the response to the police crisis in Britain two years later, the impoverished constables were paid a war bonus of 3s/6d a week. Basic pay was increased, 33s/- a week after twenty years by 3s/- which, with arrears of pay, put an extra £5 in their pockets in time for Christmas. And their ringleaders were sacked.

THE REBELLION

When the first shots were fired on Easter Monday morning, 1916, the police in Dublin were withdrawn from duty, to remain in their barracks, out of sight, for the rest of the week. The contrast between their role in the community and that of their para-military counterparts in the provinces could not have been more strikingly illustrated. The armed Constabulary remained on duty, losing 13 killed, 22 wounded: the ambush at Ashbourne outside Dublin accounted for the most of these casualties, 8 killed, 15 wounded.

The DMP counted 3 of their own men killed, and 7 wounded, including the first casualty of the week, Constable James O'Brien, 48 years of age, from Kilfergus, County Limerick; shot dead, "an impetuous shooting of the policeman" ⁸ on unarmed duty at the Cork Hill gate to the Upper Castle Yard. His assailant, one of insurgent leader James Connolly's Citizen Army, Sean Connolly, was himself soon dead from a sniper's bullet, hoisting the Tricolour on the roof of the nearby City Hall.

The D.M.P., from its inception in 1836, had been modelled on the London Metropolitan Police. In organisation and tradition both forces had developed hand-in-hand on similar lines.

But in the aftermath of armed rebellion, with its terrible toll in casualties, 450 killed, 2,600 injured, and the city centre in ruins, it became clear that Dublin Castle was planning a new role for the force.

Soon after the rebellion was crushed, a company of fifty or sixty D.M.P. men armed with their unfamiliar rifles, paraded at Nelson Pillar in O'Connell street, on their way to the military firing range at Dollymount strand. A curious crowd of Dubliners gathered, including the inevitable wags, "The brave soldiers! Bolting the stable, and the horse gone!"

A special tram took them to Dollymount, where they were greeted by their instructors, R.I.C. men who had donned military uniform for the duration of the war. Primitive accommodation in huts, and army rations were provided.

In the high summer of the year, with the prospect of basking in the sunshine on Dollymount strand for two weeks, the men were not dismayed by the spartan conditions. But when appropriate deductions were made in their meagre wages, the indignant policemen banded together and, discovering strength in their numbers, resolved to agitate for better conditions.

They voiced their feelings there and then, to no immediate advantage to themselves. But that was the last of the

residential courses. Instead the men travelled to the range every day and were paid a subsistence allowance but no travelling expenses. Some of them refusing to pay the tram fares out of their own pockets cycled the four miles to Dollymount.

The movement was conceived, inspired and, until Nugent took a hand was also organised by a former Irish Guardsman, Constable William Hetherton, an unmarried man in his early thirties, from Ballinalee, Co. Longford.

Meetings of the constables were held under official auspices in the Police Depot in Kevin street. When their respectful memorials were ignored, Hetherton booked the Ormonde Hotel, a stone's throw from the Castle. In the subdued surroundings of Mrs. de Massey's hotel, the rebellious D.M.P. men were on their best behaviour: according to the report of Inspector Patrick Beary of the Bridewell Division, they "comported themselves in an orderly manner."

Their subsequent meetings did not always follow the same decorous pattern. There were "fiery" speeches, "great outbursts of cheering", and sudden rushes from the A.O.H. hall to evade the phalanx of officers waiting in ambush outside. Later, when the men grew bolder and stopped running, Hetherton drove the first nail in his coffin when he referred to the watchful officers in a loud voice as "a guard of honour."

The attendance at these gatherings varied from 60 to 170 constables, each man contributing 3d to defray expenses. The proceedings were given prominent publicity in the press, but the prudent newspaper editors decided not to publish one resolution, passed at a meeting on the 20 July, warning the Lord Mayor of Dublin that the

police would not be responsible for property in the city after the 3 August if their demands were ignored. It was at this meeting on 20 July that the constables turned up at the A.O.H. hall for the first time to hear Nugent.

The Police Commissioner, Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Edgeworth Johnstone, "always in times of danger and tribulation cool as a cucumber"⁹ had little respect for Nugent, but he also had a jaundiced view of his own men.

On 15 November, he wrote to the Under-Secretary, Sir William Byrne: "The men of this force are accomplished intriguers and are eternally seeking outside influence where appointments, promotions, etc. are concerned. Mr. Nugent has always been ready to secure an undeserved favour for a friend, or to stay police action against a publican.

"It is essential for the well-being and discipline of the force that the men should clearly understand that Mr. Nugent and the A.O.H. are not all-powerful."

Byrne, as Under-Secretary, had not seen the beginning of the affair. His immediate predecessor, Sir Robert Chalmers, head of the Treasury in London, had been sent to Dublin as caretaker until a replacement could be found for the ill-starred Sir Mathew Nathan, whose career had ended in the ruins of the recent rebellion.

Chalmers had been forced to take on the job. "He hated the squabbles and despised the ideals of the (Irish) people... His one idea appeared to be to get back to London as soon as ever he could." 10

The political head of the Irish government of the day was another misfit, Henry Edward Duke, M.P. for Plymouth, the man who replaced Augustine Birrell as Chief Secretary when Birrell, like Nathan, returned to London in disgrace.

The new Chief Secretary "was so full of sound law that there was little room in him for imagination... He did not seem to have the least understanding of what was resented in the attitude of England to Ireland... the very act of giving the country to such as he - wise, superior and English in thought - which made the Irish people so fractious and so difficult to govern." 11

It was into the hands of such unsympathetic men that the honest constables of the D.M.P. were delivering their ringleaders. Their Commissioner, at least, was sympathetic; although, understandably, concern for his own difficulties was not less evident than the support he was prepared to give to his men in their economic plight.

GRASPING THE NETTLE

On 22 July, writing to the Under-Secretary, Johnstone recalled that in 1914 an increase of 2s/- a week had been "considered inadequate by the men" . He now advised Chalmers, "This movement is not merely due to the work of malcontents. There is a general feeling throughout the force that they are underpaid, and although the R.I.C. are not recruiting, we find it almost impossible to secure suitable candidates for the D.M.P."

The payment of the war bonus in July, short of bringing a settlement, only encouraged the men. With their tails in the air, they pressed their demand for an increase of 12s/- in basic pay.

On the 5 August, Johnstone grasped the nettle. He wrote to Chalmers, "Two courses are now open, to appoint a Commission to inquire into the pay of the D.M.P., or to issue an Order to the Force (proscribing the meetings). The appointment of a Commission at the present juncture would savour too much of a victory for agitation." Chalmers dispatched the file to Duke in London, "Pressing. I discussed this matter repeatedly with the Chief Commissioner... It is vital to enforce discipline through the Chief Commissioner firmly and at once."

The meetings were duly proscribed in Police Order No. 395 for the 9 August. But the men, with John Dillon Nugent M.P., and the forces of the A.O.H. ranged behind them, were in no mood to back down, and the Commissioner's Order was ignored.

In an effort to control the situation, Johnstone, against his inclinations, allowed the men to hold a meeting in the barracks at Kevin Street on the 20 October. It was a noisy gathering, "very much against the interests of discipline", he wrote to the Under-Secretary. "I am driven to granting permission... I know that if permission is refused, meetings will be held outside in undesirable places in defiance of all authority."

Betraying his own frustration he wrote, "The men are growing very impatient and the delay in announcing the proposals for an increase in pay is being utilised by the malcontents to stir up trouble."

In ignorance of the government's intentions, and "in defiance of all authority" the men packed the A.O.H. hall on the 26th, and again on the 27th and 28th October. They were in high spirits leaving the hall on the 28th, and made no effort to evade their officers who were, as usual, waiting outside.

Chief-Superintendent James Dunne reported, "As the men left, all the A.O.H. officials, 10 or 12 in number, came out on to the steps and the constables to the number of 60 assembled in the centre of the street. Some of them laughed audibly, and one of them gave a yell in a derisive manner, apparently directed at the police officers."

Johnstone was now convinced that the agitation had gone far enough: "contrary to their Oath (the men, he reported) were no doubt enrolled as members of the A.O.H." Spurred by this confirmation of their worst fears, Duke acted at once in a directive to the Chief Commissioner.

In the event of a police strike, he directed on 28 October, the Royal Irish Constabulary was not to be drafted into the city. Instead, special constables would be enrolled, with the Army standing in the wings. But the Inspector-General of the R.I.C. and the Dublin Police Commissioner would prepare a co-ordinated plan of action to meet any future emergency.

As a matter of urgency, the constables "60 or thereabouts" who had been identified at the meetings were to be paraded by their superintendents and asked to explain their insubordination: did these men wish "to express regret for their conduct and to remain in the Force (and) do their duty in accordance with law and the regulations?"

Johnstone himself was to see the ringleaders and "in exercise of his discretion punish offenders by fine, transfer or otherwise, or by immediate dismissal."

The constables, duly paraded, were unrepentant: "I am not sorry... I do not regret being identified with the A.O.H... I'll follow my comrades whatever they do... I know it was against the Commissioner's Order, I went to better my position and to look for a living wage... I wish to remain in the Force and do my duty as I have always done."

Supt. Cornelius Kiernan of the Donnybrook Division reported, "The constables during the interview assumed a firm but respectful attitude."

Charges of indiscipline were laid against Hetherton and four other constables, James Murray from Dunmanway in Co. Cork; Edward Smyth of Cloverhill, Co. Cavan; James Daly, Cahirciveen, and Patrick Keating who hailed from Dunlavin, Co. Wicklow. Before he paraded these ringleaders Johnstone advised the Chief Secretary on 30 October, "The summary dismissal of the men... while the admitted grievance of the Force as to rates of pay is unredressed might reasonably be expected to have an ill-effect on their comrades, and might be misunderstood outside the Force."

Dublin Castle had just announced to the press the intention of the government to increase the pay of the D.M.P. and R.I.C. Duke was to appear in the House of Commons the following day, and he wanted time to get the debate started. He was happy to agree with Johnstone's assessment of the situation and he carefully marked the Commissioner's cards, "As is sometimes done in grave disciplinary cases, the Chief Commissioner might properly, after hearing the charges and evidence, adjourn his decision of the cases to a later date... November 7th, stating the gravity of the charges as his reason for adjournment."

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Opening the debate in the House of Commons Duke soon begged the issue of allegiance that was destined to give to a simple, unopposed money Bill the status of a landmark in Irish police history. The enrolment of D.M.P. men in the A.O.H. had, he told the House alarmed many people in Dublin. In an obvious reference to Nugent, whom he did not identify by name, Duke mentioned a conversation in the lobby of the House of Commons with the member for Dublin, complaining, "(He) made two absolutely conflicting statements to me... as to whether in his judgement this society was or was not a political society." 12

The Irish Nationalist for Liverpool, T.P. O'Connor was on his feet at once challenging the Chief Secretary on the police Oath and the exclusion of the Society of Freemasons from the prohibition on membership of political and secret societies. The debate on police pay in Ireland now got lost in sectarian definitions.

Major John Robert Bramston Newman for Enfield-Middlesex attempted a subtle distinction between the A.O.H. and the Orange Order, on the one hand, and the Freemasons: "The Hibernians and the Orangemen stand on the same plane: both are... more than sectarian; they are both great political assets of Ireland; they dabble in politics... The Freemasons take no part in politics." 13

The member for Enfield was speaking as an Englishman, and Joe Devlin for West Belfast accepted Major Newman's word for it that Freemasonry as he knew it was a charitable organisation. But in Ireland, it was "a most powerful and scientific political machine... It eats into and corrodes the whole social and political life of Ireland." 14 The political character of Freemasonry in either England or Ireland was denied by Colonel James Craig for East Down, the future Lord Craigavon. But he was, he admitted "fully alive to the fact that... (the Freemasons were) a secret society." 15

And that was the very heart of the matter. John Dillon for East Mayo, the Nationalist leader, with devastating insight now identified the root cause, after the Act of Union, of a century of mistrust not to mention grief and bloodshed in Anglo-Irish relations. Catholics were forbidden by their Church under pain of mortal sin from joining secret societies. When the Oath as it stood was imposed on the constables of a Catholic nation in 1836, so soon after the Catholic Relief Act of 1829, that "was an act of high-handed oppression and was calculated in the eyes of the people to mark out the policeman as partisan of the

ascendancy faction... This act destroyed all idea of faith in the impartiality of the administration of the law." ¹⁶

There was no answer to that argument. Duke had already committed the government to deletion of the reference to the Freemasons in the Oath, "There must be equal treatment for everybody in these matters of police discipline." ¹⁷ There was one faint protest from Colonel Craig, "I do not intend to press my objection further than to say that, as a member of the Masonic Order, I do not think it is necessary that this step should be taken." ¹⁸ And so the House of Commons, without a division, agreed to add the historic Third Schedule to the Constabulary and Police (Ireland) Act, 1916.

In the final stages of the debate Duke made the remarkable statement that he had been misled by false statements deliberately circulated by troublemakers in Dublin "that a very large number if not nearly all of the members of the D.M.P. (had joined the O.A.H.) in breach of their Oath of office... I am now satisfied... that not merely have not a large body of the D.M.P. joined that society, but none of them have joined it." The inscrutable Nugent added, "That is so." ¹⁹

And then Timothy Healy, the member for North-East Cork, gave vent to the frustration the Dublin Police Commissioner had also endured, in colourful language Johnstone would not have dared to use, "It is really intolerable that people here in Downing Street, knowing nothing whatever of the conditions of Ireland, should delay and obstruct and make themselves a public danger... When a force which, on the whole, has been a credit to the Metropolis of Ireland has made reasonable and

proper claims... it is shocking and monstrous that that force should be thrown into a condition of seething discontent by the delay imposed by the imposters of the British Treasury." 20

With parliament preoccupied with the war in Europe, it is doubtful if members lingering in the House, the Irishmen apart, were bothering to listen anymore.

THE FUNERAL

In Dublin on 7 November, the date agreed with Duke, Johnstone sat in judgement on the five ringleaders, each of whom was charged with disobedience of orders and subversion of discipline. Hetherton had taken "a very prominent part"; nor had his remark on the "guard of honour" of senior officers outside the A.O.H. hall been forgotten. Hetherton was dismissed on the spot. Staying the hand of his wrath in the other cases, Johnstone imposed modest fines and transferred the four constables to the rustic limits of the Metropolitan district.

That evening, the D.M.P. were back in Rutland Square, packing the hall, 170 constables in a nervous show of solidarity: when the meeting was over "some of them took pains to conceal their faces coming out." Hetherton appealed to them not to strike. He was certain to be reinstated. There was no doubt, Johnstone reported, that "the men (had) received very strong assurances of parliamentary support."

On the following day Murray, Smyth, Daly and Keating were in high spirits getting ready to go to their new stations. At 5 p.m. Joe Harmon of Queen Street driving a hearse drawn by two horses arrived at the headquarters of the C-Division in Store Street where he was joined by cabbie Andy Judge. Daly and Keating loaded their boxes on the hearse, announcing to an indignant Station-Sergeant John Kelleher, "We're having a funeral." Kelleher spotted Hetherton in the station yard and ordered him out.

The "funeral" then set off for the A-Division across the river watched by a baffled crowd of "women and men of the working class." At Kevin Street Constable Smyth put his belongings aboard and the procession which had picked up a hackney car somewhere along the way set off again, this time for Lad Lane where Murray was stationed.

Constable John Byrom, seven feet to the spike of his helmet, was on point duty in College Green when the procession passed, the hearse and the cabbie Andy Judge and now three hackney cars full of merry policemen. Inspector Daniel Barrett reported Constable Byrom's story, "The constable had occasion to signal by means of his upraised hand the hearse driver... The driver instead of pulling up the horses boldly smiled at him. This set the constable thinking... The driver of the hearse was a young constable dressed in the livery of a coachman as his tall hat was flattened down and his demeanour was unusually cheerful."

The Irish Times recorded "a procession of an extraordinary character... It afforded much amusement to spectators." Their officers were anything but amused. "A deliberate attempt to turn the police into ridicule... Unprecedented... A total disregard and contempt for discipline." 21

Supt. Francis Flynn of the F- Division reported that the constables though cheering and shouting were all sober passing through Kingstown on their way to Dalkey ten miles out from the city. Supt. Lawrence Murphy of Kevin Street was bemused: the constables "evidently copied ...University students who are rusticated by their authorities but such pranks are a new departure in police circles."

On 11 November for the second time that week Johnstone held court in his office. "I considered the evidence conclusive. There was practically no attempt to make any defence. I dismissed all four constables," he informed Byrne, the Under-Secretary.

Now they were all gone, the ringleaders, Hetherton and, through their own foolishness or at Hetherton's instigation in an effort to gain publicity, Murray, Daly, Keating and Smyth. The meetings in the A.O.H. hall continued. "Mr Nugent is prepared to allow the agitation to subside provided the dismissed constables are reinstated," Johnstone reported on 15 November. That night, Nugent bravely told his wildly cheering audience, "The five men who have been dismissed will be reinstated before a week, they will have their former

numbers, and go back to their old stations."

It was all to no avail. For the next few months the ex-constables were supported out of the funds of the Catholic Policemen's Benefit and Holiday Society. In 1917, Hetherton organised the Dublin branch of the National Police and Prison Officers Union. When the Union collapsed in 1918 he survived on the charity of his old comrades: he was always respectably dressed and was never short of tobacco for his pipe.

In the annus mirabilis of 1922 both Hetherton and James Murray were reinstated in the D.M.P. by the Irish Provisional Government in 1924, Hetherton was promoted sergeant, and they retired from the Garda Siochana, Hetherton in 1932, Murray in 1941. Smyth, Daly and Keating who must have found life more congenial as private citizens did not resume their police careers.

By 21 November, Superintendent Lawrence Murphy could report confidentially to the Commissioner, "The men appear to be settling down to their work generally, and the number of summons complaints entered last week was above average."

The file on the D.M.P. revolt sparked off by the 1916 rebellion has been gathering dust in the Public Record Office in London for sixty years. When it was being returned to the registry towards the close of that fateful year the final minute might have been written by Henry Edward Duke, "wise, superior and English in thought", his loyal civil servant in Dublin Castle, Sir William Byrne, or by the Chief Commissioner, Walter Edgeworth-Johnstone, "always cool as a cucumber" - or by John Dillon Nugent and the Ancient Order of Hibernians: finis coronat opus.

References

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2. London, P.R.O., CO 904/174/4. The author acknowledges his indebtedness also to the staff of the Public Record Office in London. Except where otherwise indicated, the work is based on manuscript material from this source.
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4. J.D.Nugent, The A.O.H. And Its Critics (Dublin, Curtis, 1911). To make his point Nugent published figures showing the predominance of non-Catholics in a wide range of public and commercial positions filled by straightforward nomination of approved candidates; for instance, in the judicial system (Catholic appointees in parenthesis): judges of the Irish Bench, 16(3); recorders, 5(1); county court judges, 22(7); benchers, Kings Inns, 44(9); resident magistrates, 65(15); R.I.C. county inspectors, 36(2), and district inspectors, 170(10).
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6. Galen Broeker, Rural Disorder and Police Reform in Ireland (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970) p.199
7. Hansard 1916 Vol 87 col 101
8. Desmond Ryan, The Rising (Dublin, Golden Eagle, 1949) p.118
9. Sir Henry Robinson, Memories Wise and Otherwise (London, Cassell, 1923) p.241.
10. Ibid, pp 245-6
11. Ibid, p.247
12. Hansard, 1916 Vol 86 col 1660
13. Ibid, Vol 87 col 115
14. Ibid, Vol 87 col 130
15. Ibid, Vol 87 col 537. Secret societies were the curse of Irish politics under British rule. See Appendix for a form of Oath administered to a new member of a Masonic Lodge in the 19th century.
16. Hansard, 1916 Vol 87 col 496-7
17. Ibid, Vol 87 col 120-1
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19. Ibid, Vol 87 col 1450
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21. Irish Times, 9.11.1916